



# 文化学園リポジトリ

Academic Repository of BUNKA GAKUEN

服飾文化共同研究拠点／文化ファッション研究機構

Joint Research Center for Fashion and Clothing Culture / Bunka Fashion Research Institute

文化学園大学

*Bunka Gakuen University*

文化服装学院

*Bunka Fashion College*

文化ファッション大学院大学

*Bunka Fashion Graduate University*

文化外国語専門学校

*Bunka Institute of Language*

Title	カナダにおける第二言語のみを使用した5-6歳児へのイメージン 第一部
Author(s)	ヒックリング, ロバート
Citation	文化女子大学紀要. 人文・社会科学研究 10 (2002-01) pp.19-31
Issue Date	2002-01-31
URL	<a href="http://hdl.handle.net/10457/2720">http://hdl.handle.net/10457/2720</a>
Rights	

# カナダにおける第二言語のみを使用した 5-6 歳児への イマージョン 第一部

ロバート・ヒックリング\*

## Early Total Immersion in Canada Part 1

Robert Hickling

**要 旨** ニヶ国語教育は様々な形式、および理由で五千年もの間、存在している。ごく最近では 1960年代にイマージョン教育という新しいニヶ国語教育がカナダで始まった。

イマージョンは共通の母語を話す学生に第二言語を使う教授法である。イマージョン・プログラムは第二言語と母語を社会科、科学さらに数学といった一般的な学校科目の授業のために使用される。

このプログラムの最も重要な目標はニヶ国語の熟達にあり、習熟度は、学生が外国語で授業を受けた時間やイマージョン・プログラムを始めた時期によって異なる。

1960年代にモンリオールの近郊の幼稚園で始まり、イマージョン教育とその教授法はカナダ全土へ、そして世界各地へも広がった。イマージョン・プログラムの成果は社会文化的背景と学校における授業形態に著しく左右される。本稿ではカナダにおけるイマージョン教育についての二部構成のうちの一部としてカナダにおけるニヶ国語教育の歴史と第二言語だけを使用したイマージョンがどのようにして生まれたかということについて考察している。さらにイマージョン・プログラムの成功には教育と社会文化的条件が不可欠であるということを論じている。

### Abstract

Bilingual education has been practiced for as long as five thousand years in various forms and for various reasons. Fast-forward to the 1960s where a new form of bilingual education, called immersion education, was born in Canada. Immersion education is a form of bilingual education designed for majority language students, students whose mother tongue or home language is the same as that spoken in the society. In immersion programs, a second language, along with the student's home language, is used to teach regular school subjects such as social studies, science and mathematics. One of the major goals of immersion education is bilingual proficiency. Differentiations are often made between the age at which students enter the program (i.e. early, delayed and late immersion) as well as between the amount of instruction provided in the second language (i.e. total versus partial).

Beginning with a single kindergarten class in a suburban school near Montreal in the mid-1960s, immersion education and methodology have spread throughout Canada and to many countries of the world. The success of the immersion programs depends on a combination of pedagogical practices

---

\* 本学助教授 英語

as well as certain sociocultural conditions. This paper, Part 1 of a two-part study of immersion education in Canada, reviews the history of bilingual education and the events leading up to the birth of early total immersion as we know it today. This is followed by a discussion of the main pedagogical and sociocultural principles that are integral to the success of immersion programs.

## Introduction

Through various news mediums, we often hear the terms *bilingual education* and *immersion programs* bantered about. Before proceeding further, a clarification of these terms is in order. Bilingual education is the use of a second or foreign language in school for the teaching of content subjects. Generally speaking, bilingual education programs are designed for minority language children. Subjects are taught in the children's native language or home language (HL) as it is also called, while English as a Second Language (ESL) is provided in the dominant language of the community. In some programs the children's HL is used when they enter school, but later a gradual change occurs in which the second language (SL) is used for teaching some subjects and the HL for teaching others. This is sometimes referred to as *maintenance bilingual education*. Another type of bilingual education is the partial or total use of the children's HL when they enter school, and a later change to the use of the school language to the use of the SL only. This is sometimes called *transitional bilingual education*. The main objective of maintenance and transitional bilingual education is to bring about language proficiency in the SL through HL development so that the students can participate successfully in classes taught exclusively in the SL.

Immersion programs are a form of bilingual education designed for majority language students, that is to say, students who speak the dominant language of the society or school language when they enter school. Along with the students' HL, a second language is also used as a language of instruction. For example, in Canada, there are schools for English-speaking children, where French is the language of instruction. If these children are taught in French for the whole day (with the exception of English language arts), it is called a *total immersion program*. If they are taught in French for only part of the day (again, with the exception of English language arts), it is called a *partial immersion program*. Generally speaking, at least 50 per cent of instruction during a given academic year must be provided through the second language for the program to be regarded as immersion. Differentiations are also made between *early, delayed and late immersion*. One of the major objectives of immersion programs is bilingual proficiency. Immersion programs are designed for language majority students, where bilingualism is considered a bonus rather than a necessity, whereas maintenance and transitional education are provided for language minority students, where proficiency in the SL is regarded as essential.

The main focus of this paper is on early total immersion in Canada, where the initial focus on immersion originated and, from a pedagogical point of view, represents the most radical departure from traditional English schooling. First, the contemporary immersion program will be put into historical perspective. Second, the theoretical rationale behind it will be presented. Third, pedagogical

cal practices and sociocultural conditions, upon which the success of the Canadian immersion programs depends, will be reviewed.

### **Historical perspective of bilingual education**

The practice of providing educational instruction in a language other than the one which the students normally use is by no means new. In fact, its introduction may date as far back as about 3000 B.C. Many schools provided instruction in only one language and students became bilingual by virtue of the fact that the language of the school they attended differed from the language they spoke at home and in their village. There is also evidence which suggests that true bilingual education, that is, schools in which instruction takes place in two languages, existed during ancient times. For example, tablets engraved with bilingual texts believed to have been used to teach children to read and write Sumerian<sup>1)</sup> have been found in modern-day Syria. Use of a non-HL as the sole or main medium of instruction was common during the expansion of the Greek Empire and later the Roman Empire. Use of Greek in school was not required by imperial Greece, but was nonetheless widespread as it gave non-Greek speaking children language skills that they would need if they were to gain important administrative or political positions. Instruction in Greek was often regarded as fundamentally important to the Roman child's education and not simply a matter of practicality. Lewis (1977, p. 62) purports that to the Romans, instruction in Greek was thought to provide 'at least as good a foundation of the child's intellectual development as his mother tongue could be. . . . and it was regarded as a satisfactory means of improving the child's control of his mother tongue.' Among the Roman populous, however, there was not universal support for bilingualism and bilingual education. Opponents were critical of the quality of Greek being learned, and there was also concern that the acquisition of two languages simultaneously in their HL, Latin, would suffer if instruction in it were delayed too long. Oddly enough, these same concerns continue to appear in the literature today.

Latin was used as the primary language of instruction in schools throughout the Roman Empire as a means of uniting its diverse ethnolinguistic "colonies." In fact, this practice continued in much of Western Europe until the rise of nationalism around the sixteenth century, after which time Latin began to be slowly replaced by local "national" languages such as English in England and French in France. However, standard languages or dialects were used in schools while non-standard language varieties were used in the home.

Bilingual education in the United States didn't begin until around the middle of the nineteenth century at which time a number of German-English parochial schools were established by the German communities in Ohio and Missouri. It is estimated that at least one million American children were schooled in German and English during the period from 1880 to the end of the century. During the same period it was not uncommon to find other non-English languages being used in the United States in private parochial schools. For example, Spanish was used in a number of schools in California, New Mexico, and Florida, Norwegian in the Dakota territory, while German, French, Italian and Spanish were not uncommon in San Francisco schools during the first part of the twentieth cen-

tury.

### **Historical perspective of the Canadian immersion programs**

The Canadian federation was legally constituted in 1867 by the British North America Act, or BNA Act as it is commonly referred to, and consisted of Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. The Act affirmed Canada's linguistic duality in the province of Quebec, where the use of both the French and English languages was required in the Parliament and courts. However, it was not until more than 100 years later, in 1969, that the Official Languages Act formally accorded both languages official status nationwide. The Official Languages Act states that

The English and French languages are the official languages of Canada for all purposes of the Parliament and Government of Canada, and possess and enjoy equality of status and equal rights and privileges as to their use in all the institutions of the Parliament and Government of Canada.

The Act guarantees Canadians access to all services provided by the federal parliament and government in English or in French anywhere in Canada. Although the Act does not require that all Canadians be bilingual, government employees providing federal services are required to be proficient in both languages. The Act does not apply to any of Canada's ten provincial governments or three territorial governments. In fact, only one provincial government, New Brunswick, which has a sizeable percentage of both French-speaking and English-speaking residents, recognizes both French and English as official languages. Of the remaining nine provincial governments, eight recognize English as their official language, having predominately English-speaking populations, and one, Quebec, recognizes French as its official language, having a predominately French-speaking citizenry.

English and French are both historically important in Canada. The French were the first to colonize Canada, beginning with Jacques Cartier's landing in 1534. Then in 1763 French control ceded to British control when the British defeated the French near Quebec City. Because French Canadian culture was firmly established in North America at the time of the British Conquest, the French were able to successfully resist efforts of the British to assimilate them. For this reason, the Canadian government appreciates the historical significance of the French and English cultures in Canada and, therefore, recognizes neither as the official culture. In 1971, the federal government adopted an official policy of multiculturalism which aims

to encourage and assist within the framework of Canada's official languages policy and in the spirit of existing human rights codes, the full realization of the multicultural nature of Canadian society through programs which promote the preservation and sharing of ethnocultural heritages and which facilitate mutual appreciation and understanding among all Canadians.

Today, both French and English are important features of Canadian society. As a result, both lan-

guages play significant roles in political, cultural and economic circles, and bilingual competence is often associated with both tangible and intangible rewards. This value-associated reward associated with English-French bilingualism is further enhanced by the status enjoyed by both languages internationally.

Despite the historical importance of French during the early settlement and subsequent development of Canada, its status as one of the country's two official languages, its being the native language of approximately one-quarter of Canada's population and its status as a major world language, until recently French did not enjoy an equal place alongside English in the Canadian federation. While the eight predominately English-speaking provinces do not recognize French as an official language, they do not forbid its use. This, however, has not always been the case. The use of French has actually been forbidden by law in several provinces at certain times since confederation in 1867. In 1890, for example, the Government of the Province of Manitoba revoked an earlier law requiring the use of French in the provincial parliament and allowing its use throughout the public school system. Students found using French in schools by school authorities could be punished. The law has since been repealed, and efforts are being made to restore the status of French at the political level in Manitoba. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, passed in 1982, assures that public education will be available in all provinces in both official languages, where numbers warrant.

Widespread daily use of French, aside from communication at the federal government level, is limited to the provinces of Quebec and New Brunswick as well as to other specific regions of the country where sizeable French-speaking communities exist. Gendron (1972) extensively researched the language of work in Quebec and found that

In the province of Quebec itself, French remains basically a marginal language, since non-French speaking persons have little need of it and many French-speaking people use English as much as and sometimes more than their mother tongue for important work. This applies even though Quebec's French-speaking people constitute a vast majority both in the labor force and in the overall population. (p. 108)

Discontent over linguistic and cultural inequalities had been growing for some time, particularly in Quebec. Despite early attempts by the Francophone community to negotiate a more equitable partnership with their Anglophone counterparts, their repeated efforts were largely ignored. This lack of responsiveness on the part of English-speaking Canada eventually prompted French-speaking Quebecers to make public demands for change. By the early 1960s concerted political, social and even militant actions had begun in an effort to bring about change. For example, demonstrations were held against public institutions that would not or could not communicate with French-speaking Quebecers in French. The social unrest brought about during this period has come to be called the Quiet Revolution.

While the French community in Quebec was pressing forward with its efforts to gain linguistic and cultural parity with English Canada, concern was growing among some of the English-speaking Que-

bec minority. The Quiet Revolution had succeeded in making French an increasingly important language of communication in most circles of life in Quebec. No longer did English assure social and economic success in the province. Signs were beginning to show that English was losing its stronghold as the main working language in Quebec and the linguistic barriers that separated English and French Canadians had become a source of growing discontent among many Anglophone Quebecers. In 1963 one such group of concerned English-speaking parents began to meet informally in the small suburban community of St. Lambert, outside of Montreal, to discuss the situation.

The Canadian novelist High MacLennan (1945) characterized the coexistence of French and English Canadians as two solitudes, and the parents of St. Lambert had come to feel that their lack of competence in French contributed and was attributable in part to the solitudes which effectively prevented them from learning French from their French-speaking neighbours. They also thought that their children were graduating at a disadvantage from English-speaking schools in Francophone Quebec. Their inability to communicate in French was, in their minds, also attributable to inadequate methods of SL instruction in the English schools. At that time, French was generally taught for 20 to 30 minutes each day by non-native French teachers with proficiency in French as a Second Language that varied from excellent to poor. Vocabulary and grammar rules were emphasized and pattern practice drills were done extensively based on the then popular audio lingual approach. In Quebec, SL instruction began in primary school and continued until the end of secondary school for a total of 12 years. Despite the rather impressive number of years of French study, however, students graduating from the public schools were unable to communicate effectively in a variety of real life situations.

Most of the parents who participated in these discussions were fully aware of the failures of SL instruction in Quebec, as they themselves were the products of the system. The St. Lambert Bilingual Study Group, as they called themselves, decided to seek better methods of SL instruction for their children. They sought the advice and assistance of experts in related fields. Two scholars in particular are worthy of mention, as they helped shape the future of SL education as we know it in important ways. One is Dr. Wallace Lambert of the Psychology Department of McGill University. His research included studies on social psychological and cognitive aspects of bilingualism. The other is Dr. Wilder Penfield of the Montreal Neurological Institute of McGill University, who had conducted research on brain mechanisms underlying language functions.

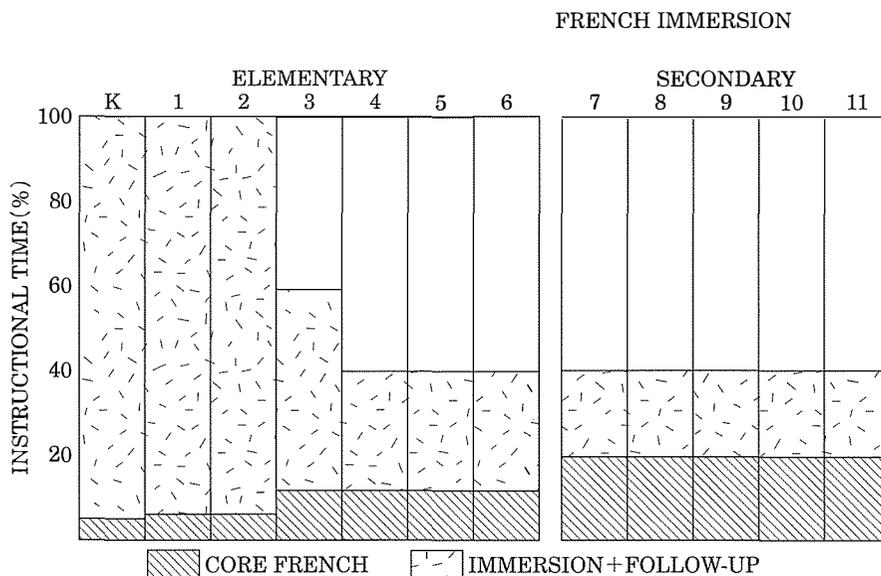
Thanks to the efforts of the St. Lambert group, the school district agreed to set up an experimental kindergarten immersion class in September, 1965. The enthusiasm shared by the parents was not necessarily shared by school officials, however. Melikoff (1972) notes in her description of events leading up to 1965 that school officials did not accept the experimental class because of any conviction that it was a worthwhile educational experiment but rather because public pressure on them was too great to ignore. In her book, she says that 'At no time would the Board undertake to accept the experiment for more than a year at a time. . . ' (p. 223). Social acceptance and popularity of immersion programs spread throughout Canada as social and political events in Quebec began to be felt

throughout the country.

The educational program that the St. Lambert Bilingual Study Group successfully lobbied for was an early total immersion program. The schematic representation of the entire program below shows the instructional time spent in core French and immersion from kindergarten through Grade 11. At first, French was used as the medium of instruction from kindergarten through Grade 2. This was later altered so that only kindergarten and Grade 1 children received all of their instruction in French. When English was introduced into the curriculum, it was used to teach English language arts for approximately one hour per day. Instruction through English was gradually expanded in successive grades to include other core subjects such as social studies or mathematics. By the end of Grade 6, approximately 60% of the curriculum was taught in English, while the remaining 40% was taught in French. This basic pattern is similar to many current early immersion programs, although variations among programs exist. Follow-up to the early immersion years at the secondary school level is often provided, where a number of courses are offered in French. At this level the students are free to decide the number and type of courses they wish to take.

The goals of the St. Lambert program, which are the same for most other French immersion programs in Canada today, are four-fold:

- (1) to provide the participating students with functional competence in both written and spoken aspects of French;
- (2) to promote and maintain normal levels of English language development;
- (3) to ensure achievement in academic subjects commensurate with the students' academic ability and grade level;



Schematic Summary of an Early Total French Immersion Program

- (4) to instill in the students an understanding and appreciation of French Canadians, their language and culture, without detracting in any way from the students' identity with and appreciation for English-Canadian culture.

### **Theoretical rationale**

The St. Lambert's decision to begin the immersion experience in the early elementary grades as opposed to later grades was a calculated one based on neuropsychological, psycholinguistic and social psychological theories which prevailed at the time. These three perspectives will now be dealt with in turn.

From a neuropsychological standpoint, the work of three prominent researchers was considered. Penfield and Roberts (1959) found that brain damage suffered by infants and young children was much less likely to cause permanent language impairment than brain damage suffered by adolescents and adults. These findings concurred with the conclusion of Lenneberg (1967) that the human brain is more 'plastic' and, as a result, more capable of acquiring language before puberty. Thinking of the time even went so far as to argue that the physiological structures and cognitive processes of the brain solidify with age, making it increasingly difficult to learn new skills, including language. This argument in favor of providing second language instruction during the early elementary grades has since been challenged by a number of prominent researchers, including Genesee (1987) and Krashen (1974).

From a psycholinguistic perspective it would appear that the vast majority of children acquire basic communication skills in their first language effortlessly and naturally, that is to say, without any formal instruction, during the first six or seven years of life. Linguists such as Chomsky (1972) and psycholinguists such as McNeill (1970) have argued that children have an innate specialized language learning capacity that enables them to learn their first language seemingly effortlessly. Other researchers, including Lenneberg (1967) and Slobin (1973), have taken a broader position that people are born with general cognitive capacities which encompass first language learning. Whatever the precise explanation, both theories postulate that this capacity decreases with age, thereby making language learning, first or second, increasingly difficult. It was therefore argued that early immersion would take advantage of the child's particular neurolinguistic, psycholinguistic and cognitive capacities for language learning.

Social psychological theory also played a role in determining when immersion should begin. Younger children are generally believed to have fewer inhibitions that can interfere with language learning. Older children tend to be more self-conscious of making mistakes and are more likely to have had experiences or formed attitudes that can hinder one's ability to learn. Young children generally have positive attitudes toward SL learning in the initial stages and only later learn the negative stereotypes that may be prevalent among adults or society in general. It is presumed, therefore, that young Anglophone Canadian children would be more accepting of other languages and language groups in general and, thus, more open to learning French in particular. As one of the long-term goals of the

St. Lambert Study Group was to stimulate cross-cultural communication with French Canadians through improved second language proficiency, this line of thinking figured prominently in the group's decision making.

Taken together, these three perspectives - neuropsychological, psycholinguistic and social psychological - pointed to the advantages of an early immersion experience, prompting the St. Lambert parents to initiate the program starting in kindergarten. The question of optimal age for SL learning, however, remains unanswered to this day.

### **Pedagogical practices and sociocultural conditions**

The Canadian early immersion model was based on a number of assumptions about language learning and incorporated certain strategies which were felt at the time to be most effective in promoting SL acquisition. The principle pedagogical practices and social conditions which constitute an integral part of the program will now be presented, followed by a brief explanation of each.

#### **PEDAGOGICAL PRACTICES**

- (1) A first language is acquired relatively subconsciously;
- (2) The earlier a language is taught the more proficient the learner will become;
- (3) The language used to communicate with the child must be comprehensible;
- (4) Language errors must be viewed as a usual and frequent part of the language learning process;
- (5) There will be a natural interlanguage among children in the early stages of immersion;
- (6) Proficiency in the first language will contribute to proficiency in the second language;
- (7) The focus of early immersion classrooms is on real, authentic communication.

First, immersion education is rooted in the idea that a child's first language is largely acquired subconsciously. Early immersion attempts to replicate this process in the formative years of schooling by focusing on content, as opposed to the form of the SL. In the early stages there are no formal SL learning classes, although errors of various types such as verb endings may be taught informally. Formal instruction in the SL may be provided on a limited basis in the latter years of elementary school to reinforce and promote communication.

Second, it is widely believed that children are better at learning second languages than adults. Chomsky (1959) refers to the immigrant child acquiring a language quickly while 'the subtleties that become second nature to the child may elude his parents despite high motivation and continued practice.' This superiority that young learners apparently have over older learners is the basis of Lenneberg's (1967) 'critical period hypothesis' which maintains that human beings are only capable of learning their first language between the age of two and the early teens. A variety of explanations have been put forward for the apparent decline in the older learner's ability to learn a SL, some of which have already been mentioned. The thinking goes that teachers should take advantage of this

apparent ease of learning by teaching the child a SL as early as possible.

In the initial stages of early immersion classrooms the main focus is on listening and speaking skills. The Canadian Education Association (1992) states: 'Oral skills are given more importance in kindergarten to Grade 3; reading and writing skills, even though started as early as Grade 1, are stressed in Grades 4 to 6.' In the early stages students are not forced to speak the target language on the assumption that early insistence that the immersion language be spoken may inhibit children and foster negative attitudes toward that language and to education in general. Over the first two years, immersion children develop an understanding of the immersion language and naturally begin to speak that language willingly, particularly to the teacher.

Third, in the first stages of early immersion it is imperative that the teacher be comprehensible to the child. The teacher must be acutely aware of the child's level of grammar and vocabulary, and speak the immersion language at a level which the child can understand. The language used to communicate with the child in the early stages is referred to as *caretaker speech*. For the first year or two the teacher will deliberately limit the vocabulary the students are exposed to and maintain strict control of grammar and syntax. The teacher will tend to be quite repetitive, both in terms of words used and in ideas presented, and the same idea will be presented in several different ways. The teacher will also question the child constantly to ensure that the child understands what has been said. At the same time, students will be encouraged to question the teacher for clarification and simplification when a possible misunderstanding has occurred. Moreover, the teacher will deliberately speak slowly, just as a mother would to her young child (*motherese*) or a person would so a foreigner can understand (*foreigner talk*). In some cases a teacher may introduce new words and new concepts before a lesson is presented.

Such teaching strategies thus cover two different areas: the importance of comprehensible input and the importance of negotiating meaning. In order to advance the child's linguistic competence in the immersion language and, ultimately, for native-speaker competence to be achieved, however, the meaning of 'negotiated meaning' needs to be extended beyond simply conveying the message. Negotiating meaning needs to incorporate the notion of being pushed towards the delivery of a message that is not only conveyed, but that it is conveyed precisely, coherently and appropriately. The immersion teacher will use language that is slightly ahead of the learner's current level of mastery of the language. Therefore, constantly presenting students with increasingly challenging and advancing learning situations is important in classroom achievement.

Fourth, in the early immersion classroom errors are not seen as a symptom of failure, but rather as a natural and necessary part of learning. Errors are not permanent. They will disappear with time and practice. Just as parents are more likely to correct factual errors their children make and disregard their HL errors, the immersion teacher will avoid constant correction of errors. Met and Lorenz (1997) concluded that constant correction of errors disrupts communication and content learning in the classroom. Constant error correction may be self-defeating and may even deter SL acquisition. The strategy applied in the immersion classroom is to take appropriate and positive

steps to correct errors only when a child or several children constantly make the same errors.

Fifth, in the early stages of immersion, interlanguage<sup>2)</sup> will occur naturally among children and is not to be regarded as error. In fact, interlanguage is the product of the linguistic creativity of the students who are using their latent understanding of their first language to produce meaningful communication in the immersion language. It is seen as a natural stage between monolingualism and SL proficiency and not a permanent linguistic fixture. Once students are able to communicate their intended meaning to teachers and peers, there may be a lack of motivation for achieving native-like accuracy. At later stages, teachers may shift some of the focus away from content and more on error correction and form, encouraging students to be more analytical of the accuracy of their speech.

Sixth, proficiency in the first language will contribute to proficiency in the second language. The assumption here is that there is an underlying proficiency that is common to both languages. Take, for example, reading. Once reading, as both a skill and a knowledge source, has been learned, then it is a relatively simple task to transfer the skill and knowledge to a SL context. In other words, the child does not have to relearn to read the immersion language. The child makes use of already learned skills and knowledge in learning to read the SL. Similarly, once the child has learned how to use language as a tool for conceptualizing, drawing abstract relations or expressing complex relationships in one language, then those processes, or language functions, are applicable to any language concept. In other words, the time spent learning in one language is beneficial to both languages with respect to developing those language-related skills associated with cognitive functioning and literacy-related activities. The immersion teacher will try to make effective use of the child's HL rather than to treat it as a source of linguistic interference.

Seventh, the focus of early immersion classrooms is on real, authentic communication. A communicative approach emphasizes authentic communication where the children learn to use language to interpret, express and negotiate meaning. Therefore, integrating the SL and content provides a purpose for using the SL, reflecting real curriculum needs and purposeful learning for success in the program. Constructivist theory also supports the notion that learning best occurs in a holistic sense with the parts making a unified whole in a meaningful way. In content based SL instruction, meaning and understanding is the focus and SL learning is a valuable, and desirable, by-product.

## SOCIOCULTURAL CONDITIONS

- (1) The students speak the majority group language;
- (2) The teachers as well as educational and administrative personnel value and support the students' HL and culture;
- (3) The children similarly value their HL and culture and do not wish to replace either with the SL or culture;
- (4) The students and school personnel regard the SL as a positive addition to the students' development;
- (5) The students' parents wish to maintain the HL and culture, but also value their children's

acquisition of the SL.

As previously mentioned, immersion programs are a form of bilingual education designed for majority language children. In contrast to many minority language speakers, where linguistic and/or cultural assimilation is often necessitated by political and economic forces, immersion participants are likely to enroll in the program by choice. Furthermore, because of the dominant status of their language in society, the HL of the participants continues to develop and be maintained even while a SL is being learned. In other words, a SL is learned at no expense to the HL. Lambert (1971) has referred to this situation as *additive bilingualism*. In an additive bilingual environment the second language is not intended to replace the HL. This is in sharp contrast to the situation of *subtractive bilingualism* often faced by minority speakers where the language of instruction is likely to replace the children's HL because of the weaker role their HL plays in the broader societal context. The main sociocultural conditions embraced in immersion all support the notion of additive bilingualism.

## **Conclusion**

Bilingual education has likely been practiced for as long as formal education itself, and for many of the same reasons it is practiced today. In many cases it meant that students were educated through the medium of a second language and happened to become bilingual as a result. In contrast, however, the Canadian immersion programs developed in the mid-1960s were developed with second language proficiency as one of their primary goals, in response to particular sociolinguistic and political events in the province of Quebec and Canada. At the time of their development, the Canadian immersion programs were considered to be a groundbreaking pedagogical innovation. They were designed to incorporate what were thought to be the necessary conditions for first language acquisition, namely, communicative use of the target language in meaningful, interactive situations. The first immersion program to be implemented was an early total immersion program, as it was felt that early immersion in French was desirable for neuropsychological, psycholinguistic and social-psychological reasons. A number of pedagogical practices reflecting the theoretical rationale were incorporated into the program. Certain sociocultural conditions conducive to an additive bilingual environment were also believed to be crucial to the success of the program.

- 1) Sumerian is the oldest written language in existence. First attested about 3100 B.C. in southern Mesopotamia, it flourished during the third millennium B.C. It was replaced around 2000 B.C. as a spoken language, but it continued in written usage to around the birth of Christianity.
- 2) Interlanguage is the type of language produced by second and foreign language learners who are in the process of learning a language. Since the language which the learner produces differs from the HL and the SL, it is sometimes called an interlanguage, or it is said to result from the learner's interlanguage system or approximated system.

## List of References

- Canadian Education Association. (1972). *French Immersion Today*. Toronto: Canadian Education Association.
- Chomsky, N. (1972). *Language and Mind*. New York: Harcourt & Brace.
- Cummins, J. & Swain, M. (1986). *Bilingualism in Education*. New York: Longman.
- Edwards, J. (1994). *Multilingualism*. London: Routledge.
- Gendron, J. D. (1972). *Commission of Inquiry on the Position of the French Language and on Language Rights in Quebec: Language of Work*. Quebec: L'editeur officiel du Quebec.
- Genesee, F. (1987). *Learning Through Two Languages*. Boston, MA: Heinle & Heinle.
- Genesee, F. (1987). Neuropsychological perspectives. In L. Beebe (ed.), *Issues on Second Language Acquisition*. Cambridge, MA: Newbury House, 81-107.
- Krashen, S. (1974). The critical period for language acquisition and its possible bases. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 263: 211-224.
- Lambert, W. E. & Tucker, G. R. (1972). *Bilingual Education of Children: The St. Lambert Experiment*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Lenneberg, E. (1967). *Biological Foundations of Language*. New York: John Wiley.
- Lewis, G. (1977). Bilingualism and bilingual education: the ancient world to the Renaissance. In B. Spolsky & R. Cooper (eds.), *Frontiers of Bilingual Education*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- MacLennan, H. (1945). *Two Solitudes*. Toronto: Duell, Sloan & Pearce.
- McNeill, D. (1970). *The Acquisition of Language: The Study of Developmental Psycholinguistics*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Melikoff, O. (1972). Parents as change agents in education. The St. Lambert experiment. In W. E. Lambert & G. R. Tucker (eds.), *Bilingual Education of Children: The St. Lambert Experiment*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 219-236.
- Met, M. & Lorenz, E. B. (1997). Lessons from immersion programs: Two decades of experience. In R. K. Johnson & M. Swain (1997). *Immersion Education: International perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 243-264.
- Penfield, W., & Roberts, L. (1959). *Speech and Brain Mechanisms*. New York: Atheneum.
- Richards, J., Platt, J. & Platt, H. (1992). *Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics*. Essex: Longman.
- Slobin, D. I. (1973). Cognitive prerequisites for the development of grammar. In C.A. Ferguson & D. I. Slobin (eds.), *Studies of Child Language Development*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 175-280.