

## EMOTION IN BILINGUALISM

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People think of language as the vehicle of thought, as the medium of teaching, and as literature. But from childhood language is also bound up with and reflects our emotions and values in many ways.

First, we all have beliefs and feelings about many languages, whether it's a language we speak or not. The language we have feelings about may be our own, the one we learned first; it may be a second language; or we may have feelings about a language we have never even heard. Often these are just feelings. I shall call this the *attitude* issue.

But in some people the feelings lie behind action. In some cases these reactions are actively mobilized into maintenance of our mother tongue; in some cases feelings are mobilized into expanding the use of the language, into teaching, into spreading through films, newspapers, libraries; in some cases feelings against a language are behind trying to conquer it or trying to wipe out its use. I shall call this the *mobilization* issue.

Our feelings about a language and its speakers affect our desire to learn a language. If we already speak more than one language, we have the option to prefer to speak one over the other. Thus the choice of friends and settings, and the regular use of one language or the other whenever we have an option can depend on our feelings. I shall call this the *motive* issue.

I am sure you have noticed that when two bilinguals speak together, they can alternate languages. When a bilingual chooses to speak a language at a given moment, sometimes it is because the ideas are easier to express. Sometimes it is because there are emotions and attitudes which more appropriate to that language. This is what happens in code shifting, when you hear speakers moving back and forth in the same conversation between Spanish and English. This is a *symbolism* or *meaning* issue.

Our use of a language brings with it emotions related to the people we speak it with and the values they have. We may find that when we have to switch the language, we have different emotions in each language. Some bilinguals feel they even have two personalities, two selves. This is an *personal identity* issue. So today I will discuss these five issues in more detail: attitudes, mobilization, motives, symbolism and meaning, and personal identity, as they relate to bilingualism.

## ATTITUDES TO LANGUAGE

Languages are not emotionally neutral objects, because they are spoken by people about whom we all have beliefs and feelings. Many prejudices are hidden from others, and hidden even from ourselves. We may not want to recognize that we have biases and stereotypes about other people.

Wallace Lambert (Lambert 1972) has developed an ingenious way to find out about unconscious attitudes towards languages. This method is called the Matched Guise method. He gets some bilingual speakers to read materials in the two language. In some versions speakers can turn an accent on and off. He plays these on a tape recording, and of course listeners don't notice that they have heard the same person twice. He asks the listeners to tell whether the speakers are tall,

short, friendly, cold, intelligent, ambitious, lazy and so on. We are all familiar with being able to make such guesses about people when we talk with strangers on the telephone. It is funny, isn't it, that the same person is judged differently depending on the language or accent.

This has been an extraordinarily fruitful method. There have been many studies using this method, on both status and group differences. Upper class speakers in Canada and the United States were judged more favorably than lower class speakers, even by lower-class speakers. People like speech they can't copy.

But you know that your own feelings about Spanish and English depend on where you are, what the language is used for. Some languages are associated with work, some with family. Spanish speakers in the United States in some studies judge voices as trustworthy, likeable, good in Spanish (Carranza and Ryan, 1975). They seem to associate Spanish with personal feelings. Anglophone Canadians judged a middle class French Canadian speaker more favorably in a social than a job context.

These attitudes are very sensitive to social change. For instance, thirty years ago Lambert found the French speakers in Montreal agreed that English speakers were better looking, more intelligent, more ambitious, more dependable than francophones, when they just heard the same voice disguised. They even thought the anglophones were more sociable and more likeable, though not so kind! Of course, they did not say this on the usual attitude questionnaire. They would have been very embarrassed to have such views of their own group. But now this is not true any more. The political changes in Quebec have raised the status of French and changed feelings about it, even for francophones. This tells us also that francophones feel better about speaking French. If a speaker has a strong French accent in English, French-Canadian listeners say he would be a better and more loyal leader (Gatbonton-Segalowitz 1975). But, alas, French-Canadians still feel European French is better. That is the model for educated Canadian francophones.

Now you might think that these attitudes aren't important. After all, we say that "Sticks and stones can break my bones, but words can never hurt me." But it turns out that teacher's attitudes affect how they teach. Speech style can be more important than appearance or quality of work in teachers' judgment about children's capacities (Seligman, Tucker, and Lambert, 1972). And we know that teacher's judgments about capacities can have profound effects on educational outcomes.

### LANGUAGE MOBILIZATION

Attitudes about language can be a political issue. Not all groups who are in conflict with other groups mobilize around language. It's not clear why this is so. Perhaps it has to do with political history. In the case of various immigrant communities in the United States, those who fought hardest to maintain their language here were those that did so in the old country too. It may have to do also with the importance of the literature and philosophical tradition to the educational leaders. All we can say for sure is that some people care very strongly about the language they speak; for others, group identity is in some other part of their culture. It is not identified with language, for some highly loyal groups who think a lot about their group identity. So it is a question why some groups make language their group identity symbol.

Recently California passed a proposition declaring English the official language of the state and asserting that only English could be used in official settings. This is not the first time there has been an extreme reaction against foreign languages in the United States. In fact, we have a rather fanatic record in this respect. Quebec, feeling under extreme pressure from English, has passed legislation which even more radically affected schools, shop signs, and languages used at work. The talk surrounding such legislation makes it very clear that there is a lot of passion about language.

In California the people who are afraid are often monolingual themselves and they seem to feel that bilingualism is a kind of dangerous infection. In Fillmore, California, the schools have a mixed Spanish-English bilingual program for both Spanish-speaking and Anglo youngsters. It is a common finding in many research studies that in fully bilingual programs, children from non-English-speaking homes do better in English. In Fillmore, the psychologists found that the anglophones in bilingual programs also did better on standardized tests than the anglophone children in the monolingual classes. The English fanatics said that the researchers lied. That is an example of strong emotion about language. In this case, emotion prevented people from believing the evidence.

Such feelings about language are usually an expression of specific feelings and beliefs about *speakers* of a language. In this case, the fanatics may fear the contact of their children with the children of migrant workers. Attitude studies can capture conscious emotions about such political decisions. These are opinions people admit to. They are congruent with their public political posture.

But the political milieu distorts the relation between conscious and unconscious feelings. In the middle East, Jews are conscious of their hostility to Arabs, but do not want to admit their prejudices towards the disadvantaged oriental Jews in Israel. As a result, in opinion tests, where people display their conscious feelings, Jews show they are very negative about Palestinian Arabs. But when they judge Palestinian voices, they are not so negative. On the other hand, they believe Yemenite Jews are their brothers, their countrymen, so they give conscious opinions that are favorable. Their prejudices, their feelings the Yemenites are not honest, intelligent, reliable, or clean only become evident in the disguised form of reactions to their accent.

Political mobilization, the demands of patriotism and regional conflict, can lead people to conceal their real feelings even from themselves. If we really want to understand the forces leading to language change, we need to know both about conscious opinions and unconscious prejudices.

### MOTIVES TO LEARN AND USE LANGUAGE

The matched guise test tells us that people feel differently about languages. Why do people learn a language? Why do they speak it? Why do they speak it with or without an accent? Some people learn very well simply because they have to. Their job requires a language. In China, students in English classes practice eagerly on every tourist. There are shopkeepers in Istanbul who pride themselves on guessing the language of customers by looking at their shoes. They speak enough to be able to shift. We might say this skill is part of their professional pride as shopkeepers.

Others learn a language because they want to be part of another world. Sometimes this is because they need distance from their own. Sometimes this is

because they want to expand their lives. But whether this works depends on their feelings about the language community. That is, one of the strongest motives to learn a language can be that you want to talk to people in a community, or that you want to be like them.

Often this is an imaginary community. It is the world of the textbooks, the songs, the movies. In Montreal, anglophones thirty years ago learned French to be like people in France, not their Canadian neighbors. The anglophone Canadians who did not have that fantasy, and who did not want to talk to their francophone neighbors either, learned very little French in their French classes. In California, many students dream of going to Spain or to Mexico City, not to the barrios or to the towns where migrant workers live. What is the fantasy community for Puerto Ricans who speak English?

The issue is only in part getting started in the first place. The desire, the emotion, the attraction to the new and different keep the learner going, makes the learner practice, gives the learner pleasure in hearing the voice of the foreigner in herself or himself. The desire and emotion keep the learner reading, talking, listening. It is hard to keep from learning a language if one listens to it enough. So the major effect of motivation is to make sure the speaker gets enough exposure to the language to learn it or to maintain it.

I have done a study of Japanese women who married Americans and came to the United States. These women are inevitably exposed to English. The strongest predictor of their fluency in English was the length of time in the United States and the age of their children. There is of course an aptitude factor. Women who have a talent for language, who are fluent in their mother tongue, were more fluent in English too (Ervin-Tripp 1973). Sociability plays a role. Lily Wong Fillmore has found that very sociable immigrant children become fluent faster than shy ones.

But their feelings also had an impact. In my study, those whose attitudes towards accented English were most negative had the best English intonation themselves. Their attitudes towards being Americanized also affected their learning of English. The more conservative Japanese women spent less time seeking out friendships with Americans, listening to them, talking with them, imitating them, reading American books, going to American films. I found that the women who judged themselves to be the most conservative and who still preferred to live in Japan had the lowest fluency in English.

We should not think that the motives to learn, use or to maintain language will be the same for everyone. Sometimes people with high status in their own community have different motives than low status people. If women have low status in a community they may be more ready to learn. When they have a chance, women often learn a new language or higher status dialect faster than men. They have more to gain. This has been found to be true of Hungarian speakers in rural Austria. The women learn German faster than the men. (Gal 1979) It has been found to be true of Mexican-American college students in the mainland of the United States. The women college students prefer English more than the men (Sole 1978).

Accent may reflect some kind of aptitude. But it also is a means of indicating one's group membership. It can be used somewhat deliberately. I noticed this in my research on French speakers in the fifties, when I heard on my tapes that there was the most extreme French accent after thirty years in the United States

in a woman who was a disk jockey for an Air France program. In this case accent maintenance, whether deliberate or not, was useful.

On the other side, the fear that one will lose one's identity as a mother tongue speaker can motivate keeping an accent. Labov was one of the first to notice this. He studied Martha's Vineyard, an island in New England, and found that teenagers who planned to stay had a different accent than teenagers who planned to leave the island. The islanders' loyalty to their accent, reflected their identification with other speakers with that accent (Labov, 1972). For this reason, in some situations, it can be a sensitive index of group loyalty.

### MEANING

When the learner knows two languages, the learner becomes bilingual. Yes, a bilingual is not necessarily someone who grows up with two languages. You are bilingual if you can speak comfortably in two languages. When two bilinguals talk together, they may switch between languages because no two languages are identical in meaning.

Of course, there are situational contexts that dictate choice. Those who spoke Spanish at this conference had to. That is, as speakers from Puerto Rico they were obliged by the situation to speak Spanish. Yet, speaking to me, they sometimes have spoken English. If I reply in Spanish, occasionally, it is a choice I make. What I am saying is that in public situations we make our choices often because of the formal structure of the situation. This is a meeting about bilingualism. It is organized also to symbolize bilingualism because half of the speeches are in English and half in Spanish. But within these organized schemes, we have some options.

In the same way, your courts, your schools, your churches pre-establish the use of Spanish in certain contexts. This is called situational switching. In others, there is personal choice. What happens then is that bilinguals alternate languages according to several principles. Some switching is a kind of accommodation to the language choice of the other. I am sure you know a lot about that. Here are some of the factors in language accommodation:

- a. There is accommodation to the language of a person in power. This shows deference. For instance, Chinese students tell me they tend to speak Chinese to their parents to be deferent. Females accommodate language more than males do.
- b. There is accommodation to maximize understanding. If somebody doesn't understand English, and everyone understands Spanish, then Spanish is chosen so no one is left out.
- c. Moving towards the language of the other seems friendlier. In fact, in experiments on intergroup encounters it has been shown that when one party switches in this friendly way, the other does too (Taylor 1977). Friendliness is thus infectious.
- d. Displays of power or anger can lead to divergence.
- e. In certain roles, accommodation is expected, e.g. waiter, salesperson.

Studies of interaction in a Quebec company (Heller 1982) illustrate several of these. Talk between peers was in the language that was most inclusive for the particular group. At formal meetings French was used. However, there was a senior anglophone whose French is poor, so people accommodated to him and

spoke to him in English.

Sometimes switching just indicates who is being spoken to in a group, but it can also indicate the negotiation of social identity. In an example from Kenya, a sister came in her brother's grocery store and tried to get free food by speaking their mother tongue, but the brother retreated to his occupational identity by switching to Swahili (Scotton 1983).

Switching inside of conversations tells us a good deal about the emotional meaning of languages to bilinguals. Bilinguals may switch languages simply to indicate which is the language of use in a story, to quote. They may switch because they are talking about a policeman, or a judge, or a teacher, whose language they can predict. Or they may switch language to tell us how they feel, and to talk about what is most personal and confidential. It's a little like whispering, or lowering one's voice. Sometimes switching is a break into the dominant language at a moment of emotion. A teacher or a mother may switch language to be emphatic, to show the same message in a more emphasized way. Gumperz gives such an example of a Puerto Rican mother in New York who says "Come here. Come here. Ven aca." (Gumperz 1982)

Guadalupe Valdes gives examples both of aggravating requests and mitigating them by language switches.

J. Pos no se. El ya se lo dijo y yo no...

M. Well..L.kind of wish. No cres que si tu le dices otra vez y le explicas..

Valdes argues that the segment in English provides much greater softening than it would have offered in Spanish (Valdes, 1981).

But some meanings are special to that language. Friends may switch language to show whatever that language means to them. Sometimes the language of the mother means affection. Sometimes the language of school means strength, knowledge, formality. In studies of values associated with Spanish and English for Chicanos, it turned out Spanish implied religion and home, English work and school. If two students talk about their classwork, they might discuss their readings in English which was the language of their physics book, but they might gossip about the professor in Spanish, to agree on their feelings.

Some of this switching is used politically in the United States (Amastae and Elias-Olivares 1982). Even for speakers who don't speak Spanish well, the use of Spanish has the implication of solidarity with the Hispanic community. Sometimes speakers in the United States use Spanish words as identity markers in otherwise English conversations. Sometimes the only marker is the way they pronounce Spanish placenames in the United States like Texas or Los Angeles. In the extreme, speakers who wish to be identified as militant will not speak English at all, even to anglophone monolinguals. They wish to be seen as if they were Spanish monolinguals, or as powerful and not accommodating.

We can even stimulate this kind of switching in experiments. In Belgium there is a very high pitch of tension between Dutch or Flemish speakers, and French speakers. The history of this dispute includes the fact that French is a world language with a lot of snobbery in its speakers, and that the French were commercially and politically dominant for a long time. Now the Dutch/Flemish demographic and industrial rise has altered the political balance. In experimental situations conducted in English, (a neutral language in Belgium) many Flemish speakers switched to Flemish when they got into political disagreements with

francophones. They used their in-group language to make themselves more *different* from the other speaker (Bourhis, Giles, Leyens and Tajfel, 1979). This is called divergence. In Wales, Welsh speakers when they argued with anglophones increased their Welsh accents! (Bourhis and Giles, 1977)

Language choice and even accent can be chosen on the basis of immediate convergence or divergence from a conversational partner. However, in a more global way it may be a subtle indicator of connotations of social meaning, of formality and informality, closeness and distance, work and play, books or personal link, emotion and reason. Whatever the contrast is can be quite subtle, can develop within a group or even in a family. But choice carries meaning. Bilinguals have a dimension of rhetorical choice for conveying subtle meaning contrasts that monolinguals lack.

### PERSONAL IDENTITY

When we are in situations demanding a change in language, we may have a strong sense of a shift in values and feelings. Some bilinguals even report they have two personalities. Where do these contrasts come from? There are several sources. One is *age*. A language that is learned in infancy has special meanings that are emotional and intimate. The meanings of language are close to the body because body processes loom large in the life of the child. The secondary symbolisms which carry these meanings later, to machinery, food, clothing, and animals can be far more affectively laden in the mother tongue. The smells and touch of the mother, the powerful affection and fear that small children experience can be associated with the language of the family. Small wonder that people say the language of childhood is more emotional.

The moral rigidity of middle childhood can affect the emotions around language. Obscenities are more obscene in the mother tongue. When asked to make judgments of meaning they give more extreme judgments to the language of childhood since it is laden with the power of the child.

A second source is the power of personal involvement. Two languages are rarely direct translations of each other. In part this is because of the differences in personal experience that each bilingual has in the two languages. It can happen that one language is the bearer of stronger sense of emotional association than the other. This is not inevitably the childhood language. We have found, for example, that raising children in a second language can result in developing strong emotional meanings for that language. Sometimes these are differences such that in one there was a sense of weakness, of poor self-esteem, in the other an experience of power. Sometimes the differences are due to one being connected with dramatic experiences. In the extreme, this can lead to traumatic language loss.

One of my students had such a history. As a boy, he had been a troublemaker. When he was about 13, he lost an arm in a street fight. Along with it, he completely lost the language of the street, which was Spanish. When I met him as a college student he had reformed. He had become an acolyte in the church, and a good student. He decided to relearn Spanish so he could speak with his grandmother, and recover his sense of family ties.

But if languages are connected with the personal, individual history of use, they are also connected with more general cultural differences. When you speak Spanish, you are not drawing on the same memories or the same set of values as when you speak English. How do I know this? Well, I have studied this process in

numerous ways.

First, how you talk about your experience may be different in your two languages. Names are not the same, categories may differ, boundaries of categories may differ. Emotion words are a good example. In one study of emotion words, people were asked which words were closest to other words. That is, they were asked to develop a scheme for similarity between emotions. For instance, does grief seem closest to you to anger or to pity? You can get different answers from people in different languages. So when you change language, you find some links in poetry don't work which assume a sharing of such meanings. In my study of Japanese women, emotion words had the most markedly different associations, in fact they were virtually impossible to translate.

I know that what you *recall* may be different in the two languages, and this affects your judgment and feeling. Psychotherapists know this very well, and find that the shift of language with bilinguals will bring up different memories and associations. This is particularly the case when one language is weaker than the other. Experiences from the other language may not be recovered when one uses the weaker language.

I did such an experiment once with Italian-English bilinguals in Boston. We found in that study that use of the weaker language has a tendency towards recall of experiences first codified in that language, and experiences appropriate to that culture. The use of the stronger language is not so biasing, provided it was learned before the weaker one. (Ervin-Tripp, 1973)

If you speak Spanish, you have the different Latino cultural tradition to draw on. In both education and literature, in styles of relationship, in feelings about family and religion, there are contrasts.

I have studied the contrast in personality in bilinguals' two languages. To do this, I have used typical measures of personality--word associations, completing sentences, telling stories about ambiguous scenes. Let me give you some examples.

In one study, I asked Japanese students to tell stories about ambiguous pictures. Each student told stories at one session in Japanese and in the other in English. The examples I will tell you about are all case where the *same* person told the two versions.

Here are some contrasts:

(A woman is leaning against a couch): [Japanese] A woman was weeping over her lost fiance, and was thinking of suicide.

[English] A girl tries to complete a sewing project for class.

(A boy lying down with someone bending over him): [Japanese] A son comes home ill and dies before his mother, who goes mad with grief.

[English] A young man got lost on the highway, and was invited in by a hypnotist, who then robbed him.

In general, there was more emotion in the Japanese stories, and there were more stories about the family and close personal ties.

Another major difference, tied to Japanese culture, is the major role that obligations play in the stories in Japanese but not in English. Obligations are a big thing for Japanese. I found that getting a good education is absolutely primary for all families, even if it means getting into heavy debt.



(A woman standing in front of a field, with a farmer ploughing): [Japanese] A student is in conflict about being sent to college because her mother is sick and her father has to work very hard to support the student. The father prays for the student's success.

[English] A sociology student observes farmers at work and is struck with the difficulties of farm life.

We also asked students to complete sentences. There are some amusing contrasts in these sentence completions.

[Japanese] IF THE WORK IS TOO HARD he says "well, this is merely..." and as if whipping himself, he works all the harder.

[English] IF THE WORK IS TOO HARD for me, I'll just quit

[Japanese] I LIKE TO read about sociology.

[English] I LIKE TO read comics once in a while because they sort of relax my mind.

Please guess which of the following was in English and which in Japanese:

Language 1: MY GREATEST PLEASURE IS to be able to lie on the warm sands of the beach out west.

Language 2: MY GREATEST PLEASURE IS to graduate from graduate school.

Now notice that the contrast here is not of *topic*. After all, the graduate school sociology program for this student was conducted in English. Rather, the contrast is between the work- and achievement-oriented point of view he learned from his parents along with the Japanese language, and the relaxed, laid-back point of view of Anglos in California. It is no accident that the percentage of Asians in California universities is rising steadily and the percentage of Anglos is diminishing!

The point here is that the switch in language draws with it the cultural baggage associated with that language. In the case of this Japanese study, the contrasts were so great that the students appeared to have two entirely different personalities.

I have since done other studies with French and Japanese bilinguals. In the French study, I was able to partially predict the themes which would be more common in each language. For instance, there was more verbal aggression in the French stories, more disputes, and more physical violence in the English stories. That corresponds to the verbal focus of French child-rearing, and on the avoidance of physical fighting. In contrast, American culture is full of physical violence, and boys are expected to be able to fight.

I noticed that women who had raised children in their second language, English, had themes which were more emotional in English than the stories of the people who had no children. So it appears that in a way they are re-trained in using their second language with children. In the Japanese study, it was also the women who were most concerned with their children who had the least Japanese accent. Perhaps their children taught them both American sounds and American values.

When I did the second Japanese study which was on so-called war brides, or Japanese women who married Americans, I also had some monolinguals to compare with the bilinguals. The most simple idea about bilinguals is that they are

like two monolinguals in one body. A multilingual is a miniature United Nations. But it is not so simple. There are two reasons. One is that people don't have complete segregation between the two parts of their lives. Many Japanese women in the United States have Japanese speaking friends and talk with them about their lives here.

The second reason is that there are particular relations each woman has to the two cultures. They are not ,ul typical of either. Some women were very conservative about Japanese culture, and they were this way in both Japanese and English contexts. Some women were very "modern" and wanted to drop all the Japanese traditions.

The women showed sharply different associations to words in the two languages. You could probably find Spanish and English words which evoke different contexts. In Japanese there were big differences for words like tea and mushrooms, which have quite different contexts in the two cultures. Here are some examples:

MOON: (J) moon-viewing, zebra-grass, full moon, cloud  
(E): sky, rocket, cloud

NEW YEAR'S DAY: (J) pine decoration, rice-cake, feast, kimono, seven-spring-herbs, shuttlecock, tangerine, foot-warmer, friends  
(E) new clothes, party, holidays

TEA: (J) bowl, saucer, green, tea-cake, tea-ceremony  
(E) teapot, kettle, tealeaf, party, green tea, lemon, sugar, cookies

In completing sentences too, the Japanese became more American in English. When I asked them to finish stories, they told typically American stories in both languages, but only told Japanese story endings when speaking Japanese. This shift could not be simulated by women asked to give typically Japanese or typically American stories. Thus in English, they felt like typical Americans, but in Japanese, they were aware of both possibilities.

The Japanese women differed in the most complex measure, telling stories about pictures, or finishing stories. The most conservative women told stories in both language like the women in Japan. They are the least changed by living in the United States.

Other women told typically American stories in both languages. These women read American magazines, and reported that their husbands were uninterested in Japan and encouraged her to become Americanized. Their Japanese families encouraged their marriage so they feel their Americanization is acceptable. They have many close American friends. importance of American friendships. These strong friendships have the effect of loosening the women's ties with Japan, even their recall of typically Japanese values and themes. Like raising children, identifying with close friends seems to re-socialize these adults, to the point even of re-aligning their responses in Japanese. Of course the domains in which these changes occur are those most likely to be salient in adult life.

But the women without close American friends were split. They were the most like the model of the double personality, in that they had learned American feelings in English, but they still kept their Japanese selves intact.

What happened to the model of the bilingual who carries two monolinguals in one body, in one mind? There is one limit that we have found that there is always some contact within the same nervous system. Semantic and grammatical

systems tend to merge. What seems to happen is that new norms develop for speakers who use either of their languages primarily with other bilinguals. Bilinguals have experiences which make them different from both monolingual groups. Some parts of their lives are particularly associated with each milieu. When we asked them in English to talk about Japanese themes-like mushrooms, fish, and New Year's Day, they gave more typically Japanese responses even in English. When we asked them to talk about love, marriage, and kitchens their responses, even in Japanese, were more like those of Americans. This was a part of their lives most connected with their American husband and with their adult lives here. Familiarity with these domains of life will, in Japanese, be second-hand.

These studies remind us that the learning of feelings and the development of personal meaning goes on all through life. It is stored and retrieved in part through language. A bilingual has two emotional sources, two ways to orient values. The bilingual's two languages help bilinguals to integrate the separate personal and cultural experiences.

We have seen that the emotions we have towards languages are shown in our learning of them, our desire to hear and speak them, in our political use of them, in our rhetorical strategies in communicating feelings, and in the memories and feelings we discover when we use them. In all these respects, bilingualism makes our emotional and social experience richer.

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