

Thank you for trusting me with your work. Jean-Marc Dewaele and I are also indebted to all bi- and multilinguals who contributed to our 'Bilingualism and emotions' questionnaire. Thank you for trusting us with your stories.

I am equally grateful for the unconditional support received over the years from the Multilingual Matters team, and in particular from Colin Baker and from Tommi, Mike, and Marjukka Grover, and Anna Roderick – by now all of you are more of a family than a publishing house. I am also very fortunate to have met Jenny Leeman, a linguist and a professional photographer, who knew exactly how my incoherent explanations might translate into a cover photograph that pays tribute to the first people who began the systematic examination of the relationship between bilingualism and emotions – bilingual psychoanalysts – and evokes the notions of multiple selves and the world of childhood irrevocably linked to our first learned language or languages.

For me, the world of childhood is forever linked to Russian and to the voices of my parents. This book is dedicated to the memory of my parents, Bella and Tadeush Pavlenko, who passed away in 2004, within four months of each other, bringing my life to a complete halt and creating a void that will be impossible to fill. I will miss you every day of my life, пусть земля вам будет пухом.

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Chapter 1

Bilingual Selves

ANETA PAVLENKO

Do bi- and multilinguals sometimes feel like different people when speaking different languages? Are they perceived as different people by their interlocutors? Do they behave differently? What prompts these differences? These questions often pop up in conversations about bilingualism, but are rarely raised in the literature in the field (see, however, Grosjean, 1982; Heinz, 2001). Some scholars waive them away as naive and simplistic, others point out that we also perform different identities in the same language, when changing registers, contexts, interlocutors, or interactional aims. This is a valid point, because monolingualism is indeed a dynamic phenomenon. Even within the confines of one language, we continuously acquire new linguistic repertoires and behave and feel differently when talking, let's say, to our parents versus our children. At the same time, the argument that the study of bi- and multilingual selves is not worthy of scholarly attention or that it can be easily replaced with the study of multilingual identities is misleading and reductionist for at least two reasons.

The first problem with this argument is the sleight of hand by which it equates the notion of self-perception with that of performance, and the notion of self with that of identity. This substitution reveals a deep discomfort with the focus on something as intangible as 'feeling like a different person' and a preference for 'objective' identity performance data (conversations, texts, task performance) over 'subjective' self-perception data. I intend to show, however, that introspective data have both relevance and validity and can help us identify sources of bi/multilingual experience that are not directly observable in the study of identity performance.

The second problem with the argument is the framing of bi/multilingualism as an expanded version of monolingualism, rather than a unique linguistic and psychological phenomenon. In reality, acquisition of new registers in the same language is always facilitated

by phonological, lexical, and morphosyntactic overlaps. In contrast, acquisition and use of a new language, in particular one that is typologically different from one's native language, is a much more challenging enterprise that may be further complicated by the need to negotiate new and unfamiliar surroundings. These differences are especially pronounced in late bilingualism, when speakers are socialized into their respective languages at distinct points in their lives, childhood versus adulthood, and in distinct sociocultural environments.

The goal of the present chapter is to legitimize the question about different selves, to examine whether bi- and multilinguals indeed perceive themselves as different people when using different languages, and to understand to what sources they attribute these self-perceptions. To do so, I appeal to answers from 1039 bi- and multilingual web questionnaire respondents, to reflections of bilingual writers, and to studies in psychology, psychoanalysis, linguistics, and anthropology. The triangulation of introspective data with the data from empirical and clinical studies of bilinguals' verbal and non-verbal behaviors will allow me to understand linguistic, psychological, and physiological processes that underlie the perception of different selves.

In line with the traditions of the field of bilingualism, I will use the term *bilingualism* to refer to research that examines both bi- and multilingualism. The term *bilingual* will be used to refer to speakers who use two languages in their daily lives, be it simultaneously (in language contact situations) or consecutively (in the context of transnational migration), regardless of respective levels of proficiency in the two. The term *late bilingual* will refer to individuals who learned their second language after puberty. The term *multilingual* will refer to speakers who use more than two languages in their daily lives. The term *bilingual* will, however, appear more frequently, because research to date has focused predominantly on bilinguals' selves.

Dual, Double, and Doubled Selves: Bilingualism and Schizophrenia

In bi- and multilingual communities, changes in verbal and non-verbal behavior that accompany a change in language are commonly taken for granted and do not elicit much interest. In fact, language boundaries can become quite blurred in contexts where code-switching and code-mixing prevail (cf. Auer, 1998). However, in traditionally monolingual societies, bilinguals are at times seen as people with two conflicting personalities whose shifting linguistic allegiances imply shifting political allegiances and moral commitments. Such views were particularly common in the first half of the 20th century. In the United States, during and after the First World War, language and educational

policies targeted incoming immigrants and their children, forcing them to abandon their native languages in a show of loyalty to their new country (Pavlenko, 2002). A decade later in Germany, Nazi scholars began to equate bilingualism with Jews and other ethnic minorities and argued that bilinguals experience a pathological inner split and suffer intellectual and moral deterioration in their struggle to become one (Henss, 1931). They also referred to the 'bilinguality of feelings' and the 'mercenary relativism' of bilinguals who switch principles and values as they switch languages (Sander, 1934). Later on, North American scholars concerned with immigrant bilingualism linked continuing allegiance to one's primary ethnic community to the feelings of anomie, alienation, social isolation, nervous strain, and cognitive dissonance (Bossard, 1945; Child, 1943; Spoerl, 1943).

In the second half of the 20th century, the increased transnational migration, the revival of ethnic consciousness, and progressive educational scholarship contributed to the lessening of concerns and a greater understanding of the benefits of bilingualism. Nevertheless, the view of bilingualism as a problem of two incompatible identities, referred to here as the discourse of bilingualism as linguistic schizophrenia, has not vanished. In a treatise on bilingualism, Adler (1977: 40) warned that 'bilingualism can lead to split personality and, at worst, to schizophrenia'. Clarke (1976) likened foreign students in the United States to schizophrenic patients and argued that their learning of English is hampered by a clash of consciousness between the familiar traditional worlds they come from and modernity and progress they encounter in the United States. In bilingual psychoanalysis, schizophrenia persisted as a metaphor used to discuss problems brought on by culture shock, cognitive, linguistic, and cultural dissonance, and different social roles occupied by patients in their respective linguistic communities (cf. Amati-Mehler *et al.*, 1993). From time to time, this metaphor also pops up in political discourse. For instance, David Blunkett (2002), British Home Secretary, recently remarked that the use of English – rather than the native language – in Asian British households would help 'overcome the schizophrenia which bedevils generational relationships' in immigrant families.

Interestingly, the discourse of schizophrenia is not confined to negative descriptions of bilingualism by reactionary scholars or politicians. It also appears in bilinguals' own reflections and in particular in the work of translanguaging writers, that is, writers who write in more than one language or in a second language (Kellman, 2000). These writers display a unique sensitivity to intrinsic links between languages and selves and are painfully cognizant of the fact that in different languages their voices may sound differently even when telling the 'same' stories. For instance, a childhood French-English bilingual Julian Green recalls that when he

decided to write about his early years in English, rather than French, his memoir took a whole different shape. Whereas the subject remained the same, the rhythm, the choice of words and details, the author's stance, and the pattern of disclosures and omissions varied between the two languages:

I was writing another book, a book so different in tone from the French that a whole aspect of the subject must of necessity be altered. It was as if, writing in English, I had become another person. I went on. New trains of thought were started in my mind, new associations of ideas were formed. There was so little resemblance between what I wrote in English and what I had already written in French that it might almost be doubted that the same person was the author of these two pieces of work. (Green, 1941/1993: 62)

A similar experience is recounted by Tzvetan Todorov (1985, 1994) in his essay *Bilingualism, Dialogism and Schizophrenia*. Todorov arrived in France from Bulgaria as a young man and eventually became a prominent French scholar and intellectual. Eighteen years after his departure from Bulgaria, he was invited to come back for a conference on Bulgarian studies. In translating his conference paper about nationalism from French into Bulgarian he noticed the following:

I had changed my imagined audience. And at that moment I realized that the Bulgarian intellectuals to whom my discourse was addressed could not understand the meaning I intended. The condemnation of attachment to national values changes significance according to whether you live in a small country (your own) placed within the sphere of influence of a larger one or whether you live abroad, in a different country, where you are (or think you are) sheltered from any threat by a more powerful neighbor. Paris is certainly a place that favors the euphoric renunciation of nationalist values: Sofia much less so. ... [the necessary modification] required that I change an affirmation into its direct opposite. I understood the position of the Bulgarian intellectuals, and had I been in their situation, mine probably would have been the same. (Todorov, 1994: 210)

Struck by this new awareness, Todorov no longer knew how to proceed. Should he act as if only his present opinion, informed by his French context, counted? Would that amount to a denial of his Bulgarian background? Or should he speak as a Bulgarian intellectual, although that would mean a denial of the past 18 years of his life? To theorize his experience, Todorov appealed to Bakhtin's (1981) notions of dialogism and polyphony that refer to the presence of several independent and often conflicting voices within a single text. These notions have often been used in positive descriptions of bi- and multilingualism.

Todorov challenged this unquestioning celebration of heterogeneity and drew attention to the darker side of immigrant bilingualism, which may also motivate internal conflict, mental distress and, ultimately, silence.

Todorov's (1985, 1994) essay, together with Hoffman's (1989) memoir about second language learning, *Lost in Translation*, offered a striking illustration of the drama of duality, embedded in bilingualism, and inspired scholars to examine how this experience is reflected in fiction, memoirs, and reflections of other translingual writers (Beaujour, 1989; Besemeres, 2002; De Courtivron, 2003a; Kellman, 2003a; Pavlenko, 1998, 2001, 2004a; Pérez Firmat, 2003; Stroińska, 2003; Valenta, 1991). These explorations reveal that the dominant metaphors and tropes that appear in bilinguals' reflections on language – tongue snatching, border crossing, borrowing, bigamy, betrayal, bifurcation, fragmentation, multiplicity, split, gap, alienation, dislocation, and double vision – reinscribe the feeling of duality and invoke the discourse of schizophrenia that also informs Todorov's (1985, 1994) and Hoffman's (1989) discussions of bilingualism. These metaphors convey an array of emotions: guilt over linguistic and ethnic disloyalties, insecurity over the legitimacy of a newly learned language, anxiety about the lack of wholesome oneness, angst over the inability to bring together one's incommensurable worlds, and sadness and confusion caused by seeing oneself as divided, a self-in-between, a self in need of translation. It is this painful and perhaps even violent facet of bilingualism that propelled a French-Spanish writer Claude Esteban to admit:

... having been divided between French and Spanish since early childhood, I found it difficult for many years to overcome a strange laceration, a gap not merely between two languages but also between the mental universes carried by them; I could never make them coincide within myself. (Esteban, 1980: 26; translated by Beaujour, 1989: 47)

It is important to note here that, whereas in the early 20th century the notion of inner split was used as an argument against bilingualism, Todorov and others do not argue against bilingualism per se. Rather, these writers discuss the split as a source of both anguish and creative enrichment, the latter stemming from the ever-present relativity of one's stance and perspective (cf. Hoffman, 1989). One can also legitimately ask whether the perception of a linguistic and psychological split is unique to translingual writers for whom the relationship with their multiple languages is by definition a challenge or whether individuals from other walks of life also feel that they have multiple selves?

Present Study

Research questions

The goal of the present study is to answer this question and to expand the scope of inquiry from experiences of immigrants and expatriates who learned their second language later in life (cf. Ervin-Tripp, 1954, 1964, 1967) to multilingual speakers with diverse learning trajectories, in particular those who learned two or more languages from childhood. Three questions are posited in the study: (1) do some bi- and multilinguals feel that they become different people when they change languages; (2) how do they make sense of these perceptions; and (3) what prompts some bi- and multilinguals to see their language selves as different, while others claim to have a single self. Notably, I do not aim to provide a definitive answer to the question of bi- and multilingual selves. In view of the richness and complexity of people's minds and diversity of their linguistic trajectories and experiences, a uniform answer is neither possible nor desirable. Rather, I want to understand the key influences that shape individuals' perceptions of the relationship between their languages and selves. In order to do so, I will look both at the attributed sources of self-perceptions and at discourses of bi/multilingualism and self the participants draw on in framing their answers.

Research design and participants

The data for the study were collected through a web questionnaire 'Bilingualism and emotions' created by Jean-Marc Dewaele and myself and maintained on the Birkbeck College website from 2001 to 2003 (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001–2003). The questionnaire contained 34 closed and open-ended questions and elicited the following sociobiographical information: gender, age, education level, ethnic group, occupation, languages known, dominant language(s), chronological order of language acquisition, context of acquisition, age of onset, frequency of use, and self-rated proficiency. In what follows, I analyze participants' responses to one open-ended question: 'Do you feel like a different person sometimes when you use your different languages?' Owing to limited space, I will not discuss the relationship between participants' answers and sociobiographical information, leaving this issue for future consideration.

The questionnaire was advertised through several listservs and informal contacts with colleagues around the world. It allowed us to gather an unprecedented amount of data from a large and diverse population of bi- and multilingual speakers of different ages and from a variety of linguistic backgrounds. A total of 1039 bi- and multilinguals¹ contributed to the database (731 females, 308 males). The ages of the respondents ranged between 16 and 70 years of age (mean = 35.6; SD = 11.3). The

respondents were generally well-educated: high school diploma or less, 115 (11%); Bachelor's degree, 273 (26%); Master's degree, 308 (30%); Ph.D., 338 (33%); five participants chose not to answer the question. A majority ($n = 837$; 81%) reported working in a language-related area. In terms of the number of languages spoken by each individual, the sample consists of 144 bilinguals (14%), 269 trilinguals (26%), 289 speakers of four languages (28%), and 337 speakers of five or more languages (32%), with 157 people bilingual and 19 people trilingual from birth. Seventy-five first languages (L1s) are represented in the sample, with the number of speakers of each language as the L1 as follows: English = 303; Spanish = 123; French = 101; German = 97; Dutch = 76; Italian = 52; Catalan = 32; Russian = 29; Finnish = 28; Portuguese = 20; Greek = 15; Swedish = 15; Japanese = 11; Welsh = 10; and 61 other languages with fewer than 10 speakers, among them Arabic, American Sign Language (ASL), Basque, Bengali, Bosnian, Breton, Burmese, Cantonese, Danish, Duri, Farsi, Hebrew, Hindi, Hungarian, Indonesian, Latin, Latvian, Malay, Mandarin, Navajo, Norwegian, Nugunu, Oriya, Polish, Romanian, Serbo-Croatian, Sindhi, Slovak, Slovene, Tamil, Turkish, Ukrainian, and Vietnamese. More than half of the participants declared themselves to be dominant in L1 ($n = 561$), a smaller proportion reported dominance in two or more languages including the L1 ($n = 373$), and about 10% reported dominance in a language or languages other than the L1 ($n = 105$).

Clearly, these respondents are not representative of the general bi- and multilingual population. The overwhelming majority are well-educated 'elite bilinguals', people who have time and resources to invest in searching for information about and reflecting upon issues in bilingualism. The over-representation of well-educated professionals is explained by the advertising procedure (our informal contacts were other Ph.D.s who in turn knew other language professionals; similarly, the listservs we advertised on were most likely to be read by well-educated individuals who knew how to find these resources). The dominance of female respondents is perhaps best explained by the preponderance of women in education- and language-related professions.

Such pitfalls are inevitable with a web-based questionnaire whose distribution one cannot control and they need to be kept in mind when interpreting the patterns, as results might be different for a sample of working-class males without higher education. Nevertheless, statistical analysis of responses to a printed version of the questionnaire elicited from 50 multilinguals who did not finish high school did not reveal significant differences between this group and the rest of the sample (Dewaele, 2004). Furthermore, whereas it is possible that less metalinguistically aware participants would respond differently to the open-ended questions, I view the demographics of this sample as an

advantage rather than a problem for the present inquiry. It is possible that people working in language-related professions may be more familiar with and open to the question about different selves than those working in other fields. They are also likely to have engaged in reflection on this issue at some point in their lives and to have formed an opinion. Finally, they may have more linguistic resources at their disposal to describe their perceptions and linguistic performances.

Analytical framework

Because the goal of the study is to understand participants' meaning-making systems, the study does not espouse a single theoretical perspective on bilingualism, emotions, or self. Rather, I want to explore how the respondents view these notions and what factors influence their views. Several approaches have been applied to analysis of this corpus, which consists of responses to a single question about different selves. First, I have conducted a descriptive quantitative analysis of the percentage of affirmative, negative, and ambiguous responses. Then, I examined all elaborated responses, that is, responses that went beyond a single word or a multiword phrase. Among these, I singled out responses containing attributions, that is, respondents' theories and interpretations as to why they might or might not feel like different people in their respective languages. These attributions were then sorted into thematic categories, and within each category I conducted two types of analysis. First, using a Bakhtinian approach described below, I attempted to identify discourses of bilingualism and self the participants drew on. Next, I appealed to triangulation of respondents' introspective answers with the data from empirical, clinical, and textual studies to understand the linguistic, psychological, and physiological processes that may inform bi- and multilinguals' perceptions.

To analyze the discourses of bilingualism in participants' responses, I draw on Bakhtin's (1981, 1984, 1986) view of language as dialogic, where texts and utterances invariably bear traces and echoes of other texts and utterances, and on its elaborations by Kristeva (1969, 1986), Fairclough (1995, 2003) and Scollon and associates (1998). The assumption behind this approach is that for every text or type of texts, there is a set of other texts, discourses, and voices that are potentially relevant and potentially incorporated into the text (Fairclough, 2003):

The living utterance, having taken meaning and shape at a particular historical moment in a socially specific environment, cannot fail to brush up against thousands of living dialogic threads, woven by socio-ideological consciousness around the given object of an utterance; it cannot fail to become an active participant in a social dialogue. (Bakhtin, 1981: 276)

In the true spirit of intertextuality, the definitions of analytical notions below are informed by the previous work but not constrained by it. Rather, they are adapted to the purposes of the present study. *Discourse* will refer to a particular world view, ideology, or perspective embodied in ways of talking about a particular phenomenon, in the present case the relationship between languages and selves (e.g. discourse of bilingualism as linguistic schizophrenia). *Heteroglossia* and *polyphony* refer to the presence of several distinct, and sometimes irreconcilable, discourses within a single text, signalled through lexical choices, shifts in style or register, or subordinating conjunctions. These discourses were traced through four discursive strategies, which I exemplify here in order to make clear the links made between particular wordings and strategies:

- *interdiscursivity*, that is, indirect references to particular discourses made through lexical or stylistic choices, for example, '... in a kind of linguistic schizophrenia';
- *intertextuality*, that is, the use of actual words from other sources or direct references to the sources, for example, 'As argued by Sapir and Whorf ...';
- *value assumptions*, that is, presuppositions about what is good or desirable, for example, 'that's the nice thing about it ...';
- *hidden polemic*, a particular type of interdiscursivity where the response is worded in opposition to an absent voice or discourse, for example, 'I do see changes in my personality but it is fun'.

The responses analyzed here represent Bakhtinian utterances par excellence. For Bakhtin, an utterance is always an answer, and web questionnaire responses are formal answers to specific questions, offering us easily identifiable addressees and immediately preceding texts. At the same time, the format of the web questionnaire responses, in particular their limited length and impossibility of follow-up questions, precludes any in-depth analysis of meaning-making systems of individual participants – thus the analysis below makes no claims to full understanding of the views of any single respondent. It would also be naive to posit that all of the recipients answered the same question – as will be shown below, their understandings of the question and of the required response did vary. On the other hand, the sheer number of responses and the diversity of respondents offer us a unique opportunity to create a composite picture of discourses of bilingualism and self circulating among elite bi- and multilinguals at the turn of the 21st century.

Results

Whereas other questions in the web questionnaire elicited matter-of-fact answers, the question about different selves elicited many emotional responses. The respondents signaled their approval and enthusiasm

through lexical choices (absolutely, definitely, all the time!), the use of capital letters (YES; OOOOOOOOOh yes!; ABSOLUTELY), and punctuation (yes!). Some expressed their approval explicitly ('Ah now that's a good one'; 'This is a good question'; 'Very pertinent question for me'; 'Interesting thought'). This enthusiasm suggests that the question about different selves, often eschewed by the academic establishment, is nevertheless relevant to the lives of many individuals who speak more than one language.

Altogether, 675 participants (65%) offered an affirmative response to the question, 266 (26%) a negative response, 64 (6%) an ambiguous response, and 34 (3%) did not answer the question (31 left a blank space and 3 offered an irrelevant answer). Among the *affirmative responses*, 467 (69%) were elaborated responses of varying length and 208 (31%) were minimal responses that involved either a single word (yes, often, definitely, always, constantly, certainly, absolutely, of course, sometimes) or multiword phrases (yes I do; all the time). *Negative responses* contained 229 (86%) minimal responses (no, never, not really) and only 37 (14%) elaborated responses, which suggests that respondents saw more of a need to justify and explain positive answers than the negative ones (an issue I will return to later on). Some of these responses contained answers such as 'No, but I used to in the past'. Most of the *ambiguous responses*, 59 (92%), were given in the 'No but ...' format, where a negative response was qualified in a number of ways.

What is most interesting about the responses, however, is not the numbers but the sources to which the respondents attribute their perceptions. A thematic analysis of the elaborated responses pointed to four main sources of perceptions of different selves: (1) linguistic and cultural differences; (2) distinct learning contexts; (3) different levels of language emotionality; (4) different levels of language proficiency. I will now discuss these sources and examine ways in which results of empirical studies can illuminate participants' self-perceptions.

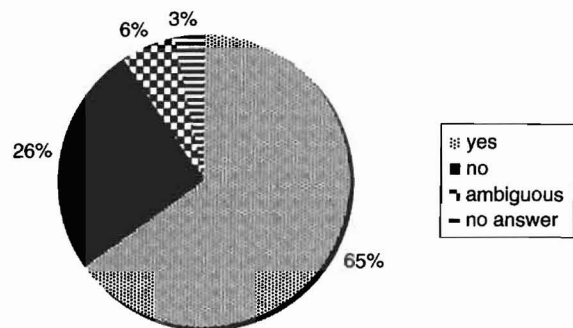


Figure 1.1 Types of responses to the web questionnaire

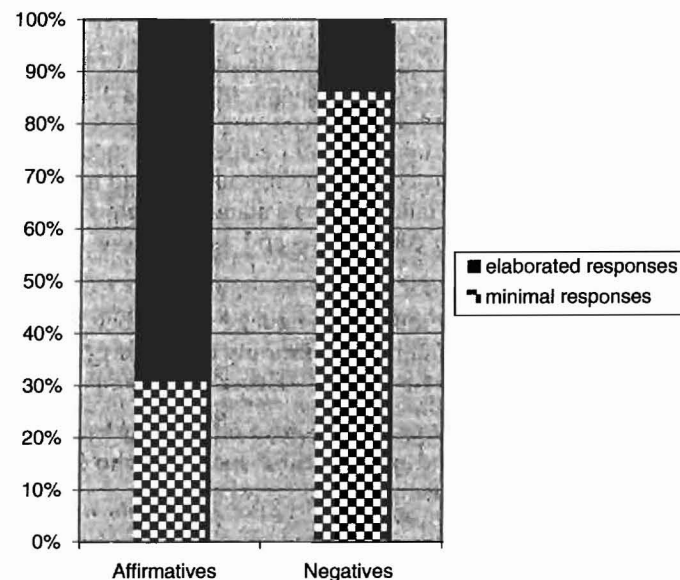


Figure 1.2 Elaborated vs. minimal responses

Linguistic and cultural differences and learning contexts

Self-perceptions

The first source of difference mentioned by the respondents are distinct verbal and non-verbal repertoires and cultural perspectives offered to them by their languages and cultures:

- (1) Definitely! Speaking another language causes me to assume certain cultural perspectives that also entail certain behaviors. Language and culture are a package and true command of a second language requires extensive cultural knowledge and practice. (Louise, 25, English-German-French-ASL-Lakota)
- (2) Yes because the use of a certain language demands that you act according to the behavioral norms of the corresponding culture. (Anastasia, 25, Greek-English-French-Italian-Chinese)
- (3) Yes; it is difficult to explain but it's like you conform yourself to the way the native speakers talk and express themselves which is not necessarily the same as yours. For example the way the Greek people speak is very lively and very expressive. If I were to speak in the same way in English (or even German & French) people would misunderstand me and misinterpret my intentions - as it has happened many times. (Anna, 24, Greek-German-English-French)

What unites these and similar answers are categorical, non-modalized assertions that proclaim language and culture to be a unified 'package' that defines 'the way the native speakers talk' and thus links language/culture and personality. In this one language-one personality discourse, a 'true' command of a second language requires conformity: non-native speakers have 'to assume certain cultural perspectives', to 'act according to the behavioral norms of the corresponding culture', and to 'conform to the way the native speakers talk'. Marina's statement below offers a succinct summary of the logical connections and assumptions made in this discourse:

- (4) Absolutely. Speaking a different language means being a different person belonging to a different community character type emotional type. (Marina, 42, Russian-English-Hebrew-Ukrainian)

Not surprisingly, such statements are most often made by immigrants, expatriates, and other bi- and multicultural speakers who learned their languages in distinct contexts:

- (5) Yes when I am using Italian especially. I am more emotional and use my hands more. My husband has also commented that I adopt the Icelandic attitudes when I am using Icelandic especially when speaking to officials. If you pick up the language from living in the country (a country) where it is spoken then you pick up the traits and habits of those people. (Wendy, 30, English-French-German-Italian-Icelandic)
- (6) Yes. I feel like I have a different personality in French. I learned most of my French on exchange and I feel like I was 'brought up' in French differently than I was 'brought up' in English. I notice that when I try to use English with my French-speaking friends in Quebec often the nature of the communication totally changes because I just don't speak the same way (i.e. as frequently) in English. (Sharlene, 27, English-French-German-Japanese-Inuktitut)
- (7) Yes. L1 is associated with all that I can't change in my life anymore for the better or for the worse: family childhood memories professional history up to a certain point etc. L2 (English) mostly and L3 (Spanish) are associated with my present and my dreamed future so they are kind of a bridge to this other person I might become. (Karen, 34, Brazilian Portuguese-English-Spanish-French-Italian)
- (8) Yes of course. I feel much more sophisticated when I speak English probably because I learnt it from sophisticated people in a private college in York some time ago. When I speak Dutch I feel like a more precise person. I learned to use it in a very precise and accurate way and for example never to mix up one word with another. (Clement, 18, French-Dutch-Italian-English)

These responses frame the perception of distinct selves through the discourse of language socialization visible in lexical and punctuation choices, such as the use of the term 'brought up' in quotation marks, which signals its status as a borrowing from another discourse, that of childhood socialization. Language socialization discourse is also visible in connections participants make between their perceived selves and the three trademarks of dual language socialization: distinct contexts ('on exchange', 'in a private college'), distinct time periods ('different periods', 'my present'), and distinct groups of people ('sophisticated people').

Both discourses, one language-one personality and language socialization, display a non-agentive view of the speaker, who does not speak the language but is rather spoken by it. This view harks back to the theory of linguistic relativity, also known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, which argues that the language we speak influences the way we think. The corpus abounds in interdiscursive references to this theory, for example:

- (9) Yes when I am in the country where the language is spoken. I think differently. (Monica, 33, Italian-French-English-Spanish-Amharic)

The presence of such statements in the corpus is quite significant, because bilingualism has often been invoked to refute the theory of linguistic relativity. Macnamara (1970) argued that if the Whorfian hypothesis were true and languages created different worlds for their speakers, bilinguals would be doomed. If they were to think differently depending on what language is used, they would have difficulties communicating with themselves, and translating into one language what was said in another. More recently, Stubbs (1997: 359) stated: 'But languages are not incompatible. We can translate between them. And bilinguals speak different languages, but they do not perceive the world differently when they switch from one language to another'. And yet our respondents tell us that their thinking, behavior, and perception of the self and the world do change with the change in language. Let us examine then how their introspective statements square against the data from textual, experimental, and clinical studies.

Empirical data

Scholars who study translanguaging writing show that writers who write in more than one language often treat their languages as distinct instruments that require them to play different tunes (Beaujour, 1989; Besemeres, 2002; Kellman, 2000; Pérez Firmat, 2003; Trigo, 2003). For instance, for Rosario Ferré:

Writing in English is like looking at the world through a different pair of binoculars: It imposes a different mind-set. When I write in Spanish, my sentences are often as convoluted as a Baroque *retablo*. When

I write in English, I make my sentences straight and simple, because I want to be precise as well as practical. (in Kellman, 2003b: 138)

Self-translation is a painful task for such writers, and often they end up, like Todorov and Green, with a very different story in the other language (Besemeres, 2002; Pérez Firmat, 2003; Trigo, 2003). 'In every instance the "translation" becomes a rethinking, a recasting of the original in terms of the medium of the new language', states an Afrikaans-English writer André Brink (Kellman, 2003b: 206). Also, Gustavo Pérez Firmat, a literary scholar and a bilingual writer himself, astutely observes that 'what passes for balanced bilingualism is more often diglossia in disguise' (2003: 14), and thus the use of different voices for different purposes. Todorov (1994: 214) reaches the same conclusion reflecting on his own bilingualism – for him, diglossia, with its distinct functions for each language, is the only way out of oppressive 'silence and insanity looming on the horizon of boundless polyphony'.

Psychologists and psycholinguists have also addressed the issue of different selves. The pioneering studies of bilinguals' verbal behaviors were conducted by Susan Ervin-Tripp (1954, 1964, 1967), who employed an array of verbal behavior measures, including semantic differentials, word associations, sentence- and story-completion tasks, and the projective Thematic Apperception Test (TAT). To control for order effects, the sessions in the two languages in her studies commonly took place six weeks apart. The first of the studies examined Japanese and English responses of a Japanese-English bilingual, born in the United States in a Japanese-speaking family and educated in Japan between the ages of 8 and 14 years (Ervin, 1954). The researcher found that stories elicited by TAT pictures in Japanese were much more emotional than the ones told in English. In Japanese stories, people went mad with grief, cried aloud with pain, and wept over lost love, while in English a young man was robbed by a hypnotist, a woman came home drunk, and a girl was trying to complete a sewing project. The researcher explained these differences through distinct emotional relationships formed in the two languages of the participant.

Ervin-Tripp's (1964) second study examined responses of 64 French-English bilinguals, all of whom had lived in the United States for more than four years (mean $n = 12$) and learned English primarily from Americans. Forty of them were or had been married to Americans. The analysis showed that TAT stories elicited in French described more verbal aggression toward peers and more withdrawal and autonomy than the ones elicited in English. The author explained these results through speakers' language socialization experiences and in particular through the emphasis in the French culture and education on

verbal argument and on withdrawal as a dominant mode of response after a disagreement.

Differences between responses in the two languages were also found in a study conducted with 36 Japanese-English bilingual women, war brides brought home by American servicemen (Ervin-Tripp, 1967). The most pronounced differences emerged in the word association and sentence-completion tasks, where Japanese associations dominated in Japanese and American ones in English. These findings were later replicated by researchers working with Tagalog-English bilinguals (Guthrie & Azores, 1968; Ventura, 1976).

The line of inquiry opened up by Ervin-Tripp was taken further by her student Hull (1990) in his dissertation entitled 'Bilingualism: Two languages, two personalities?' Hull set out to investigate the possibility that bicultural bilinguals may have distinct personalities associated with their respective languages and cultures. His first study examined the performance of three groups of late bilinguals, all of them immigrants to the United States, on a self-assessment instrument, the California Psychological Inventory (CPI). The participants completed the CPI twice, once in their first languages (L1), Spanish ($n = 74$), Chinese ($n = 57$), and Korean ($n = 17$), and once in their second language (L2) English, with 5 to 15 days between sessions. A within-group between-language analysis revealed significant differences between participants' responses in English and in their L1s. For instance, Spanish-speaking participants scored higher in English on the measures of self-acceptance, social presence, interpersonal prestige, emotional well-being, and achievement drive, which, in the author's view, reflects participants' identification with the individualistic Anglo culture. In the native languages, members of all three groups scored higher on the good impression scale, reflecting a greater cultural concern about other peoples' reactions to them. Hull (1990) attributed these results to language-related personality differences, as well as to translation inequivalence inherent in any translated instrument.

To examine whether self-ratings correspond to the ratings of bilinguals' behaviors by others, Hull's (1990) second study asked 35 Chinese-English and 24 Spanish-English bilinguals to participate in two sessions, one in English, and one in the native language, conducted five to seven days apart to control for language order effects. In each session, one bilingual participant interviewed the other about his or her childhood and adolescent life and experiences. Then, the 'interviewer' rated the 'interviewee', while the latter rated him/herself on personality scales supplied by the researcher. Then the roles were reversed and the procedure repeated. A between-language analysis revealed some differences in participants' ratings in the two languages. Spanish speakers rated themselves and their peers higher on extraversion and emotional stability in

English than in Spanish, while Chinese speakers rated themselves and their peers higher on conscientiousness and cultural sophistication in Chinese than they did in English. These findings show that, in some contexts, bilinguals may hold distinct frames of expectations when interpreting and assessing their own and others' behaviors in respective languages.

Other studies have replicated Hull's (1990) findings, showing that answers, self-reports, and narratives elicited from bicultural bilinguals may vary with the language of elicitation (Bond, 1983; Koven, 1998; Kuroda *et al.*, 1986; Marian & Kaushanskaya, 2004; Panayiotou, 2004; Ross *et al.*, 2002; Trafimow *et al.*, 1997). For example, Panayiotou (2004, see also the chapter by Panayiotou in this volume) elicited Greek-English and English-Greek bilinguals' reactions to the same story read to them in their two languages. The analysis of their responses showed that the participants interpreted and related to the 'same' events differently, depending on the language context; in Greek, the story elicited sympathy and concern for the protagonist, whereas in English it elicited indifference and disapproval. The two versions elicited not only different reactions, but also different imagery and cultural scripts, suggesting that the two languages were linked to distinct linguistic repertoires and cultural frames. At the same time, some participants code-switched, which suggests that bicultural bilinguals interacting with each other may draw on the full range of their cultural and linguistic repertoires, rather than switch them 'on' and 'off'.

Ross and associates (2002) compared self-ratings of Chinese-born Chinese-English bilinguals in Canada across language conditions. They found that participants responding in Mandarin and Cantonese exhibited higher agreement with Chinese cultural values than participants responding in English; they also reported lower self-esteem and offered more references to culture and more collective self-descriptions (i.e. descriptions of self in terms of group membership). Similarly, Marian and Kaushanskaya (2004) found that Russian-English bilinguals' memories from the Russian context contained more first person plural pronouns, whereas memories from the English context contained more first person singular pronouns. To explain their own and similar findings, Ross and associates (2002) argued that people's self-perceptions reflect currently accessible knowledge. A shift in language leads, in bicultural bilinguals, to the shift in cultural constructs and memories activated by that language and, consequently, to the shift in self-knowledge, self-perceptions, and self-descriptions.

The links between language and autobiographical memories were also found in studies conducted with Spanish-English (Schrauf & Rubin, 1998, 2000, 2004), Russian-English (Marian & Neisser, 2000), and Polish-Danish (Larsen *et al.*, 2002) bilingual immigrants who learned their

languages at different times and in distinct environments (see also the chapter by Schrauf and Durazo-Arvizu in this volume). These studies show that, in immigrant bilinguals, L1 words commonly activate memories of events in the country of origin and L2 words activate memories of events that took place after immigration. These results suggest that the language of encoding is a stable property for linguistic memories, even though a memory can then be 'translated' into another language.

Studies by Ervin-Tripp (1964, 1967), Koven (1998), and Panayiotou (2004) also show that speakers socialized in distinct contexts may have distinct linguistic repertoires in their respective languages. A particularly convincing version of this argument appears in Koven's (1998) study of stories of personal experiences told by Portuguese-French bilinguals, children of Portuguese immigrants in France (see also Koven's chapter in the present volume). In addition to formal discursive analysis of Portuguese and French versions of the same event, the researcher interviewed participants about their experiences with the two languages (self-evaluation) and collected listener impressions of the tape-recorded stories (peer evaluation).

This triangulated approach uncovered systematic differences in bilinguals' presentations of self: the speakers were shown to use different lexical and morphosyntactic resources and registers in their two languages; they also perceived themselves differently and were differently described by the listeners. Peer evaluators noted that listening to the two sets of recordings of the same person they got the impression that they were dealing with different speakers, from different backgrounds, and with different reactions (e.g. rural versus urban, polite versus foul-mouthed). These impressions were also confirmed by the participants, who routinely mentioned to the researcher that they feel different in French and Portuguese, relate to people differently, and have a different perspective on the world. One woman stated, for instance, that Portuguese touches her more – speaking it she finds herself back in her childhood. At the same time, she does not have the same access to the language of youth in Portuguese as she has in French. The researcher explained her findings through distinct linguistic repertoires to which her participants had access; their Portuguese came from their rural parents and relatives, while French was the language of peer socialization in their urban setting.

Together, the studies in psychology and linguistic anthropology validate the introspective comments of the web questionnaire respondents and show that, when tested in their respective languages, bicultural bilinguals may perform differently on a variety of verbal tasks, from self-rating to storytelling, and may be differently perceived and evaluated by other individuals. These differences are commonly attributed to different semantic associations, linguistic repertoires, cultural scripts, frames of expectations, imagery, and memories activated by the respective

languages. At the same time, it is important to remember that these findings may be largely limited to individuals who had learned their languages in distinct environments and who continue to use them in relatively monolingual contexts. Individuals who live in multilingual contexts and code-mix and code-switch on a daily basis may have a less acute perception of linguistic and cultural boundaries.

Differences in language emotionality and proficiency

Self-perceptions

What is quite intriguing, however, is that the story of different selves does not end with differences in linguistic and cultural contexts or perspectives. The respondents also invoke another source of different selves that is much harder to interpret, namely, the feeling that the first language is 'real' and 'natural', while later learned languages are 'fake', 'artificial', and performative:

- (10) I don't feel quite real in German sometimes – and formerly in French and Russian. I feel I'm acting a part. (George, 66, English–German–French–Russian)
- (11) Yes sometimes as a fake. Others it starts naturally and then I have that feeling of dissociation looking at myself from the outside especially when speaking in public in English. (Elisa, 57, Yiddish–Spanish–English)
- (12) Not entirely but a little bit. I feel less myself when speaking any language other than German but not in a bad sense. I feel more like I am acting a persona which can be good or bad. At the same time I tend to be more polite and self-conscious when speaking L2 to L5 I don't tend to consider as much what I say when speaking L1. But very often I feel like a better person when speaking L2 or L3. (Stefanie, 31, German–English–Spanish)

These comments set up the opposition between the first and the later learned languages through a discourse that draws on Jungian psychoanalytic theory and differentiates between the private self and *persona*, an image projected in public, often referred to as a mask, performance, social role, or simply acting. The presence of this discourse is signaled through intertextual strategies that invoke Jung's name directly; for example,

- (13) Yes and I think it is natural because when you use your first language you are yourself with all of your acquired habits but using another language need to have a Mask (or Persona according to C.G. Jung) and it may give you a sense of being another Person. (Karim, 35, Farsi–English–German)

It is also signaled through interdiscursive strategies that do not invoke Jung directly but instead refer to *personae*, masks, or, as in the example below, 'classical psychological meaning':

- (14) Yes. A different persona in the classical psychological meaning. Your voice demeanour tone body language and role expectations change. The other party tends to be from a different culture you tend to adjust to it instantly. (Enrique, 48, Spanish–English–French–Italian–Portuguese)
- (15) ... Yes but more accurately a different persona not a different person ... (Alfredo, 38, Portuguese–English–Spanish–Japanese)
- (16) Yes definitely! I think there's a bit of acting involved when you speak a foreign language. (Darragh, 27, English–French–Spanish–Irish)

I suggest that the presence of this psychoanalytic discourse in the corpus is not accidental. A lot of theorizing about bilingualism and self came from the psychoanalytic literature and some of the respondents may be familiar with this work or at least references to it. Psychoanalytic theories also continue to be a major influence on Western conceptualizations of the self in general. For instance, Linde (1993) shows that Freudian theory is one of the key discourses Americans draw on in lifestorytelling. She argues that the simplified version of the theory is appealing because it offers storytellers analytical tools they can use to distance themselves from their own decision-making and behavior and to position themselves as authoritative experts. Jungian theory holds similar appeal to bi- and multilinguals – it offers convenient tools to theorize the detached, 'out-of-body' experience of using a language learned later in life.

But what are the linguistic and psychological underpinnings of this experience? It is possible that the feeling of ease and comfort attributed to speaking one's first language stems from superior mastery of the language, whereas the perception of artificiality stems from the need to manipulate less familiar repertoires of languages learned later in life. Several respondents refer to this possibility, framing an act of speaking a second language as a test and a performance that is observed and judged by others:

- (17) To a certain extent. I feel more at ease speaking in my mother tongue. It's like being at home with all the usual familiar worn and comfortable clutter around you. Speaking the second language is like being you but in someone else's house. (Ellen, 47, Welsh–English)
- (18) Yes. When speaking English I feel like my normal self (since I speak this language best). In Spanish I feel acutely 'Americanized' instead of balanced since I can't speak it as easily as English but I feel like

I really should be able to speak both fluently ... (Jessica, 16, Spanish-English)

It is also possible that the perception of naturalness of the earlier learned languages and artificiality of the later learned ones stems from differences in emotionality experienced when using these languages. This possibility is indicated in attributions made by respondents who link acting metaphors to emotionality, for example:

- (19) Absolutely. I feel I can hide my emotions and myself a lot better in English. In Spanish I feel a lot more 'naked'. (Dolores, 31, Spanish-English-German-French)

To understand the sources of these self-perceptions, let us examine, once again, how the introspective statements square against data from textual, experimental, and clinical studies.

Empirical work

Translingual writers who write in their later learned language often argue that these languages are beneficial not only in practical terms, such as access to new and larger audiences, but also in psychological terms, offering writers new, 'clean' words, devoid of anxieties and taboos, freeing them from self-censorship, from prohibitions and loyalties of their native culture, and allowing them to gain full control over their words, stories, and plots (Kellman, 2000; Kinginger, 2004; Pavlenko, 2005; Pérez Firmat, 2003; Tannenbaum, 2003; Trigo, 2003). Kellman (2000) calls this distancing effect 'emancipatory detachment', and many writers concur with this assessment. For instance, Jerzy Kosinski, an immigrant from Poland and the first non-native speaker to win the most prestigious U.S. literary prize, the National Book Award, often said in his interviews:

English helped me sever myself from my childhood, from my adolescence. In English I don't make involuntary associations with my childhood. I think it is childhood that is often traumatic, not this or that war. (in Teicholz, 1993: 27)

Translingual writers also acknowledge that the use of the 'stepmother tongue' comes with a price: the ever-present nostalgia for the primeval emotionality of the selves linked to the mother tongue, the language that retains the incomparable ability to wound, to heal, and to caress:

Spanish certainly was the language of storytelling, the language of the body and of the senses and of the emotional wiring of the child, so that still, when someone addresses me as 'Hoolia' (Spanish pronunciation of Julia), I feel my emotional self come to the fore. I answer Sí, and lean forward to kiss a cheek rather than answer Yes, and extend my hand for a handshake. Some deeper or first Julia is being summoned. (Julia

Alvarez, American writer born in the Dominican Republic, in Novakovich & Shapard, 2000: 218)

Today, when someone addresses me as 'Luke' I respond without a second thought; when I hear 'lük' I jump as if I'd gotten an electric shock. Even though I know better, I feel as if someone had just looked down into my naked soul. (Luc Sante, American writer born in Belgium, in Kellman, 2003b: 160)

A Puerto-Rican writer, Rosario Ferré, argues that you don't have to be an immigrant to feel the distance between your two languages:

... Spanish still makes me suck faster at life's breast. ... I can roll on the ground and frolic in Spanish because I don't have to worry about anything; words always mean what they say. I love to make love in Spanish; I've never been able to make love in English. In English, I get puritanical. (in Kellman, 2003b: 137-38)

Similar comments are cited by Heinz (2001), who conducted in-depth interviews with eight bicultural bilinguals from a variety of linguistic backgrounds who had lived in the United States for between 3 and 28 years. The interviews focused on participants' experiences in their languages and revealed that the speakers were conscious of changes in their behavior and self-perceptions prompted by the change in language. They linked these changes to different cultural and conversational expectations into which they were socialized in respective linguistic contexts, and to greater emotionality and intimacy of the L1. Some participants underscored the importance of proficiency: those with lower proficiency in the L2 felt freer and more comfortable in the L1, whereas those whose L1 was undergoing attrition favored the L2 and felt able to express themselves freely in that language, liberated from the taboos and constraints of the mother tongue.

These perceptions are also borne out in clinical and experimental studies of bicultural bilinguals. Among the first to consider the relationship between bilinguals' languages, memories, and selves, were German-speaking psychoanalysts Buxbaum (1949), Greenson (1950), and Krapf (1955), who noticed that their bilingual patients commonly appeared more emotional and anxious when speaking their first language, German, and more detached in the later learned English or Spanish. Some patients simply refused to use the L1 in analysis even if they shared the language with the analyst. Greenson's patient, an immigrant from Austria, admitted: 'I am afraid. I don't want to talk German. I have the feeling that talking in German I shall have to remember something I wanted to forget' (1950: 19). Eventually, the use of German led her to recapture her feelings about her mother whom she found a 'loathsome creature' (1950: 19). This patient also linked her anxieties to her sense of a

dual self: 'In German I am a scared dirty child; in English I am a nervous, refined woman' (1950: 19).

Recent studies in bilingual psychoanalysis confirmed these findings and established that in patients who learned their L2 in late childhood or adulthood, L1 words may function as triggers for painful, traumatic, and previously repressed memories and unacknowledged feelings (Amati-Mehler *et al.*, 1993; Aragno & Schlachet, 1996; Foster, 1996; Javier, 1995, 1996; Rozensky & Gomez, 1983). As a result, these speakers may associate anxiety and vulnerability with the L1 and favor the L2 as a mechanism of defense. They may also describe themselves as frightened, dependent, and vulnerable children in the L1 and as independent, strong, and refined individuals in the L2 (Aragno & Schlachet, 1996; Foster, 1992).

Studies of autobiographical memories discussed earlier (see also the chapter by Schrauf and Durazo-Arvizu) explain these findings through links made between a language and events experienced in this language. Studies by Harris and associates (2003, 2004, present volume) add another interesting layer to these explanations, pointing to connections between first language words, memories, and physiological responses. These studies show that different types of words elicit different physiological reactions in both monolingual and bilingual speakers, with taboo words eliciting the strongest responses. In late bilinguals, however, L1 taboo words commonly elicit a stronger response than L2 taboo words. Reprimands were shown to elicit strong responses only in the L1 of late bilinguals. Several Turkish-English bilinguals commented in the debriefing session that they could hear, in their mind, family members addressing reprimands to them. Together, the results and the comments suggest that the L1 effects stem from affective linguistic conditioning in childhood (Pavlenko, 2005), when languages are learned with the full involvement of the limbic system and emotional memory. In contrast, languages learned later in life may rely to a greater degree on declarative memory and thus produce weak responses and a feeling of detachment, disembodiment, and, in the words, of our respondents, 'artificiality'.

A closer look at the links between emotionality, proficiency, and second language performance was taken by Marcos and associates (1973a, b) in studies conducted with ten schizophrenic Spanish-English bilinguals. The studies demonstrated that these patients were consistently rated as showing more pathology when interviewed in L2 English. A comparative analysis of the Spanish and English interviews demonstrated that in English the patients often answered questions with a short sentence, a word, or even silence. At times, they misunderstood the questions – consequently, in many cases they offered different answers to the same questions asked in Spanish and English. Their L2 answers were also marked by language mixing, slow speech rate, hesitations, long pauses, and excessive use of the present tense where past tense would be used

in Spanish. These markers of non-fluent L2 speech were often misperceived as signs of distress, depression, and incoherence. The studies also suggested that L2 users' increased concerns about the wording, pronunciation, and morphosyntax may lead to diminished attention to the affective component of the message and create an inconsistency between what is being said and how it is being communicated. This inconsistency and lack of visible affect may also contribute to an impression of emotional withdrawal and misinterpretation of the patients' responses. This groundbreaking work highlighted the contribution of language proficiency to the perception of dual selves, showing that effects of low proficiency may be misperceived by others as low affect, depression, or incoherence, appearing in one language only.

Together, the comments of the web questionnaire participants, reflections of translanguaging writers, and studies in psychology and psychoanalysis suggest that languages learned earlier and later in life may differ in experienced emotionality, with differences contributing to the perception of different selves. These conclusions, however, need to be qualified in a number of ways. To begin, the fact that the first language is often perceived as more emotional does not imply that this is also the language favored for emotional expression – in fact, some speakers feel much more comfortable discussing emotions in later learned languages, either because they grew up in a tradition of a 'stiff upper lip' or because they mainly live and interact in the realm of a second language (Heinz, 2001; Pavlenko, 2005). Similarly, a second language is not always a language of detachment – speakers who have low levels of proficiency and those who had negative experiences in the second language may associate it with increased levels of tension and anxiety, whereas those who negotiate relationships or raise children in the second language often view it as very emotional and meaningful (Pavlenko, 2004b, 2005).

Negative responses and evaluations

The discussion up to this point demonstrated that different respondents make different attributions with regard to the origins of their perception of dual selves. Some link it to linguistic and cultural differences, some to differences in levels of emotionality or proficiency, and others to distinct experiences in respective languages. Notably, however, changes in verbal and non-verbal behaviors may be interpreted differently by other respondents who see their selves as unitary and coherent, even when they do change ways of thinking or cultural perspectives:

- (20) Not at all I feel I am the same person but speaking a different language and in a different way! I think you must change your

mentality when you are speaking a different language but it does not mean that you feel like a different person. (Marisol, 19, Spanish-English-French-Italian)

- (21) I used to at first several years ago. Now I feel that the two cultures (i.e. French vs American) are so different that the language is just a way to express these cultural differences but using a different language doesn't change the core of who I am. I am americanized to a certain extent but only to fit North American cultural situations. I 'act French' so to speak as soon as I am back in France or speaking in French with French people. (Diane, 38, French-English-Spanish)
- (22) Different languages allow me different thought structures and possibly different ways of feeling too. But these changes do not affect me deep within where I remain the same person. (Erica, 38, German-English)

These respondents draw on the discourse of a 'true' self, single and unitary, unaffected by the change in language. What is interesting, however, is that, as mentioned earlier, only 14% of the respondents chose to elaborate on the negative responses to the question about different selves, while 69% elaborated on the affirmative answers. It is possible that, in the respondents' view, the affirmative answer required more of an explanation and an elaboration than a negative one, treated as self-evident. One explanation for this is participants' awareness of the negative value often placed on duality and multiplicity:

- (23) NO. I feel I am very lucky. (Marylin, 50, Italian-French-English-Dutch-Spanish)
- (24) Yes. It is a good feeling tho. (Fiona, 27, English-French-German)

We can see that Marylin emphatically denies seeing her selves as different. She also presents herself as lucky because of that, thus implicitly agreeing with the view of double selves as a misfortune. Fiona, on the other hand, responds in the affirmative and evaluates the experience as a positive one. Then, however, she appeals to the subordinating conjunction 'though', which signals opposition and frames her evaluative comment as a hidden polemic with the negative assessment of duality. Hidden polemic can also be found in some of the attributions made by the respondents:

- (25) Absolutely. Each language has its own cultural history and I have my own personal history in each. It is not a schizophrenia but definitely two different ways of being me. (Viktor, 45, Latvian-English)
- (26) Definitely. Not in a schizophrenic sense. Usually simply because of context but sometimes strategically. (Thomas, 50, English-French-Japanese-German)

These and similar comments follow a pattern where a negative clause or denial ('not a schizophrenia'; 'not in a schizophrenic sense') is followed by a positive clause or assertion. According to Fairclough (2003), this type of denial implies that the assertion being denied had been made 'elsewhere'. The participants' lexical choices identify the 'elsewhere' as the discourse of bilingualism as linguistic schizophrenia, or the view of dual and multiple selves as causing an inner split. This discourse is clearly not treated with the same degree of seriousness as it would have been in some circles in the first half of the 20th century, yet the fact that 'schizophrenia' comes up time and again in this corpus, as it does in reflections of translanguaging writers, indicates that the discourse is still alive, if only as one to be opposed. The notion of inner split is a real concern for some respondents whose discomfort is visible in negative evaluations:

- (27) Not really (but I have been anxious about this in the past). (Vivian, 36, English-Greek)
- (28) somehow yes. i hate this! (Mihaela, 33, Romanian-Italian-French-English)
- (29) yes. Sometimes I feel awfull. (Eduardo, 21, Spanish-English-French)
- (30) Yes I do. Sometimes I feel like being two different persons or just a person with two incomplete languages. The worst moments are when I feel like not having a language identity. (Dorothee, 45, German-English-Swedish)

The first three responses offer a negative evaluation of the perception of distinct selves without much elaboration, thus implicitly presuming common ground with the addressees who should be able to understand why this perception invokes anxiety or discomfort. Comments by the fourth respondent offer more clues, linking the feeling of duality to fears of schizophrenia ('two different persons'), semilingualism ('two incomplete languages'), and illegitimacy ('not having a language identity') haunting those who do not neatly fit into the monolingual mold.

Yet the participants do not simply echo and reproduce various discourses, they also challenge and transform them. Responses (25) and (26) provide examples of a hidden polemic with the discourse of schizophrenia. Other respondents challenge this discourse through joking and ironic references:

- (31) Yes. And come to think of it that is either the luxury of reflecting oneself in different language or maybe a worrisome component of multiple personality disorder? :-) I know that even my pitch changes. (Daniela, 40, German-English-Italian)

- (32) Maybe. But sometimes I feel like a different person when I use Lithuanian language too (I hope it is not clinical case :). But it seem to me that when I use non-native language this feeling is more expressed. (Kastytis, 40, Lithuanian–Russian–English)

The first response juxtaposes two evaluative discourses, multilingualism as luxury versus multilingualism as personality disorder, but then reduces the second discourse to an amusing joke both through the wording and the use of the question mark and the smiley face. A similar strategy is used by the second respondent who uses the smiley face to signal that his reference to a 'clinical case' is nothing but a joke.

Direct and indirect challenges are not, however, the only form of resistance. Every threatening discourse eventually elicits counter-discourses and the discourse of linguistic schizophrenia is not an exception. Some participants challenge it through a counter-discourse of integration, where integration functions as a powerful metaphor that acknowledges linguistic and cultural differences, yet allows bilinguals to position themselves discursively as whole:

- (33) Not really no. I feel I have integrated the French side of my character into my English side. (Kate, 49, English–French–German–Spanish)
- (34) A little also due to the fact that I am not the same person since I left Germany more than 10 years ago. But since I started talking German at home with my children again I guess I'm a linguistically more integrated person again. (Bertha, 32, German–English–Swedish–French)
- (35) I used to (between ages 20 and 40 as far as I can remember) but not any more. I think this is a matter of personality development – I know now that I am the same person whatever language I speak and I don't have to practice different personae. Before I wasn't so sure who I was and who I was seemed to change depending on outside circumstances – who I was talking to in what language. I suppose that now I have integrated the different personae into one??? (Alathea, 49, English–German–French–Arabic)

A similar role, as discussed earlier, is played by the Jungian psychoanalytic discourse that allows respondents to distance themselves from the notion of linguistic schizophrenia by differentiating between the real self, unthreatened by linguistic differences, and personae performed in respective languages.

Discussion and Conclusions

Together, the interdisciplinary studies reviewed here offer intriguing answers to the questions about bilingual selves. Reflections of bilingual

writers and explorations by linguists and psychoanalysts show that languages may create different, and sometimes incommensurable, worlds for their speakers who feel that their selves change with the shift in language. Studies in psychoanalysis, psychology, and linguistic anthropology demonstrate that bicultural bilinguals may exhibit different verbal behaviors in their two languages and may be perceived differently by their interlocutors depending on the language they use in a particular context. For these bilinguals, and in particular for immigrants and expatriates, the two languages may be linked to different linguistic repertoires, cultural scripts, frames of expectation, autobiographic memories, and levels of proficiency and emotionality. They may also be associated with conflicting allegiances, distinct imagined audiences, incompatible subject positions, and mutually exclusive arguments. Notably, these conclusions are particularly relevant for individuals whose respective languages are linked to – and used in – relatively monolingual environments. Those who live in bi- and multilingual contexts may not necessarily perceive such sharp differences between their linguistic selves.

The analysis of the present corpus offers several contributions to this body of scholarship and to our understanding of the relationship between language and self in bi- and multilingualism. To begin with, this analysis shows that the perception of different selves is not restricted to late or immigrant bilinguals, but is a more general part of bi- and multilingual experience. Secondly, the analysis of the corpus shows that similar experiences (e.g. change in verbal and non-verbal behaviors accompanying the change in language) may be interpreted differently by people who draw on different discourses of bi/multilingualism and self.

The presence of several alternative discourses of bilingualism and self constitutes perhaps the most interesting finding in the study, and to interpret it I will, once again, draw on Bakhtin's (1981) notion of dialogism. Bakhtin (1981) and his followers emphasize that texts and, for that matter, people do not simply draw on social and historic resources but transform them in meaningful ways. The notion of dialogue, in this view, points to the simultaneous connection and tension between the present and the past that shapes individual voices. It is this agentic view of human performance that informs my own understanding of the participants' answers.

To clarify what I mean by this, I turn to studies in which I compared language memoirs, that is, memoirs that deal with the learning and use of various languages, written by U.S. writers throughout the 20th century (Pavlenko, 2001, 2004a). An analysis of discourses of language and identity in these memoirs showed that the 20th century was marked by the ever-present tension between discourses that glorified belonging to one language and culture, even at the price of assimilation, and those that asserted the legitimacy of dual allegiances. In the early part

of the century and particularly at the height of the Great Migration, immigrant writers were singing praises to the joys of assimilation. In contrast, the 1980s and 1990s saw an explosion of writing by those who were schooled in the 1940s and 1950s when Americanization was the only way. These writers challenged the imposition of monolingual ideologies and began to explore the painful splits and fissures of the bilingual condition. The older generation is now joined by the writers who grew up in the 1960s and 1970s, witnessing the revival of ethnic consciousness and experiencing the influence of postmodernist thought. The work of this younger generation challenges the essentialist notions of self, redefines the meaning and value of bi- and multilingualism, and suggests that anxieties over an inner split may stem from the lack of social acceptance of bilingualism and may disappear once bi- and multilingualism are accepted as the norm, rather than an exception. This work also proclaims that 'the distress of being double and somewhat homeless is overshadowed by the glory of being hybrid and open' (Dorfman, in De Courtivron, 2003b: 33).

I read the dialogue between the discourses in the present corpus in a very similar manner. The discourse of bilingualism as linguistic schizophrenia is still present in the corpus but mostly in the form of a voice from 'elsewhere' that is being mocked and resisted. The respondents engage in a number of counter-discourses, including the discourse of integrated identities and that of personae. More importantly, however, some participants no longer feel the need to reframe and justify their experiences – they make categorical assertions that their experiences are unique and enjoyable:

- (36) yes!!! and i love it . . . (Zarina, 27, Spanish–English–Portuguese)
- (37) yes definately – this is part of the fun of it. (Christina, 35, English–French)
- (38) Yes and that is a very pleasant feeling because it gives me choices that I wouldn't have if I were monolingual. (Stephan, 36, Italian–English–German–French–Russian)
- (39) Absolutely. It's a lot of fun. (Patricia, 48, English–French–German)

This framing normalizes bi- and multilinguals' experiences while underscoring their uniqueness. My chapter has pursued a similar goal: to legitimize and normalize bi- and multilinguals' experiences without trivializing them or equating them to a change in registers. On the contrary, the analysis of the present corpus suggests that as permeable and porous as they are, linguistic and cultural boundaries and entities exist and are real phenomena to be counted with. And as to the Sapir–Whorf hypothesis, in the words of yet another bilingual, Gustavo Pérez Firmat (2003: 13), its ultimate validity is irrelevant for understanding the bi/multilingual experience: 'what is crucial is that many bilinguals

relate to their languages in ways that enact some version of this hypothesis. What may not be true for Spanish and English in any objectively demonstrable way may be true for an individual's apprehension of Spanish and English'.

The web questionnaire responses, reflections of translingual writers, and results of clinical and experimental studies place the locus of multiple selves in distinct contexts of language acquisition, and resulting differences in linguistic repertoires, cultural frames, autobiographic memories, and levels of experienced emotionality and proficiency. Undoubtedly, these differences also exist between various lexicons and registers within a single language, but they are much more pronounced between languages. As a result, bi- and multilingualism are similar to yet also distinct from, in important and meaningful ways, the mastery of multiple registers. François Grosjean (1982) has often argued that a bilingual is not two monolinguals in one body. Here I aimed to show that a bilingual is not exactly like a single monolingual either. Some bi- and multilinguals may perceive the world differently, and change perspectives, ways of thinking, and verbal and non-verbal behaviors when switching languages. Some may derive enjoyment from hybridity and relativity of their existence and others may feel that they inhabit distinct and at times incommensurable lifeworlds and experience pain and anguish over this condition. Yet this is not an aberration on their part but a part of what makes us human.

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Note

1. This chapter analyses an earlier version of the database, while Dewaele's chapter analyses a later version where the number of responses is somewhat higher ($n = 1454$). In both cases, prior to analysis, we deleted incomplete responses, doubled responses, and responses that looked less than serious.

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