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**Bilingual education:  
The concerns of mothers raising bilingual  
children in historically monolingual cultures**

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## **1 . Introduction**

While we may think of bilingual education as a recent educational innovation, it is at the very least 5000 years old. In fact, in the 1970s archaeologists working in Aleppo, Syria uncovered some 16,000 tablets used in teaching children to read and write in Eblaite, a language spoken in Ancient Mesopotamia, in addition to Sumerian, which by that time was a classical sacred language (Mackey, cited in Garcia 2009: 13). The same tablets incidentally, often end with the plaintive line from the children of the ruling classes struggling for years to master an early cuneiform writing system, ‘And then he caned me’ (Wolf: 37). This early example of bilingual schooling was the provenance of the elite classes, acquiring a prestigious second language for the purposes of cultural enrichment. Similar examples from later times include Roman children required to learn Greek in Ancient Times, or British children required to learn Latin until very recently. From such a beginning, as the cultural enrichment of an elite ruling class, bilingual education has more recently come to be viewed in several ways: (i) as a problem, when governments struggle to allocate resources to educate minority language users in the dominant language, or even try to restrict the use of other languages; (ii) as a right, in more enlightened times where heritage languages and community languages are valued in addition to the language of the majority; and (iii) more recently, as a resource, affording a wide range of benefits to bilingual speakers and the countries in which they reside and work.

This paper looks at models of bilingualism and bilingual education, including CLIL, in various contexts, and outlines briefly just some of the many benefits bilingualism has to offer. Finally, the concerns of 13 mothers from interlingual or intermarried families in historically monolingual

cultures are voiced. Seven mothers raising bilingual children in the geographically isolated Iwami region of Japan were asked to complete a survey, while six mothers in interlingual or intermarried families based in various locations around Britain were interviewed. (This paper uses ‘interlingual’ to refer to families who speak more than one language in the home, and ‘intermarried’ to refer to families where the spouses have different first languages but do not necessarily use more than one language in the home.)

## 2. What is bilingualism?

First then, let us look at what bilingualism is and what it is not. Traditionally, the layperson views bilingualism as a person with native-like command of two languages in all contexts, with accent and vocabulary level indistinguishable from that of a monolingual native speaker. In 1933 Bloomfield defined bilingualism as follows, acknowledging the lack of precision about what constitutes ‘native-like control’: ‘Bilingualism [is] native-like control of two languages... Of course, one cannot define a degree of perfection at which a good foreign speaker becomes a bilingual: the distinction is relative’ (1933: 56). Later scholars explain that “any bilingual is never two monolinguals in one person, and any child regardless of circumstances or education will never be able to become two monolinguals in one person” (Garcia, 2009: 48).

In reality, then, such an idealized bilingual with native-like control of both languages does not exist. Simply put, bilingualism is more complex than this reductive  $1+1=2$  viewpoint, based on monoglossic theories of language, which take monolingual languaging as the norm from which to construct theories, and unrealistically aim to produce equal proficiency in both languages in all contexts. Each language is not separate and self-contained but instead bilinguals can make use of their languages in appropriate social contexts, and domains. Garcia offers a useful image of this kind of idealized ‘folk bilingualism’ as the balanced wheels of a bicycle, spinning in tandem and contrasts it with the reality of bilingualism as being better represented by the image of a moon buggy with large wheels capable of working when needed (2009: 8). Heteroglossic models of bilingualism — which take multilingual languaging as the norm from which to construct theories — underpin programmes which aim for appropriate levels of proficiency in several languages according to the learner’s needs. Since bilinguals use their languages in different contexts, it stands to reason that they will function with better facility in one language than another depending on the context. According to Garcia, to talk of ‘dominant language’, or ‘mother tongue’, or ‘semilingualism’ is to take sides with monoglossic theories of bilingualism, which are no longer capable of explaining the reality of multilingualism for many speakers today. However, imprecise though those terms may be, in practice they are useful shortcuts in expressing what many bilinguals and linguists alike perceive about the nature of bilingualism. One further more recent term is multilingualism, often referred to as plurilingualism in European literature, and it “is helpful in that it enables us to shed the concepts of balanced bilingualism, or the idea that children be equally competent in two languages in all contexts and with all interlocutors.” (Garcia, 2009: 55)

‘Translanguaging’, defined as “multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds” (Garcia, 2009: 45) – or what might previously have been

more simply termed code-switching – is the norm for most bilinguals. They choose to communicate in more than one language according to social context and domain. While many handbooks for parents intent on raising bilingual children (Caldas, 2006; Harding & Riley, 1986), suggest a one parent-one language approach to bilingual parenting, this method ignores the reality of day-to-day living for many families. Which language do parents speak across the dinner table? Which language do they choose when the children’s monolingual friends come to play? What do they do when a monolingual family member or guest visits? In practice, such rigid prescriptions based on monoglossic theories of bilingualism are both hard to maintain, and also deprive the learner of hearing natural conversational turn-taking in one language. Adjacency pairs, which are essential to smooth turn-taking, are unlikely to be mastered in the over simplistic one parent-one language model.

Many people, particularly in English-speaking nations and indeed a relatively homogenous country such as Japan, consider monolingualism to be the norm. However, scholars now know that multilingualism is highly prevalent. There are perhaps 7000 languages spoken today while there are only 200 or so nations. In most nations multilingualism is the reality. It should nevertheless be borne in mind that being a citizen of multilingual state such as India or a bilingual one such as Canada or Belgium does not automatically make all speakers multilingual or bilingual (Harding & Riley: 30). The wealth of research on bilingualism has often been conducted in Europe and English-speaking nations where there is relative correlation between nation state and language, leading to researchers historically assuming that the situation in their immediate vicinity held true for the rest of the world. However the reality in a great many parts of the world is of peoples displaced through conflicts and environmental disasters; choosing to migrate; and recently the phenomenon of transnationalism, with people working in one or several countries but making regular returns to their home country. Add tourism and the IT revolution to this mix, and it is clear that multilingualism not monolingualism is a fact of life for many people on the planet.

### **3. Models of bilingual education, including CLIL**

Traditionally bilingual education has been explained by two main models: additive and subtractive. Both models were underpinned by monoglossic beliefs that monolinguals and their languaging practices are the norm. In the figure below representing the additive model, the maintenance and development of the child’s home language is a priority as well as the addition of a new language through education. Each language is carefully separated in the curriculum. This style of bilingual education can be represented thus:

$$L1 + L2 = L1 + L2$$

However, as has been stated above the ‘balanced bilingual’ is a myth: bilingual speakers need not be equally competent in both languages in all situations to consider themselves bilingual.

In the subtractive model, the child’s home language is of no consideration to the education system, which seeks to educate him or her in the additional language. In some cases the home language is actively discouraged, as was the case, for example, in the nineteenth-century boarding schools for native American children, or the twentieth-century Australian policy of removing

aboriginal children from their homes. Such policies led to loss of the home language and thus this model is called subtractive bilingualism. As Garcia states, ‘When poor children are bilingual their bilingualism is often subtractive because it is almost never supported and developed in school’ (2009: 102). In the subtractive model, bilingualism is viewed as a problem for educators, which must be replaced with monolingualism in the majority language. The motives behind such a policy may be worthy: giving the students better life chances and access to resources only afforded to majority language speakers. Or it may simply reflect economic realities when there is no support available for the home language due to lack of resources, funding, qualified teachers, or lack of understanding about multilingualism. For many immigrants their experience of formal education can be characterized by subtractive bilingualism. This style of bilingual education can be represented thus:

$$L1+L2-L1=L2$$

The work of Cummins with autochthonous peoples in Canada has been instrumental in promoting an additive model of bilingual education, through developing not only BICS – the contextualized language used for basic interpersonal communication and supported externally by paralinguistic cues or internally by the shared knowledge of speakers – but also CALP, cognitive academic language proficiency – the decontextualised language which children need to write academic essays or take tests. Cummins states that “the first language must not be abandoned before it is fully developed, whether the second language is introduced simultaneously or successively, early or late, in that process” (2000: 25). Subtractive bilingualism, where a child acquires a second language at the expense of his or her first language, is unlikely to result in appropriate development of the second language since the learner cannot use the first language skills to aid in acquisition of the new language.

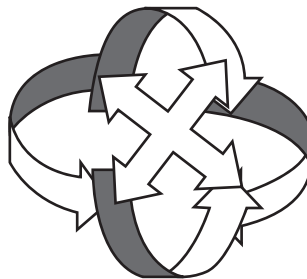
More recently the notion of using monolinguals as a starting point has fallen out of favour and the reality of multilingualism and emergent bilingualism has influenced several new models of bilingual education, underpinned by heteroglossic beliefs which are, as Garcia puts it “the realization of multiple co-existing norms which characterize bilingual speech, [and] of bilingual’s translanguaging” (2009: 117). The first such model is the Recursive Bilingual Theoretical Educational Framework represented by the diagram below. The Recursive Model recognizes that bilingualism is a complex and fluid concept, changing over a person or group’s lifetime. It can also be used to illustrate the pattern of bilingual education when a language has been suppressed. The community is not starting from zero nor simply adding a second language but building on individuals’ diverse knowledge of the language, sometimes based on ceremonial language; such is the case in the Maori language of Aotearoa. The model recognizes that bilingualism is more complex than mere language addition, maintenance, or shift. Individuals and communities are in a state of flux and their experience of bilingualism changes over time. This kind of recursive bilingual education is often used for reversing language shift in indigenous languages. The teachers themselves may not be highly proficient in the additional language but the community values the language and it is historically significant for both the teachers and their students.



#### Model of Recursive Bilingual Theoretical Educational Framework

(Garcia, 2009: 118)

One further model of bilingual education, Dynamic Bilingualism, which is reproduced below, seeks to account for the recent manifestations of multilingualism in an increasingly global society. Garcia explains her diagram thus “The intermingling of the arrows, some linear, some elliptical, some shaded to indicate one language, others blank to indicate the other languages, does not indicate directionality, but simultaneous multiplicity of multilingual discourses” (2009: 119). While the diagram would benefit from clearer labeling, it seems to show that for many communities and individuals bilingualism is not simply a linear process of adding or subtracting a language, and terms such as first language and second language are becoming less useful. This model attempts to account for translanguaging and the use of languages for functional interrelationships. Dynamic bilingualism is in many ways similar to ‘plurilingualism’ in European research and policy: the recognition that many people interact in several languages, both face-to-face or online, using the languages with differing proficiencies according to the speakers’ needs. The model attempts to account for the complexity of multilingual language use in the twenty-first century when people are increasingly in contact with speakers of other languages.



#### Dynamic Bilingual Theoretical Educational Framework

(reproduced from Garcia, 2009: 119)

Having looked at some recent models of bilingual education above, what then is the reality of bilingual education in today’s climate? For many educators from the dominant language group in any given nation, bilingual education means the dominant language only approach to teaching immigrants, for example a Japanese-only approach to schooling in Japan like the typical school outlined in Kanno (2003: 294-5), or an English-only approach in the UK or US. The children’s present languages are not developed while the target language only is used in schooling. This cannot be considered bilingual education by any means. According to Baetens Beardsmore, ‘It is the most difficult to find acceptance for bilingual education in communities where there is no perceived need for other language proficiency, as, for example, in large sections of the Anglo-Saxon

world, especially in the U.S. and England.’ (2009: 140). Indeed several states in the U.S. including California, Arizona, and Massachusetts, have passed laws making bilingual education illegal (Garcia, 2009: 10). Historically, bilingual education has been blamed for fracturing nation-states and reducing the life chances of its students.

True bilingual education, however, entails general education in two or more languages. The language is not an academic subject to be studied as a foreign language, but the medium of instruction. In Europe, recent bilingual education in the form of CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) is proving successful. Coyle, Hood, and Marsh define it succinctly thus:

CLIL is a dual-focused educational approach in which an additional language is used for the learning and teaching of both content and language. That is, in the teaching and learning process, there is a focus not only on the content and not only on the language. Each is interwoven, even if the emphasis is greater in one or the other at a given time. (2010: 1).

The driving forces behind CLIL include parental wishes; supranational directives, such as those of the European Commission, in the face of increased global competition, and need for social cohesion in nation states; the opinions of language experts; and the learners themselves. CLIL ‘protects the development of the first language, while exposing students to the second language for a certain time which may start in primary school’ (Garcia, 2009: 130). Further reasons in favour of CLIL include the fact that ‘the ability to think in different languages, even if to a modest extent, can have a positive impact on content learning’ (Coyle et al, 2010: 10). CLIL not only stimulates cognitive flexibility, it aids learner motivation and provides an authentic reason to use the vehicular language. Children in school today are accustomed to trying new things, touching screens before opening an instruction manual, interacting with new technologies and materials with little prior orientation. Generation Z students are used to more experiential types of learning-- learning as they use-- while older generations were raised on a different model of learning-- learning now for later use. At a time when curricula are under pressure, CLIL provides extra exposure to foreign languages while still providing content instruction. However, CLIL means more than simply changing the language of instruction. During CLIL lessons, learners are expected to use more higher-order thinking processes such as analyzing, evaluating, and creating, not simply remembering and understanding as they might have done in a more traditional foreign language classroom. Teachers need not have ‘native-like’ proficiency but they must be fluent. Although CLIL has been developed in the European context, its goals are shared by many programmes all over the world which seek to make all children bilingual by teaching one or more subjects in an additional language.

As we have seen above, there are many models of bilingual education, the most popular being perhaps various kinds of immersion or CLIL. In Japan, for instance, many English immersion programmes begin with about two-thirds of instruction taking place in English in the lower grades, giving way to about fifty-fifty in upper grades, and decreasing further as the children move on to

junior school and require Japanese academic language for reading and writing. A popular Gaelic immersion school in Cumbernauld, Scotland follows a similar pattern of full immersion in primary one and two, with many of the pupils having come from the Gaelic-medium nursery school, and beginning to introduce English reading and writing in primary three. The teaching of Gaelic to these children from almost entirely English-speaking families – when I visited only two of the 120 families sending children to the school had a Gaelic background – shows another role of bilingual education, that of reversing language shift, preventing the loss of a minority or heritage language. In Scotland the devolved government has attempted to make bilingual Gaelic/English education available to all pupils even in areas where Gaelic is not traditionally spoken, by centralizing resources and providing free transport to all children who wish to attend. In the traditional Gaelic-speaking areas of the western Highlands and Islands, many schools provide Gaelic-medium education up to high school level. Nevertheless it should be borne in mind that starting to learn an additional language in childhood is no guarantee of the development of full bilingualism.

Wales also provides examples of successful reversing of language shift. The 1870 Education Act prohibited the use of Welsh in schools and the language had dwindled in all but the traditional rural heartlands. Recent initiatives include the promotion of Welsh in schools, and the distribution of language-planning information to all women attending antenatal clinics, the emphasis being on getting these women to think about bringing up bilingual children before they give birth (Edwards and Newcombe: 141). The recent Twf or ‘Growth’ initiative to increase Welsh bilingualism since 2002 includes socially inclusive literature aimed at the widest possible audience. Edwards and Newcombe writing in 2006 noted that it was too early to judge whether the Twf programme had been successful. However, when I attended an IATEFL conference in Cardiff in 2009, I was surprised to hear many people speaking Welsh in the city streets, not only the elderly but young mothers speaking to their children. (This is not the case in large Scottish cities, where one is much more likely to hear children speaking various Eastern European languages than Scots Gaelic.) With such inter-generational transmission of Welsh happening in Cardiff, it seems that the Welsh Language Board policies on reversing language shift are proving successful.

Despite the dominance of English in the UK then, there has been some limited success in the reversing of language shift for both Welsh and Scots Gaelic. The benefits of multilingualism are being recognised by both individuals and the state. While the foundations of formal education in medieval Britain and Europe were multilingual, with the spread of education to the masses, education became generally more monolingual. Since 2006 the European Commission has been calling for a multilingual policy of ‘mother-tongue plus two’ (MT + 2) to reverse this trend and it advocates receptive understanding of more languages, not such a difficult task when many European languages are sufficiently similar to assist rapid acquisition. (See *CLIL at school in Europe*). The policy of MT + 2 is recommended to encourage linguistic diversity. The European Commission holds that bilingualism is not enough in Europe, partly to avoid citizens learning only English in addition to their mother tongue. It should be remembered that 75% of the world does not speak English and 94% do not speak it as a native language (Garcia: 99). As the European Commissioner says



Learning one lingua franca alone is not enough. Every European citizen should have meaningful communicative competence in at least two other languages in addition to his or her mother tongue. This is an ambitious goal, but the progress already made by several member states shows that this is perfectly attainable. (Council of Europe, 2003: 10)

#### **4 . Benefits of bilingual education**

The benefits of bilingual education are multifold. Despite protests to the contrary, there is no contemporary research that shows any variety of true bilingual education in two or more languages is actually harmful. In fact, since the earliest studies in the 1930s showing that bilinguals have certain cognitive advantages over monolinguals, the results have been replicated time and again. Bilinguals have greater mental flexibility, divergent thinking or creativity, heightened communicative sensitivity, and greater metalinguistic awareness (Garcia, 2009: 93-101). Recent research in Wales on Welsh/English bilinguals, widely reported in national newspapers as well as academic journals, is also beginning to suggest that bilingualism protects the brain from dementia. These benefits affect the individual but there are also socio-economic benefits to be had: the economist Francois Grin in his work on language planning has calculated the costs and benefits of bilingual education and shown just how much bilingual education can enhance the lives of individuals for a minimal cost (cited in Baetens Beardmore: 144). It has even been calculated that bilingual speakers enjoy a remunerative advantage over monolinguals in certain contexts: in Switzerland, for example, English speakers earn 12 to 30% more than non-English speakers. In the UK many local government jobs are only open to bilinguals with knowledge of Scots Gaelic or Welsh. In Florida, Spanish/English bilinguals enjoy an advantage over their monolingual peers.

#### **5 . Concerns of mothers raising bilingual children in traditionally monolingual cultures**

##### **(i)Iwami region**

For this paper, I conducted informal surveys with six mothers in interlingual families raising bilingual English-Japanese children in the Iwami region, a traditionally monolingual rural area, and interviews with six mothers in intermarried families in the UK, based in more heterogeneous surroundings but still bringing up their children in a primarily monolingual culture. (I have also reported my own experiences as a foreign national married to a Japanese and raising bilingual children.) None of the families has access to bilingual education. Of the mothers in Iwami, four are Japanese, with three of them married to native English speakers and the fourth with near-native proficiency, and three are foreign nationals married to Japanese. The bilingual children ranged from infants to eleven years old at the time of the survey. As Yamamoto (2001) notes in her study of English-Japanese bilinguals in Japan, there is great variation in how well the children speak both languages. Her book-length study looks at many factors which influenced bilingual children's proficiency. This brief study, however, does not consider the children's proficiency but instead looks at the mother's concerns relating to raising bilingual children.

Four of the mothers in the UK are native English-speaking married to a speaker of another language, while the fifth is a French speaker of English with near-native proficiency who is married to an English speaker, and the sixth is a bilingual Urdu/ English speaker. The ages of the children ranged from infants to young adults.

The survey completed by the mothers in Iwami is reproduced in Appendix 1. It is based on the work of Okita (2002) on Japanese-English bilinguals being raised in the UK. Her work, however, had a sociological focus on the impact of living in another culture while raising bilingual children. This research, however, is necessarily much smaller in scope given the small number of English-Japanese bilingual children in Iwami. It looks at the concerns of mothers regarding bilingual child-rearing: how they solicited bilingual encounters for their children and what support they gained or sought from various individuals and groups.

When asked which languages they used with their partners, three of Iwami mothers said a mix of Japanese and English, while two used only Japanese with their partners, and two used only English. The choice of language was often determined by the partner's fluency in the mother's language. All of the mothers with more than one child noted that the children preferred to use Japanese to communicate with each other (cf. Yamamoto, 2001: 27), with one mother noting that her children switched into using English among themselves after several weeks in Britain each summer. Nevertheless all of the mothers went to great efforts to use English with their children despite the misgivings of one Japanese mother: 'I tried to use English. But at the same time, using my own language is important to me. Like my mother raised me.'

Five mothers noted that the decision to bring up a bilingual child was a joint one between the mother and father, while one mother decided herself to do so, and one mother noted that it had been mainly the father's decision. How much the decision was discussed varied greatly, with four not discussing the issue at length, two discussing it a little, and only one discussing it a lot. From my own experience, I did not discuss the decision at all because my partner and I were convinced of the benefits of bilingualism. So a lack of discussion between partners concerning bilingual child-rearing need not be seen as a lack of importance being attached to the issue. All mothers also said that there were no or few differences in opinion concerning language in the home. Four of the mothers had read about bilingualism and discussed the topic with others.

When asked why they were raising bilingual children, the Iwami mothers cited better communication with English-speaking relatives and friends; better life chances, such as 'Our desire for our child to get higher education in English'; concern over the level of English education in the area: 'The current Japanese education cannot prepare children for global competition so I have to do this myself'; and, in the case of the English as a first language mothers, their own ease of communication with the children in English and between children and their fathers in Japanese. All mothers were concerned about their children's bilingual development, with some of the Japanese mothers worrying, despite their high level of proficiency, that their English was not "standard" enough.

The English as a first language mothers noted competition among themselves to bring up the most "balanced bilingual" child. They also cited pressure from family in their country of origin

to bring the child up English-speaking. Okita (2002: 16) cites Varro's research on French-English bilinguals by an American woman living in France talking about her experience of child-rearing

Every time an American woman married to a Frenchman meets someone in France – man or woman – for the first time, she is made to feel ashamed if her children are “not even bilingual” – as if the children's bilingualism served to justify her presence in the (French) family as if she herself felt it needed justification. (Varro, 1988:6)

One of the English-speaking mothers in Iwami noted the *mottainai* (what a waste) comments from perfect strangers when her children speak Japanese. Some misguided individuals suggested that her children should be brought up as monolingual English speakers, regardless of the fact that they will be schooled and socialized in Japanese. But this disproportionate admiration for English ability even from strangers probably contributes somewhat to the seven mothers' determination to raise their children bilingually. The English as a first language mothers also cited a sense of pride in their identity as English speakers as a reason to raise their children as bilinguals. Some of these mothers voiced concerns about their ability to help the child with Japanese language homework and the difficulty in dealing with daycare and elementary school in Japanese. Some mothers also mentioned the emotional stress of ‘forcing’ their children to use English with them, when the child felt more comfortable in Japanese.

A more pressing concern for mothers of children approaching junior high school age is the lack of foreign language education open to their children, and the compulsory nature of English instruction. As Harding and Riley observed over twenty years ago in England, it is almost impossible to find a high school offering a choice of foreign languages for twelve-year-olds. In Iwami region there is no choice open to students other than to study English. Several mothers expressed a desire for their children to be able to opt out of compulsory English courses without prejudicing their chances of entering an academic senior high school.

All of the mothers had spent time and money to raise their children bilingual, making a conscious effort to expose the child to English through books and multimedia for example DVDs, game software, CDs, and interactive toys. Some of the families with relatives abroad used Skype to keep in touch with family using English, both to maintain the child's relationship with family and to reinforce the need for learning English. Where finances permit, the children were taken overseas to visit English-speaking countries. Yamamoto (2001: 81-85) gives a good summary of popular ways in which parents sought to promote English-Japanese bilingualism in Japan.

## **(ii) Britain**

In the case of the British mothers, only four of the six mothers are raising the children bilingually. One mother, a businesswoman married to a Dutch national, now regrets this decision but since she was not proficient in Dutch herself, she and her husband did not seriously consider raising the children bilingually. Another mother married to a bilingual Scotsman of Chinese ethnicity is also unable to speak the father's additional language; however, in this case it was mainly the

father who made the decision not to bring the children up bilingually since his other language is a minority language within China. Their first child was taught some numbers and colours in the father's additional language but with the birth of the second child, this couple did not seek to bring the child up bilingual, assigning little importance to the decision. The father's family is bilingual and therefore the children's monolingualism is not an issue in communicating with the extended family. These two examples echo the case of the English-Norwegian family discussed in Harding and Riley (1986: 93-94): again the mother could not speak the father's language and so the children were brought up in the mother's language. As one of the mothers who took part in this survey joked, "That's why it's called the mother tongue." There does seem to be a general rule according to Harding and Riley (1986: 36) "where one of the parents does not understand one of the languages, attempts to maintain bilingualism in the family will fail".

The remaining four mothers from Britain were committed to raising their children bilingually. All four were fluent in both languages, which clearly contributed to their desire to bring up a bilingual child. Two of the mothers were married to Japanese nationals and had spent considerable time in Japan themselves. These women were committed to bringing up bilingual, bicultural children, with one of the mothers even home-schooling the children to ensure that her own educational ideals prevailed. Both women cited financial concerns over taking the children to Japan in order for them to meet the father's family and spend time in the other culture. They had both read about raising bilingual children and discussed the best methods with their husbands and other parents.

The Urdu/English bilingual mother is based in the west of Scotland and she speaks only Urdu with her child in most situations. The child was exposed to English through nursery, friends, and eventually school. While the child cannot read or write in Urdu, she is a highly accomplished speaker, having learned the language through family and community. The community stresses Urdu as a badge of belonging and it is expected that children will become fully bilingual with less stress on literacy. This mother had not had any need to consult books on bilingualism or discuss the matter with others. Because of the large community of Urdu speakers in the area, including extended family, no special measures were necessary to ensure that her child learned the language to a degree where she could participate in community events.

The final mother is a French national based in the south-east of England. This mother was better placed to send her children to live with grandparents for several months each year. She placed great emphasis on the children's relationship with her own non-English speaking parents. This mother also spent considerable time teaching her children to read and write in French, which she had done with great success by the time the children were in the upper grades of primary school. She also sought the company of other French nationals with children in the area.

## **6. Conclusion**

Clearly in historically monolingual cultures which lack bilingual education and where there is no community support or extended family available, a great deal of time and resources is necessary to raise bilingual children. All of the mothers who took part in the surveys and interviews who were raising bilingual children cited financial and emotional concerns. The benefits of bilingualism are

clear to them but where both parents are not fluent in each other's languages it can be a struggle to raise children to attain a high degree of language proficiency. This is not to say that it is impossible, as the deeply committed Japanese mothers in Iwami have shown; however, without a near-native level of English on their part, their success would not have been possible.

Finally, I would like to thank all of the mothers in Iwami region and in Britian who took part in this survey. Their great help and support has been invaluable. I would also like to thank the staff at Condorrat Primary School, Cumbernauld, for allowing me to observe their Scots Gaelic medium classes.

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## Appendix 1

### Survey on mothers bringing up English bilingual children in Shimane



