Language Policy and Pedagogy

Essays in honor of A. Ronald Walton

EDITED BY Richard D. Lambert
and Elana Shohamy

LANGUAGE POLICY AND PEDAGOGY

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ESSAYS IN HONOR OF A. RONALD WALTON

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Introduction

Richard D. Lambert Elana Shohamy

The articles in this volume commemorate A. Ronald Walton, a founding member of the National Foreign Language Center (NFLC) in Washington, DC. The mission of the NFLC is to influence the study of foreign languages in the United States. Ronald Walton served as the center's deputy director from its inception in 1986. He was a leading scholar of Chinese linguistics and of the teaching of nonwestern languages. He held positions at the University of Pennsylvania and the University of Maryland. His untimely death at the age of 54 brought to an early conclusion a distinguished career.

The authors of the articles in this volume have been on the NFLC staff, served as Mellon Fellows at its Institute for Advanced Studies, or collaborated in projects in which the NFLC was involved. Their work deals with two topics that have been of special interest to the NFLC and to Ronald Walton: foreign language policy and pedagogy. Many of the articles also reflect Walton's and the NFLC's special interest in the teaching of nonwestern European languages.

The volume opens with two articles that discuss the concept of language policy — what is language policy, what does it mean, what are its purposes, and how is it related to language teaching? The first article by Bernard Spolsky and Elana Shohamy is a general theoretical analysis of the concept. The authors distinguish between language *practice,* which refers to the actual linguistic behavior of a speech community, and language *policy,* which they define as a statement from an authoritative source about what language practice should be. After reviewing a large body of literature on language planning and offering several country examples, Spolsky and Shohamy present a typology of countries based on their perceived ethnic composition as that composition influences the shape of their language policy. Since the primary case they are dealing with is Israel, a great deal of attention is given to language choice; that is, which

languages are to be used for what purposes and which are to be taught to what kinds of students. In general, such language policy is commonly referred to as "status planning." Spolsky and Shohamy also discuss policies that prescribe the form a language should have, what is generally referred to as "corpus planning."

Joshua Fishman focuses on the widely used distinction between status and corpus planning. Based on his examination of a large number of country cases and statements by people making language policy, he adduces four underlying factors (purity/regionalization; classicization/vernacularization; uniqueness/internationalization; and "*Einbau*/*Ausbau*") that appear as rationales for corpus planning. He then argues that what appears to be corpus planning is really a hidden form of status planning. Using an impressionistic rotation of the four factors, he finds a superfactor — independence — that is "the ultimate tension" within all language planning. Thus he claims that corpus planning is really "an expression of the status planning agenda."

Whereas the first two chapters focus on a variety of languages, indigenous as well as foreign, the rest of the papers in this section deal with foreign language educational policy; that is, policy with respect to the teaching and learning of languages of speech communities largely outside the country in which the language is spoken. There is, of course, some overlap. French in Canada serves as both an indigenous and foreign language, as does Spanish in the United States. However, as the subsequent papers indicate, the issues that normally dominate policy discussions concerning foreign languages tend to be quite different from those concerned with intracountry ethnic language policy.

John Trim's paper presents a broad-ranging summary of many of the elements in foreign language policy. The article is based on his work as the project director for the Council of Europe's Council for Cultural Cooperation project on "Language Learning for European Citizenship." Over a 25-year period, the project has laid out the general goals of foreign language planning and identified the aspects that should be given priority. It directed attention to different structural elements in the formal educational system that must be given special emphasis: early language learning, lower secondary education, vocational education, and advanced adult learning. In addition, the project has specified several thematic subjects — bilingual education, the use of information and communication technology, learning to learn, testing and assessment, and the use of educational exchanges for language learning. Trim's article typifies one stream of foreign language policy literature: broad, normative statements about the importance and direction of language planning. In this case, it is meant to cover all of the countries and languages within the Council of Europe. The article presents the recommendations to the language teaching profession and educational authorities across

Europe resulting from the work of the last project, "Language Learning for European Citizenship," and the workshops held in the course of that project.

Richard D. Lambert's article turns the discussion to the United States, and specifically to foreign language instruction in higher education. It, and the remaining papers in the section on language policy, are essentially structural; that is, they emphasize the architecture of the language instruction system, another of the NFLC's major interests. His article discusses the damaging effect of declining enrollments and shifting student preferences on collegiate foreign language instruction. He shows how these shifts in the demand for language instruction interact with broad changes in the higher education system as a whole, putting foreign language departments in jeopardy. Declining enrollments highlight a series of persistent problems: the uncertain rationale for providing language instruction at the tertiary level, the heavy concentration of instruction at the lowest skill levels, the lack of articulation with language instruction in the secondary schools, the dependence on wavering language requirements, the recurrent battles on the relative importance of literary studies, and the shrinking employment demand for undergraduate and graduate majors.

Gilbert Merkx introduces one of the recurring interests of the NFLC and Ronald Walton, the teaching of the less commonly taught languages. While the term literally refers to languages not widely taught, it is a shorthand reference to nonwestern languages. Merkx's article is principally concerned with the special funding that such instruction receives in the United States. The expansion and continued maintenance of instruction in the less commonly taught languages has been supported by the federal government for more than three decades through Title VI of the Higher Education Act (HEA). Merkx relates the history of this legislation. The bulk of his article is devoted to a discussion of how, in part because of the requirements of Title VI, instruction in the less commonly taught languages is linked with area studies; that is, a discipline-based study of the countries where the languages are spoken. Merkx summarizes the recurrent polemical battle over the legitimacy of area vs. discipline-oriented research and the implications of that debate on the teaching of the less commonly taught languages.

Richard Brecht shows that under the general rubric of less commonly taught languages lie important structural differences in the accessibility of instruction. He describes important variations in organizational and pedagogical styles between instruction in the commonly taught languages — principally Spanish, French, and German, which he refers to as System I, and the less commonly taught languages — such as Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, Bengali, Turkish, and the languages of Africa, which he refers to as System II. The two systems differ not only in the availability of instruction, but in enrollment levels, the kind of

institutions in which they are found, the type of students and the purpose for which they are enrolled, pedagogical style, the disciplinary base and training of the teachers, as well as the sources of financial support for the instruction. Brecht then proposes a System III for the future, one that synthesizes many of the features of System I and System II. System III will deliver language instruction that will be customized to the needs of the individual student, modularized, and delivered largely through telecommunication. Language learning will be self-managed by the student, and the loose system will be bound together by the applicability of common curricular guides and standards.

Brecht's article, like those of Lambert and Merkx, is concerned with language instruction in higher education. The next three articles widen the discussion to include other levels and domains of foreign language instruction. Kees de Bot's article, like Trim's, comprises a normative statement of foreign language policy in Europe, but it deals exclusively with foreign language planning in a single country, the Netherlands. It addresses three fundamental policy issues: language choice, the level at which language instruction should be initiated, and the efficacy of immersion as a pedagogical style. In his discussion of level, De Bot raises questions about the validity of the universal belief that the earlier the student starts to learn a language the better. Most interesting is his debate about language choice. De Bot's is the only article in the volume that recognizes the impact that the worldwide dominance of English has on foreign language policy. Indeed, he argues that because children in the Netherlands will learn English anyway, other European languages should be emphasized in the formal language education system.

De Bot does not believe that early immersion programs will work well in the Netherlands. On the other hand, Myriam Met, drawing on her experience as a public school supervisor, discusses the decisions that arise in designing and implementing elementary school immersion classes in Chinese and Japanese. Met presents the arguments for and against partial and total immersion at the primary level. She stresses the importance of considering the students' levels of literacy in both the first and second languages of students in the early grades and the variables that affect the choice subjects to teach through the second language. She also raises questions of staffing and instructional materials. And, reflecting the concerns of other articles in the volume, she discusses the difficulty of introducing cultural materials in teaching Chinese or Japanese to very young children.

Xueying Wang's article takes the discussion outside of the formal educational system to heritage schools; that is, the separate set of language teaching institutions whose primary function is the provision of instruction in their parents' language to immigrant students. Wang provides some of the only data available on student enrollments by language in such schools, indicating that for many

languages there are far more students enrolled in heritage schools than in the secondary and tertiary institutions of formal education. She also indicates that a very large proportion of the enrollees in the university and college classes in the less commonly taught languages are members of the relevant ethnic community, who bring some knowledge of the language from home. She stresses the need for integrating heritage schools with the formal language educational systems.

The remaining papers in the volume deal with issues of pedagogy and program design. Michael Long writes about the pedagogy of language learning in general. He applauds the decline of interest in the traditional style of instruction, which he describes as "discrete point grammar teaching" with its "focus on forms." He prefers instruction that is task-based and focused on meaning rather than on specific linguistic features. However, he is wary of too radical a swing of the pendulum to a style of instruction that is focused solely on meaning. He proposes what he calls a focus on "form" rather than "forms," by which he means that within a teaching style that is task and meaning based, attention must be directed to the specifics of the linguistic features embedded in the tasks. He argues that this intermediate position will avoid the excesses of the discrete point and the totally meaning-oriented instructional styles.

Ross Steele, like Long, is concerned with the general learning of foreign language. He is particularly interested in identifying the most effective means of introducing culture into language learning. Steele acknowledges that testing for relevant culture knowledge is difficult but argues that language tests that are limited to linguistic features are inadequate. He further argues that cultural knowledge must be built into the design of courses and must be related to the student's anticipated contact with the culture.

Steele's professional specialty is the teaching of French. Thus he recommends the importance of providing culturally embedded language instruction even where cognates and cultural parallels seem abundant. Eleanor Jorden is concerned with the far end of the continuum, the teaching of languages where the cultural overlap is minimal. She introduces the notion of "the truly foreign languages," by which she means those whose linguistic and cultural codes are totally different from those of the learners' native language, in this case English. She explores the problems that arise when, in teaching truly foreign languages, the teachers have acquired their competence in the target language as native speakers rather than as foreign learners. She gives specific examples of this problem; for example, the presentation of orthographic systems and of stylistic levels of speech. To be effective, foreign language teachers must strive to present linguistically and culturally authentic target language material, but in a pedagogical style that is learner-driven.

Galal Walker extends this argument further, writing that learning a language involves not just the mastery of appropriate speech patterns, but also learning how to participate actively in another culture. His term "performed culture" captures this emphasis on learning the norms of socially appropriate behavior in which language use is embedded by "acting" them out in pedagogically constructed performances. Understanding performances requires an expansion of foreign language study from the traditional focus on the linguistic "code" to include a systematic treatment of the cultural "context." The memory a learner constructs in order to use a foreign language appropriately in its cultural context draws as much from his performance experience as it does from his knowledge of and about the language and culture. He classifies these cultural forms by their degree of explicitness and the way in which they should be taught: "revealed culture," "ignored culture," and "hidden culture." The learner often needs to understand the latter two cultures, whereas classroom instruction tends to be limited to the first: the superficial cultural features that appear in most textbooks.

The final article by Ralph Ginsberg and Laura Miller is empirically based. It illustrates another of the NFLC's central themes, the use of empirical data in the formation of language policy. It deals with a common structural solution to the problem of mixing culture familiarity with language learning: language learning during study abroad. In this article they present the analytic and methodological framework they used in an analysis of the language learning experience of groups of students enrolled in Russian language classes in Moscow and Leningrad. In view of the frequency with which this language learning strategy is used in such a large variety of languages and countries, it is surprising how little empirical evidence is available on the impact of such study on language learning.

Looking at the articles as a whole, it is interesting to note how central Walton's and the NFLC's twin emphases on structure and culture appear. In addition, there are several juxtapositions in the articles that are not often found in the literature on language policy. They address intracountry ethnic language policy as well as foreign language policy. They discuss instruction in both the commonly and uncommonly taught languages. They cover several levels of the formal education system from elementary school to the advanced training of specialists, and they deal with language instruction outside of the formal system. Finally, they deal with policy, pedagogy, and the relationship between them, often in the same article. It is hoped that the volume will contribute to the growing literature on language policy, particularly on foreign language planning, and to the elaboration of the multiple connections between policy and practice.In doing so, it will commemorate the work of A. Ronald Walton, a pioneer in each of these domains.

CHAPTER 1

Language Practice, Language Ideology, and Language Policy

Bernard Spolsky Elana Shohamy

Abstract

We distinguish between the language practice of a community (its ethnography of communication or patterned use of its linguistic repertoire), its language ideology (the consensus on what varieties are appropriate for what purposes), and language policy, which we define as an effort by someone with or claiming authority to change the language practice (or ideology) of someone else. On this basis, we describe the nature of language policy, the people involved, the reasons for developing policies, the relation between language situations and policies, and the results of policies.

Anyone living in Montreal in the early 1960s was likely to be puzzled by the apparent imbalance between the widespread public use of English in signs and large stores and the fact that 80 percent of the population spoke French. Visiting Montreal 30 years later, it is now obvious that French has achieved a public use equal to (or even better than) what the number of its speakers should deserve. Behind this change in public practice, one is not surprised to learn, was a determined and explicit policy supported and enforced by a law and regulations.

Other changes in practices of language choice are harder to account for. An anthropologist (Kulick 1992) has provided us with a fascinating description of Gapun. Gapun is a tiny, isolated village in New Guinea whose 100 or so inhabitants speak Taiap, a language not known to be related to any other. In spite of the isolation, he reports, the children of the village under the age of 13 no longer speak the local language. They all now use Tok Pisin, a New Guinea English-based creole that is used bilingually by their parents. The change in child speech surprises the adults. They appear to be unaware that their own language

choice has changed over time, from monolingual Taiap to a regular, code-switching bilingualism between Taiap and the Tok Pisin brought back to the village by young men after periods of work in distant plantations. In their practice, it turns out, only Tok Pisin is used in meaningful exchanges with children, while Taiap is used only for meaningless baby comforting talk. This case appears to be a change in practice that cannot be attributed to any explicit policy, but rather to alterations in conditions and pressures of which even the participants are unaware.

What Is a Language Policy?

To be able to talk usefully about language policy, it is necessary to distinguish between the language practice of a speech community — its habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire, its language ideology — the beliefs about language and language use, and any specific efforts to modify or influence that practice by the formulation of specific language policies. The word "policy" needs more definition. We will generally use it to refer to an explicit statement, usually but not necessarily contained in a formal document, about language use. More specifically, we will restrict it to cases where the maker of the policy has some form of authority over the person expected to follow it. In contrast, we will use the term "ideology" to refer to a community's generally accepted beliefs, and the term "practice" to refer to the deducible, implicit rules that seem to underlie the language use of a defined community. The three do not necessarily coincide: Benton (1996) cites a New Zealand judge who pointed out that the law making Maori an official language — a *policy* in our terms — did not change the general *practice* of using English for most public purposes, based on an *ideology* that held that English is the only language needed.

The term "language policy" is comparatively new — the first books to include the words in the title appeared in 1945 — but it has now developed into an area of major concern for scholars in a number of fields. It is known sometimes as "language planning."[1] Baldauf (1994) suggests a distinction between policy-making and planning, the latter considered an implementation of the former. But this distinction does not seem necessary: we will have other ways to deal with the unplanned or unanticipated results of a language policy decision and suspect that there are always many such unexpected outcomes, as in all other policy-making and planning at the national level.

The new field grew in parallel with sociolinguistics, a scholarly specialty that identified itself in the 1960s and that soon included in its purview practical

matters of language policy and development (Paulston and Tucker 1997). Language policy and planning has also been claimed as a subfield of applied linguistics. Grabe and Kaplan (1992) argue that a quarter of the articles in language policy and planning deal with applied linguistics issues. As time went on, the natural overlap of language policy with political science and public administration (especially public policy studies) and education (especially educational linguistics but also educational policy) came to be recognized. Not all the results of these wider views are positive. Because it takes its terms and concepts from these various fields, as Ager (1996) shows, there has resulted a certain degree of fuzziness and confusion about what language policy is and where it can be found.

We might start off by asking what a language policy looks like. How do you recognize one when you meet it? The easiest to recognize are policies that exist in the form of clear-cut, labeled statements in official documents. They might, for example, take the form of a clause in a national constitution, a language law, a cabinet document, or an administrative regulation. France, a country with one of the most sophisticated and demanding national language policies in existence, records its policy in several places. Among those locations, there is Article 111 of the Ordonnance de Villers-Cotterêt (1539) requiring that French be used in law courts; and the 1794 decrees requiring French as language of instruction in all schools, reaffirmed in an 1881 ministerial decree, extended in a 1975 law, enshrined in a 1992 constitutional amendment, and most recently augmented by the 1994 Toubon Act. This last (which was subsequently found to be unconstitutional) required that French be used in the domains of consumer protection (including advertising, employment, education), audio-visual communication, and international scientific congresses held in France (Ager 1996).

Somewhat harder to locate and interpret are policies like those used in Australia (Eggington 1994; Herriman 1996; Lo Bianco 1987). Australian language policy is written into cabinet documents setting out priorities for funding school language teaching. It is even more difficult to locate and define a national policy when there is a tension between federal and local policies, as is the case in India (Chaklader 1990). The most difficult to locate, describe, and understand are no doubt those found in countries where there is no single explicit document. In such cases, as in England (Thompson, Fleming, and Byram 1996) or the United States (Lambert 1994), one must search for the implicit lines of language policy in a maze of customary practices, laws, regulations, and court decisions.

Underlying this variation and complexity is the fact that language practices and policies, like Topsy, tend to grow without overmuch official intervention. Only in special cases is explicit formulation necessary. Those writing constitutions

for newly independent states are sometimes forced to define the role of the competing languages.[2] In such cases, the policy-making process may have been obvious and is then easily studied. More often, any existing national or local language practice has evolved piecemeal, with a combination of law, regulation, and custom. From time to time, a concerted political effort is made to proclaim a new policy. This may be a law such as the French language law of 1975, a popular movement such as the English Only campaign in the United States, or a government paper such as the various forms of the Australian national language policy. It also occurs when a ministry of education sets out to redefine the school-related aspects of language policy, such as the Dutch national foreign language action program (van Els 1992) or the new Israeli policy for language in education (Shohamy and Spolsky 1994). But for the rest, the chore of deciding whether a country has a policy, and what that policy is, is often first tackled by a sociolinguist and published in an academic journal in that field.[3]

It is important, we believe, to distinguish what we call language ideology from practice and from explicit language policy. Confounding in some ways this seemingly simple distinction between practice and policy, the members of a speech community also share a general set of attitudes or beliefs about appropriate language practices, a consensual ideology, as it were, assigning values and prestige to various aspects of the language varieties used in it. These beliefs both derive from and influence practice. They can be a basis for policy, or a policy can be intended to confirm or modify them.

Language ideology, following Silverstein's (1979) definition, is a set of beliefs "about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived structure and use." It thus designates the speech community's consensus on which variety it is appropriate for which speaker to use when addressing which listeners for which purposes. Put simply, language ideology is language policy with the policy-maker left out. Language practice, then, is the ethnography of communication (Hymes 1967; Hymes 1974), or what people actually do.

To clarify this notion, let us first define language policy. We start with a taxonomy derived from the question posed by Cooper (1989: 31) when he set out to investigate language spread and language change: "Who plans what, for whom, and how?" Following his lead, and accepting the interdisciplinary approach proposed by Ager (1996), Table 1.1 offers a first sketch of answers to an expanded form of Cooper's question.

Considering each of these questions in turn will provide with a fuller notion of the nature of language policy and how it should be differentiated from the general language practice it is usually intended to modify.

Table 1.1. *Who Plans What, for Whom, Why, and How?*

Item/Discipline	Sociolinguistics and language planning	Political science and policy studies	Education and educational linguistics
Who? — actors, initiators, planners, policy makers, authorities	language revivers, ethnic leaders, language agencies	pressure groups, interest groups, social forces, levels of government, the state	educational policy makers; central, regional, or local educational leaders
Does what? — behavior and process	plan status of language, modify corpus of language	follow a policy-making sequence	choose languages to teach and determine resources to be deployed
For whom?	speech communities and speakers	ethnic communities, majorities and minorities	teachers and pupils
Why?	to maintain or change identity or dominance, address economic needs, express ideology	to upset or maintain equilibrium, respond to group pressure, express ideology	to educate
Under what conditions?	existing ethnography of communication or linguistic repertoire	social, political, economic, cultural situation	the educational system
To what effect? — planned or unplanned	language maintenance, language shift, language modernization	impact, efficiency, integration	examination results, level of academic achievement, integration

The Policy Agents: Who Makes a Policy?

Does there have to be an agent, an identifiable person or persons making policy? In the Montreal example, there clearly was. In the Papua New Guinea village, there clearly was not. This ambiguity is reflected in definitions of the word in the *Random House Dictionary*. The first definition of the word "policy" does not specify an agent: "a definite course of action adopted for the sake of expediency,

facility, etc." The second definition does: "adopted and pursued by a government, ruler, political party, etc." *Webster's Third* expands the "etc." to "by a government, institution, group, or individual." In our usage, we use the term "policy" only for the second definition. For the first, as in the Papua New Guinea village, we will use the term "general language practice."

It is the word "individual" that reminds us that language policy is about language choice, and specifically about efforts to influence other people's language choice. Every speaker has his or her own language practice, his or her own "course of action" in the choice of a language from among alternatives, in the light of given conditions, to guide and determine present and future decisions. And each group of individuals making up a speech community has its own way of manipulating and setting the conditions that determine which practices are appropriate.

A speech community is not determined by its size. Cooper (1989: 36) showed the value of studying language choice at the level of "smaller aggregates," as small even as a family. Starting with the family is revealing. Commonly, the general language practice of the home is determined by the adult members. This need not be the case, however, for often young children going to school bring in a new language. This is frequently reported in the case of immigrant children. Rubin (1968) described a common practice in rural Paraguay whereby families tended to speak Spanish at home during the short periods that their children attended school and afterwards reverted to their more normal Guarani.

Any regular set of language choices might constitute household practice. We restrict the term "policy" to cases where one person with authority attempts to control the practice of others. One general home practice might be speaking the language of significant older members of the family whenever they are present. Another might be the habit of parents who speak another language when they do not want their children or the servants to understand.[4] Another might be a decisions to speak a heritage language at certain important family meals. But we would consider these practices to be policies only when they are the explicit decision of an authority, such as when a family council or a family head makes the determination.

By starting with the home and the family as a focus for language practice and policy we can more easily understand the disruption in immigrant homes when the power of decision about language choice moves, as it often does, from the traditional head of the household to the child starting school in the new country. We can also understand how upsetting it is when an outsider (say a school teacher) tries to encourage immigrant parents to change their home language practice. It is also clear, as Fishman (1991b) reminds us, that the

decision on which language to speak to babies and children is the most critical determination of the possibility of natural intergenerational transmission and so the survival of a language. But although there have been studies of home language practice, language-policy studies are usually concerned with larger political units, such as states or politically determined regions within a state.

Including this requirement in the definition, then, we will say that for a policy to meet normal conditions of well-formedness (which includes having some reasonable chance of "guiding and determining" courses of action), the agent must in fact be able to influence the speakers of the language. We think it better to exclude what might be called "reflexive" policy, where the agent (policy-maker) is the same as the speaker, a notion proposed by Myers-Scotton (1990 and 1993) in her model for African language practice. She considers what she calls "elite closure" a form of policy. In this, it is the elite who determine their own language practice by making extensive use of the former colonial language. They do this, she suggests, to keep themselves distinct from the uneducated masses, who are effectively blocked from full participation in society and unable to share in the power of the elite. The case is an interesting one and helps account for language practice, but it opens up the issue of language choice too widely.

Sociolinguists and language planners count two main kinds of language policy and planning: the one concerned with the structure of the language itself (corpus planning) and the other concerned with decisions on language use and choice (status, acquisition, and diffusion planning). It is to the policy student to whom we must turn for answers concerning the nature of the policy or planning process. From the policy student's perspective, there is a set chain of processes involved in any policy-making, ranging from initiation to evaluation. These are just as important in language policy as they are, for instance, in economic planning.

Sociolinguists and other students of language policy often present the main agent in the making of language policy as a broadly specified ethnic or social group or its leadership. In Fishman's study of minority groups resisting the spread of dominant language (Fishman 1991b), it is the active leadership of the ethnic groups who are the regular agents and whose activities are studied. They are seen as challenged to develop policies that will assure continued use of a favored language and its natural intergenerational transmission. Fishman (1993) gives some idea of the difficulties faced by these revivers by dealing with the first efforts to call meetings and congresses to start the process of revolutionary changes in group language policy.

Sociolinguists and language planners have also paid serious attention to the role of specialized language planning agencies, such as language academies.

Cooper (1989) has a very revealing account of the development of the Académie Française as an instrument of Richelieu's power in unifying France. Since then, there has grown up a host of specialized language planning institutions and agencies, as may be seen by the long lists in two recent books (Dominguez and López 1995; Rubin 1979). Most of these agencies are involved in corpus planning (which we will define below), but they also regularly see themselves as defenders of the language.

Sociolinguists look mainly at policy affecting language. Political scientists see language as just one of the fields of activity of the social, political, and governmental bodies they study. They also tend to deal with ethnic groups as one of a large number of potential pressure and interest groups working to assert influence over aspects of public life. In a conference of linguists and political scientists devoted to language policy (Weinstein 1990a), the differences of focus are evident. Political scientists like Weinstein himself (1990b), Chaklader (1990), Esman (1990), and Fierman (1990) see the issue as struggles of elites to influence government or between levels of government in federal systems. Linguists like Coulmas (1990), Daoust (1990), and Myers-Scotton (1990) are more likely to concentrate on writers, language agencies, or elite speakers.

The third group of scholars who take an interest in language practice and policy are educationists and educational linguists. This group is naturally most likely to focus its attentions on those with actual control over language acquisition and education policies. These may be curriculum experts and policy makers in central, regional, or local departments of education, or practitioners at the school level. Here, interesting tensions can be revealed, as in the alliance between the New Zealand department of education at its central level and some local schools against the regional boards of education over Maori bilingual education (Spolsky 1989), or the complex patterns of interaction between central and peripheral actors that we will see in the Israeli situation.

We might add as an extra subgroup of scholars of the field what might be labeled the conspiracy theorists. These are people such as Phillipson (1992), Pennycook (1990), Skutnabb-Kangas (1996; Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins 1988), and Tollefson (1995). This group, which prefers a term like "critical linguistics" for its label, is united by a belief that the serious effects produced by many inappropriate language policies must be blamed on a group of efficient plotters (such as the British Council or the English teaching establishment) who benefit from the extermination of minority languages. Often, they speak of hegemonies, but generally they seem to suggest the existence of active agents consciously succeeding in manipulating the language behavior of others.

One key issue in studying language practice and policy in Israel is the

change in language education policy announced in 1995 and repeated in 1996 by the Ministry of Education in the official circular of its director-general. But a full story will find many other kinds of agents. Such a full account must tease out the role of those who developed the original language ideology, of the contemporary elite and ethnic pressure groups, of the educational establishment in its many ramifications, and of the teachers and the pupils and their parents, all of whom have attempted or managed to set the direction for policy.[5] It will need to ask whether a policy necessarily comes from the top, or whether pressure from below can be effective. It will need further to consider how any specific language policy relates to, derives from, or has an effect on the general language practice and consensual ideology of a community. The multiplicity of agents trying to make policy and the existence of a more loosely defined community consensus underlying general language practice account for the complexity, plurivalence, and dynamism of the issue.

Who Does What?

What is the scope of language policy? When you select among alternatives a course of action to guide and determine present and future decisions, what is the decision about? To put it another way, which of the many meanings of "language" is the one to apply in "language policy"? What do you do when you make language policy?

A language policy may be defined by language, by function or role, by segment of the population to whom it applies, or by the action involved. A policy statement, typically, takes a paradigmatic form such as the following:

> A specified group (e.g., all native speakers of any named language, L; anyone who finishes secondary education; or any applicant for a position in the diplomatic service) should use/acquire/have the ability to read/speak/write/understand a specific variety (or specific varieties, or even, specific features of a variety) of L for at least one defined role or function (e.g., as citizens, for employment, or for community use).

It is the use of the word "should" that distinguishes policy (what people should do) from practice (what people commonly do). The process of making a language policy is complex. It depends first on the existence of a policy maker or policy-making group, a person or body empowered (or claiming the power) to issue rules that can be expected to influence the language behavior of other people. Sometimes, policies have no effect because they ignore the existing

general language practice, or because of refusal or resistance on the part of the people who are expected to change.

Successful language policy involves charting a feasible route from the existing general language practice to the desired practice, taking into account existing users and their willingness to modify their repertoire. A language policy may attempt to mandate the status of a language, its form or corpus, its acquisition or teaching within a country, or its diffusion to other countries.

– A policy concerning language *status* may take the form of laws or regulations determining the permissible or required languages in certain situations. Proclaiming an official language is status policy or planning.
– A policy concerning *corpus* sets out the approved forms of a language. Preparing official lists of approved spellings, terms, or grammatical rules or a new lexicon is corpus planning or policy. A corpus policy goes beyond general statements ("Speak English." or even "Speak correct English.") to quite specific regulations ("Don't say 'ain't.'" or "Spell 'honor' without a 'u.'"). *Corpus planning* sets out to change or modify a named language: "Spell it this way." "Add these new words." "Simplify this grammar rule." These are corpus policies.
– A policy concerning language *acquisition* or education sets requirements, situations, or opportunities for learning a desired or required language or variety of a language (Cooper 1989: 33). An approved foreign language curriculum for public schools is an example of language acquisition or education policy or planning. A subcategory of acquisition is a policy concerning the *diffusion* of a language beyond national boundaries. An office in a country's government (like the Goethe-Institut in Germany or the British Council) charged with supporting and encouraging the teaching of the country's national language in other countries is engaged in diffusion planning or policy.

The language policy areas are intimately connected. It is perhaps easiest to start with *status policy*, the principles and regulations or practices that determine which language variety should be used in a speech community for what purposes.[6]

Status Planning — Assigning Status to Languages

Using these concepts, we can most readily define status planning or policy as decisions about desirable or required functional allocation of languages and decisions about which named language is acceptable or should be used for which domain or function. The development of French language policy over the

centuries can be seen as a series of laws and regulations made by the French government laying down the use of French in an increasing number of domains. Similarly, Quebec language law was intended to specify a requirement for the use of French where previously it had been optional to choose English, French, or other languages. Often, a policy statement is negative and categorical, such as the ban on German use in Alsace in the laws of 1794, the Turkish ban on the use of Kurdish, the punishments inflicted on pupils who used Welsh in school, the imprisonment of Hebrew teachers in late Soviet Russia, and the fines levied on a Jewish shopkeeper in Montreal advertising his sale of *matzo* for Passover.

Language policy can be intended to maintain existing language practice — the English Only movement in the United States sees itself as defending current practice. Or it may be intended to make a major change. One special instance of this is language revival, essentially a revolutionary change in functional use. Language revival may take a language like Hebrew used for literary and sacred functions and attempt to revitalize and revernacularize it by turning it again into the language of everyday speech. It may take a former community language like Yiddish and attempt to standardize it and legitimize its use for literary and educational functions. There are, as we shall note, inevitable corpus planning issues implicated in these status changes, so that a revived or modernized language is quite unlike its predecessor. Language revival also usually entails acquisition planning, so that a policy for language revival regularly leads to language teaching.

Status policy essentially involves assigning rather than assessing status, according to a taxonomy of which languages should be used by which people in which situations or for which functions. Any such taxonomy is mapped onto a list of language functions or situations, or summarized by dividing these up into domains. The notion of domain was adapted by Fishman (1972) as a useful construct for describing multilingual repertoires. A domain, which needs to be established empirically for any speech community, is a cluster of roles, localities, and topics that are felt to be appropriate to each other and to a language choice. The domain of "home" for instance is composed of roles like father, mother, child, caretaker, guest; it is located in a family residence; and it deals with topics from daily life. The domain of "work" has roles like boss, worker, colleague, customer. It is located in a factory, office, store, or other place of business. It deals with topics like buying, selling, making, informing, and collaborating.

For many immigrant communities, there is a natural and common distinction between use in the home of the immigrant language and use in the workplace of the new language. Of course, most individuals function in more than one domain We all can and do fill many roles — a father in the home is a colleague at work.

A colleague can also be a friend, a team member, or a co-religionist. Gumperz (1971 and 1983) added the notion of metaphorical switching, where two bilinguals in a single locality change languages in order to change roles. The domain model recognizes normal switching as roles change. Forty years ago, one of the authors had an Israeli friend who spoke French at home to her son but then switched to Hebrew as the two of them crossed the road from their home into the school grounds where she was a teacher and he was a pupil. Even more subtly, if the mother addressed the child at school in French, it would be to claim the role of mother rather than teacher.

From this point of view, status policy or planning is determining which languages are suitable in which domain. The 1994 Toubon Act in France used the term "domain" specifically, requiring that French be used in sales and advertising, employment, education, audio-visual communication, and congresses, but leaving home language use untouched (Ager 1996). The 1977 Charter of the French Language (Bill 101) in Quebec required the use of French especially in all public and commercial signs (Daoust 1990). The founders of the city of Tel Aviv included status policy in their prospectus for the new city:

> We must urgently acquire a considerable chunk of land, on which we shall build our houses. Its place must be near Jaffa, and it will form the first Hebrew city, its inhabitants will be Hebrews a hundred percent; Hebrew will be spoken in this city, purity and cleanliness will be kept, and we shall not go in the ways of the goyim. (Translated in Harshav 1993: 143 from the 1906 prospectus for Tel Aviv.)

In fact, the basis of ideology for Hebrew language revitalization started with a rule requiring Hebrew language use in public.

Selecting a Language of Instruction

One central issue in status policy and planning is the choice of the language of instruction in the school. On the face of it, the issue seems simple. In fact, the almost universal lack of congruence between home and school languages (Spolsky 1971; Spolsky 1974a; Spolsky 1979) means that most school systems have to face a difficult policy question in choosing the best language of instruction. In the simplest cases — Norway (Haugen 1966) and Italy (Romano 1986) were classic cases — all or nearly all the pupils come to school speaking a local dialectal version of the national language, and the choice is then how to help in the transition from dialect to the standard language. In more difficult cases, classes might contain a heterogeneous selection of home languages, all quite different from the language that schools plan for them to use.

In such situations, there is a wide range of alternatives. At one extreme is the "submersion" or "immersion" approach, in which the target language is used for all children from the beginning (Johnson and Swain 1998). Submersion is the term used for requiring minority children to use the majority language. It is replacive and has been rightly condemned by many educators. Immersion, on the other hand, is an educationally approved practice of helping majority children to quickly gain control of an additional language. Besides this simple one-language approach, there is a vast range of bilingual and multilingual approaches (see, for instance, Mackey 1972) which divide up the school years, weeks, or days among two or more languages. One common model (commonly used by the British in Africa) provided mother tongue teaching in the earliest years but expected a transition to the official (metropolitan) language at some stage, usually no later than secondary school.

In Israel, the educational system assumes that Hebrew is the language of instruction for all pupils. It does, however, make exceptions, allowing the minority Arabic speakers to use Arabic as the language of instruction and permitting peripheral groups (such as Haredi Jews, Circassians, and private schools) to make their own determination. The 1794 French decrees handled this issue by converting private schools to state schools, so enforcing a French-only policy. The 1962 Jordanian law required all schools, including missionary and church schools that had previously used metropolitan languages as a language of instruction to use only Arabic.

The decision on the language of instruction is in part subordinated to educational concerns. For instance, there are reasonable arguments for valuing the use of the target language as the language of instruction in the foreign language classroom. These date back at least to the so-called Direct Method widely proposed in the late nineteenth century. More recently, this is the basis for the notion that immersion is the most efficient way of teaching another language (Baetens Beardsmore and Swain 1985; Genesee 1987; Johnson and Swain 1998; Ritchie and Walker 1995; Tedick and Walker 1996). But the choice of language of instruction is generally a decision that calls for more than educational motivation and is intimately related to major choices about national languages.

Language Acquisition or Education Policy — What Languages to Teach

Other aspects of language acquisition or education policy do not necessarily go beyond the educational domain. An acquisition policy takes the form of a statement specifying which segment of the population (such as all or part of the school population or of a specific occupational group) should spend a defined

amount of time acquiring defined levels of competence in specific languages. The most common form of this is the school foreign language policy, which determines how many and what languages are to be taught, starting at what age, to what proportion of the school population, and for how many years and hours per year. The decisions on these matters are in part educational, but in large part they are influenced by political, cultural, and other factors.

The number of languages taught depends in part on the national language policy. If there is more than one national or official language, more languages are likely to be included in the policy. Officially bilingual countries start with the requirement of adding the second official language (French or Dutch in Belgium, Finnish or Swedish in Finland, Hebrew or Arabic in Israel, English or French in Canada, for example) after the mother tongue. Countries with official regional languages produce a similar requirement in the regions, as Catalan and Spanish in the Catalan Autonomous Region. More complex requirements are produced when there are several official languages, as in India, South Africa, and Eritrea.

A second level of complexity depends on the development status of the official languages. If the official language or languages is not a developed world language, the chances are high that the canon of languages to be taught will include at least one world language. Other rationales, such as the existence of important community, religious, or heritage languages will increase the number of languages considered appropriate for the school language policy.

Language education policies may be minimal, as in the United States, where a year or two of learning a foreign language at high school or college seems to satisfy the most common aspirations, or quite demanding, as in requirements to learn national, regional, and community languages in India. While educational arguments are often adduced in the debate over how many languages should be taught, it would seem that such notions follow rather than overwhelm the political arguments.

Much the same is true in the controversy over the age of beginning instruction. The issue continues to be debated.[7] In much of the world now, the learning of a second or foreign language begins at the elementary school level, although there are countries like England and the United States where early programs are still exceptional. A sketch of the kinds of variation that occur in national language education programs is provided in Dickson and Cumming (1996).

There is a further extension of acquisition policy. “Diffusion policy” involves active efforts of a government or semi-governmental body to encourage the acquisition of a national or official language outside the political boundaries of the state. It might be seen as a continuation of imperialist or colonialist

language policy to areas no longer or never under the political domination of the state. Ammon (1992) provides a full account of the development of German language diffusion policy at the end of the last century. In a parallel account, Kleineidam (1992) describes ongoing French diffusion policy, noting the importance given to the ministry for *la francophonie*. Haarman (1992) describes similar efforts for Russian. Phillipson (1992) is concerned with British and American efforts to spread English.

There are officially supported efforts to spread Hebrew outside Israel. One is the major effort to encourage the teaching of Hebrew in Jewish schools and communities throughout the world, as part of the educational mission of the World Zionist Organization. A second, supported also by the Israeli Foreign Ministry, sends Hebrew teachers to universities in several other countries, including China, France, and Italy. The Foreign Ministry also supports Hebrew diffusion activities in Jordan and Egypt.

Corpus Planning — Making the Language Better

The areas we have been concerned with so far deal with the issue of a decision about which language to use for what purpose. Status, acquisition, and diffusion policies all refer to choosing a language. There is another kind of policy and planning that deals with the nature of the language itself. With a not-uncommon professional gaucherie and penchant for obfuscation, language planners have chosen the term "corpus planning" for all conscious, planned attempts to fix or modify the structure of a language.[8] While language as a social phenomenon (see Saussure 1931) exists as an ungovernable consensus of choices made by its speakers, regular attempts are made to engineer and manipulate various components.

The most obvious corpus planning activity arose from the need to establish a writing system for an unwritten language. That has been an extremely common task historically, as all but a tiny handful of languages had writing systems developed for them in historical time. Once a writing system is in place, one might want to change it, and spelling reform is indeed a regular topic for corpus policy. A second obvious area for corpus planning is a result of the need to supply new words for a language that is being called on — in the course of cultural change and modernization — to handle new functions and deal with new concepts. A third is the need felt especially when a language's texts are sacred or when the language is used in school, to agree on a set of conventions about appropriateness of form. We consider these in turn.

Orthography Planning — Picking an Alphabet and Spelling

The establishment of writing systems is most likely to be found nowadays when literacy is added to surviving languages of various native peoples in their first contact with modern civilization. Such efforts to create literacy occurred in the contact of anthropologists and missionaries with native peoples of Africa and the Pacific and the Americas, and in the Soviet efforts to integrate the non-Russian speakers into Soviet life and society. Interesting policy questions were raised. Should a new orthography be based on the needs of the language being written or slanted to allow for learning the dominant language? How closely should it reflect pronunciation, and how should it attempt to preserve semantic and morphophonemic associations? Those principles, and a host of economic and social, political, and education issues also entered and continue to enter into arguments for orthography and spelling reform. In the Israeli situation, it is the last activity that is relevant, as Hebrew continues to be afflicted with at least three accepted orthographies, all in a unique alphabet.

Lexical Elaboration — New Words for Modern Life

Planned help in the development of new words (lexical or terminological elaboration is the formal name) has long been recognized as an important language-planning activity. Languages have developed their own favored ways of filling lexical gaps.[9] A common one is to borrow a word along with a new concept or object, with the result that most languages nowadays are packed with English words to handle new technologies and products. Another is to use some linguistic technique (such as compounding) to form new words from the resources of the existing language. Generally, formal language planning agencies like language academies favor the second of these routes, intending thus to maintain the purity and national character of the language, but the success of their efforts often have been disappointing. Coulmas (1990) describes the success of the writers during the Meiji period (the 45 years after 1868 when Mutsuhito became emperor) of modernization in making major changes in Japanese that made it possible to fight off contemporary proposals to switch to English.

As might be expected, one of the most rigorous corpus policies is followed in France, where the academy has the duty to determine the individual words and expressions that all civil servants must use. Ager (1996: 66) cites a recent formal statement of this policy from the prime minister's circular of April 20, 1994:

> Every public agent (i.e., civil servant, but also individuals employed by the State including teachers, etc.) must conform with the general principle included in the Constitution, that "the language of the Republic is French."

> The widest dissemination must be given to the terms approved in the terminology decisions applicable to your ministerial department.

Corpus issues in Israel apply, we will see, mainly to the work of the Hebrew language academy in terminological innovation (Saulson 1979). The absence of a Palestinian language academy is felt by teachers in the Arabic sector. Corpus questions come up in language teaching, such as in the continuing issue of whether British or American spelling is to be preferred.

Prescribing Correct Usage — Keeping the Language Pure

A third area of corpus planning and policy is *standardization*, the determination of what is "correct" in the language. This kind of prescriptivism, as linguists have called it for some time, grew naturally in the general practice of teaching sacred or classical texts. The first goal in such a task is maintaining the purity of the oldest text. Carried into universal education, the call is for a clear statement of what is the desirable form of the prestige language. Where there is a language academy, that is where the task usually is lodged. Otherwise, dictionary makers and grammar book writers take it upon themselves to decide and publicize their own conclusions, sometimes basing their decisions on surveys of what they consider appropriate usage.

Sociolinguists studying corpus planning seek to understand the principles that might lead to good or successful prescription. Others are involved in the process itself. Educators generally assume that someone has done the task and express discomfort with the difficulties that linguists have in agreeing upon a single correct form, or even that there can be a single norm.

Issues of normativism and corpus are particularly sensitive in the case of Hebrew, where the fact that the language is a revived one — but one that has changed naturally in the process of revival — and the fact that so many of its speakers are not native speakers or are the children of nonnative speakers, produce many problems to do with normativism.

The Policy-Making Process

So far we have described and defined language policy from the point of view of the sociolinguist or the educational linguist. It is to the political scientists to whom we should turn first for some understanding of the policy-making process itself. While there are many approaches and models, it is generally accepted that a "stagist" approach is at least a useful heuristic. Stagist models may be more or less complex: we take one from a recent textbook on policy analysis (Parsons 1995). He presents it as a cycle that goes in the following order:

> (Problem) — Problem definition — Identifying alternative responses/solutions — Evaluation of options — Selection of policy option — Implementation — Evaluation — (Problem)

Ager (1996) cites an even more elaborate model which he takes from Brewer (1983) in which each of the following heads are broken into four or five subheadings:

> Initiation — Estimation — Selection — Implementation — Evaluation — Termination

Ager himself is not comfortable with these approaches, for they assume, he points out, a fundamental rationality, and a kind of liberal pluralism underlying policy making. Language policy is more likely to involve jockeying to maintain or obtain power rather than trying to distribute it equally. Furthermore, he suggests, the fact that language policy is so often concerned with symbolic values means that one is successful when one gets the topic onto the agenda; the rest of the process is then often less important.

Sociolinguists, too, have been concerned about the "how" of language planning. One major international comparative study (Rubin *et al.* 1977) had two major goals: "to shed light upon the actual processes of language planning, and to explore some approach to evaluating the success of these processes" (Fishman 1977: 33). Cooper (1989: 41), however, points out the problem of thinking of language planning in terms of a "management ideal," noting that what usually prevails is "messy" rather than "systematic, rational, theory-based planning."

For Whom Is the Policy Intended?

When we ask who is meant to follow the policy, it is useful to distinguish reflexive practice from transitive policies. In the former, the agent who makes the policy is also the person to whom it applies: I decide my own policy for language choice; a family agrees on a language policy for itself; a club sets rules for its own members; a parliament determines what language it will use in its sessions. In a transitive policy, the agent intends rather to influence the behavior of others. The grandfather decides that only the community language will be spoken in the home. The teacher decides that her pupils must answer in the target language. The state requires its employees and its clients to communicate in the official language.

With this noted, one might start from a general assumption that language policies are intended for all who are subject to the control of the policy-making institution or person, which assumption essentially sets their relevance to power in a social situation. By limiting access to certain information (such as education) or certain institutions (e.g., voting, law courts) to people who speak X-ish, I set boundaries that effectively exclude non-X-ish speakers from power and even protection. The most controversial language-policy issues then are those that affect the status of minorities or other powerless groups. Changes in the official language, we shall see in the next section, are one of the most effective ways of changing access to power in a society,

With the rise of the modern nation state, language policy has become a common method of determining membership in and access to the state's institutions. In the marketplace, as Cooper and Carpenter (1976) showed, it is the buyer who determines policy, for a seller depends on being able to communicate the qualities of the items he or she is selling. In a governmental setting, it is the bureaucrat who is able to decide what languages he or she is prepared to understand. If you cannot speak the national language, you might be prevented from access to banks, police, or even hospitals. Language policies then apply to members of speech communities who are in some way in the power of policy makers.

Sociolinguists and language planners recognize the distinction between a political community to which a policy is intended to apply (all citizens of X will speak X-ish) and a speech community that, like any social group, establishes its own rules of social behavior. This distinction is at the heart of the evaluation process, as shown in the studies by Fishman and others of the effectiveness of the language-planning decisions of the language academies in terminological elaboration in India, Israel, and Indonesia. In our terms, the policy may or may not affect the practice. Studies by Hofman (1974) and Allony Fainberg (1983) showed that the acceptance of academy-coined terms is different among different members of the speech community.

Educational linguists see pupils as the first target of any language policy, but soon add to that a concern for the language use of teachers. As studies have shown (for example, Amara 1988), it is commonly the case that teachers themselves do not use or master the target language they are supposed to be teaching.

Why? Policy for What Ends?

Policy analysts who see policy making as the rational balancing of a number of equally plausible options and pressures tend to see the ends as responding to

pressures and reestablishing equilibrium. There is of course underlying this an assumption that a pressure group has a reason to wish to influence language policy and that various decisions are likely to favor different groups. Focusing as they do on the powerful but presumably impartial policy maker, they see his or her task as measuring and balancing these various pressures.

Linguists (especially those theoretical linguists who have done their best to exclude social consideration from their work) have of late taken an interest again in language policy. Whereas earlier they asserted that there was no scientific basis for prescriptivism (our task, they said, is to describe language as it is used) and that all varieties were equally good, the realization that a high proportion of existing languages are likely to disappear within the next century has led them to accept some responsibility for preserving and maintaining endangered languages (Hale 1991; Krauss 1991a; Krauss 1991b). Sociolinguists, however, have long noted that "all users of language in all speech communities — speakers, hearers, readers, writers — *evaluate* the forms of the language(s) they use, in that they regard some forms of the language as better, more correct, or more appropriate than others" (Ferguson 1977: 9).

Although some linguists have recognized the inevitability of the growth and stature of prestige languages (Kahane 1986), others see their roles as siding with the weak languages that resist the pressure of the dominant. It is of course important to note that this implies accepting the relevance of language to power. To get a better handle on the issue of rationales and motivations for language policy, one might first try to differentiate between instrumental (or functional or objective) rationales and motivations, on the one hand, and integrative (or symbolic, subjective, or ideological) rationales and motivations, on the other. Like most attempts at dichotomies, this one fails because of blurring at the boundaries, but attempting to distinguish rationales along these lines is a useful heuristic.

Policy to Implement Language Rights

One seemingly simple approach to finding a rationale for language policy might be to assert some absolute linguistic rights, the maintenance of which is the first overriding consideration in making language policy. It is useful therefore to look at formulations of linguistic rights.

The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (a convention of the United Nations) treats language as one of those categorizing functions — race, color, sex, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth, or other status — that should *not* be regarded as a bar to granting rights and freedoms to everyone. It does not explicitly list linguistic right or freedom of language use.

There have been efforts to fill this gap, starting perhaps with the 1996 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and achieving their highest point to date in the acceptance by a large number of institutions and nongovernmental organizations of the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights at the World Conference of Linguistic Rights held in Barcelona in June 1996.[10]

The Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights describes the policy of an ideal and idealistic plurilingual country, one that provides full and equal rights to all languages and language communities under its control. The document is premised on a belief that "universalism must be based on a conception of linguistic and cultural diversity which prevails over trends towards homogenization and towards exclusionary isolation." It notes the effects of "invasion, colonization, occupation, and other instances of political, economic, or social subordination" that lead to "direct imposition" of languages, or that "distort perceptions of the value of languages and give rise to hierarchical linguistic attitudes which undermine the language loyalty of speakers."

The declaration is concerned with both individual and collective rights. Individual rights are the rights of an individual to be considered a member of a linguistic community, to use his or her language in public and in private, to use one's own name, to associate with members of the linguistic community, and to maintain and develop his or her own culture. Collective linguistic rights are those of language groups (defined as groups of people sharing the same language but resident in the territorial space of another community) to have their language taught, to have access to cultural services, to be equitably represented in the media, and to be addressed by the government and "in socioeconomic relations" in their own language. But these individual and collective rights must not restrict integration with the wider language community (defined as "a human society established historically in a particular territorial space, whether this space be recognized or not, which identities itself as a people that has developed a natural means of communication and cultural cohesion among its members"). Nor must it interfere with the host community's "full public use" of that community's language.

The declaration considers all languages equal and does not use or recognize terms like "official, regional, or minority languages." It spells out the domains of linguistic use, calling for full use of historic community language. Language communities have the right to have their language taught at all levels. The educational system should permit them to develop a full command of their community language and of any other language they wish to know. They have the right to be called by the name they choose. They have the right of access to all their culture. A recently arrived language cannot supersede "the use of the language proper to the territory." Everyone has the right to carry out professional

activities (other than language teaching, translation, and tourist guiding) in the language "proper to the territory."

This brief description makes clear both the scope of the declaration and some of the more obvious difficulties in the way of its acceptance and implementation. In essence, it completely rejects the current language policies and practices of most countries in the world. We know of no state that comes anywhere near meeting its ideals. This no doubt explains why the only governmental groups that appear to have agreed to it so far are regional authorities in Spain (Catalonia, Minorca, Galicia, and Basque) as well as Val d'Aosta and Corsica. Almost inevitably, its supporters are the minority groups and endangered languages that are ignored in the monolingual and dyadic policies practiced by the nations of the world.

Akinnaso (1994) cites the tension between language rationalization (such as the economic arguments that favor linguistic unification) and language rights (usually meaning the right of an individual or defined group to maintain the use of their chosen language, but also involving the right of all to acquire the approved or dominant language). The regular association of language with individual and group identity means that choices in this area entail conflicting values, and that any solution that is not based on the absolute assertion of one interest group's rights over all others will require careful compromise and meshing of counterclaims. Szèpe (1994) makes a similar distinction between regulations imposed by state organizations and the protection of the rights of the people who are subject to the regulations. States and their officials have, he points out, their own priorities: "the preservation of territory, the strengthening of national cohesion, [and] the development of the functional power of the majority group."

If we leave linguistic rights as a desirable but at the moment unworkable basis for national language policies, we must look rather at several rationales that appear to help shape existing policies.

Policy to Allow Access to Information and Cultural Knowledge

One almost neutral rationale for a policy of favoring a specific language might seem to be to make possible access to information and literature not available in other languages. For this reason, most scientific and much technological education in the world today includes teaching a world language (usually English, but French, German, Russian, and Spanish are possible alternatives) to students. We cited earlier a nineteenth-century Japanese argument for teaching and learning English. A similar rationale underlay the decision of the Hilsverein (Cohen 1918)

to use German as language of instruction in a tertiary technical institution being planned for Palestine in 1913. Whatever the political implications of the reasons for the status of English, German, or any other language in those cases, the educational rationale seems instrumental and objective. The two cited cases, however, add the blurring, for in each case, their symbolic meaning led to major debates.

Knowledge of a sacred language, for all its symbolic importance, may also be seen as a method of providing access to knowledge or information. The teaching of Hebrew for Jews; Sanskrit for Hindus; Arabic for Muslims; or Greek, Latin, Old Church Slavonic, Geez, or another language of scripture translation for Christians all have a simple first rationale of allowing access to the knowledge included in sacred texts.

It was perhaps out of this that arose the western tradition of providing access, through a foreign language, to the culture and literature of prestige western languages (Kahane 1986). Of course, in this case too, the rationale is value-laden, depending on the assignment of a high value to the religion or culture, and carries with it a lower regard for the local or vernacular culture. Typical of this view is the member of the English Advisory Committee of the Israeli Ministry of Education who in the 1950s was still willing to say that Israelis must learn English to have access to English literature, because there was no worthwhile literature in Hebrew (Horovitz 1986). Perhaps because of the prestige of high cultures and the elitism implied, foreign language education in many parts of the world has come under the authority of literature scholars and teaching, leading to a gap with those who are concerned with more practical goals.

Policy for Economic Reasons — National Language Capacity

Economic motivation is clearly a major rationale for language policy. We have already mentioned the marketplace phenomenon, the fact that it is sellers who learn the buyers' language in order to be able to compete. A body of interesting work has shown the economic value added to those immigrants who gain control of the language of their new country (Arcand 1996; Chiswick and Miller 1994; Chiswick and Miller 1995a, 1995b; Cooper and Seckbach 1977; Coulmas 1991; Sproull 1996). There are beginning attempts to show the economic value for workers in knowing another language (Grin 1996a and 1996b). This added-value rationale underlies the argument for the importance of national language capacity as a driving force for language education (Brecht, Caemmerer, and Walton 1995; Brecht and Walton 2000).

An instrumental rationale also underlies the commercial programs for language for travelers or business, and the definition of instrumental, practical

goals for language programs for government workers (Sollenberger 1978) or for the so-called threshold level of the Council of Europe language programs (van Ek 1975; van Ek and Trim 1984). It is also the focus of the language-for-special-purposes movement. It is important to stress that the objectivity of these approaches is in selection of languages and language goals, but all assume the value of the purpose and language selected.

Economic motivations are also shown in the increasing demand inside and outside government for language services: employees who can serve as interpreters or translators, or contracting businesses that can carry out interpreting or translating on demand.

It is now widely agreed that all countries in the modern world have a high need for linguistic proficiency in their citizens. The primary requirement is national competence in the official language or languages of the country. Such competence is the basis for good government, social cohesion, effective industrial cooperation, and smoothly flowing trade. Beyond this, all states in the modern, networked world have a growing demand for people with professional competence in a wide variety of languages. As Bergentoft (1994), a scholar with extensive experience in the European Union, remarks, "a leading objective of most policy makers in almost all European countries is to enhance multilingualism." The *national linguistic capacity* of a country, defined by the number of people with useful functional proficiency in various languages, is as much a natural resource these days as coal or oil supplies. The first priority is naturally given to developing competence in the official language of the country. This in itself is a complex task, as new technologies demand increasingly specialized oral and literacy skills.

In countries with official bilingualism or multilingualism, citizens are expected to learn more than one language. In Finland, for instance, citizens must learn Finnish and Swedish; in Belgium, Dutch and French; in Switzerland, French and German; in Ireland, Irish and English; in Canada, English and French; and in the autonomous provinces of Spain students learn Catalan, Gallego, Valencio, or Vascuence alongside the official Castilian Spanish.

In addition, each country chooses other languages that it wishes its citizens to learn. In much of Europe and much of the world as a whole, English is now generally the first additional international language chosen. But there are other languages besides English that can serve as the language for international communication, commerce, learning, politics, and culture. French, Russian, Spanish, German, Japanese, and Chinese are each significant in different regions and political configurations. Religion, too, sets linguistic demands, with Arabic for Muslims, Hebrew for Jews, and Sanskrit for Hindus, to name just three.

Armies and intelligence agencies also have need for linguistic skills. The U.S. Defense Language Institute teaches, it is said, as much language as all the educational institutions in the country put together. Both the Central Intelligence Agency and the even larger and more secret National Security Agency have large language schools, as does the Department of State. Because they are secret, the size of their operations is not public, but their importance is recognized: the recently released internal CIA evaluation of the Bay of Pigs Invasion in 1961 refers specifically to the error of not using Spanish-speaking personnel to work on the abortive operation. In Israel, the school program for teaching Arabic as a second language is largely driven by military needs.

Policy for National Identity

At the other extreme are the integrative motivations and rationales, which generally boil down to the rationale of learning X-ish because you are or want to be an X. X-ish then takes on a symbolic value much higher than an objective assessment of its economic or instrumental worth would suggest, and its promotion may even be at the expense of economic and instrumental rationales. National languages are promoted (as the French case makes amply clear) to promote identification with the nation, and so to assert the power of the central elite who control or wish to control the nation. The phenomenon is easily understood by looking at nationalist independence movements that commonly choose a language as well as a flag as their identifying banner (Fishman 1969; Fishman 1989; Fishman, Ferguson, and Das Gupta 1968; Fishman *et al.* 1985). Jacob (1990) shows how French language policy was a method of nation-building; Williams (1994) sees language policy as a critical part of nation-building in Wales and Quebec. The Zionist motto, "Hebrew, speak Hebrew," was a fundamental stage in building a new nationalist ideology. The choice of attempting to modernize classical Arabic rather than standardizing national vernaculars was an attempt to encourage pan-Arabism rather than separate nationalisms (Suleiman 1997a; Suleiman 1997b).

The use of this symbolic unifying power of language is common in national movements and after independence. The choice of an official language is one of the challenges a previously colonial country faces, pulled in one direction by the efficiency of continuing with the colonial language (a tendency supported, as Myers-Scotton 1993 has pointed out, by the elite who learned it) or of proclaiming independence by asserting the new language. Post-Franco acceptance of regional autonomy in Spain (Hoffmann 1995; Siguan 1993; Woolard and Gahng 1990) was followed by the proclamation of Catalan, Basque, and Galician,

although as Newman (1991) notes, the effect is to create new minorities within the autonomous regions and to tend to isolate the speakers of those languages living outside.

The notion of integrative rationale provides a useful technique for understanding the classification of the types of language involved in a language policy. Terms like national language, regional language, community language, and ethnic-group language all define precisely the level of the group into which one is intended to integrate. Heritage languages and sacred languages also imply integration, but in this case it is integration with cultures or religions rather than with socially defined groups.

Given the complexity of this analysis, it is, we believe, oversimplified to offer a simple, power-based, conspiratorial explanation of language policy. To argue as Phillipson (1992) and Pennycook (1990) seem to do that some hidden group of English and American plotters underlie the growing hegemony of English is to miss the much more complex sets of factors that are implicated, as Fishman, Rubal-Lopez, and Conrad (1996) demonstrate. And although it is common for language ideology (a set of beliefs about language and its uses) to underlie many language policies, it is not necessarily the case that ideology is the only driving force.

Policy under What Conditions?

Ager (1996: 11) points out that political science assumes that a policy-making system, a decision system, and an organizational network exist in an environment with physical (geographical), political, and socioeconomic components; within these components reside the conditions relevant to policy development. For a sociolinguistic perspective, he cites Cooper (1989: 93–98), who selects five relevant aspects: situational, structural, cultural, environmental, and informational. In a similar vein, Spolsky (1978) and Spolsky, Green, and Read (1976), in looking at a model for the description of bilingual education, earlier showed the relevance of linguistic, political, economic, religious, cultural, demographic, psychological, and educational factors. In fact, any attempt at limitation of the factors that may turn out to be relevant is likely to be soon challenged by a new case or by some unforeseen development. After a number of studies of Navajo language maintenance, for instance (Spolsky 1970, 1974b, and 1975), it was suggested (only partly in jest) that the best way to teach English on the reservation was by building more and better roads. In point of fact, the analysis of language shift did not take into account the introduction and rapid spread of local television repeater stations.

A sociolinguist, trained as a structuralist and with appreciation of models such as Hymes's (1974) ethnography of communication or the rich models Fishman explores (for instance, (Fishman 1991a; Fishman and Herasimchuk 1969), must assume the widest range of conditions that can affect language policy. As Ferguson (1977: 9) put it:

> All language planning activities take place in particular sociolinguistic settings, and the nature and scope of the planning can only be fully understood in relation to the settings.

In the search for a more parsimonious model, Lambert (1999) suggests that the four types of language-policy activity discussed above are most likely to be found in association with particular types of *ethnic composition of a society.* He distinguishes three types of countries defined by their overall linguistic mix.

The first type are countries that are linguistically homogeneous. Such countries, like Japan, Russia, or the United States, do of course contain linguistic minorities, but the minorities are perceived to be small and insignificant and are geographically or socially marginalized.

The second type are dyadic (or triadic) countries, which include two or three relatively equal ethnolinguistic groups. Prototypical examples are Switzerland, Belgium, Fiji, and Canada.

The third group are mosaic societies, countries like Nigeria, India, and Papua New Guinea, which contain a large number of ethnic groups. More than half the countries of the world, Lambert notes, have five or more substantial ethnic communities.

There are, Lambert points out, important interactions between that typology and the prevailing language policy. The homogeneous (or monolingual) countries usually assume that issues of status planning have already been decided. They put a great deal of emphasis on normative corpus planning, pay some attention to acquisition planning, and are sometimes politically motivated to develop a diffusion policy. Countries of the second and third types are usually locked into debate over status planning, but as this gets settled, the other three kinds of activity may also become important.

Lambert's typology of countries raises certain problems, in that he treats the typology as based on the actual linguistic situation within the country. In earlier models, Fishman (1969; Fishman, Ferguson, and Das Gupta 1968) had suggested that the important condition was not so much the language situation as clusters of language attitudes. Fishman's approach has value in its ability to treat perception and policy as distinct from observable reality, and in distinguishing actual situations from ideologies or beliefs about them.

Fishman classed countries according to the number of *great traditions*, or national ideological identities, that they recognized. In one cluster, he placed countries with a single great tradition, which of course corresponds to Lambert's homogenous country. The homogeneity in Fishman's view is a matter of belief rather than fact. Another cluster consisted of countries that recognized two or more great traditions and, corresponding to each, two or more national languages. A third cluster, corresponding to Lambert's mosaic countries, had no single great tradition and thus recognized the importance of a number of languages.

It is useful, we believe, to combine these two approaches in a slightly different way, as shown in the Table 1.2.

This approach permits us to show that trends and conflicts are concerned not with facts, but attitudes. Consider some examples that are harder to explain in Lambert's model. Ireland remained a Type II country, in spite of the continued shrinkage in the number of speakers of Irish. After the death of Franco, the policy of regional autonomy turned Spain overnight from Type I to Type II, as some local great traditions and their language were now officially recognized in their own region. The English Only movement in the United States tries to ignore diversity and the large number of minorities in order to proclaim a single English-speaking tradition. New Zealand may be described as a traditionally Type I country that is moving, under the pressure of Maori revitalization efforts and by virtue of the growing national recognition of a dual great tradition, towards Type II, but it still ignores marginalized minorities like Polynesians and Asian immigrants.

Table 1.2. *Types of Countries and Language Policies*

Type	Attitude	Ideology	Usual Activity
I	One language is recognized as associated with the national identity; others are marginalized	Monolingual	Corpus planning (normative), foreign-language acquisition, diffusion
II	Two or three languages are seen as associated in the national identity; others are marginalized	Bi- or trilingual	Status planning
III	No one language is seen as motivated by the national identity	Multilingual, with varying official status for several favored languages	Corpus and acquisition planning

This model will also help us understand Israeli language policy. From its founding in 1948, Israel was attitudinally homogenous, although pressure for Type II policies (e.g., recognition of Arabic as a second official language) and Type III policies (e.g., recognition of pluralism and multilingualism) has been unrelenting. Such pressure is growing.

Another type of condition that is critical to the development of policy is governmental and bureaucratic structure. The tight central control that Richelieu aimed at and that Napoleon perfected after the Revolution makes it possible to conceive of the rigid structure that French language policy desires. The changes in Soviet policy that Lewis (1972) traced depended on changes in the balance between centralized rule (which meant strengthening Russian) or encouragement of local pluralism (and the local languages). The collapse of the Soviet Union gave new power to local languages (Kreindler 1987). In Spain, the post-Franco grant of autonomy to the regions allowed local authorities to change language policy (Hoffmann 1995; Siguan 1993; Woolard and Gahng 1990). In the United States, the constitutional authority of the states for education hinders efforts at centralized language policy (Lambert 1994).

Policy with What Effect?

The view we presented earlier of language policy as an attempt to modify the language practice of a society assumes that this practice forms a recognizable and analyzable set of patterns. It assumes that we could derive from a study of language use in the community a set of descriptive and explanatory rules that would somehow capture the idea that members of the community have of appropriate behavior. Those rules, like other social rules, are not always observed, but their nonobservance is noticeable, in the way that a car driving faster than the speed limit is noticeable but does not disprove the existence of a law controlling speed. Put another way, one effect of a policy might be to change views of what is possible or appropriate behavior without immediately changing practice.

If the goal of language policy is a change of language practices or of ideas about the appropriateness of language practices, it seems natural to be concerned with studying not just policy making, but also implementation and evaluation of policy. The evaluation of the impact of policies, then, is commonly regarded as an integral part of policy analysis. Sociolinguists, too, take an interest in the success or failure of policies. Rubin *et al.* (1977) report on a major international study that was intended to analyze the success of lexical elaboration activities in India, Israel, Indonesia, and Sweden. Cooper (1989) provides detailed analyses

of the effects of the exemplary language planning cases he describes in detail — Richelieu's formation of the language academy, the revival of Hebrew, the attempt to reduce the gender bias of English pronoun usage, and the literacy campaigns in Ethiopia. There is regular debate over the reasons for the failure of Irish language planning (O Laoire 1996; Ó Riagáin 1988; Ó Riagáin 1997) as well as debate about whether it was in fact a failure (Dorian 1987).

One of the difficulties of studies of the impact of language policy is the absence, scarcity, or unreliability of quantifiable data that might be used for this purpose. Few countries collect reliable language census data, and when they do, the data require careful interpretation (de Vries 1990). It is even more difficult to study the effectiveness of corpus planning activities (Fishman 1973; Rubin *et al.* 1977).

There is another point to consider. Because the underlying goal of many language-policy activities is symbolic, it may well be that the statement of the policy is as important as or more important than the effective implementation. One of the obvious impacts of the declaration of Maori as an official language in New Zealand has been the use by government offices of Maori names on public signs and in advertisements. The effect is not increased language use, but a symbolic action that is seen as socially or politically necessary. Attempts to have the courts require the use of Arabic road signs in Israel is probably of political and symbolic importance rather than a practical need. In drafting a position paper on Israeli language education policy, we were tempted for a moment to suggest leaving out the unenforced (and probably unenforceable) compulsory status of Arabic, but we quickly realized the symbolic harm that would be done by this otherwise rational decision.

What this leads to is understanding the possibility of mixed rationales, with the symbolic rationale often winning out over more pragmatic concerns. Proposals to improve the efficiency of Navajo spelling were quickly attacked by Navajo teachers because of the symbolic issue: it won't look like Navajo anymore! Similar attitudes have blocked a string of proposals to romanize the Chinese and Hebrew writing systems.

Educational linguists, many of them directly concerned with language assessment and testing, are often involved in evaluation of the effect and impact of language policies. Here again it is important to remember exactly what effect is being measured and noted. The success of the early French immersion programs in Quebec was greatly helped because the evaluation focused on the fact that anglophone students did not suffer in their learning of English or other regular subjects (Lambert and Tucker 1972). When the evaluation asked about the quality of the French learned (Genesee 1987; Swain and Lapkin 1982), the

programs appeared less successful. One of the best evaluations of a bilingual program (Rosier and Holm 1980) similarly concentrates on changes in school achievement in English and mathematics rather than on the Navajo language being taught.

Baldauf (1994) draws attention to what he calls "unplanned" language planning, by which he clearly refers to the unanticipated effects of a language-policy decision. He cites the intriguing results of a language-education decision made by the governor of American Samoa in 1961 (Baldauf 1982; Huebner 1989; Spolsky 1991). He noted what had happened in other American colonies like Micronesia. In such cases, bringing English-speaking teachers from the United States had produced major linguistic, social, and administrative problems. The governor therefore decided to work with the best available Samoan teachers. To multiply the effectiveness of a handful of top Samoan teachers, he adopted a plan to install television sets in very classroom. The first unanticipated effect occurred as a result of the road-building that was needed to supply electricity to all the remote villages. The roads meant that the villages were no longer remote, and villagers could easily get to Pago Pago, the capital. The second effect came from the television programs that were broadcast at night, when the stations were not broadcasting educational programs. The ironic impact of an attempt to avoid interfering with indigenous culture and society was in fact to speed up the process of cultural revolution. The governor was successful in keeping expatriate American teachers out of the villages, but the villagers now sat and watched reruns of American television programs or hitch-hiked to the bars in town.

Any planning is a difficult and even risky process. Another example of the widening effects of a limited language policy is given by Ó Riagáin (1997). The failure in the early years to provide any economic planning to support the *Gaeltacht,* the poorer areas in the west of Ireland where Irish was still spoken, meant a loss of population in those areas just as major efforts were being made to revive the language in the more developed areas, where it was no longer spoken. When finally economic aid was granted to the *Gaeltacht,* its effect was to attract English speakers, further weakening the proportion of Irish speakers in the region.

It would be easy to multiply examples of unanticipated effects of language-policy decisions, but at this stage it will be enough to mention them in order to make clear that the formulation of a language policy, whether or not it affects language practice, is only the beginning of a complex new process. When one speaks about the cost of the successful policy of Hebrew revitalization and diffusion, one is referring to the loss of cultural and traditional connections and of national language capacity — the virtual extinction of the many Jewish

languages brought here by immigrants and the steady attrition in proficiency in all the other immigrant, community, heritage, and international languages.

The Language-Policy Question

One of the main goals of our study of Israeli language policy has been to attempt to understand language policy, what it is, and what, if any, effect it can have. To what extent is it something simple, like a national policy for flying the national flag? Or is it rather — like economic policy, ecological policy, or most other socially important matters — a complex interaction of many different factors producing chaotic changes when one factor is manipulated?

The picture that emerges in any close study of a single case is in fact complex. Policy emerges as a result of a multiple set of factors. A policy may itself be multiple. Policy is just one of the factors affecting the dynamic modification of the language practice of a community. At the same time, the results of a language policy depend on a full understanding of the pressures of language practice. We suggest two images concerning waves. English school children used to learn about a semi-mythical Danish king, King Canute, who unsuccessfully ordered the waves of the sea to stop. That is the image of the unsuccessful policy maker. Our second image is the surfer, whose skills and understanding of tides, winds, and currents makes it possible to move safely and effectively over chaotic seas. The policy maker must choose to be Canute or the surfer.

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Notes

1. In the catalogue of the Library of Congress, the earliest recorded occurrences of language policy are (Nesiah 1954) and (Cebollero 1945). A search turned up 903 books on the subject, some 66 with “language policy” in the title. “Language planning” produced 255 items, some 63 with “language planning” in the title. The first of these was Haugen’s 1966 classic.

2. The way the American Constitutional Congress managed to avoid defining the role of competing languages could make an interesting study.
3. Thanks to the interests of the general editor, Joshua Fishman, and to his policy of devoting individual issues of the journal to topics, regions and countries, the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* provides the best collection of such studies.
4. Jews in Germany who no longer spoke Yiddish were reported to have developed a kind of Hebraized German spoken in front of servants. There are German villagers who claim to have learned Hebrew in this way.
5. For evidence of this complex agency in the revitalization of Hebrew, see Nahir (1998).
6. Conceptually, status policy may be understood in the framework of an ethnography of communication (Hymes 1967; Hymes 1974) that attempts to map all aspects of language and language use (speakers and hearers, form, function, medium, content, style, etc.) onto a single model. Varieties and registers of language have appropriate uses within the communicative repertoire of a speech community. It is the ethnography of communication of a speech community that we are calling its general language practice.

   Various efforts have been made to cluster kinds of languages into typologies. Stewart (1968) proposed four language attributes (standardization, autonomy, historicity, and vitality) which made it possible for him to distinguish seven language types: standard (with all four attributes), classical (with all except vitality), artificial, vernacular, dialect, Creole, and pidgin. He also identified ten functions for languages: official, provincial, wider communication, international, capital, group, educational, school, literary, and religious. Schiffman (1996) finds it more useful to combine an expanded notion of register (a term usually kept for special varieties like those used by a profession) with the notion of repertoire as a total collection of varieties used in a community. He shows how complex can be the repertoire of varieties in more than one language that an educated plurilingual might control.

   There have naturally been attempts to simplify this complexity. One of the most useful is the notion of *diglossia*, coined by Ferguson (1959) to refer to the cases where two distinct and named varieties of a related language (such as High German and Swiss German in Switzerland, or French and Haitian Creole in Haiti, or classical Arabic and the local vernaculars in the Arabic speaking world) are divided more or less into higher functions (such as public, written, formal, official) and lower functions (such as home and community use). Fishman *et al.* (1971) showed that this notion was useful even when the two varieties were not related, as in explaining the distribution of Hebrew-and-Aramaic and Yiddish in the East European *shtetl*, or the allotment of roles to Spanish and English in the New Jersey barrio.

   In our new book, we will describe the general language practice of the Israeli community — the specific choices among available language varieties that are commonly made under specified conditions by specifiable members of the group, the language ideology or ideologies associated with that practice, and the extent to which practice and ideology can be maintained or modified by explicitly stated policies established by people or institutions with authority.
7. A useful source of bibliography is the CILT information sheet no. 55 available on the Internet.
8. Structural linguists, who preferred not to talk about grammar, used the word “corpus” for a body of texts in a language. I imagine what they meant by corpus planning was planning what a linguistic corpus would look like. In fact, they worked not with the corpus but with the rules, the rules of orthography, grammar, phonology, and lexicon.
9. Sapir spoke of this as a psychological property of languages, but Spolsky and Boomer (1983) argue, for Navajo at least, that it depends more on social conditions.
10. For details, the best web source is http://www.troc.es/mercator/main-gb.htm.

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CHAPTER 2

The Status Agenda in Corpus Planning

Joshua A. Fishman

Abstract

That there is a necessary operational relationship between the status and corpus branches of language planning has been pointed out by various researchers. This chapter points to the necessary theoretical relationship between them. Four substantive directions or factors in corpus planning are posited and differentiated: (1) Ausbau/Einbau, (2) authenticity/internationalization, (3) purification/regionalization, and (4) classicization/vernacularization. Because the four factors are related, they may all be subsumed into a single higher-order factor of independence/interdependence. All language planning that is oriented toward modernization and interaction with the modern world community of peoples and nations must inevitably settle for a degree of interdependence with major world languages. The same struggle between sameness and difference that characterizes cultures within the world community also characterizes the corpus planning they do. This is particularly painful when corpus planning begins under strong difference-stressing ethnolinguistic auspices.

What is the nature of the linkage between corpus planning and status planning? Is corpus planning less ideologically and politically colored than status planning? Those questions provide the agenda for the comments that follow.

The Link between Status and Corpus Planning

In 1987 I wrote that status planning was “the engine which pulls the language planning train.” That seemed to me to be an eminently sensible position to take,

since status planning provides the mass appeal, the functional goals, and the political sponsorship that make all of language planning (including corpus planning) move ahead. My position was not at variance with the generally accepted view that there should be a close tie between corpus and status planning, since without such a tie imbalances in the process arise. Status planning without adequate corpus follow-up results in an inability to put the target language to use. Corpus planning without adequate status implementation becomes an empty, socially meaningless linguistic game. Nevertheless, status planning seemed to me to provide the social momentum and support that made the entire interaction between status planning and corpus planning possible and elicited whatever ensuing "corpus catch-up" might come to pass. It is far better, and safer, that the corpus catch up with status advances, I thought to myself, than vice-versa.

A decade later, when examining many hundreds of statements of positive ethnolinguistic consciousness (Fishman 1997), I was faced with the finding that the corpus citations from all over the world were, on an average, a dozen years older than the status citations; that is, they had arisen earlier. That finding has caused me to rethink the above-sketched *primum mobile* scenario insofar as the dynamics of language planning are concerned. Might it not be that just because the status issue is the more politically encumbered of the two that there are many settings in which it is not possible — or simply not tactically wise — to broach it, let alone espouse it openly? As a result, many language-oriented intellectuals (linguists in some cases, but in other cases teachers, professors, writers, journalists, clergy, etc.) begin to tinker with the language and to call for its modernization in accord with various corpus models for doing so. The same models, however — although expressed in terms of paradigms that are in accord with phonological, lexical, semantic, syntactic, and morphological "regularities" of the language, and that can, therefore, be advanced on purely linguistic grounds — can often imply a hidden status planning agenda. Perhaps a substantial pool of case studies of language planning would enable researchers to locate examples of both kinds; that is, cases in which corpus planning starts the ball rolling, as well as cases in which status planning does so. In either case, corpus planning is likely to reveal more signs of status aspirations than has been admitted in the literature. Some of these status agendas in corpus planning will be illustrated below.

Ausbau/Einbau

Corpus planning for *Nebensprachen* (Kloss 1929) is often motivated by the desire to distance language X from its structurally similar big brother, Y. The

resulting *Ausbau* ("building away") process, undertaken to promote autonomy, studiously selects variants in language X that are maximally dissimilar from their semantic equivalents in Y, whether by favoring ruralisms, archaicisms, or neologisms that stem from a source totally different from those favored by the planned or unplanned development of Y. American English (in contrast to British English) was exposed to such corpus planning, to some degree, both by Noah Webster in the eighteenth century (1783 and 1789) and by Elias Molee in the nineteenth (1888). Similar autonomy-motivated distancing has been characteristic of the Urdu/Hindi, Landsmaal/Ryksmaal, Catalan/Castilian, Macedonian/Bulgarian, and Yiddish/German corpus planning efforts, sometimes mutually so. Although corpus planning in these instances proceeded without open disclosures of status planning, there is no doubt that such planning reflected ultimate status goals. Invariably, linguistic distancing was an indicator of social, cultural, and political distancing as well.

At the diametrically opposite or negative end of this dimension is *Einbau* (building together or emphasizing similarity). *Einbau* has as its goal the drawing of two languages closer together, so that they may become more similar to each other and, perhaps, ultimately, fuse into one. The Samnorsk efforts in Norway, the current Romanian treatment of Moldavian, the current Serbian treatment of Bosnian (or the former Serbian treatment of Croatian before the collapse of the larger Yugoslavia), the former Soviet treatment of both Ukrainian and Belarussian vis-à-vis Russian (continuing now in independent Belarus) are all examples of such *Einbau* efforts. In these cases the ultimate status goals have been more frequently avowed, since *Einbau* efforts are most frequently conducted by the dominant language's advocates rather than by "underdog" would-be "separatists."

Uniqueness/Internationalization

Many corpus planning practitioners have pursued goals of authenticity or uniqueness. They have sought in many aspects of the development of their language to choose alternatives that were uniquely theirs and totally absent from the standard variety of a particular neighbor or rival language. In Johannes Aavik's (1924) program of and proposals for Estonian corpus planning via random selection of "artificial" syllables we see this tendency at work (although motivated there by considerations of efficiency), as we do in the decidedly nonrandom approach of the "specifist" school of Yiddish language planning (Schaechter 1977). Although *Ausbau* (autonomy-motivated distancing) and the

uniqueness orientation may go hand in hand, this does not need to be the case, as the Estonian example reveals. It was not any possibility of being mistaken for Finnish or swallowed up by Russian that motivated Aavik's uniqueness tendency, but rather a desire to produce a purely Estonian product that would simultaneously be unique and optimally parsimonious in its construction. St. Stephen of Perm's writing system for Komi (Ferguson 1968) was another such creation, being motivated not by any need to stave off Russification, but rather by an eagerness to employ a system that would appeal to and be accepted by the local population because of its similarities to traditional Komi decorative designs.

At the opposite end of this factor is internationalization, a tendency that language planners often exhibit, particularly in the areas of modern scientific and technological nomenclatures. Language planning in the West tends to resort to a common pool of Graeco-Latin forms and conventions that planners dub "international" but that also just happen to be not too far from the reigning lingua franca, now English. In other parts of the world, Arabic, Sanskrit, or Old Church Slavonic may be preferred, but even in Ataturk's Turkey it was westernization of the language via French influences that he preferred to all other Europeanisms. Rather than being viewed from the perspective of religious classical tongues and valued for the spiritual or archaic overtones that some of them (e.g., Arabic, Sanskrital or Old Church Slavonic) also present, these languages may be preferred in language planning because they are regionally familiar and historically acceptable representations of the wide, wide world of intellect and ingenuity, particularly insofar as the elaboration of a distinctly modern lexicon is concerned. The ongoing debate in German (Coulmas 1989) and in Pilipino (Gonzalez 1980) language planning is frequently weighted on this factor, with arguments favoring internationalisms contending vociferously with opposing arguments favoring indigenous usages. The arguments imply their adherents' varying degrees of unconflicted embeddedness in international "econo-technical" thought and behavior patterns.

Purification/Regionalization

Purification is related to *Ausbau* and authenticity, but it also has an emphasis all its own. It differs from *Ausbau* in that its fears are not directed against Big Brother alone. It differs from uniqueness in that a single, particular source of contamination is more explicitly rejected than others. In the revival of Hebrew, the contaminating source was Yiddish in particular and European languages more generally. In Czech language planning it was German. In German language

planning it was French. In Basque language planning it is Spanish and French. There need not be present any Ausbau-driven fears of "mere dialect" designation, nor any danger that one's beloved language will be mistaken for a lowly dialect of another language. It is not the fear of internationalisms that drives purification, but rather the fear of a particular contaminant which has especially unsavory historical, political, and ideological overtones and elicits painful memories. At the opposite pole of this factor is regionalization; that is, a *sprachbund* with an entire cluster of sister languages that are acceptable sources for borrowings and other patterned influences. Inside this family, sentiments about purification are set aside; outside the family, they are invoked. Examples on or near this pole are the Turkic languages as a resource for formerly Soviet Central Asia, Malay and Indonesian for each other, the Nordic languages for one another (with the possible exclusion of Danish), and the Austronesian languages for Pilipino. Purification is suspicious of all contenders, but some are more to be guarded against than others, whether in language or in the practical world of affairs.

Classicization/Vernacularization

The final factor that I would like to propose has classicization at one pole. Here we have the successful examples of Hindi (Sanskrit), Tamil (Old Tamil), Urdu (Classical Persian), and, in some respects, Arabic (Koranic Arabic) to ponder. The early and ultimately unsuccessful attempts to keep the Slavic languages close to a single Old Church Slavonic model also belong here, as do the early attempts to keep French and Spanish as close to Latin as possible. At the opposite pole is the tendency to favor the most widespread pattern of vernacular use, whatever its provenance. For many decision-makers, Pilipino represented less of the latter tendency than does Filipino because Filipino is more receptive to the anglicisms that have penetrated Tagalog and other local vernaculars. Popular usage usually stands closer to the vernacularization pole than do the local language academy's recommendations. Were language planners to proceed according to this model they would simply sample usages and opinions and closely follow the majority when making a recommendation or stating a preference in any particular instance. It is precisely because the vernacular approach places the "experts" at the bottom, however, rather than on top, that it is so seldom employed as the final arbiter in language planning efforts. It has obvious implications for literacy, education, and governmental participation on the part of the populace, which may be one reason why it is smiled upon in Sweden. It also diffuses the blame, should blaming develop over "unfortunate" corpus developments.

Rotated or Orthogonal Factors

Figure 2.1 represents the above four factors as orthogonal to each other in a four-factor space. At the center, the P/R and C/V axes are perpendicular to each other and to the A/E and U/I axes, the latter two also being perpendicular to each other. This rotation would be the best representation of the four factors proposed above if they were all totally unrelated to each other. However, as we have already suggested, that is not the case. Some factors are more closely related than others.

Figure 2.2 represents my impression (totally impressionistic at the moment and based simply on my own reading of the literature) that purification, *Ausbau*, classicization, and uniqueness are in some ways similar to one another, and that internationalization, vernacularization, *Einbau*, and regionalization are in some ways similar to each other. In the resulting higher-order factor, to continue the factor-analytic analogy, one pole might be termed independence and the opposite one interdependence. The opposition between the two may represent the ultimate tension within all of language planning and the basic set of alternatives with which all language planning must cope. Clearly that opposition is not a corpus planning issue alone, and it clearly implies that corpus planning, in itself, is an expression of a status planning agenda, albeit in more muted, disguised, or indirect terms than those openly avowed in governmental or other authoritative declarations.

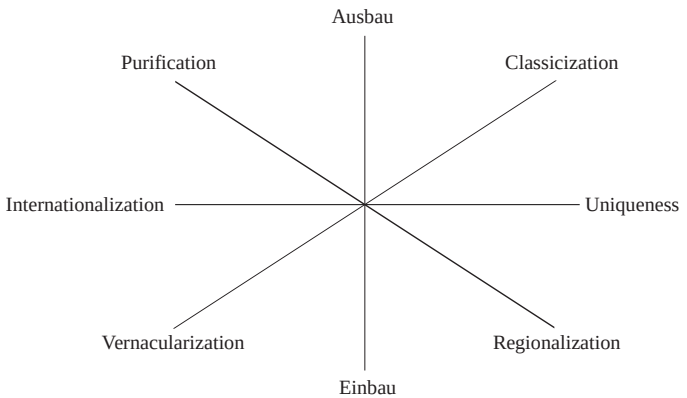


Figure 2.1. *Four orthogonal factors in corpus planning*

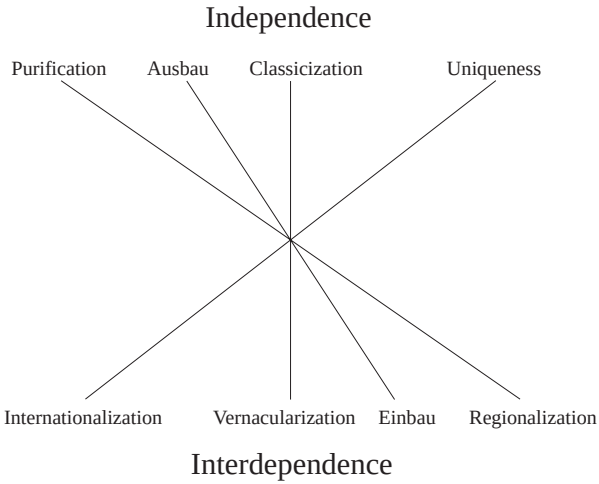


Figure 2.2. *Two higher-order factors in corpus planning*

Back to the Beginning

The realization that corpus planning corresponds to socially determined status goals may help us resolve our earlier chicken-and-egg problem. Which comes first, status planning or corpus planning? If all language planning boils down to one heavily status-flavored superfactor of independence/interdependence, then it makes no difference which solution we select, for both embody degrees of explicit status emphasis at different stages of a total process. At the beginning, in many scenarios, independence qua status may be rather more veiled than independence qua corpus, particularly when language planning is viewed from the bias or perspective of the underdog, but in the end all corpus planning (at least all corpus planning that is oriented toward modernization and interaction with the community of modern peoples and nations) must also settle for an inevitable degree of interdependence as well. Indeed, the tension between the two is a linguistic reflection of a tension built into modern life in most "late-developing" and "less successfully developing" nations, in which most language planning is undertaken. It also reflects the struggle between difference and sameness vis-à-vis the modern world — difference and sameness in values, behaviors, and aspirations, a struggle that is at the heart of the language planning enterprise as well. As long as there is only one overweening model of status modernization — the western model — so long will corpus planning inevitably lean in that

direction too, rather than in the directions of one or more different varieties of indigenously modeled modernization. Even the French are trapped. If "modernization" ultimately means the Americanization of cultural, economic, and political life throughout the globe and in whatever language, then French, Hebrew, and Navajo can all hold hands in singing the choruses of "misery loves company."

Some Final Observations

Corpus planning always has conscious or unconscious social engineering in mind. "Modernization" of the language is never just a socially neutral least effort, never a purely aesthetic or rational goal. Acceptance or rejection of corpus planning hinges not only on its linguistic felicity but also on the acceptance or rejection of the overt or covert social engineering with which it is inevitably associated in the minds of the authorities and of the public. This is so whether government, education, technology, industry, commerce, or popular entertainment are the functional realms for which language planning is intended. Outside of religion and the humanities, in which little, if any, corpus planning for modernization is undertaken, modern cultures are all largely translations of American life. Language planning — when engaged in under auspices of modernization and with modernization as the goal, generally results in making languages even more capable of translating American life, even when suffusing the translations with the aura and the pretense of greater or lesser degrees of indigenization. The trick of attaining modernization while pretending indigenization is all the more difficult because much language planning starts off as indigenization (*Ausbau*, authenticity, purification, and classicization) and is later forced to change directions to hasten the process of modernization.

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CHAPTER 3

The Way Ahead

European Recommendations for Language Teaching Policy Development into the Next Century

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Abstract

Languages for European Citizenship, the latest in a continuous series of modern language projects sponsored by the Council of Europe since 1961, came to an end in April 1997 with an intergovernmental conference in Strasbourg, at which the outcomes of eight years of intensive activity were presented. The final report of the project, which offered an extensive set of conclusions and recommendations, was endorsed by the conference and formed the basis for Recommendation R(98)6 of the Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers. This article presents the recommendations of the Languages for European Citizenship project and discusses the extent to which, though conceived in a European context, they may be of a wider application.

The Council of Europe is an intergovernmental organization founded in 1949. It now has a membership of 41 European states. Responsibility for its work in the field of education and culture lies with the Council for Cultural Cooperation (CDCC) set up under the 1954 European Cultural Convention, which has now been signed by all 41 of the Council's members and a further 7 states. Each signatory undertakes to promote the knowledge of its own language and culture in other member states and to give them facilities for doing so on its own territory. More generally, CDCC organizes and coordinates intergovernmental cooperation across the fields of culture, education, and sport. The United States has observer status within the CDCC, as does Canada, which has played a full part in the Council's modern language projects.

The Modern Language Projects of the Council for Cultural Cooperation

The involvement of the CDCC in the promotion of language learning dates from the early 1960s, as Europe's recovery from the disruption of international life in the Second World War gathered speed and the effect of technological developments in the communications field began to make themselves felt. It was clear that the linguistic as well as the political and economic fragmentation of Europe into nearly 50 independent states with as many distinct national and regional languages would seriously impede cooperation on the scale needed unless energetic steps were taken to promote an effective knowledge of foreign languages across whole populations rather than among small professional and social elites. In the Council's Committee of Ministers formulation (1982), "it is only through a better knowledge of European modern languages that it will be possible to facilitate communication and interaction among Europeans of different mother tongues in order to promote European mobility, mutual understanding, and cooperation and overcome prejudice and discrimination." Moreover, because political decisions have been based on the principle "that the rich heritage of diverse languages and cultures in Europe is a valuable common resource to be protected and developed," it has been apparent "that a major educational effort is needed to convert that diversity from a barrier to communication into a source of mutual enrichment and understanding."

Effective educational innovation is of necessity a long-term operation. It is not difficult to announce a change of paradigm, but if the change is at all profound it encounters not only intellectual resistance, but also structural and logistical obstacles that are not easily overcome. The conversion of modern language learning and teaching from being the exclusive concern of a relatively small social, cultural, and professional elite to the necessary basis for large-scale international communication affecting the whole population has been a truly major change, affecting objectives, curricular design, teaching and learning methods, course design, and textbook construction, as well as the content and techniques of testing and assessment.

Since the various components of the teaching/learning/qualification system are usually in the hands of separate bodies, it is necessary to develop a sufficiently strong consensus among educational authorities, examining bodies, publishers, teacher training institutions, and teachers' associations for them to work together in a coherent way over a period of time that is long enough to transform classroom practice. Even in the electronic age, a classroom still has four walls, within which a teacher interacts with students. The practice of teachers is very individual. Their methods are influenced by the way they were

taught, the ideas communicated to them in their initial and occasional in-service training, and the colleagues with whom they work. They have to operate with textbooks and other teaching resources that they have not necessarily chosen. They feel above all responsible for seeing that their students do as well as possible within a framework of qualifications they do not generally control. In the course of time they learn to come to terms with all these influences and constraints and find out what works with the particular students in their classes, with all their different characteristics and motivations, given that they are themselves the sort of people they are. As a result of this cumulative experience they develop a body of knowledge, skills, and techniques peculiar to themselves (often the books and articles written by very successful teachers are so idiosyncratic as to be quite unusable by anyone else) and settle into what they hope will be a stable routine that enables them to conserve some energy for other purposes, such as bringing up a family.

Any process of reform must take account of classroom realities. It is not surprising that it is a long job. To carry it out on an international scale, given the many different educational systems and traditions involved, adds a further dimension of complexity and lengthens the timeline. Indeed, it may be said that it is only if the reform process is based on clearly acknowledged principles that are sound enough to command general acceptance and stand the test of time for reflection upon experience, and if the changes proposed make a substantial change in a direction that accords with changing social, economic, and political realities that it stands any realistic chance of long-term success.

Of course, the combination of radicalism and conservatism that this approach requires brings the danger that the change of paradigm, if successful, may harden into a new orthodoxy difficult to change when, as it must, the situation develops further. It is important to avoid rigidity and the ossification of structures and ideologies while maintaining continuity of aims rooted in permanent values and fundamental beliefs. Dynamism can be expected to come from university theorists and researchers, especially if they are able and willing to work together with practitioners in the field, situating their work in the framework of a larger common endeavor. (At some point, of course, theorists may be justified in a fundamental critique of the whole approach. Not too often, though!) That is, of course, easier said than done. Whether these demanding criteria are met in any particular case only time can tell.

The present series of modern language projects conducted by the CDCC was initiated in 1971, when an expert group was set up to investigate the feasibility of a European unit-credit system for language learning by adults. In its early work (Trim *et al.* 1973), this group set out basic aims of language teaching

policy closely geared to the general educational and political aims of the Council of Europe:

- To facilitate the free movement of people, information, and ideas in Europe with access for all and to encourage closer cooperation by providing the linguistic means of direct interpersonal communication, both face to face and at a distance
- To build up mutual understanding and acceptance of cultural and linguistic diversity in a multilingual and multicultural Europe, with respect for individual, local, regional, and national identities, developing a common European intercultural identity by unforced mutual influence
- To promote the personal development of the individual, with growing self-awareness, self-confidence, and independence of thought and action combined with social responsibility as an active agent in a participatory, pluralist, democratic society and a well-informed, positive attitude towards other peoples and their cultures, free from prejudice, intolerance, and xenophobia
- To make the process of language teaching and learning itself more democratic by providing the conceptual tools for the planning, construction, conduct, and evaluation of courses closely geared to the needs, motivations, and characteristics of learners and enabling them so far as possible to steer and control their own progress towards autonomy in language learning and use
- To provide a framework for close and effective international cooperation in the organization of language learning.

Over the past quarter-century these aims have gained wide acceptance in the language teaching profession. In pursuing them, the successive projects have consistently advocated and promoted the following principles:

- A systems development approach, interrelating aims, objectives, methods, materials, assessment, and evaluation should be adopted.
- Objectives should be appropriate in the light of the characteristics of the learners; desirable in the light of the needs (vocational, recreational, cultural, and personal) and motivations of learners and the interests of society; and feasible in the light of the human and material resources that can be brought to bear.
- Methods and materials should be selected or developed that are appropriate to learners, teachers, and the learning situation. Those methods and materials should be used so as to achieve the agreed objectives.
- Methods of assessment and evaluation should be employed and developed that are directly related to learning objectives and that provide accurate and relevant information to learners, teachers, and other interested parties.

- The approach to language learning and teaching should be learner-centered rather than subject-centered or teacher-centered.
- The function of teachers and other partners is to facilitate appropriate and effective learning.
- There should be consultation and agreement on objectives and methods among all the partners for learning.
- A lifelong-education perspective is needed, as the developing individual learns to understand and to communicate in diverse ways for diverse purposes in a multilingual and multicultural Europe.
- All educational programs should involve preparation for future independent learning.

"Language Learning and European Citizenship"

Following a series of projects in which the communicative approach to language learning and teaching was piloted in a variety of contexts (CDCC 1981) and then generalized in the reform of lower secondary education (age 11–16) in many member states in accordance with Recommendation R(82)18 of the Council's Committee of Ministers (Girard and Trim 1988), the CDCC decided to pursue its work in the field of modern language learning and teaching within a new medium-term program entitled "Language Learning and European Citizenship," in which the methods successfully employed in previous projects would be applied, with suitable modifications, to the new sectors and themes to which priority was assigned.

The general aim of the project was defined as being:

> To undertake a concerted program of international cooperation to assist member states in taking effective measures which will enable all present and future citizens to learn to use languages for the purposes of mutual understanding, personal mobility, and access to information in a multilingual and multicultural Europe, so as to maintain the dynamic of educational change in response to the developing needs of learners and teachers resulting from present and expected changes in language use, educational practice, technology, and the socioeconomic context of language learning.

This general aim would be pursued by supporting the practical implementation of reforms under way in member states and preparing the many partners involved to play their appropriate role cooperatively in effective programs of educational innovation to meet the challenges presented by the internationalization of life in Europe while maintaining the continent's diverse linguistic and cultural heritage.

The new priority sectors identified by the CDCC were:

Early language learning (preprimary and primary education up to the age of 11). Early learning had been a focus of attention in the 1960s, but, perhaps as a result of the equivocal outcome of a British experiment (Burstall *et al.* 1974), had been neglected for a decade following the mid-1970s. Several member states had recently relaunched programs on an experimental or, in some cases, permanent and general basis, while others were considering doing so in the near future. It therefore seemed appropriate to support the exchange of experience and the pioneering of new approaches and methods.

Upper secondary education (age 15/16–18/19). The changing interests, characteristics, and perspectives of late adolescents following the completion (in many countries) of compulsory education made it advisable to reconsider the objectives, methods, and modes of assessment appropriate to this age group in general education.

Vocationally oriented language learning (VOLL) in the transition from school to work. The vocational domain has been affected particularly strongly by the growth of international trade and commerce and the operation of multinational concerns. Foreign languages have become essential for a far wider range of occupations than was formerly the case. The special needs of the nontraditional constituency of students in vocational education thus required urgent reconsideration.

Advanced adult education. Foreign language provision in adult education has been strongly pyramidal, largely concerned with elementary or intermediate courses. However, in a lifelong-education perspective, an increasing number of mature students will wish to build further on the successful completion of school language studies. This may be aimed at a higher level of proficiency in a school language, or at basic skills in further languages, but exploiting the learning skills developed in previous study.

The CDCC also attached priority to certain key areas and themes of particular importance for the further improvement of language teaching methodology in which international information exchange and cooperation in research and development products would make a valuable contribution to developments at the national, regional, and local levels. These were:

The specification of objectives. Objectives included (1) the revision of the original "threshold level" specification as applied to English, to take account of the studies undertaken in Projects 4 and 12, as well as other developments in the field over the past 15 years, and (2) the development and application of new models of description appropriate to other target groups (e.g., at higher levels or with greater specialization).

Use of mass media and new technologies. Properly used, the wider accessibility of broadcast media (including satellite and cable television), developments in audio and visual recording, and new and cheaper technologies (computers, CD-ROM, electronic mail, etc.) open up new possibilities for language learning and teaching. The international exchange of information (and, where appropriate, products) and coordination of experimentation can help to avoid duplication of effort and repetition of expensive mistakes, thus ensuring the most cost-effective use of new technologies in educational contexts.

Bilingual education. The use of more than one language in curricular areas other than modern languages is of growing significance in bilingual situations, where children from regional and migrant/refugee communities study alongside others from the majority community, and also in "mainstream" education, where the use of a foreign language in teaching other curricular subjects establishes an authentic context of use and gives the subject (and the school) a valuable international perspective. Experiments of both kinds in member countries should be identified, stimulated, and linked as a basis for an in-depth evaluation of what appears a promising line of development.

The role of educational links, visits, and exchanges in language learning and teaching. Educational visits and exchanges are growing rapidly. To realize their full potential they should be properly prepared and followed up as an integrated element in language teaching programs and intercultural education, together with continuing school links established by video exchange, electronic mail, etc. This is necessarily an international endeavor. International cooperation in the development of bilateral and preferably multilateral networks for ongoing links, involving teacher and pupil exchanges, the international exchange of experience, and the common development of curricular models and whole-school policies, is of great potential value.

Learning to learn and the promotion of student autonomy. Teachers of modern languages have the responsibility, not only to develop learners' communicative proficiency in the particular language being taught, but also to equip them with the learning strategies (attitudes, knowledge, procedures, and skills) they need in order to continue language learning as required by the challenge of adult life in a rapidly changing world. These enabling skills are the key to effective learner autonomy, which can turn European linguistic and cultural diversity from a barrier to understanding, communication, and cooperation into a source of mutual enrichment.

Evaluation. As the parameters of communicative proficiency become better understood, greater sophistication is demanded in its testing, assessment, and attestation, which is important to the individual concerned and also for many

other social purposes. Support should be given to education authorities and to those awarding educational qualifications in the language field across Europe to achieve greater reliability, validity, transparency, coherence, and convergence in examination practice.

The initial and in-service education and training of language teachers. The key role of modern languages in a fully democratic response to the challenges of the internationalization of European life in consequence of the information and communications revolutions necessitates a greatly increased teaching force and a raising of its professional standards. All the objectives and priority areas set out above have important implications for teacher education and training, both initial and in-service, which are to be seen as significant aspects of all actions undertaken.

The Final Report of the Project on Language Learning and European Citizenship

The project brought together teacher trainers, inspectors, and educational administrators in a series of 31 workshops, many linked by inter-workshop activities. On the basis of their work (which by 1997 covered 47 member states) the Project Group issued a substantial list of recommendations in its final report (Trim 1997), which may be of interest to a wider audience.

Aims, Objectives, and Recommendations

The Project Group starts by emphasizing the continuity of its aims and objectives:

> The Project Group, mindful that steady continuity of purpose is necessary for effective innovation, recommends that European education policies in the modern language field should continue to aim to facilitate the free movement of people and ideas across Europe; to increase mutual knowledge and understanding among all European peoples; to raise the level of European cooperation in quantity and quality; to combat or preferably preclude prejudice and intolerance towards peoples of different language and culture; [and] to strengthen democratic structures and practices.
>
> These aims may be pursued by providing facilities for *all* Europeans to acquire the ability to communicate with other Europeans with a different mother tongue; giving pupils the opportunity to learn more than one language during the period of compulsory education in addition to their national language; affording young people opportunities to learn about the other countries and their ways of life, particularly through direct links, personal experience of exchanges, and access to authentic texts; giving learners skills and experience

> in using another language for managing cooperative action; increasing learners' critical awareness of their own language and culture in relation to those of other Europeans and promoting the development of intercultural attitudinal and personality development; developing the international component in the curricula, staffing, and student composition of educational institutions; [and] employing methods of teaching which progressively promote young persons' independence of thought and action, increase their ability to steer, manage, and evaluate their own learning, and develop their sense and exercise of social responsibility.

After asserting the continuing relevance of R(82)18, the document proceeds to consider a number of general issues.

Resources

> The allocation of human and material resources to modern languages in the curriculum should reflect the growing importance of international communication in all aspects of modern life.

Over the years, the curricular time devoted to language skills has markedly decreased, largely because of the competing claims of sciences and mathematics. Surprisingly, international comparative studies show that those countries, mainly smaller ones, in which a larger curricular space is given to languages do not appear to do any worse in science and mathematics. In any case, the need for developed global communication skills is growing faster and becoming more universal than the need for scientific and mathematical skills, requiring a reversal of past trends.

Educational Goals

> The primary responsibility of the language teaching profession should be the development of a young person's language and cultural awareness, knowledge, and skills. Nonnative languages and cultures should be a component of the curriculum for all schools in Europe during the whole period of education from first entry until the end of institutionalized education. The form to be taken will vary appropriately according to national and local conditions and the stage reached in the young person's cognitive and affective development. The development of awareness, knowledge, and skills, in respect of both oracy and literacy should be approached as an integrated process covering home language, the standard state language, and other modern languages. This integration should be recognized in school curricula and organization.

The principle here, that the development of the individual's communication skills should be approached as an integrated process and recognized to be such by the maturing learner, is universally applicable. The goals of learner autonomy and

interculturality (see below) are justified not only as being important for the development of communication skills but also as educational values in their own right.

Plurilingualism and Diversification

> The requirements of mobility and mutual understanding in a multilingual and multicultural Europe can only be met through the promotion of large-scale plurilingualism. All Europeans should therefore be encouraged to develop a degree of communicative ability in a number of languages. This aim implies:
> – Diversification of the languages on offer in schools
> – The availability of more than one nonnative language to pupils during compulsory education
> – The setting of appropriate objectives for each language in the curriculum
> – Recognition in school-leaving qualifications for the achievement of language proficiency at various levels and for "partial competences" (e.g., reading and listening abilities)
> – Emphasis on the progressive development of enabling skills ("learning to learn")
> – Continuing encouragement and provision of adequately resourced facilities for language learning throughout adult life.

These principles, too, are of general validity. Their applicability is, of course, more obvious in the European situation — where more than 40 languages are in fully institutionalized national use or recognized regional use in both spoken and written form with developed cultural traditions — than in the United States. Plurilingualism has always been a fact in the United States, but until quite recently it had been seen as a transitional phenomenon. The United States is by no means immune to the effects of global communication but is perhaps in some danger of overestimating the extent to which its economic, political, and military power enable it to manage global communication exclusively through the medium of English, presupposing the universality of its culture.

A similar danger, though with less justification, faces the British. Both nations could perhaps benefit from being better able at least to read and listen with understanding to what others say in their own way, and perhaps to experience at first hand the problems in communication their interlocutors face. However, the increasing dominance of English as a vehicle of international communication means that there is no obvious candidate for acceptance as the first nonnative language for all native English speakers to learn. This brings a greater need and greater scope for diversification of provision (with all of the logistical problems diversification brings). Clearly, international communication has different perspectives in New England from those in New Mexico. The difficulty in predicting future needs also means that enabling skills are of increased importance.

Autonomy and Interculturality

> In addition to the development of the learners' communicative competence, modern language programs in schools should aim to develop their progressive independence of thought and action combined with social responsibility, as well as their acceptance of and respect for the cultures of other peoples. This respect extends also to other communities and sections of society, both in other countries and their own. Acceptance should be based on knowledge, understanding, and appreciation. This aim involves analyzing and where appropriate questioning the learners' own culture as well as that of others.

As has been observed above, these aims are particularly relevant to the political aims of the Council set out earlier. Student autonomy, as understood here and in the later section on learner autonomy, contributes to the strengthening of democracy at the grassroots level, while interculturality helps to build mutual understanding and respect. Concern for these functions of education is presumably shared by all who attach importance to the improvement of the quality of democratic citizenship.

The International Dimension

> All schools in Europe should develop whole-school policies for the introduction or development of the international and intercultural aspects of the education provided by the school. In particular:
>
> – Every school in Europe should be linked to schools in other member states in a multilateral interaction network, (where possible in association with town-twinning arrangements). Schools should use all available media and channels of communication in order to engage in continuing information exchange, discussion, etc., so as to provide a basis for pupil and teacher visits and exchanges. Networks should not operate simply through one single language of international currency, but plurilingually, developing mutual comprehension through the use of all languages represented in the network.
> – All schools should be encouraged to teach at least one subject area within the curriculum in a language other than that used for other subjects. A teacher who speaks that language as a native may appropriately, but not necessarily, be used for this purpose. Such teaching should be additional to and not a replacement for the teaching of the language as a school subject.
> – All teachers in all schools at all levels should seek to introduce a European component into their teaching, for instance by using their own foreign language competence as appropriate when dealing with parts of their subject relating to the country concerned; introducing relevant authentic texts in the foreign languages which their pupils are studying into their

> own subject teaching; [and] participating in multilateral school links, exchanging materials with teachers of the same or a cognate subject in other European countries.

Intercultural awareness and the international dimension of education are of particular importance to Europe as it moves within the lifetime of present school-children from a mosaic of independent states to some form of unity. Their educational importance to those who may otherwise be living in a monolingual and monocultural environment is nevertheless considerable.

Strategies for Innovation

> Curriculum development in respect of modern language should take the above aims fully into account. Whole-school policies are required, in which the planning of the child's development, as a communicator, learner, and personality interrelates the work of many subject teachers, especially but not only teachers of mother tongues and modern languages. The use of the target language as a medium of instruction [in other curricular subjects] should be further developed in the pursuit of the above aim. Attention should be given to the strategies of innovation needed when the pattern of working in a school is to be changed. Materials suitable for use in classes oriented towards the development of intercultural understanding, autonomous working, and the interrelation of mother tongue development and modern language learning are urgently needed. The development of school links and exchanges, properly prepared and followed up, is of great value in developing intercultural understanding and experience without culture shock.

The measures listed here need to be undertaken as aspects of a whole-school policy involving teachers in several different fields. A careful strategy of educational innovation may be even more necessary where the need for educational change and the direction it should take are less obvious. Under those circumstances, resistance to change and discouragement in the face of (predictable) difficulties is to be expected, and less support from outside is likely. Colleagues may be unsympathetic. Under such circumstances, it becomes all the more important to convince decision-makers to develop whole-school policies to preserve or rescue language teachers from what may otherwise be an exposed and isolated situation.

Priority Sectors

In respect of the sectors identified by the CDCC as priority concerns for the project, the Project Group made the following recommendations.

Early Language Learning (to Age 11)

- Despite the inevitable diversity of educational provision resulting from different national situations and priorities, a plurilingual and intercultural dimension should be present throughout the education of young people
- In ways appropriate to national and local situations, educational authorities should encourage and promote the availability of modern language learning as part of the school curriculum for all children from as early an age as circumstances allow. Ultimately, the teaching of a modern language should be introduced as soon as children are seen to be ready for it.
- The choice of languages should be made according to local and national circumstances, as should the methodology employed, bearing also in mind the need for methods and materials to be well attuned to the stage of cognitive, affective, and sensory development reached by the child.
- Steps should be taken to sensitize children to other European languages and cultures through play activities, songs, rhymes, etc., from the earliest age of socialization. The transition from sensitization to language learning should be made as soon as the child is judged to be ready for it.
- All teachers should be expected to participate as partners in a whole-school program of language development and cultural awareness for international communication, in a manner and to an extent appropriate to national structures of primary education as well as local opportunities and constraints.
- An effective, integrated program of initial and in-service training for language teaching to young learners [should] be available in all member states as appropriate to national policies and structures. Specialized training in the methodology of teaching languages to young learners should be combined with steps to ensure that teachers have the specialized language competence necessary to teach effectively using the language according to the methods being used in the school. Continuing staff development should also be provided for, including facilities for the promotion of teacher cooperation and networking across disciplinary boundaries.
- Appropriate forms of assessment and recognition of early language learning [should] be developed and generalized.
- Steps should be taken to ensure that the pupils' development in modern languages enjoys a systematic continuity of learning experiences building cumulatively on their achievements and in particular assuring an efficient and stress-free transition from primary to secondary education. To this end, active steps must be taken to promote communication and a sense of partnership amongst teachers and school authorities across sector boundaries.
- Steps [should] be taken to monitor, analyze, and compare the results of modern language development programs for young learners locally, nationally, and internationally so as to provide a sound foundation for policy and methodology.

In the early days of the Council of Europe (1950–1965) considerable emphasis was placed on early learning, largely following some form of the "critical period" hypothesis. This received a severe setback when the Burstall Report (Burstall *et al.* 1974) seemed to show that modern languages offered no exception to the general educational finding that, older learners being more efficient than younger ones, it was impossible to tell whether a 16-year-old had started to learn at eight or eleven. For some 15 to 20 years early learning in schools received little encouragement, but it has strongly revived in the 1990s, largely because of strong parental demand for English, but also because of the belief that children should be made aware of the nature of their international context from the beginning of their schooling but in ways appropriate to their cognitive and affective development (which had not necessarily been the case in the British experiment).

Lower Secondary Education

> Wherever relevant and appropriate, all the recommendations in this Report should be implemented in lower secondary education ([ages] 11–16).

Little is said specifically about lower secondary education in these recommendations, not because it is considered less important, but because it had been the focus of a previous project and was no longer a priority as such. However, the priority themes were largely applied in this sector and the new member states of Central and Eastern Europe were particularly concerned to implement R(82)18 in lower secondary education.

Upper Secondary Education

- National curricula should make provision for all students studying in schools beyond the age of compulsory education (or the age of 16 where compulsory education extends beyond that age) to continue modern language learning.
- Modern language programs in upper secondary education should enable students to improve the quality of their use of the languages learned in lower secondary education and to enrich their cultural component.
- Schools should provide diversified provision so as to enable students to relate new language learning to expected special fields of study or employment [and] to take up accelerated learning of new European or other languages.
- Particular importance should be attached to developing students' independence of thought and action combined with social responsibility (autonomy) by involving them in decision-making and in the planning and implementation of cooperative projects (especially those involving interna-

tional links and exchanges) as well as in the planning of their own individualized learning activity.
- Full account should be taken in the methodology of modern language teaching at upper secondary level of the rapidly expanding cognitive skills and cultural interests of students, but also of personal and emotional aspects of late adolescence especially in relation to communicative aspects of the building of social and personal relations.

This recommendation, together with that on early learning, aims to make modern languages an element throughout a child's school career. The American practice of concentrating the hours of study into a two-year period is virtually unknown in Europe, where the same number of hours may be spread over a much longer period, during which the characteristics of the learner change greatly. It is possible, indeed necessary, to take the changes in a young person's intellectual perspectives fully into account when dealing with students between 16 and 18 years of age. A quality of work is possible that would not be feasible at a younger age and that can give the subject a quite different image and make a distinctive contribution to the student's maturation.

Vocationally Oriented Language Learning

- In the period of transition from full-time education to full-time employment, language courses should be provided at all levels and stages of vocational preparation and training so as to equip young people in all types and levels of employment to cooperate in international projects and to enjoy vocational mobility.
- Vocationally oriented language courses at all levels should combine vocational and general educational components so as to achieve a balanced vocational, cultural, and personal development.
- Appropriate materials, methods, and forms of assessment should be developed and employed.
- On the basis of a common core of vocationally oriented knowledge and skills, students should be trained and guided to develop independently the specialized language specific to their individual responsibilities and career prospects in their own sphere of employment.
- Vocationally oriented language learning should not be confined to vocational education but should also figure as appropriate in general education from the age of about 14 years so as to sensitize students to the role of languages in the world of work and to prepare them for future professional contacts in their chosen field. For similar reasons all adult education should integrate some elements [of vocationally oriented language learning].
- Facilities should be made available in adult and further education for employees, especially in small and medium-sized enterprises, which cannot

organize in-house language training systems, to acquire further language skills required for their present jobs and for vocational mobility.
- Training schemes for the young unemployed should contain a foreign language component in order to increase their employability and vocational mobility.

Vocationally oriented language learning attracted particularly strong support from member governments in the planning of workshops, reflecting the direction of public opinion in a rapidly internationalizing Europe. Vocationally oriented language learning is likely to take more specialized and specifically targeted forms in the United States.

Advanced Adult Education

- Institutions of adult education should provide facilities for the continuation or resumption of language learning by adults, especially as appropriate to their specialized fields of employment, in order to facilitate international professional mobility and cooperation at all levels.
- Particular attention [should] be given to the development of materials, methods, facilities, and structures to enable adults to acquire diversified advanced communicative competences and skills, fully exploiting their professional knowledge, skills, and sources of information (including access to electronic networks).
- Local and regional authorities should encourage all involved in town-twinning arrangements to create and fully exploit opportunities for developing bilingual contacts between "opposite numbers" in the communities concerned (e.g., doctors, civil servants, managers, shopkeepers, lawyers, etc.).

The Council of Europe projects have strongly promoted the concept of "permanent education." The first global impact occurred in the field of adult education in the 1970s, in recognition of the fact that most language needs arose, often unpredictably, in adult life, and because the middle-aged had been at school before the generalization of language teaching in schools and therefore were largely monolingual. A considerable hunger existed and to some extent still does. Languages are the most popular courses in adult education, including broadcast-led multimedia courses. *Follow Me*, an Anglo-German television-led course in English under the auspices of the Council, was followed by over half a billion viewers in some 70 countries. The situation has now changed in that more and more adults (up to age 40 or 50) can choose either to take up a new language or to develop a school language (usually English) further, in both cases building on educational success rather than compensating for educational deficiencies.

Priority Themes

With respect to the themes identified by the CDCC as priority concerns for the project, the Project Group made the following recommendations.

Specification of Objectives

- In the interests of international coherence and coordination of language learning for communication in everyday life, member states should set up, or give full support to competent institutions in setting up, working groups to develop specifications for language learning objectives corresponding to up-to-date models for Waystage, Threshold, and Vantage levels in respect of all European national and regional languages.
- Those concerned with the organization of language learning should give priority to the setting of desirable, appropriate, and feasible objectives for their target audiences. In doing so they should consider the full range of options available in order to optimize the return for the effort and pressures invested, taking into consideration the parameters, categories, and level descriptors contained in the Common European Framework [see explanation below]. They should also consider whether global objectives, partial competences, or specialized modules are best suited to the needs, characteristics, and resources of the learners concerned.

Since 1971 the work of the Council of Europe in the language field has built on the conviction that the transparent specification of objectives is the key to effective planning for educational innovation. Objectives should be *worthwhile* in that they correspond to the needs of learners in society, *appropriate* in the light of the characteristics of learners, and *feasible* given the human and material resources (including time) that can be made available. *Threshold Level English* (van Ek and Alexander 1980) was a first attempt to specify what a learner would need to do with a language in order to move independently within a society that used that language as its normal medium of communication, both transacting the business of everyday living and making social and human contacts with other users. The language itself was then offered as a tool for action rather than as a formal system. The model has been extended (van Ek and Trim 1997) and updated (van Ek and Trim 1998) to form a three-level system. The concept has now been applied to 20 European national and regional languages, with more in preparation. Recently, a Common European Framework (CEF) has been developed to enable the various partners involved in the planning of language learning, teaching, and assessment in all its diversity to reflect on their objectives and methods, make planning decisions, and communicate those decisions transparently to clients and partners (CDDC 1997). Both the Threshold series and

CEF are open to all users, and there is no reason to suppose that their usefulness is confined to Europe.

Bilingual Education

In bilingual areas, steps should be taken as appropriate to ensure:

- That the provisions of the Council of Europe's Charter for Regional and Minority Languages are observed and made increasingly effective
- That there is parity of esteem between the languages and cultures involved and that children of both communities should be enabled to understand the language and culture of the other community
- That education should not be communally segregated, in order that all children may have direct experience of working together with members of the other community, so as to preclude or overcome negative stereotyping, prejudice, intolerance, and the growth or continuation of intercommunal suspicion, misunderstanding, distrust, antipathy, and hostility
- That an integrated bilingual and bicultural education, in a form appropriate to local circumstances, continues from school entry to school leaving, so as to provide a truly intercultural formation that strengthens the concept of languages in partnership
- That where circumstances (e.g., numbers) allow, similar provisions should apply to host languages and languages of origin in areas of immigrant settlement
- That the provision of bilingual education in this sense should not be used to deprive young people of the learning of at least one more language for the purposes of international communication
- That in formulating and implementing bilingual policies, partnerships should be formed at every level between local interests, political bodies, administrative authorities, parents, teachers, and learners
- That research, including classroom-based research, should be intensified, so that the results of decision-making at different levels, in respect of such common problems areas as curriculum design, effective methodology, appropriate materials, suitable teacher training, as well as attitudes, administrative support systems, and the optimal employment of scarce human and material resources can be monitored, analysed, assessed, and evaluated, and information made available to decision-makers and the wider public concerning the possibilities inherent in bilingual education in and for democratic societies.

In "mainstream" education, both general and vocational, steps should be taken to encourage the use of more than one language in the teaching of curricular subjects other than modern languages. The Project Group recommends:

- That models already in use (e.g., bilingual sections, foreign language modules, etc.) be further developed and information about them more widely disseminated
- That use of the foreign language as a teaching medium be considered not only for the first foreign language but also, where possible in the interest of plurilingualism for young people, for the second and even third languages
- That the use of a foreign language as teaching medium be developed through lower to upper secondary and into higher education, but that experiments also be carried out in primary education on a wider scale
- That special provision be made in initial educational training for the dual qualification of future teachers intending to specialize in language teaching employing the language as a teaching medium for other curricular subjects
- That in-service training modules be developed and made available to teachers wishing to employ a foreign language as the teaching medium in nonlanguage subjects
- That bilateral and multilateral cooperation be encouraged in the initial and in-service education and training of teachers for foreign language-medium teaching, such as (1) the further development of joint programs of teaching and qualifying examinations to facilitate cooperation and exchange of teachers and students; and (2) the further development of, and better publicity for, the Council of Europe Bursary Scheme
- That the exchange of experience, ideas, and materials concerning foreign-language-medium subject teaching be facilitated
- That networks be set up to facilitate the cooperation of pupils and teachers in international joint projects
- That the integration of native-speaking teachers able to teach curricular subjects into national education systems be facilitated.

Most European countries have within their borders long-established territorial minorities with a language and culture distinct from those of the majority. The situation has been further complicated by the influx of some 16 million work migrants during the period of rapid economic expansion in the later stages of postwar recuperation. The human rights issues raised are close to the center of the Council's concerns. Moreover, mutual ignorance and poor communication can lead to dangerous tensions and violent conflicts. The policy recommendations on language education in bilingual areas are meant to promote healthier inter-community relations in such areas. They may be of wider interest, since the problems are worldwide and accentuated by increased mobility and intensified communication.

The second phase of bilingual education is the systematic use of more than one language as a medium of instruction in schools in monolingual areas, which is seen as having a positive effect both politically and methodologically.

Use of Information and Communication Technologies
The Project Group recommends:

- That the use of information and communication technologies and their multimedia applications should be integrated into all modern languages curricula and steps taken to allow their great potential to be fully exploited. All schools should be equipped accordingly and teachers of modern languages given the necessary access to the equipment as well as funding for essential software.
- That the telecommunication and multimedia technologies, like other computer applications, should be embedded in a principled and harmonious approach to language learning and teaching. The design of multimedia applications specifically for language learning should be based on sound pedagogical and methodological principles rather than on predominantly technological considerations. In particular, the interests and learning styles of young people of various ages should be taken as the point of departure, and the potential of media for promoting learner independence and cooperation should be thought through and effectively realized.
- That, as soon as it is practicable, all educational establishments should have properly budgeted access to an international telecommunications network, so that schools may gain access to information databases in and about other countries in other languages and also establish, maintain, and develop relations with teachers and learners in other countries, especially within ongoing multilingual networks.
- That the use of information and communication technologies for distance learning, at [the] national and international level[s], should be promoted in order to make educational provision more flexible and accessible to a wide range of users, especially in continuing education, thus contributing to the development of plurilingualism in permanent education.
- That ways of using information and communication technologies to make information and learning materials widely available for all European national and regional languages should be actively pursued.
- That information about appropriate uses of modern technologies, as well as the necessary technical equipment and access to technical support, should be made available to practicing teachers of modern languages. Technical standards and user-friendly interfaces should be developed in order that special technical training in the use of multimedia and telecommunications technologies by existing staff can be minimized. In addition, teaching interfaces for generally available multimedia resources and databases should be developed.
- That initial and in-service education and training for all modern language teachers should include information about and training in the appropriate use of modern technologies, including the evaluation and selection of

> available software and the use of authoring programs, as well as experience in the handling of the necessary technical equipment. In these ways teachers should be given the competence and confidence to integrate such media flexibly into their daily classroom practice and professional life.

Information and communication technologies have enormous educational implications that already are outstripping institutional responses, not merely by individualizing instruction through man-machine interaction, but more significantly by exploding the closed world of the traditional classroom and transforming the roles of learner and teacher. Above all, everyone now has the ability to summon up information and to engage in instantaneous long-range communication without intermediaries. The predominance of English as the medium for electronic communication greatly increases the motivation and opportunity for speakers of other languages to acquire it. However, it weakens the motivation of English speakers to express themselves in other languages. The familiar dangers of asymmetrical intelligibility are also intensified. For instance, monolingual English speakers actually have less access to information and an illusion of self-sufficiency.

"Learning to Learn" and the Promotion of Learner Autonomy

The Project Group recommends:

- That one objective of courses in modern languages should be to develop the students' ability to learn more efficiently and to develop independent management of their own learning, so that by the end of institutionalized education students have the motivation, competence, and confidence to face real-life communication using the languages they have already learned and to tackle the new language learning necessary to cope with new challenges
- That school programs should promote student self-direction in learning by encouraging the use and development of metacognitive strategies, including reflection skills; developing specific strategy areas such as self- and peer evaluation, collaboration skills, and compensation strategies, as well as differentiated reading and writing strategies; [developing] negotiation skills, especially for the conduct of negotiations in the target language; [developing] study skills through different kinds of materials and tools such as literature, special study tasks, telematics, and satellite television; [developing] heuristic and inferencing skills for understanding newly encountered authentic texts and [applying] both inductive and deductive logical principles and processes in building up knowledge of a language and using that knowledge when dealing with the production and reception of texts; [and enhancing] self-esteem and self-confidence for dealing with new situations requiring social and communication skills.

As we have seen, learning skills are essential if learners are to be prepared to face unpredictable communicative challenges in later life. This development should not be left to chance. Learner "autonomy," the ability to take charge of one's own learning and to make informal decisions about objectives and methods, is seen as a dimension of maturation to be steadily promoted throughout the educational process, partly in preparation for later independent learning, but also in preparation for democratic citizenship. As such, it is of universal value and validity.

The Role of Educational Links and Exchanges
The Project Group recommends:

- That competent authorities in member states encourage and facilitate the participation of all young people in school links and exchanges at all educational levels as an essential element in preparing them, through direct experience of language used in its natural setting, for life in a democratic, multilingual, and multicultural Europe.
- That all steps be taken to ensure the full effectiveness of exchanges by involving all educational partners: political and educational authorities, parents, teachers, specialized agencies, and nongovernmental organizations; thoroughly preparing, carefully supervising, following up, and rigorously evaluating each visit as a whole-school responsibility; integrating exchanges into the school ethos, culture, and curriculum; setting clear educational objectives — covering knowledge of the region and its history, growth of social and communication skills, and promotion of open mindedness, tolerance, and respect for the culture and lifestyle of another people — and ensuring that these objectives are known and accepted by all staff and pupils involved; planning cultural and communicative tasks and activities involving the learning and use of the host language, even where it is not one taught in the school; [and] developing cross-curricular teamworking within a whole-school strategy.
- That all those involved in the planning and conduct of school exchanges should receive training (including linguistic training at a "survival" level), support, and legal advice in respect of the responsibilities they assume.
- That international staff exchanges should be facilitated. Adequate provision for the social integration of visiting staff should be made by host institutions and ways sought for dealing with the social problems at the home end posed by medium-term exchanges.

The easing and cheapening of international travel, on the one hand, and the revolution in electronic communications, on the other, have brought links and exchanges within the purview of all schools. Well conducted, they are a desirable

and feasible, even essential, aspect of the international dimension of school life. However, a visit abroad can be counterproductive if immature and inexperienced children without developed life or language skills are plunged without preparation into an unstructured situation that they cannot handle and that is not followed up. In such a case the culture shock may be considerable, thereby posing a risk of increasing rather than overcoming national stereotyping, prejudice, and intolerance. Exchanges are best integrated into the curriculum, ethos, and life of the school, contextualized as part of a continuing multinational networking, planned, conducted, and followed up as educational and language learning experiences. It has become clear that if links and exchanges are to realize their full potential, not only the whole school but also the local community must be involved in building networks and organizing exchanges. All members of staff (not language teachers alone) require appropriate initial and in-service training. Leadership from the top is needed, as well as a sense of common purpose and a belief in the international mission of education. Links and exchanges are of course easier to arrange within the confined geographical area of Europe (although transatlantic fares are often less than those from one European country to another). Electronic links can now be organized with no regard to geographical distance.

Testing and Assessment

The Project Group recommends:

- That in the interests of greater European educational and vocational mobility as well as in the interests of candidates and their teachers, all institutions engaged in testing, assessment, and examinations, especially those which award recognized qualifications, should make their objectives, criteria, and procedures coherent, transparent, and publicly available
- That institutions should use the Common European Framework together with the relevant associated user guide as a basic point of reference both for reviewing their existing practice in the light of available options and for making their decisions in respect of objectives, criteria, and procedures publicly available in appropriate detail
- That the steps taken by a number of the major examining bodies to cooperate and coordinate their activities should be extended to cover all member countries of the CDCC, thus promoting the free and open interchange of experience and expertise.
- That in view of the great variety of learner needs and characteristics, a corresponding variety of forms of assessment should be made available
- That competent academic and professional institutions should conduct and report carefully monitored and evaluated experimentation on such issues as

learner self-assessment, item banking, modular testing, the objectivization of criteria, [and] portfolio assessment
- That the initial training of modern language teachers should include an introduction to the principles and practice of language testing and assessment and that in-service courses for practicing teachers should be made available to enable them (1) to design, set, administer, mark, and evaluate in-school tests, [and] (2) to facilitate learner self-assessment.

Most educational systems rely on various forms of testing and assessment to steer and control teaching and learning, especially in relation to qualifications that determine the individual's access to higher education, entry into working life, or progress within a profession. They are among the most important levers of power and as such have received close attention. Examinations create anxiety and have powerful washback effects that can distort the learning and teaching processes. This danger makes it the more important to plan the objectives and methods used as elements in an integrated learning system. The issues involved are of universal concern.

Teacher Education and Training

In addition to the recommendations regarding teacher training in the previous section, the Project Group recommends:

- That before achieving qualified status all entrants to the modern language teaching profession should receive adequate and appropriate education and training which, while variously organized in accordance with national systems and practices, should be properly balanced between subject disciplines and professional preparation.
- That in order to make the best use of available resources (especially time), authorities and institutions responsible for curriculum development in teacher education and training should seek to establish and prioritize precise and coherent objectives of teacher education. These should be clarified in the form of a set of core competences set in a common framework of reference against which programs, curricula, syllabuses, materials, and outcomes could be evaluated. Core competences should include linguistic, intercultural, educational, and psychological components.
- That the role, form, and content of subject disciplines (e.g., linguistics, cultural and regional studies, literature) in the initial education of future teachers should be critically examined and, where necessary, updated in the light of changing priorities in the needs of individuals and of society. This reexamination is required whether teacher education and professional training take an integrated or successive form. The needs of future teachers call for special attention in universities where only a minority of graduates

go on to a career in teaching (e.g., by introducing study options or a modular structure).

– That a proper balance should be maintained between theory and practice in professional preparation. Trainee teachers should be enabled to develop scientifically based knowledge and understanding of the structure and uses of the language they teach, as well as practical skills in the use of the language for all classroom purposes. They should have a basic understanding of the processes of second language acquisition and learning. They should be helped to develop the personal qualities of a successful teacher, including an intercultural perspective free from prejudice and intolerance. They should also acquire the knowledge, understanding, and skills to enable them to develop reflectivity, creativity, and independent judgment, so as to be able to make curriculum decisions responsibly and imaginatively. Programs should also provide a solid basis for the development of a teacher's ability to observe, critically reflect upon, and, where appropriate, experiment with classroom practice (action research).
– That student-teachers should have and explore personal experience of the language-learning process, so as to develop awareness of their own learning and to empathize with other learners, with a view to further informing their classroom practice.
– That programs for the initial education and training of future teachers of modern languages should contain a sociocultural component designed:
  (1) to develop the student's sociocultural competence, comprising factual knowledge of the country or countries in which the language to be taught is used and awareness of the sociocultural characteristics of the communities concerned, especially in relation to the home culture of the students and their expected future pupils, as well as an open-minded attitude towards cultural variety and change
  (2) to communicate the skills required for the students to observe and analyze sociocultural phenomena, especially through direct experience [and to] enable their pupils to acquire similar knowledge, skills, and attitudes.
– That programs of teacher training should include a component on the analysis, evaluation, selection, and supplementation of textbooks and other course materials as well as on the selection of authentic materials and their classroom exploitation.
– That steps be taken to provide a stable framework for the close cooperation of educational authorities, colleges and universities, and schools in the education and training of future teachers.
– That the role of experienced practicing teachers in schools as trainee mentors throughout the teacher training process should be promoted and further developed. Mentors should work in close association with college/university tutors and should receive training in relevant aspects of

their mentoring role (e.g., observation skills, pastoral care, group dynamics, etc.). The status of trained mentors should be recognized (e.g., by the award of higher grades, salary supplementation, further qualification, promotion criteria, etc.).

- That all established teachers of modern languages should be enabled and required to receive further in-service training in order to maintain language skills at a high level, update language use in view of language and cultural changes, extend and deepen their experience and knowledge of the cultures of the country or countries where the language is spoken, improve and update their teaching skills by receiving information and direct experience of advances in language learning and teaching methodology, including new, applicable theories of language acquisition, learning, and use; prepare to act as mentors for students undergoing initial teacher training in close cooperation with teacher training institutions; and prepare to play a central role in the establishment and development of whole-school policies for the internationalization of education, involving cross disciplinary cooperation in setting up and developing multilateral networks for links, visits, and exchanges.
- That competent authorities should take steps to ensure that salaries and conditions of work for professionally qualified language teachers are competitive with other employment options so that their services are retained and a proper return received on the resources invested in their professional training.

In the above perspective, language teachers are called upon to undertake new roles, which call for new knowledge, skills, processes, and, perhaps, attitudes. Profound social changes have greatly changed intergenerational relations, changes to which education systems must respond. Teachers can no longer be authoritarian figures, imposing rigid disciplines and acting as the sole channel of learning. Instead, they are required to act as senior partners in a joint enterprise. Their authority rests on the skills and experience they bring to bear — as professional experts, managers, advisers, facilitators, therapists, and more — on a situation in which decisions are reached cooperatively by negotiation among the partners. Teachers nevertheless remain central to the environment in which learners work. They are, however, far too many for the Council, with its limited resources, to reach directly. Teacher trainers have been identified as the key multipliers. They were directly addressed by the 37 workshops held in 1984–1987, attended in all by some 1,500 participants, and were the main element in the 31 workshops held in 1990–1996, attended by up to 2,000 participants from over 40 countries. The Project Group's recommendations on teacher education and training are based on the findings and recommendations of these workshops, which also recognized the teacher training component in many of the other areas already discussed.

Conclusion

Taken as a whole, the recommendations of the Project Group for the Council of Europe's project on Language Learning for European Citizenship provide a coherent and fairly detailed program for the development of language teaching policy into the next century. The recommendations have arisen from the European situation: a relatively small geographical area in the process of overcoming the economic and political fragmentation inherited from the heyday of the nation-state in the recent past, concerned to find unity in diversity and to overcome barriers to communication without sacrificing the distinctive linguistic and cultural identities of its peoples. Many of the recommendations have these concerns in mind. However, many transcend local considerations. All are offered to readers outside Europe, as is the Common European Framework, as a basis for reflection. It must be for readers to decide which recommendations are applicable to their own situations and which are irrelevant or might even prove counterproductive. Taken in this spirit, even those that evoke negative reactions could be of value in policy formation. In 1997, a major intergovernmental conference was held in Strasbourg to receive and debate the Project Group's findings. The conclusions and recommendations of the conference fully endorsed those findings, and in 1998 the Committee of Ministers adopted Recommendation (98)6, embodying, with some amendment, those recommendations of the conference that called for governmental action. Their full effect will be felt in the course of the early years of the coming century.

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CHAPTER 4

The Winds of Change in Foreign Language Instruction

Richard D. Lambert

Abstract

Basic changes in the organization of higher education are eroding support for foreign language instruction on American campuses. These include growing budgetary constraints, a declining and aging job market for academics, radical shifts in student goals, and a major increase in the role of community colleges. Other changes are threatening the sustainability of the current organizational style of foreign language instruction. Among those changes are: (1) the nature and effect of fluctuating student demand; (2) shifts in the function and organization of language departments; (3) mismatches between career opportunities and the training of future language professionals; and (4) isolation from other disciplines on the campus. The beginning of an increasing demand for foreign language skills in the adult population offers a ray of hope.

This is a time of great flux in higher education in America. Among the trends having a major impact on our colleges and universities are the following: increasing budgetary constraints on entire institutions; a trend to superannuation of the standing faculty, leading to diminishing opportunities for promotion; the increasing use of part-time faculty; a declining job market for young academics; the rise of a substantial part-time professoriate; radical shifts in student enrollment and choice of major by school and discipline; and the expanding role of community colleges in American higher education.

These changes have brought to the fore long-standing internal stresses within the field of foreign language education and given them an urgency that a former, more supportive context obscured. The result has been a quiet crisis in

the structure and function of foreign language departments. Long-standing organizational formats are being questioned, and the morale and sense of mission of language faculty and administrators are being undermined.

Here I will discuss only a few of these issues: (1) the nature and effect of shifting demand; (2) the function and organization of language departments; (3) the education of future language professionals; and (4) links with other disciplines on campuses.

Shifts in Demand for Foreign Language Instruction

Our collegiate foreign language educational system is what might be called a constrained free-market enterprise. It is a free market in the sense that its scale and well-being are dependent on attracting students to enroll in language courses; it is constrained in that in many institutions a quota of enrollments is guaranteed by the maintenance of a language requirement. It is the fact or the threat of declining enrollments that places the language programs in such jeopardy. These, in turn, have triggered an examination of other parts of the enterprise.

National enrollments in foreign language courses in absolute terms have been relatively constant for the past 30 years (Brod and Huber 1995). Total enrollments were 1,073,097 in 1968. In 1995 they were 1,096,603. A period of decline in the number of students enrolled in language classes between 1972 and 1986 was followed by a spurt of growth up to 1990 and then a slight decline again between 1990 and 1995 (−4.5 percent). This seemingly steady state, however, has occurred while general enrollments in higher education were increasing rapidly. Hence, modern foreign language enrollments per 100 students have dropped from 16.1 per hundred students in 1960 to 7.6 in 1995. In part this is a function of the immense expansion of two-year colleges that now comprise more than half of all college-level enrollments, and where foreign language programs are least well developed and attract the fewest enrollees and majors.

The decline in enrollments has not been spread evenly among the various types of institutions. So-called comprehensive institutions, to use the Carnegie classification (largely the non-research-oriented state institutions), the baccalaureate, and the two-year colleges have shown a slight increase in language enrollments over the past five years. It is the doctorate-granting institutions, particularly the research universities, that have experienced the greatest decline in language enrollments. And in all institutional classes, the proportion of the student body exposed to language instruction has been decreasing. In the economy of higher education, this makes it more difficult for a language

department to make a case for steady-state or expanded staffing, and particularly in the doctorate-granting institutions the pressure for programmatic deflation is immense.

The impact of enrollment changes, however, is not limited to declining absolute or proportional enrollments but is affected by the changing trajectories of enrollments in individual languages. In the American system, particularly in the larger institutions where the problem is most acute, language teaching skills are not fungible. In relatively few institutions is a teacher of French expected to be able to teach Spanish or German, let alone Chinese, Japanese, or Arabic. Hence, major shifts in enrollments among the languages can be as unsettling as overall decline in the number of students taking language classes.

Over the past several decades, and with increasing velocity in recent years, the relative share of individual languages in the enrollment pool has shifted dramatically. Why this has happened is subject to some general theorizing, but we know surprisingly little about why students choose to study one versus another language. To some extent, student choice among languages is determined by the availability of faculty competencies, by the nature of foreign language requirements, and by the availability of language instruction in high schools. But in spite of the fact that enrollment shifts can nourish or devastate foreign language departments, our knowledge of the causes of shift in student demand are primitive and ad hoc. Nor do we have any considered policy as to which languages should be offered and in which ones students should enroll. The current situation is a combination of mortmain and laissez-faire.

That there have been radical shifts is abundantly clear. Because they represent the majority of language course enrollments in every institution, shifts among French, German, and Spanish are the most stressful. The general story is of a slippage in the popularity of French (a decline from 34.4 percent of enrollments in 1968 to 18.0 percent in 1995), and an even more spectacular decline in German (from 19.2 percent of enrollments in 1968 to 8.5 percent in 1995). The principal winner in this enrollment shift is Spanish, which has grown from 32.4 percent in 1968 to a 53.2 percent share in 1995. On many campuses Spanish has become the Pacman of language instruction, devouring the enrollments of other languages and now enrolling more than half of all students taking a language. This means that Spanish departments on most campuses are not subject to the pressures of enrollment declines (ADFL Bulletin 1997). In this mood of general disfavor for foreign languages, however, most Spanish department have been unable to increase their staff to match the growth in enrollments, thus increasing the pressure on existing faculty and promoting ever greater resort to a marginal professoriate hired outside the mainstream of laddered faculty.

In addition to these shifts in what are usually referred to as the commonly taught languages, some of the nonwestern languages, although still marginal, have begun to attract an increasing number of students. Russian had a brief surge in the 1980s but has undergone a radical decline in the last few years. Japanese also had a spectacular enrollment increase in the early 1990s, but seems since to have leveled off. Chinese now seems to be the rising star.

The issues that rising student demand for nonwestern languages brings to the campuses are a bit different. The college or university must decide which and how much of various languages it will teach. Most institutions still teach relatively few languages. One or two languages are taught by 46.1 percent of institutions; 30.9 percent teach three to five; and 23.0 percent teach six or more. At the top of the institutional ladder the demand to provide instruction in an exponentially increasing number of languages is strong. Yale University regularly teaches more than 50 languages. Within each language, the pressure to teach multiple levels of the language is immense, even though the enrollments will almost certainly be small. In all of the less commonly taught languages, the median enrollment in four-year language classes was 22 in 1974 and rose to just 32 in 1995. This, of course, raises the cost of instruction in the less commonly taught languages. At Yale, for instance, it costs about $740 per student to teach a course in Spanish; it costs $4,344 per enrollee to teach a course in Ukrainian (Kernan 1997).

The decline and shifting of foreign language enrollments comes at a time when universities are rationalizing their academic accounting systems and withdrawing support from arts and science disciplines more generally. It means that high-cost centers such as foreign languages are in special jeopardy. This is a significant national problem. To fix it would require a major change in the drift of student choices. In the short run, this is an unlikely prospect. Nor is there much likelihood that language requirements will expand to stanch the bleeding. Equally unlikely is tilting academic accounting systems to be more favorable to language departments.

In short, we are in desperate need of a deliberate policy concerning the nature of language instruction on our campuses in the face of the continued erosion of enrollments in general and the radical shifts among language choices of students.

Functions and Structure

To understand what such a policy might be, it is helpful to consider the different functions that foreign language departments perform. These, in turn, are related to the internal organization of the departments and their role on the campus.

Teaching Basic Language Courses

By basic language courses, I mean the first-, second-, and third-year courses that emphasize the acquisition of general skills. Because these courses tend to affect a large proportion of the student body, at least in the arts and sciences, and because they represent the largest source of enrollments for language departments, the increasingly hostile scrutiny that foreign language instruction is receiving from both students and administrators is a cause for concern. On many campuses, both students and administrators are convinced, often rightly so, that the language departments give this function considerably less attention than it deserves. They note that the amount of language competency that most students who pass through the language requirement actually achieve is far too low for use in real life communication, and they lay the blame at the feet of the language departments, often unjustly, given the amount of time devoted to language learning. In point of fact, only a minority of college students (26.4 percent) take any foreign language courses at all. A recent comprehensive survey of the transcripts of more than two million college students showed that only 9 percent of all students take 1 to 4 credits in foreign language courses, 8.6 percent take 5 to 8 credits, and only 9.5 students take 9 or more credits (Adelman 1995). A similar analysis of the transcripts of the graduating classes of 34 colleges and universities — 8,439 transcripts in all — indicated that the average number of language courses taken by students who took any such courses at all was 1.5 (Lambert 1989). Clearly, expecting students to acquire substantial language skills after this amount of class time is unrealistic. Yet most language departments operate as if all students will, in fact, acquire a substantial amount of language competency.

Teaching Literature Courses

To the extent that language faculty are interested in general education at all, both their professional expertise and their hearts are in their literature courses. However, the drop in enrollments in such courses is even more precipitous than the decline in basic language enrollments and threatens the rationale for maintaining substantial foreign language departments. In part, the decline in foreign literature enrollments reflects the general devaluation of humanities on campuses in favor of more applied, career-oriented courses and majors. However, in recent years the study of literary works per se has become unfashionable on the campus. Even English departments have seen a marked shift in enrollments from literature courses to creative writing and career-oriented courses such as business English.

Some of the decline in enrollments in foreign literature courses, however, is also the result of the deterioration of student competency in foreign languages. Finding students other than language majors who have enough language competence to deal with literary texts in the original language has always been a problem. Those literature courses that did utilize a foreign language became de facto skill courses, and literature-in-translation courses are substituting for language-based literature courses.

Some of the shrinkage of enrollments in literature courses in recent years is due to the flowering of alternative courses and concentrations that have a similar educational mission but do not require a language competency. For instance, cultural studies, often a politicized mix of literature, history, and sociology, is substituting for traditional literature courses. It is also threatening to eclipse comparative literature courses and majors, particularly those that require the mastery of a foreign language. In the decline in literature enrollments and the substitution of courses that require no language competency, we are witnessing the diminution of the only portion of the undergraduate curriculum that requires the use of advanced foreign language skills. This development leads back to the first function, the failings of basic language instruction, and the generally low level of competency most students attain.

Part of the remedy for this situation requires a longitudinal perspective on student foreign language acquisition. The current language instruction system in the United States is discontinuous and noncumulative. Students who take two or three years of language instruction in high school find that when they enter college they may be given credit for only a semester's or a year's worth of language learning. This a tragic waste of students' time. It is particularly unfortunate in that, in my view, the long-term trend in foreign language education should be to move most, if not all, basic language instruction into the primary and secondary schools. This is the situation in almost every other country of the world. Students should come to the university prepared to utilize one or more foreign language in their course work, not start to learn a language afresh. Indiana University has recently introduced a policy to the effect that basic language instruction is viewed as a remedial course at the college level and is not eligible for credit. I suspect that some form of this policy will be adopted more widely.

In the meantime, we have a foreign language educational system that resembles two pyramids, one in high school and one in college. In each pyramid most students are enrolled in the lowest level course and there are substantial, frequently 50 percent, drop outs at the next level. There is little articulation across the educational levels between the pyramids. In addition, the current

system groups all students together by semester or year level, ignoring individual achievements except to excuse students from further study when they have reached a minimal level of competency. What is needed is a system that attends to the passage of individual students through their language learning careers and helps to make it cumulative.

It is equally important that we begin to identify, nurture, and showcase those students who are genuine high achievers in foreign languages. Now is a good time to undertake this task since the recent introduction of foreign language instruction into elementary schools means that fairly soon a substantial number of students will be coming to college having completed six or seven years of foreign language study. Soon they will be pushing on the college-level language instruction system to upgrade or abandon the current basic language instruction system. Let us hope that the system does not just relieve them of the responsibility of enrolling in any further language education, but has the wit to utilize and build on their advanced skills.

Educating Future Language Professionals

As in all disciplines, the primary focus of language and literature faculty is on departmental majors. Hence the sharp decline in the recruitment of majors is a major blow to departmental morale. In some institutions where university resources and appointments are allocated on the basis of the number of undergraduate majors a department has, this decline can have a devastating effect. A drop in the number of graduate majors can be equally destructive. One of the effects of the removal of responsibility for basic language instruction from the language and literature departments is to diminish TA support for graduate majors. And the decline in undergraduate enrollments more generally has led to the dissolution of entire graduate specialties on a number of campuses. The effect may be debilitating on individual campuses, but it is important to determine whether some specialties with high intrinsic value are disappearing everywhere. If so, an attempt might be made to induce one or more universities to retain those posts as is regularly done in programs funded under Title VI of the Higher Education Act. At present, however, there is little concern about radical shrinkage in the current complement of faculty, nor in its future. In 1995 some 614 PhDs were awarded in language and literature. This is surely more than the job market is likely to absorb in this period of shrinkage.

There is another aspect of specialist training that deserves attention. If the profession is to improve its performance in basic language education, training specially targeted on language teaching skills must be introduced into the

education of majors. In addition, more graduate specialists must be produced who specialize in foreign language acquisition and language pedagogy, and they must be placed into tenure track positions in major universities. Currently, such specialists make up only a small proportion of future professionals entering the field. In 1995 only 46 (or 7.9 percent) of all graduating language and literature PhDs had language pedagogy as a specialty. Such specialists rarely attain senior positions in language department faculties, particularly in the private universities.

Research

As is fitting in research universities, a major amount of the faculty's attention is focused on research. The quality of this research is, of course, of major importance to both the faculty member and the department's standing in the field, and presumably it informs teaching, particularly at the graduate level.

Research on foreign literatures, like most humanistic research, tends to be an individual enterprise rather than project research as is found more commonly in the sciences. Accordingly, to the extent that such research is externally funded, it tends to take the form of individual fellowships. A decrease in the availability of such funding is a blow to the productivity of the language faculty. However, the effect of the fellowship drought tends to be felt by individuals and not departments. The department is not the logical custodian of research funding, nor is most research in the humanities carried out with other members of one's department.

The "hidden universities" in research, where they exist, tend to be trans-institutional, not located within single universities or departments. With respect to research, in other words, the department is not the relevant unit. Hence, a decline in the quantity and quality of research does not disturb the standing of language departments on their campuses. The damage tends to run in the other direction. The downsizing of staff resulting from shrinking enrollments threatens the ability of departments to maintain a full research complement, one covering all of the important genres, time periods, and currently important themes. And unfortunately, since research foci and methods tend to be age specific, the research profile of a department can become quickly skewed. To my knowledge, there is no discussion underway either at the national level or on individual campuses, of what minimal complement of research interests is appropriate for various sizes and various types of institutions. The by-product of a process of attrition based upon the staffing of basic language courses will surely not produce this optimal complement.

Links with Other Disciplines

On many campuses, foreign language departments have been atolls, somewhat detached from other departments. The steady flow of students into their courses brought in by the language requirement have made it less urgent to relate to other parts of the university or to tailor their instruction to the specific needs of other disciplines. One of the most striking current trends on many campuses, one that administrations are vigorously promoting, is the development of new linkages between foreign language learning and other disciplines. This is evident in the growth of joint majors and minors involving foreign languages. It can also be seen in the development of foreign language courses specifically oriented toward the needs of students majoring in one of the applied disciplines such as business, engineering, or nursing. In too many cases, however, the applied departments have given up on the ability or willingness of foreign language departments to provide the language training their students need and have established their own foreign language programs. Indeed, courses in languages for special purposes, sometimes tied to an overseas sojourn, are the fastest growing portion of language instruction.

Another step in the direction of external linkages are the various experiments in providing what is usually called "language across the curriculum"; that is, the development of courses in substantive disciplines — most often anthropology, history, political science, and economics — that either assign readings that are written in a foreign language or, less often, use a foreign language as a medium of instruction. The development of such courses is an essential next step in upgrading the role of foreign languages on campuses. They can provide motivation and opportunities to use higher-level language skills such as those formerly provided by advanced literature courses. However, in many cases, the effort to develop language across the curriculum tends to be a halting and tentative effort, sharply limited by the modest language competencies of the students and, equally importantly, of the faculty. Nonetheless, as more students come out of high school with advanced language skills, and as more of them return from foreign sojourns, the feasibility of such courses will increase.

The development of disciplinary and professional courses requiring the use of a foreign language deserves nurturing. Foreign language departments would be wise to bring the movement in-house, making special efforts to assist in the development of such courses, and jointly staffing them with faculty from other departments. The first university that penetrates the natural sciences with such a cosponsored foreign language–laden course will have achieved a major coup.

Another of the important areas of potential expansion for foreign language

departments is the provision of language instruction for adults other than for students. This is often dismissed as "Berlitzing." Moreover, the rhythm and delivery style of university-based language instruction does not suit well the needs of, say, businessmen and -women. However, there are examples of successful university-based programs that provide foreign language instruction for adults. Note that where they do occur, they are usually almost completely separated from the regular activities of the language departments. This is a pity. A special case of providing such a service is the offering of language instruction on demand to fellow faculty members or graduate students. As a prototype there are a number of successful university-based centers in Europe — for instance, in Cambridge and Nijmegen universities — that provide just such a service. Such adult instructional centers tend to be more than self-supporting and can provide funds that can be made available for the language departments' more general use.

A Ray of Hope

One of the major problems facing foreign language departments is that they and the university administrations differ in the priority that should be given to the functions discussed above. Administrators and others on the campus would emphasize first basic language instruction, followed by service to other clienteles and disciplines. On the other hand, most faculty in the language departments would prefer to emphasize research, followed by the education of future language specialists; and finally, the teaching of literature courses in that order of priority. Until these sets of priorities come into greater agreement, the life of the language departments on our campuses will continue to be uneasy.

There is a ray of hope on the horizon. The underlying reason for the difficulties facing foreign language instruction is the low demand for and utilization of foreign languages by the American public. In the absence of a pattern of real-life use, it is difficult for foreign language instruction to avoid the appearance of being a purely scholastic exercise. There is some indication that America's devout monolingualism is about to change. More and more people are finding that they need some level of foreign level skill either in their jobs or in their private lives. The growth of such a popular use would improve the prospects for foreign language education immensely.

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CHAPTER 5

Foreign Language and Area Studies through Title VI

Assessing Supply and Demand

Gilbert W. Merkx

Abstract

The legislative history of the Higher Education Act shows that Title VI is likely to remain the primary vehicle of federal support for international education. This poses several challenges, particularly in terms of meeting the nation's need for personnel with foreign language and area training. At the graduate level the training offered in Title VI centers is largely disciplinary or professional, not interdisciplinary, with foreign language and area training as an additional requirement. The demand for persons with such training is estimated for the government, business, and educational sectors using the best available manpower projections. This review suggests that Title VI centers are not training enough personnel to meet projected demand. Intellectual challenges to the content of training at Title VI centers are also evaluated and found to be lacking in substance.

In American higher education almost all instruction in nonwestern languages takes place in conjunction with substantive courses and degree programs that are focused on the countries where the languages are spoken. Called foreign language and area centers, these programs concentrate on different segments of the world, usually Africa, Eastern Europe, Latin America, the Middle East, East Asia, South Asia, or Southeast Asia. The programs have been supported financially by the federal government through Title VI of what is now the Higher Education Act (HEA). Throughout the 40 years or so that they have been operating, the centers have been criticized for concentrating on foreign language competency and foreign

area research rather than on disciplinary priorities. This paradox, of criticism from the academy and of support from the federal government, underlies many of the challenges involved in maintaining foreign language and area studies on U.S. campuses, a difficult mission under the best of circumstances.

The History of Title VI

Given the various dimensions of international education, Title VI means many things to many people. In the beginning, however, Title VI meant one thing to those who framed the original legislation as part of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 (NDEA): graduate education in foreign language and area studies. The rationale for NDEA as a whole was narrow and clearly articulated: "To insure trained manpower of sufficient quality and quantity to meet the national defense needs of the United States" (McDonnell *et al.* 1981: v).

NDEA was stimulated by the Soviet launching of Sputnik in 1957, which caused a wave of public concern about the supposed Soviet superiority in science and technology. In response, the Eisenhower administration proposed a bill to provide federal support for training in the physical sciences and engineering. However, prior to Sputnik the U.S. Office of Education had prepared draft legislation on foreign language and area training. That legislation, according to one contemporary official, had been drafted because:

> By the mid-1950s responsible people in the Government were beginning to realize that university resources in non-Western studies were wholly inadequate to meet present and anticipated national needs. Some measure of Government assistance to language and area studies seemed essential." (Mildenberger 1966: 26–29)

The Office of Education's foreign language and area studies draft was incorporated in the NDEA bill as the result of negotiations between Assistant Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Eliot L. Richardson on behalf of the Eisenhower administration and the sponsors of the legislation, Senator Lister Hill and Representative Carl Elliott. As documented by Barbara Barksdale Clowse (1981), Hill and Elliott used the public hysteria over Sputnik to achieve a long-sought goal: federal aid to higher education. However, the legislative debate had less to do with the Cold War than with whether the federal government should begin to fund higher education. Supporters and opponents of the NDEA were keenly aware of the significance of the precedent. The bill was strongly contested by conservatives, who argued that the NDEA would open the floodgates of federal assistance to higher education. Senator Barry Goldwater declared it "the camel's nose under

the tent," and Senator Strom Thurmond denounced the bill for its "unbelievable remoteness from national defense considerations" (Clowse 1981: 126).

Like all sections of NDEA, the original Title VI emphasized training, in this case of individuals in modern foreign languages "needed by the Federal Government or by business, industry, or education" and "not readily available in the United States." Individuals were also to be trained "in other fields needed to provide a full understanding of the areas, regions, and countries in which such language is commonly used," including "fields such as history, political science, linguistics, economics, sociology, geography, and anthropology" (Bigelow and Legters 1964).

In 1966 President Lyndon B. Johnson proposed to the Congress the International Education Act, which called for broad-based programs to internationalize U.S. education in general and promote education exchanges with other nations. The act was passed but never funded, a victim of the rising cost of the Vietnam War and its political consequences. Nevertheless, some of the ideas and assumptions of the International Education Act were to be influential in subsequent reauthorizations of Title VI that expanded the legislation's mandate from its original limited mission (of training specialists to meet national needs) to take on new goals such as outreach, citizen education, internationalizing the undergraduate curriculum, minority recruitment, language research, and support for overseas research centers and library acquisitions of foreign materials.

Unfortunately, proponents of the general education mission of Title VI have never succeeded in moving international education high enough up on the list of national priorities to obtain significant funding. This failure is not for want of trying: efforts have included various attempts at coalition building, such as the National Council for Foreign Languages and International Studies (NCFLIS, 1980–1988) and the Coalition for the Advancement of Foreign Languages and International Studies (CAFLIS, 1988–1992), as well as presidential commissions (the Perkins Commission of 1979 and the Gardner Commission of 1983), and special reports (the "Yellow Paper" of 1986 from the Association of American Universities). One major breakthrough in funding a new authorization was obtained by the American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business in 1986 for international business education programs. This success relied heavily, however, on the manpower-training rationale rather than on the general education rationale. The failure to win large-scale funding for international education as a general component of higher education reflects in part the weakness of higher education vis-à-vis primary and secondary education in the overall context of federal education policy, and in part the vested interest of higher education institutions in protecting larger programs such as the billions of dollars of student aid appropriated through Title IV programs.

The long-term appropriations history of Title VI has been a roller coaster. The high point, controlling for inflation, was reached under the Johnson administration. Both the Nixon and Reagan administrations sought to "zero-budget" Title VI. In both cases, proponents of the specialist training mission were able to rescue Title VI from oblivion, with significant support from the defense and intelligence communities. Reagan's secretary of defense, Caspar Weinberger, actually broke with the White House's Office of Management and Budget by writing a personal letter to Secretary of Education Terrel Bell calling for continuation of Title VI funding to meet the nation's need for language and area specialists.

The rescue effort was inadequate, however, to stem losses in the real value of Title VI appropriations, which fell sharply during the Nixon and Ford administrations, partially recovered towards the end of the Carter administration, and eroded further during the Reagan administration. The last year of Reagan's term saw the beginning of a renewed effort to rally the international education community in the form of CAFLIS. When CAFLIS presented its recommendations after two years of work, however, the result was disagreement within the education community and a lack of interest in both the administration and the Congress.

The failure of CAFLIS created an incentive for renewed efforts to bolster the programs that were already in place. This led to a "bottom-up" mobilizing effort by groups supporting the existing Title VI legislation. With support from the higher education associations, representatives of such groups came together to establish the Coalition for International Education (CIE), which now numbers more than 25 organizations, including the Council of Title VI National Resource Center Directors, the Association of International Education Administrators, the Association for International Business Education and Research, and the National Council of Organizations of Less Commonly Taught Languages. Since the establishment of the coalition in 1990, Title VI appropriations have increased some 60 percent, although remaining below the levels of the mid-1960s in real value.

Among the conclusions that may be drawn from this legislative history, two stand out. First, given the failure of previous attempts in more favorable circumstances to obtain significant funding for a broad effort to internationalize general education, a major expansion of current Title VI authorizations is unlikely to succeed. Second, the graduate and professional training component, or specialist training mission, of Title VI, has been and will continue to be one of the most effective arguments for reauthorization of the Title VI programs that are currently funded, as well as programs funded under section 102(b)(6) of the Fulbright-Hays Act.

It is somewhat startling to realize how little has changed in this respect. Some 16 years ago a major study of Title VI conducted by the Rand Corporation

for the U.S. Department of Education observed that for international education, "Title VI remained the only game in town" (McDonnell *et al.* 1981: 11).

The Training Challenge

The specialist-training mission as defined by Title VI legislation is, however, under attack. Indeed the original legislation raised several issues that have provoked debate during every reauthorization. If the debate is currently more acrimonious it is not that the issues are new, but rather that international education has become the latest battleground in a theoretical struggle that is polarizing the social sciences, particularly economics and political science.

The original legislation called for "training" in foreign languages and other fields that contributed to understanding of the areas where the languages were used. What kind of training resulted? Moreover, the legislation was to train individuals needed by the federal government, business, industry, and education. How was that need defined? What are current projections of need and their implications for graduate and professional training? Given changes in the international context (such as the end of the Cold War) and changes in the academic disciplines (such as the rise of rational-choice and game-theoretic modeling), what intellectual challenges are posed for graduate and professional study in international education?

Following the language of the authorizing legislation, graduate training under Title VI from the very beginning has consisted of foreign language instruction combined with training in one or more academic disciplines. The usual organization of Title VI-funded foreign language and area centers consists of a coordinating center or institute that offers the less commonly taught languages (LCTLs), while the more commonly taught languages and courses in the academic disciplines are offered by other departments. The area and international studies faculty are normally employed by other departments and judged by them for tenure and promotion. Graduate degrees, especially PhDs, are normally conferred in a discipline. Department of Education data for all graduate degrees produced by Title VI National Resource Centers in the 1991–1994 period show that 91.5 percent received disciplinary or professional degrees, while only 8.5 percent received areas studies degrees, largely at the MA level (Schneider 1995a: 9). Even those programs that award a graduate degree in study of a foreign area do so through a curriculum based on disciplinary courses offered by departments, usually with a disciplinary major.

Viewed from an international perspective, this model of organization is unique. In most other nations with a tradition of foreign area research and

training, as in Russia, France, and China, the model is one of the national academy or government-funded think tank, a nonuniversity operation with its own staff and students devoted entirely to language training and empirical research. A less common alternative, as in Great Britain, is the free-standing research institute devoted to the language, philology, and history of a foreign civilization. In both cases, the distinguishing feature is their nondisciplinary or multidisciplinary character, as opposed to the discipline-centered U.S. system.

The salient feature of graduate training as established under Title VI is that students must meet all the requirements for a disciplinary degree, while in addition mastering a foreign language or languages and obtaining a base of area-specific knowledge. The language component of the training is a technical skill required for research, comparable to statistical training. Foreign language fluency is, however, a difficult skill to acquire. Particularly for the non-Indo-European languages, years of training and some overseas experience are necessary for the acquisition of reasonable proficiency.

The area or international studies training provides a base of factual information, a form of empirical knowledge or data. The training components that draw on disciplines other than the major field for the purpose of meeting the language and area requirements are not substituted for disciplinary requirements; instead, they are added to those requirements. Graduate students emerging from Title VI programs are not undertrained in some nondisciplinary or multidisciplinary program, but if anything are extra-trained as compared with their disciplinary peers who lack foreign language and area training. The training of international management students under Part B of Title VI is precisely analogous to graduate training under Part A. Management students must complete all the standard requirements for the MBA or other terminal degree while developing foreign language skills and empirical knowledge of business practices in those areas. They too are extra-trained, not undertrained.

The Challenge of Defining and Meeting National Needs

National needs, defined as covering government, business, industry, and education, are broad indeed. Moreover, they constitute a moving target. Government needs change from year to year, from war to war, from crisis to crisis. Business and industrial needs can evolve quite rapidly as well, depending on market forces and changes in the international business environment. The needs of education evolve more gradually, but changes in secular trends for higher education have confounded some past projections of manpower needs.

Government Needs

Despite the variability of government demand, there is a surprising consistency over time in estimates of government manpower needs for personnel trained in foreign languages and area studies. The most cited and thorough study is that of James R. Ruchti of the U.S. Department of State, prepared in 1979 for the Perkins Commission, which surveyed more than 25 agencies and concluded that the federal government employed between 30,000 and 40,000 individuals whose jobs required competence in a foreign language, and that of those persons between 14,000 and 19,000 were in positions that required skills in the analysis of foreign countries and international issues (Ruchti 1979). Although estimates of declining government employment have been assumed to reduce the need for foreign language skills in the federal government, this was not evident in the mid-1990s. The most recent survey of foreign language needs at 33 federal agencies, undertaken by Stuart P. Lay in 1995, concludes that those agencies have more than 34,000 positions that require foreign language proficiency, of which an estimated 60 percent are found in the defense and intelligence community. Anecdotal evidence suggests that reductions in force since 1995 may have lowered these figures in the nondefense government sectors, but the preponderance of defense and intelligence employment would mitigate the effect of such reductions. If 30,000 positions are taken as a possible lower-end estimate to account for reductions, and if it is assumed that because of the relatively high turnover of military personnel 20 percent of the federal positions will require replacement in any given year, a replacement need of 6,000 government positions per year can be estimated.

Business Needs

Anecdotal evidence suggests that the U.S. business climate has altered with respect to the need for language and area skills. In the 1970s, U.S. business was widely seen as uncompetitive on world markets and lagging in productivity. A survey from this period indicates that less than 1 percent of jobs at 1,266 U.S. firms that accounted for the great majority of industrial exports required foreign language skills. Nevertheless, that 1 percent meant that 57,000 jobs required or benefited from foreign language skills (Wilkins and Arnett 1976). Given the predominance of employment in small firms as opposed to large industrial firms, this was clearly an underestimation of private-sector demand at that time. Adding a small-firm component of equal size leads to an estimate of about 100,000 positions, which with a 10 percent turnover would have required replacement of 10,000

positions per year. Since the 1970s, the share of the U.S. gross national product resulting from international trade has quadrupled. It is therefore reasonable to assume that employment in the private sector of personnel with foreign language and area skills has increased by several magnitudes. Even if such employment has only doubled since the 1970s, the business sector would need to fill 20,000 positions per year involving foreign language and area competence.

Educational Needs

The recession in higher education employment during the 1970s, combined with the Nixon-inspired drop in Title VI funding, led to gloomy projections about future academic demand for language, international, and area-trained personnel (Berryman 1979: 30–74). There was a concomitant reduction in the production of international and area studies PhDs as compared with the 1960s. However, the optimistic projections of one 1977 study proved more accurate: Barber and Ilchman noted that tenured area studies faculty were significantly older than the general tenured faculty population and predicted a surge of retirements over the next ten years (Barber and Ilchman 1977). The academic employment market for language and foreign area specialists was indeed strong during the 1980s.

Another dimension of change in higher education created additional need for foreign language, international, and area studies faculty, namely the expansion of public-sector undergraduate teaching institutions, most notably community colleges and branch campuses. The growth of this sector included a substantial and largely unforeseen growth in international education activities, including the teaching of courses in language, international affairs, and, to a lesser extent, foreign area studies. By the end of the 1980s a sizable proportion of members of the foreign area studies associations were located at undergraduate teaching institutions.

The present juncture resembles the 1970s as a time of recession in higher education funding. Pessimism about the future demand for PhDs prevails in all fields, contributing to a sense of crisis in the Title VI community. There are signs, however, that the faculty job market is strengthening. Unemployment among PhDs dropped by more than one-third in 1995–96 as compared with the previous year, and all major professional associations report increased postings of job announcements. Some 868 foreign language positions were listed by the Modern Language Association (MLA) alone in 1996 (Magner 1997: A9-A10). Because the 1960s were a period of great expansion in American higher education, a substantial proportion of faculty hired then are now nearing retirement. In addition, foreign language and area studies grew even more rapidly than higher

education as a whole in the 1960s, suggesting that massive retirements will take place during the next decade. The numbers can be estimated with some degree of confidence.

The total membership of the five major area studies associations — which cover Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Middle East, and the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe — was approximately 16,000 in 1990 (National Council of Area Studies Associations 1991). This compares with a 1979 membership in all area studies associations of about 18,000. If the 1990 memberships of the smaller area studies associations such as Brazilian, Canadian, European, and Caribbean studies are added to those of the five major associations, the total remains approximately 18,000, about the same as in 1979 (Barber and Ilchman 1980: 58). Although only about two-thirds of the area studies associations' membership are faculty, not all foreign area studies faculty belong to these associations. Past studies have therefore estimated that total membership in the area studies association provide a good approximation of faculty employment in foreign area studies (Lambert *et al.* 1984: 13). These figures do not include the sizable cohort of faculty members in international studies or international relations programs who belong to other professional associations such as the International Studies Association.

Detailed projections of retirement patterns based on the age cohorts of the area studies associations' membership were prepared in 1991 by the National Council of Area Studies Associations, which represents the five major area studies associations. Exit rates of present humanities and social science faculty were based on respondents' plans to retire, estimated at 16.9 percent for 1997 through 2001 and at 16.8 percent for 2002 through 2007, for a total of 33.7 percent, or one-third of current faculty. These estimates do not include projections of exits due to morbidity or mortality based on the age structure of the cohorts, which would, if included, lead to an overall exit rate of approximately 40 percent. Using the latter figure and assuming that exiting faculty are replaced but that academic demand does not grow, 40 percent, or 7,000, of the current 18,000 area studies faculty will need to be replaced in the next ten years (700 positions per year).

Estimating the need for foreign language teachers, as opposed to area studies faculty, is more difficult. Two sources of information exist: membership in professional organizations and surveys by the U.S. Department of Education's National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). Comparing the estimates resulting from each source can be useful in assessing their validity.

Some 9,000 members of the Modern Language Association list their major field as involving a foreign language, a figure that includes a high proportion of

foreign-literature faculty. Applied linguists or language teachers are more likely to belong to one of the six major associations of foreign language teachers. Combined membership in the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese (AATSP), the American Association of Teachers of French (AATF), the American Association of Teachers of German (AATG), the American Council of Teachers of Russian (ACTR), the American Association of Teachers of Italian (AATI), and the Association of Teachers of Japanese (ATJ) totals 35,000 persons (Brod 1997).

The largest group, the AATSP, has 13,000 members, of which 3,000 are institutional or student members and 10,000 are teachers. Seventy percent of the teachers are at the K-12 level, and 30 percent are postsecondary. The executive director of AATSP estimates that the total number of Spanish and Portuguese teachers is 45,000, which means that only 22 percent of these teachers are AATSP members. The AATF membership is 10,500, of which 60 percent are K-12 teachers and 40 percent are postsecondary faculty. The executive director of the AATF estimates that 50 percent of French teachers are AATF members, but other estimates are as low as 25 percent, suggesting a total population of French teachers ranging from 21,000 to 42,000 persons. Using a mid-range estimate of 33 percent, there would be about 32,000 French teachers.

The associations of German, Italian, Russian, and Japanese teachers have about 12,000 members combined, and the ratio of postsecondary faculty is probably higher. If the ratio of members to nonmembers is in the mid-range of the two estimates for French teachers, or 33 percent, there should be an estimated total of 36,000 teachers in these four languages combined.

Adding the figures for Spanish, French, and the other four major languages provides a figure of 113,000 teachers of the six most commonly taught foreign languages. Assuming that the AATF division of 60 percent K-12 teachers and 40 percent postsecondary is representative of these six languages as a whole, since Spanish has a higher percentage of K-12 teachers and the remaining four languages have a lower percentage, these findings suggest a total of 80,000 K-12 language teachers and 33,000 postsecondary language teachers, for a total of 113,000 persons, not including teachers of less commonly taught languages (LCTLs).

The NCES survey (Rodamar 1997) found that in 1993 there were about 7,000 foreign language teachers at the elementary level and about 74,000 teachers at the secondary level, for a total of 81,000 teachers. This is almost identical to the estimate described above (Brod 1997). The same study found an estimated 21,000 postsecondary language faculty. The combined NCES totals indicate that there were a total of 102,000 foreign language teachers in the United States in 1993.

Accepting the 80,000 figure for K-12 teachers and assuming a 10 percent turnover rate, which seems reasonable given the relatively high turnover rates for K-12 teachers, the annual demand for foreign language teachers in primary and secondary education is about 8,000 positions. Moreover, the data suggest a shortage of properly trained teachers. Twenty-five percent of those teaching foreign languages had neither a college major nor minor in the language taught. One-half of the private schools and one-third of the public schools reported vacant foreign language positions in the 1993–94 academic year. Twenty percent of the private schools and 26 percent of the public schools reported that it was very difficult or impossible to fill foreign language posts (Rodamar 1997). Thus effective demand is probably higher than 8,000 positions annually in the primary and secondary sectors.

If the estimate for postsecondary language teachers is based on a mid-range figure between the NCES survey figure of 21,000 and the calculation of 33,000 based on association memberships, the resulting number of higher education language teachers is 27,000. To this figure can be added the 9,000 MLA members who work in a foreign language, as a modest proxy for the foreign-literature faculty. No adjustment is made for the foreign-literature faculty who are not MLA members, in compensation for the language teachers who might hold MLA membership. The combined foreign language and literature faculty in higher education can thus be estimated at 36,000 persons. If the exit projection of 40 percent for area studies faculty over the next decade is applied to the estimated total of 36,000 postsecondary language and literature faculty, an additional 14,000 positions would need to be filled in the next decade, or 1,400 positions annually.

Combining the language and literature estimate of 1,400 annual positions with the area studies estimate of 700 annual positions leads to a higher education demand of 2,100 positions annually over the next decade. Adding the previous estimate of 8,000 foreign language vacancies annually in the K-12 system to the higher education figures results in an overall demand from the education sector for 10,100 foreign language or area trained personnel annually.

Comparing Demand and Supply

The national need in federal government, business, and higher education for personnel who have foreign language skills and international and foreign area knowledge will be substantial in the decade ahead. Additional demand from state and local government and from secondary education may also be expected.

Overseas employment offers another, as yet unexplored, source of demand. Annual demand over the decade is very conservatively estimated at 20,000 business jobs, 6,000 government jobs, and 10,000 education jobs, or an annual demand for 36,000 language- or area-trained personnel.

The supply side of the equation is far simpler to estimate, as are the implications for Title VI legislation. The number of foreign language and area studies awards currently funded does not come close to meeting even the academic demand, although it is an obvious stimulus for attracting superior students. The overall annual production of PhDs by Title VI centers was about 1,400 per year in the early 1990s. Beginning in 1993 there was a substantial increase in the number of universities receiving National Resource Center or foreign language and area studies funding, leading to a jump of PhD production to about 1,900 language- and area-trained personnel (Schneider 1995b). This number is still less than the estimated annual higher education demand for 2,100 foreign language or area studies faculty over the next decade.

The production of MA degrees by Title VI centers is far higher, reaching about 6,000 per year from 1991 to 1994 (Schneider 1995b). That number, however, is far below the annual combined demand for about 14,000 persons from the primary and secondary education sectors and from the federal government.

Production of BAs by Title VI centers approximated 27,000 students annually by the early 1980s. Those students provide the major pool of recruits for later graduate and professional study involving foreign languages and areas, although most enter the job market. If the annual number of MA graduates, 6,000 persons, is used as a proxy for the number of BA graduates entering graduate school, then presumably 21,000 of the BA graduates enter the job market. Likewise, the annual number of PhDs produced, 1,900 persons, can be used as a proxy for the number of MAs entering doctoral programs, leaving 4,000 to enter the job market. Thus a combined total of 25,000 BA and MA graduates with foreign language or area training enter the job market, compared with an overall demand in business, government, and K-12 education estimated above at 34,000 positions.

These data suggest that even without further growth in patterns of government, business, and educational employment, the production by Title VI centers of personnel with foreign language training or foreign area skills remains insufficient to meet the nation's needs.

As a consequence, the federal government spends considerable sums of money on in-house government training programs, such as the Department of Defense's Defense Language Institute (DLI), the National Security Agency's National Cryptologic School (NCS), and the Department of State's Foreign

Service Institute (FSI). The DLI and the NCS together train about 4,600 students annually. The Department of Defense alone spent over $78 million to train linguists to meet its need, considerably more than the cost of all Title VI programs (Lay 1995: 1). In-house foreign language training at the FSI cost an additional $10 million. These figures do not include the salaries of the personnel being trained.

It should be noted in passing, however, that at least two Department of Defense programs draw on institutions of higher education to meet future needs for foreign language and area competence. The U.S. Army's Foreign Area Officer (FAO) Program annually sends approximately 100 mid-career officers to Title VI centers to obtain graduate degrees in preparation for overseas assignments in embassies, foreign war colleges, or military aid missions. The National Security Education Program provides on a competitive basis portable scholarships and fellowships to students undertaking foreign language and area training, as well as grants to enhance the institutional capacity for such training.

Intellectual Challenges

The intellectual content of graduate and professional training under Title VI has been grounded in one basic assumption, namely that the combination of language learning, area knowledge, and disciplinary training will result in individuals capable of meeting national needs. Conceptually, this model of training differs from standard graduate and professional training only in that the language of investigation is not English and the locus of empirical information is not the United States. The usefulness of foreign language skills and knowledge of foreign areas to government agencies, corporations, and others engaged in international activities is not in question. However, some academicians are questioning the usefulness of language skills and area knowledge in higher education, while some in the government and the corporate sectors are challenging the usefulness of disciplinary training. The two challenges are diametrically opposed and lead to opposite prescriptions for Title VI graduate and professional education.

The origin of these challenges does not stem from changes in the global system but from theoretical trends in the social sciences. Those changes began with what is now known as neoclassical economics, based on the assumption that all economics can be reduced to rational choices by individuals and therefore treated mathematically as the maximization of functions. With true revolutionary zeal, adherents of this reductionist and deductive approach to theorizing have transformed the discipline of economics as practiced in higher education. New

applications of the rational choice assumption have become highly influential, such as rational expectations monetarism, general equilibrium theory, and game theory. Because these theories are derived from the articulation of mathematical models rather than from empirical generalizations based on the collection of data about the real world, graduate training in economics has been transformed. Economic history, the history of economic thought, and development economics have been largely dropped from the graduate curriculum and replaced by courses in mathematics and modeling. One of the consequences has been a sharp decline in both undergraduate and graduate economics enrollments.

From economics, the rational choice approach traveled to political science, where a similar transformation of the discipline is underway. Again, the approach is essentially deductive and driven by the elaboration of mathematical models. Rational choice proponents dismiss empirically based political science, however quantitative, as behaviorism, useful in its day but now passé. One of the major battlegrounds in the struggle over the future of political science is comparative politics, a field of key importance in foreign area studies. A leading rational choice advocate, Robert Bates, wrote recently that "area programs are a problem for political science," characterized by "resistance to rigorous methods for evaluating arguments," and that they "have failed to generate scientific knowledge" (Shea 1997).

The definition of scientific knowledge is key to this debate. The philosophy of science, derived from the epistemological issues faced by the natural sciences, argues that science proceeds through a process of interaction between theory and research, between models and empirical data derived from the real world. Inductive or deductive rigor in the development of theory and methodological rigor in the collection of data are essential, but the validity of scientific theory is ultimately determined not by the coherence of the theoretical model, but rather by the correspondence between the theoretical model and the real world.

Thus from a scientific perspective, the issue posed by the rise of rational choice models in economics and political science is not whether such models are rigorous, for indeed they are, but whether they correspond to the real world. Criticisms of area studies for being insufficiently mathematical or deductive are also beside the point, since foreign areas are simply the source of information about the real world.

A growing body of evidence suggests that neoclassical economics fails to correspond to the real world. John Cassidy's 1996 *New Yorker* essay on "The decline of economics," notes that game theory simply cannot predict what will happen in any real-world situation, and that rational expectations monetarism has been largely discredited. Joseph Stiglitz, chairman of the Council of Economic

Advisers, states, "It's very clear that the new classical economics is irrelevant." The chairman of the National Association of Business Economists is quoted as saying that "academic economics has taken a very bad turn in the road. It's very academic, very mathematical, and nothing like as useful to the business community as it could be." The head of the global economics group at Morgan Stanley adds that his company will not hire economics PhDs unless they also have substantial experience outside academia and says, "We insist on at least a three-to-four-year cleansing experience to neutralize the brainwashing experience that takes place in these graduate programs." In 1991 the Commission on Graduate Education in Economics issued a report saying it feared that universities were turning out a generation of "*idiots savants*, skilled in techniques but innocent of real economic issues" (Cassidy 1996).

Similar questions are being raised by employers of students trained in schools that have adopted the rational choice approach to political science. A senior international relations specialist in the Department of Defense commented recently about changes in the graduate curriculum and the impact on recent graduates: "They have taken no courses in diplomatic history or world history, they know nothing about international law, they speak no foreign languages, they have no knowledge of foreign countries or areas. All they can do is mathematical models. They are useless until they are retrained" (confidential interview, October 27, 1996).

Thus, while some academicians such as Bates are asking what foreign area studies have contributed to rational choice theory, those in government and the private sector appear to be asking what rational choice theory has contributed to understanding the world, including foreign areas. From the standpoint of graduate and professional training as part of the Title VI mission, the implications are fairly straightforward. Language skills and area knowledge cannot be abandoned as irrelevant or useless, since these components of training are those most valued by government, business, and other nonacademic employers. At the same time, disciplinary training is required for students to remain competitive on the academic market.

The problem for graduate and professional training in Title VI centers and, for that matter, in the social sciences at large, is not rational choice theory itself but rather the imperialistic vision of some rational choice advocates. The promotion of social science as an activity limited to deductive and reductionist theorizing that is not grounded in real-world observation will inevitably lead to failure. The common-sense middle ground that combines rigorous modeling and vigorous empirical research to produce theoretical generalizations that predict real-world events must be recaptured. Foreign language as a research tool and

foreign area studies as a source of empirical knowledge are part of the solution, not part of the problem.

Conclusion

Title VI is a small program in the context of the federal education budget, but it is relatively large for a categorical program in higher education. It has also been extraordinarily effective on many campuses in leveraging additional resources for graduate and professional training, among other mandated activities. Given the invidious character of academic culture, jealousy is inevitable. Nearly 25 years ago, Richard Lambert remarked upon "the force of negative feelings towards area studies of some non-area oriented American scholars" (Lambert 1973: 2). The players may be different, and the new theoretical fashion may be rational choice theory rather than functionalism, but the emotions linger on.

The foreign language and area training functions of Title VI will nonetheless survive the challenges from colleagues in the academy, because Title VI funding comes from the U.S. government. The administrations and Congresses that have supported continued funding for Title VI programs were concerned less with merit as defined by the academy than with obtaining access to foreign language and area skills. Sixteen years ago, Admiral Bobby Inman, the former director of the National Security Agency and then deputy director of the CIA, made the following observation in congressional testimony:

> My concern has grown as I have watched us become subject to surprise time and again. We have become very good at counting things and very poor at projecting the challenges that we are likely to face. I believe increasingly that is a result of the lack of deep understanding of those societies, what motivates them, and how they are changing. (SRI International 1983)

The continuing validity of Admiral Inman's concern is underscored by the current controversy over the failure of the U.S. intelligence community to predict the initiation of nuclear testing by India. Retired Admiral David E. Jeremiah, former vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, blames that failure on systemic flaws in the way the intelligence community gathers and handles information, trains its thousands of analysts, and commands its operations (Weiner 1998). Former CIA officer Robert Steele offers even more explicit criticisms: "We have a brain-power problem in American intelligence. The average analyst has two to five years of experience. They haven't been to the countries they're analyzing. They don't have the language, the historical knowledge, or the in-country residence time" (Weiner 1998).

In sum, Title VI will remain a federal priority for the same reason that it was introduced, namely the sense that knowledge is preferable to ignorance when dealing with a hazardous environment. The global environment consists largely of foreign areas where foreign languages are spoken. Therefore, U.S. security interests, as well as commercial interests, will continue to need access to fluency in all major foreign languages of the world and to in-depth knowledge of all foreign areas. Whether personnel with foreign language and area skills will be available or not in the future is largely dependent on federal support for Title VI programs. The mission of these programs may be impossible to fulfill in a manner that satisfies all critics, but that mission retains its significance, and its urgency, in a turbulent world.

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CHAPTER 6

System III

The Future of Language Learning in the United States

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Abstract

In the United States, there are currently two distinct systems of foreign language instruction. System I provides instruction in French, German, and Spanish, the languages with the largest share of enrollments. System II provides instruction in the other less commonly taught languages. System I languages tend to be taught all the way from primary schools to universities. System II languages are occasionally taught in high schools, but primarily in liberal arts colleges and universities. The systems differ sharply in their disciplinary base, type of teachers, learning environment, mission, pedagogical style, and field infrastructure. A third system is emerging that provides customized language learning in modular form delivered by consortia of institutions in part over the Internet. System III represents the future.

To an overwhelming extent, in the United States the study of languages other than English means instruction in Spanish, French, and to a lesser extent, German. These languages, according to the most recent data, comprise 93 percent of language enrollments at the secondary level and approximately 90 percent in colleges and universities (MLA 1996; ACTFL 1994). On the fringe of this dominant language system resides another, consisting of programs devoted to the less commonly taught and studied languages, including Italian and Portuguese as well as "truly foreign languages" like Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Russian, and approximately one hundred others (Walton and Jordan 1987).

These two systems, which we here designate as System I and System II, reflect the historical development of language study in the United States. System I is the result of the influence of Europe and Latin America on our schools,

colleges, and universities through educational tradition and long-term immigration. System II derives from the immigrations of the last several decades as well as from the status and global mission of the United States as these developed after World War II. Of primary significance here, though, is the fact that these two radically different language systems form the basis of the emerging System III, the future of language study in the new world of global communications.

System I and System II Compared

To compare Systems I and II is to provide an overview of the current state of language learning in the United States. Many parameters are relevant in such a comparison; we shall here concern ourselves with some of the most basic. It should be kept in mind, however, that the descriptors used here should be considered as prototypical for the parameter described, and that reality inevitably presents a much more complex and mixed picture. For example, for some of the parameters examined below, Japanese and Russian may resemble System I languages more than those of System II, whereas some characteristics of Spanish are similar to the norm for System II languages. Nevertheless, the prototypical System I language is indeed different from the prototypical System II language; and, more importantly, the general characteristics of both systems are quite distinct.

Languages and Student Enrollments. As mentioned above, System I consists of the three most commonly taught languages (CTLs) in the United States: French, German, and Spanish. These languages are each studied by hundreds of thousands of students in this country. System II, on the other hand, unites the so-called less commonly taught languages (LCTLs), essentially all the languages studied in the United States with the exception of French, German, and Spanish. Although this basic division is generally valid, some important distinctions should be understood.

Of the CTLs, Spanish holds a dominant position. Its enrollments represent more than 50 percent of all language enrollments in the United States. Furthermore, among these languages only Spanish is growing, and that at an impressive rate (13.5 percent since 1990). Although French continues to be taken by a significant number of students, German continues to decline and may well enter the class of LCTLs.

The LCTLs themselves vary widely in their enrollments, provoking the following taxonomy:

- The principal LCTLs — Mandarin Chinese, Japanese, and Russian — are studied by tens of thousands of students every semester.
- The "less commonly taught LCTLs" are studied only by several thousand students every semester nationwide. Arabic, Hawaiian, Hebrew, Korean, Portuguese, Swahili, and perhaps a few others belong to this category.
- Approximately 20 non-West European and non-North American languages have undergraduate and graduate enrollments in the hundreds (MLA fall 1995 statistics). These "much less commonly taught languages" languages include Armenian, Czech, Hindi, Indonesian, Mongolian, Persian, Polish, Serbian/Croatian, Tagalog, Thai, Turkish, Vietnamese, and Yoruba, among others.
- In addition to the languages above, the educational system in the United States offers approximately 80 other "least commonly taught" languages, whose total national enrollments range from dozens to the single digits. Here belong Bengali, Burmese, Cantonese, Hausa, Punjab, Shona, Slovak, Slovenian, Ukrainian, Uzbek, Wolof, and Zulu.
- Finally, many other of the world's several thousand languages can be viewed as important to our national interest but are rarely or never taught in the United States. In this class of languages belong all the Chinese languages (except Mandarin and Cantonese), all nonstandard Arabic, the Central Asian languages, most of the languages of Africa, and many others like Lao, Georgian, Malay, and Sinhala.

Basis of Enrollments. The enrollments described above are, naturally enough, a consequence of current conditions and historical developments. Generally speaking, Spanish and French are taken by most students in America because they are the languages that are available in most schools, colleges, and universities across the country. System II language enrollments, on the other hand, are mainly a result of demand on the part of students and policy makers. Parents of students in many school districts insist on their students having the opportunity to take Japanese, given its potential significance for future business employment. The government has established programs within federal agencies to meet its perceived needs for System II languages around the world.

Language Accessibility. Perhaps the most telling difference between System I and System II is the nature of the languages they support. Essentially, French, German, and Spanish are languages closely related to English. This proximity is most strongly reflected in the lexical overlap between them and English, where a high percentage of words are of Romance or Germanic origin. The LCTLs on the other hand, are mainly "truly foreign languages" and represent an immense

challenge for native English speakers to learn. For example, according to the classification of the State Department's Foreign Service Institute (FSI), the principal LCTLs are all Category IV languages (except for Russian, which is Category III), and the CTLs are all Category I. Category IV languages, according to FSI data, take approximately three times as much time for a native English speaker to learn as do those in Category I. That is, students of Japanese take at least three times as long as students of Spanish to reach a comparable level of language proficiency.

Educational Home. Generally speaking, System I includes programs from elementary school through college. French and Spanish are taught in most schools in the country, and virtually all four-year colleges and universities offer them. System II languages, by comparison, for the most part are taught only in undergraduate and graduate programs.

Institutional Type. System II programs, as opposed to those of System I, are housed in large, comprehensive universities and elite liberal arts colleges. However, even in the large universities, System II languages require outside support, normally provided by Title VI of the Higher Education Act. To illustrate, an analysis of the MLA survey of language enrollments in two- and four-year colleges and universities throughout the country in fall 1995 reveals that only 64 institutions in the United States had language programs supported by Title VI . Nevertheless, programs in those institutions accounted for 22.5 percent of undergraduate language enrollments and 59 percent of graduate enrollments in the LCTLs. Clearly, the institutions funded by Title VI are carrying a hugely disproportionate burden for instruction in the LCTLs, particularly given the fact that they represent 2.66 percent of the 2,399 colleges and universities in this country offering language instruction. If one focuses on the least commonly taught languages, omitting the ten with the highest enrollment (Arabic, Chinese, French, German, Hebrew, Italian, Japanese, Portuguese, Russian, and Spanish), the 64 Title VI-supported institutions account for 51 percent of the undergraduate and 81 percent of the graduate language enrollments.

Students. Only approximately one-third of students in the educational system study language. Although no specific data compare these students to those who do not take language, studies indicate that language students are generally in the humanities and the social sciences, with only a relatively small percentage in the sciences and professions (Brecht *et al.* 1995: 29). The same studies document the "elitist" cast of the students who take the System II languages, in comparison to the System I students. For example, virtually all students who take Chinese, Japanese, or Russian in high schools go on to college, and for the most part they

attend more highly regarded colleges and universities. In addition, practically all students who study Russian, for example, in the university go on to graduate or professional schools. Even with the vacillations in postsecondary enrollments in the LCTLs, the percentage of students taking the "hard" languages has remained at approximately 10 percent.

Disciplinary Base. On the nation's campuses, System I programs are based on the disciplines found in language and literature departments. For all intents and purposes, this means that language teaching faculty are trained in the literature and linguistics of a particular language. As a rule, this means that a significant proportion of instruction at the higher levels involves literature. System II languages, particularly the less-studied LCTLs, have been offered in tandem with area studies or linguistics programs. Teaching and supervising faculty of these languages are more likely to be anthropologists, historians, political scientists, or theoretical linguists.

Teachers. In addition to their fields of specialization, the teachers in the two systems differ in another important way. System I teachers tend to be native English speakers who have attained sufficient mastery of the second language to teach it at the school or university level. At the school level, they generally are trained in schools of education and certified in their districts. Teachers of System II languages, by contrast, tend to be native speakers of the language; as such, teaching often is not their primary vocation.

Learning Environment. The traditional learning environment for the System I languages is the classroom. Given the difficulty of System II languages and the paucity of programs offering training to the most advanced levels, these languages are learned primarily outside the classroom. The most frequent extramural learning environments are private and group tutorials, individualized instruction, and study abroad.

Missions. One of the most salient differences between System I and System II is the primary motivation for offering instruction in the institution. In a 1995 work, Brecht, Caemmerer, and Walton offered four "missions" for language programs in our schools and colleges: general educational, applied, heritage, and vocational. The *general education mission* is directed at making students aware of language and cultural difference. It is implemented primarily through one- or two-year language requirements, where students are exposed to a particular language but regularly end their study after fulfilling the requirement. The *applied mission* is directed at providing students with a functional ability in the language. The *heritage mission* aims to give students of a particular ethnic

heritage or origin deepened appreciation of their culture and enhanced ability in the language of their parents and grandparents. Finally, the *vocational mission* is designed to create specialists in the language and culture who presumably will devote their professional lives to training others in that language and culture or to the pursuit of other language services such as translation and interpreting. The point is that System I is concerned primarily with the general education mission, with other significant attention directed at the vocational mission. System II, on the other hand, devotes most of its resources to the applied and heritage missions, as few students take these languages to fulfill language requirements.

Pedagogical Orientation. As should be clear by now, System I represents the traditional, easily recognizable educational pattern of our schools and universities. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that the pedagogical tradition in its programs is very much focused on teaching and on improvement of the teachers' ability to respond to students' needs. System II, given its marginal status in the education system, is very much oriented to individualized, self-directed learning. To achieve any kind of proficiency in most of the LCTLs, students must occupy learning environments where there are no teachers and where they alone are responsible for the success or failure of their learning.

Curriculum. Given the marginal status of System II programs, the languages they teach are characterizable as having quite disparate curricula. Pieces of a curriculum, selections from learning materials, and portions of pedagogical models are taken from wherever they can be found. This situation contrasts with that in System I, where the programs are established, the disciplines strong, and the curriculum relatively unified.

Sources of Support. Support for System I languages is built into the budget of virtually all schools, colleges, and universities in the country, principally by virtue of the tenuring of faculty. Additional field support comes from foreign-government sponsorship (e.g., Goethe-Institut and Alliance Française). The relatively few insitutions that offer System II languages beyond the principal LCTLs (Chinese, Japanese, and Russian) depend to a much larger extent on outside support. While some institutions tenure a few faculty in these areas, vital program support comes from the federal government under Title VI of the Higher Education Act. Some faculty positions and field support comes from governments overseas, such as the Korea and Japan foundations or even from local heritage communities.

Articulation. Of System II languages, only Japanese, Chinese, Russian, and, to a lesser extent, Arabic are taught at the secondary level. Accordingly, the articulation

problem for students of System II languages is simply how to continue learning in the absence of formal training programs. For System I languages, articulation between the secondary and college levels remains a major problem for the fields as well as for each institution trying to place newly matriculating students.

Field Infrastructure. As noted above, the infrastructure of the language fields represented in System I is quite strong. They have adequate expertise, organizations, plans, teacher training, publications, study abroad programs, and the like (Brecht and Walton 1997; Brecht and Walton 1994). By contrast, the infrastructure of the languages represented in System II is extremely varied. The principal LCTLs are fairly strong, although the rest are much weaker overall, ranging from marginally adequate in Arabic to weak in Indonesian to nonexistent in Malay or Kazakh.

Mission of Field Organizations. Traditionally, the national teachers' organizations representing System I have focused their attention on serving their memberships through annual conferences and the publication of journals and newsletters. In recent years, they have taken a more proactive stance with regard to the development of their fields, working on standards for teachers and learners as well as keeping legislators at the state and federal levels informed of the importance of language and the needs of the language fields. By contrast, System II organizations have been more focused on field development, given their chronic need to maximize the few resources they have had.

The differences listed above characterize the two language instruction systems in the United States, one dominating and the other operating on the fringe. This situation is a result of historical circumstances rather than policy and planning, and as such it has little basic logic underlying it. For example, in today's world the importance and centrality of Chinese to the nation's interests can hardly be debated; yet this language occupies an extremely marginal position in the educational system. Russian enrollments in the schools and universities have plummeted since 1991, just as opportunities to use the language professionally have skyrocketed. World conditions make cross-cultural communications more common and important than ever before, but the percentage of students studying any language as undergraduates is dropping. As financial conditions worsen in the educational sector, the languages of the twenty-first century increasingly are available only to students in our large and elite institutions of higher learning.

The situation is intolerable in terms of our nation's long-term security interests, just as it is unfair to each and every student who wants to study one of the thousands of languages of this world. Something has to change. The change is, in fact, happening, but it is taking place too slowly.

System III: Customized Language Learning

Across this country is emerging a radically new system of language learning representing a synthesis of Systems I and II, together with a set of innovations that are unprecedented in the history of language learning. The nature of this revolution flows out of the existing Systems I and II and the demands of the new world of global communications (Brecht and Walton 1995). Very simply, the new world demands command of many more languages and greater communications skills in cross-cultural settings. Many more students and more kinds of students must become involved in language learning, and more learning environments and educational delivery systems are needed to provide ubiquitous access to language learning.[1] The language learning system that is emerging to meet the language needs of the new world we have termed System III.

The new system, driven by greater needs with few expectations of additional resources, requires a radical reconceptualization of learning environments aimed at what we have termed "customized language learning" (CLL). CLL represents a new approach to language learning, one enabled by technology, where learning can be customized to the needs and learning circumstances of all learners. The primary characteristics of CLL are: flexibility (through modularization), agility (through Internet-enriched delivery), manageability (by empowering learners), and coherence (through fieldwide standards).

Flexibility through Modularization

Customization of learning requires institutions to break from "one-size-fits-all" programming and provide a rich menu of modularized learning environments from which students can choose a curricular configuration that fits their individual needs. The same modularization must also allow students to continue learning beyond the undergraduate years with on-demand, just-in-time learning options. Most importantly, students of all disciplines and backgrounds must be able to build a language learning program suited to their own needs and not be forced to follow a program designed for language majors. For example, instead of a five-credit Chinese 101, elementary Chinese programs might consist of a three-credit core (with a strong focus on learning management) and a range of one- and two-credit modules designed to accommodate students with some high school Chinese, students whose parents speak Chinese at home but who have never studied the language formally, students who intend to major in Chinese and are very interested in grammar, business or engineering students fulfilling a requirement, and so forth. Thus, customization entails a flexible curriculum

consisting essentially of discrete modules of one credit or less focused on specific topics, skills, or even learning styles, different permutations of which each student can combine every semester into a coherent and relevant program of study.

The modular design can also be used to customize teaching as well as learning. Courses can be divided into components that are best taught by teachers in the classroom and those that students can more readily cope with on their own at home using a computer. For example, Chinese reading and writing has already been programmed for CDs as an eminently individualized learning activity. Further, teachers on a campus can focus on what they are best at, while relying on the skills of colleagues elsewhere to complement their strengths and mitigate their weaknesses. Thus, linguists often are better at teaching grammar, while literature faculty characteristically can convey the cultural subtleties of a text much more readily.

Agility: Ubiquity over the Internet

For the first time in history, restrictions of time and space are irrelevant in building learning environments. The revolution in informational technology, in particular the creation of the Internet and the World Wide Web, now makes possible the delivery of learning to almost anyone, anywhere, anytime. Equally as important, this technology enables the accumulation of expertise from any point around the country (or around the world, for that matter) and its application to on-demand learning environments.

Manageability: Self-Managed Learning

A major element of this design involves students' ability to operate independently in a truly flexible and responsive environment, where clear learning objectives and curricular choices must be fully understood. In programs based on the customization of learning, all students will be responsible for managing their own learning in a way that goes well beyond the practice on today's campuses of selecting courses, times, and teachers. In the proposed system, students will have to construct coherent programs from a greatly enhanced menu of learning environments, assessing their progress as they go and adjusting their programs to needs and expectations. To do this, they will have to be given the necessary knowledge and tools to manage learning, and the institution will have to ensure that the modules chosen by students accumulate into coherent programs.

Coherence: Framework and Standards

Because no institution can offer the full menu of learning environments that students require, System III will require the national disciplinary organizations to provide direct and on-demand programming assistance to institutions around the country. For this to happen, each field will have to develop a set of standards pertaining to learning, teaching, and programming that influence directly the design and selection of teaching modules and guarantee their integration into a coherent learning program for students (ACTFL 1998; Brecht *et al.* 1995: 193.) Once the fields get involved in this way with campus programming, they might even look towards a comprehensive language-teacher certification system.[2]

The System III Language Network: A Role for the Disciplinary Organizations

The key to customized learning is modularization and the ability to offer a very rich menu of modules reflecting the diversity of students' needs and interests. The principal obstacle to the creation of such menus is the fact that no single institution is capable on its own of creating and offering the breadth of menu required. It may not have the expertise required for design or implementation, or the necessary curricular expansion may be beyond a department's budget. However, current developments in informational and communications technology can enable modularization and customization precisely by providing a cost-effective way for institutions across the country and around the world to share expertise and resources electronically. Accordingly, institutions will be able to supplement their own offerings by importing modules from outside sources over the Internet. Entire modules can be downloaded, supplemented, and supported on-line on a regular basis; or, preferably, modules can be taught on-line, with regular communications with co-learners, tutors, teaching assistants, and faculty.

Inherent in this notion of sharing expertise and learning resources are several significant considerations. First, and most importantly, the "sharing" of modularized learning environments requires a new quality-assurance mechanism. In the current mode, an institution and its regional accreditor are responsible for the quality of the educational offerings. If, in fact, part of an institution's offerings are imported from outside, from faculty teaching in other institutions or even specialists working outside academia, an additional level of quality assurance must be put in place to give the institution, as well as its regional accreditor, confidence that the imported elements of the curriculum are on a par with or better than the local programming. It is here that the organized collective expertise and resources of the disciplines have a role to play.

A fieldwide educational network, consisting of an elaborate Internet communications system and a national resource center served by a national editorial board of the best experts in the profession can be responsible for collecting the modules and disseminating them to institutions across the country according to standards adopted by the field itself. This approach introduces a disciplinary field presence on the campuses. Although relatively undeveloped in the arts and sciences, professional programs on campus in fact are often very much under the watchful eye of their accrediting and licensure organizations. In the professions (e.g., medicine and engineering), the quality-assurance tradition arose because of the criticality of the occupational practices of graduates. In the arts and sciences, overseeing the standards of their disciplines should be consistent with the mission of national associations in the language field.

To effect this kind of reform in language programs across the United States, we propose the establishment of the "The Language Network" (LangNet) the purpose of which is to enable the customization of language learning on our nation's campuses. As envisioned, LangNet comprises a set of language-specific, fieldwide networks consisting of three components (Figure 6.1).

– A consortium of schools and colleges desiring to enrich their language offerings and committed to customized learning through modularization
– A national fieldwide resource center devoted to collecting and disseminating expertise and resources for one or a set of languages (through facilities located at an organization, university, or other enterprise)
– An Internet-based communications system capable of serving as the bridge between the user client institutions and the field providers.

This model represents an unprecedented partnership between the educational institutions housing language programs and the language fields themselves, comprising the academic, private, governmental, overseas, and heritage sectors. It is a system aimed at collecting widely dispersed expertise and resources from

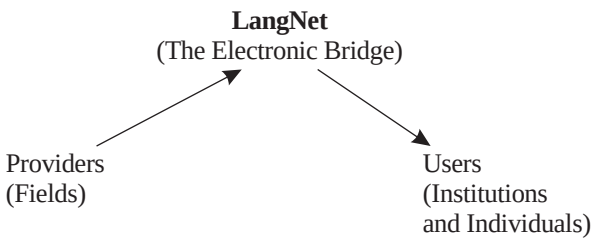


Figure 6.1. *The Language Network*

around the world and making them available on demand to interested institutions through a managed communication system on the Internet. The goal is to enable all institutions, especially those with modest resources, to do more with less by enhancing their programs through electronically shared resources. In contrast to traditional consortial arrangements, however, the quality of goods and services on the system is assured by the best expertise the language field itself has to offer, wherever that expertise might reside.

For example, the American Council of Teachers of Russian, the nation's leading professional association devoted exclusively to the teaching and learning of Russian, in anticipation of this kind of activity, is in the process of establishing the Russian Language Network (RussNet). Drawing upon expertise from around the country, this network is designed to provide materials, services, courses, teacher support, information, and communications to institutions needing assistance in starting as well as maintaining Russian language programs. RussNet will be directed by a board of nationally and internationally renown linguists and pedagogues whose knowledge will assure the quality of the resources being delivered and whose reputation will give campuses around the country the confidence to participate.

As a response to the new world of global communications, System III will replace Systems I and II and emerge as a synthesis of these systems, entailing the restructuring of educational institutions, a redefinition of the role of the fields, and the integration of information and communications technology into the learning process.

To outline the ramifications of the new system, we shall use the same set of parameters as we did to describe Systems I and II.

Languages. The distinction between CTLs and LCTLs, which lies at the heart of the difference between System I and System II, simply will not exist in System III.

Student Enrollments. As envisioned, System III will be ubiquitous, providing students in all schools, colleges, and universities across the country access to any and all languages. Furthermore, it will enable students to customize learning environments and programs to their interests and needs. Presumably, this ubiquity and customization will bring more students to language study and to the study of more languages, thus making the distinction between CTLs and LCTLs irrelevant.

Basis of Enrollments. System I has dominated enrollments to a large extent because its languages have been the only ones available at most institutions in the United States. System II languages have attracted students who were sufficiently committed to pursue learning in spite of the obstacles inherent in poorly endowed learning programs. The flexibility and agility of System III will

enable students to satisfy either abiding or casual interests in any language by making instruction targeted to any purpose available on demand.

Language Accessibility. The flexibility and agility of System III will add many more hours of instruction to learners in a way that existing classroom-bound programs cannot. This means that languages requiring increased "time on task" will be much more available to learners. More importantly, the new environments will make the learning task involved with "truly foreign languages" more manageable and make reaching functional proficiency more possible.

Educational Home. The flexibility and agility of System III will enable learners to learn well beyond high school and college. Graduates in study abroad programs, in professional internships, on the job, in management positions — all can continue the learning process by signing onto the web site of their home institution and taking the modules they need and want.

Institutional Type. By making learning modules available on demand to any institution wishing to initiate or enrich its language offerings, System III eliminates the distinction between haves and have-nots in the language world. System III will enable instruction in the languages critical to the twenty-first century to be available to students in state colleges and universities, community colleges, historically black colleges and universities, and any other institution with such a need or desire.

Students. In accordance with the liberating effect described above with regard to institutions, System III can involve in language learning students from all disciplines, particularly those whose interest or schedules have been the most difficult to accommodate. Furthermore, the distance-enhanced learning environments of System III will enable learning to continue beyond the school years and the school buildings. The notion of "lifelong learning" will truly come alive.

Disciplinary Base. An initial investment must be made. In addition to the costs of technology, the cost of new expertise cannot be neglected. Specifically, while System I expertise was based in language and literature departments and System II expertise in area studies, System III will have to build on a significantly enhanced expertise in second language acquisition. This emerging discipline will have to be integrated into graduate education, just as the research results will have to find their way directly into practice.

Teachers. When teaching "truly foreign languages," the team teaching approach is most effective. Such a team should consist of a native bearer of the target culture and language, along with a specialist in language learning (Jorden and

Walton 1987). When such expertise is unavailable on site, the System III delivery network can link one or the other expert to the team electronically, at least until the deficiency can be addressed on-site.

Learning Environment. The ubiquity of System III learning environments makes the distinction between classroom and extramural settings irrelevant. Learning will be available on demand, wherever and whenever it is needed. To be sure, the presence of a teacher and co-learners will never be replaced by distance learning modes, for the real value of System III learning modes is the enrichment of institutional learning programs.When the alternative to distance learning is simply the lack of instruction, however, then the distance learning aspect of System III is invaluable on its own merits.

Missions. System III will enable all institutions to broaden the mission and scope of their language programs. Whether students are enrolled for the general education, applied, heritage, or vocational mission, the menu of modules will enable each to find appropriate instruction. In addition, the modular approach will enable students who may have begun with the general education goal in mind to switch to the applied, if they wish, with maximal effectiveness.

Pedagogical Orientation. Any learning system with so much flexibility and agility inevitably passes control into the hands of students. It is imperative, therefore, that the students in System III have the training to manage their learning. Students must be able to construct a learning program and language learning career that takes maximum advantage of the multiple opportunities inherent in System III. The myriad of learning opportunities must be tied into a coherent whole, and the result must be a solid linguistic base with peaks of high-level proficiency.

Curriculum. As noted above, the curriculum of System III is based on the principle of customization and self-managed learning, which is antithetical to the "one-size-fits-all" approach dictated by the learning delivery systems of the past.

Sources of Support. No single institution is capable of offering on its own the rich menu of learning environments required by System III. Therefore, while institutions will continue to support flagship programs as part of their mission, now as never before they must share resources and expertise, borrowing from each other and importing from the field itself to address unmet needs. In the past, expertise and resources were shared through regional consortia, where proximity rather than program complementarity was the driving force. With the communications technology of the Internet, resource sharing and consortial arrangements have to be recast, and here the fields themselves have to begin to play a major role.

Articulation. The modularization and electronic delivery of learning environments in System III add an entirely new dimension to the notion of articulation. Now schools and universities can share resources, and advanced students in high schools can even take college-level courses, instead of sitting in the back of second-year classes doing their homework. The notion of lifelong learning creates the need for articulation among educational levels and between the formal educational system and the panoply of learning environments spreading across the private, corporate, and continuing education sectors.

Table 6.1. *Summary of Characteristics of Systems I, II, and III*

	System I	System II	System III
Languages	French, German, Spanish	Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Russian	All
Student enrollments	Commonly taught languages	Less commonly taught languages	All
Basis of enrollments	Availability	Demand-driven	Interest
Accessibility of language	Cognate	Truly foreign	All
Educational home	K-16	Undergraduate, graduate	Lifelong
Institutional type	Four-year institutions	Elite	All
Students	Traditional	Elite	All, including nontraditional
Disciplinary base	Departments of language and literature	Area studies	Second language acquisition
Teachers	Native and nonnative speakers	Native speakers	Team
Learning environment	Classroom	Extramural	Ubiquitous
Missions	General education	Applied	All
Pedagogical orientation	Teacher-centered	Individualized	Self-managed
Curriculum	Unified	Disparate	Customized
Sources of support	Institution-dependent	Outside sources	Multiple
Articulation	Weak	Irrelevant	Strong
Field infrastructure	Strong	Weak	Unified and strong
Organization mission	To serve teachers	To build field	To serve learners

Field Infrastructure. Finally, the language fields supporting System III will have to be unified and strong. This system requires collecting and disseminating resources and expertise, unifying standards and learning frameworks, strengthening the articulations from one level to the next, adding new forms of teaching and learner-management, and integrating new instructional and informational technologies and interfaces. All of these require a strong language field and more effective and accessible central facilities.

Conclusion

Although some aspects of System III may seem to some futuristic, almost all of what has been described above is already being implemented somewhere in this country. System III, in our view, is inevitable. The only question remaining is whether we in the language professions wish to shape that future or be its unwitting beneficiaries — or victims.

Notes

1. As one of the strongest indicators of language demand, consider, for example, the results of oral proficiency assessments conducted by Language Testing International (LTI), the testing branch of American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages. In the period from 1992 to 1997, LTI carried out 20,000 proficiency assessments for all language sectors, 23 percent of which were for less and least commonly taught languages. The breakdown of assessments by industrial sector points to the areas of heaviest demand: communications, 40 percent; financial services, 25 percent; public utilities, 20 percent; and travel, 10 percent (Hamlyn 1998).

   Surveys of classified advertisements provide additional indications of the demand for language proficiency. A comparison of Garcia and Otheguy (1995) and Brecht and Rivers (1999) showed increases in positions requiring foreign language proficiency for the following categories from 1970 to 1998: services, 1,250 percent; managerial, 333 percent; and professional, 164 percent.

2. The concept of *field* is used here to encompass the collective expertise and resources devoted to research on and the teaching of a particular discipline. A field can be understood to comprise base components (expertise, membership organizations, communications networks) and infrastructure components (teacher training programs, publishers, testing and assessment mechanisms, study abroad programs, funding sources, etc.) as well as flagship teaching and research programs. A language field encompasses, in addition to the academic sector, the private sector (made up of proprietary schools and corporate training programs), the government sector with its training facilities, the heritage sector with its cultural and language education programs, and the overseas sector that provides teachers and study abroad opportunities. For an example of a language learning framework implemented by the Association of Teachers of Japanese, a member of the National Council of Organizations of Less Commonly Taught Languages, see “ATJ-NCSTJ Standards for Learning Japanese” at www.colorado.edu/ealld/atj/.

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Chapter 7

An Early Start for Foreign Languages (but Not English) in the Netherlands

Kees de Bot

Abstract

Although there is a growing social need for foreign language proficiency, especially at more advanced levels, the amount of teaching time devoted to foreign languages has tended to go down rather than up. Starting foreign language instruction at an earlier age and teaching more than one foreign language in primary education may help to solve this problem. It is argued that for a country like the Netherlands English should not be one of the languages that is given an early start. English is so pervasive through the media and information technology that pupils will learn it to a large degree without the need for formal teaching time. Other languages, such as German and French, but also less commonly taught languages such as Russian and Japanese, would benefit more from early introduction and multiple offerings.

For countries like the Netherlands major aspects of acquisition planning are what foreign languages should be taught, for whom, at what level, and by what method. As Theo van Els has stressed on various occasions, there is growing awareness of the need for foreign languages in different areas of Dutch society. Expression of that need did not come from educationalists alone: "The fact that such worries were expressed by organizations from business and commerce significantly contributed to their urgency" (van Els 1994: 44).

There is indeed a growing need for more and more advanced skills in foreign language in Europe, and in the Netherlands in particular, but attention should be focused not on English but on the other major European languages. To achieve higher levels of proficiency, foreign language teaching should begin at

an earlier age, with immersion-type education in two foreign languages.

Europeans are increasingly alert to the disappearance of borders in Europe and to the increase of contacts in commerce, planning, and education, even though it is still rather unclear what all of that contact means in practical terms. From a distance it may seem as if Europeans are rapidly changing into citizens of the united states of Europe, giving up their local peculiarities and languages, but this is clearly not what is happening. The tendency to operate more on the European or global level is counterbalanced by a clear tendency towards regionalization that is expressed in the remarkable improvement of the status of local languages and dialects (Truchot 1999).

Language Needs

The current perspective on the future of foreign languages in countries like the Netherlands seems to be inspired more by practical motives than by romantic impulses. Data on language needs in the Netherlands were gathered during preparations for the Dutch National Action Program on Foreign Languages some years ago (van Els and van Hest 1992). As part of the project, information was gathered from larger companies on the need for knowledge of foreign languages in the Netherlands. First among several interesting findings was the level of dissatisfaction with the foreign language proficiencies of students leaving secondary education. The second finding, based on a comparison of final exams, was that in reality there had been no decrease of proficiency in the last decade. The third, which more or less followed from the first, was that although the proficiency of the students entering the job market had not gone down, the demands in the field they were entering had gone up.

A discussion about higher proficiency in foreign languages in the Netherlands is inevitably a discussion about what languages should be taught at the higher levels. The needs analysis revealed that the European languages were a problem: There is clearly a need for more and better skills in German and French and, to a lesser degree, in Spanish and Italian. In contrast to the United States and Australia (Brecht and Walton 1995; Clyne 1991) the need for less commonly taught languages like Chinese and Russian is extremely small indeed, while Turkish and Arabic are relevant only because of the presence of minority groups in the Netherlands. Although this may represent a fairly shortsighted view of language needs in the coming decades, the discussion is almost completely restricted to the languages of Europe. English comes first. There is little doubt about the need for advanced skills in English by large portions of society. At the

same time, there are no clear signs that those needs are *not* being met by the educational system.

Various studies have demonstrated the omnipresence of English in Dutch and other European societies (de Bot 1994: 698, Giota 1995: 703), as well as the ample opportunities to acquire the language both in formal settings and from extensive exposure through the media. In recent years numerous schools for secondary education have set up bilingual streams, all of them Dutch-English, to attract more and better pupils, with the aim of delivering students with native-like skills in English. Recent data on the effectiveness of bilingual-stream efforts (Huibregtse *et al.* in preparation) raise some doubts about whether those additional provisions are actually needed for English. The analyses seem to show that although children in late partial immersion/bilingual streams develop higher skills very quickly in the program, pupils in the control group do not lag behind that much. It may well be that the Dutch setting is already supportive of the acquisition of English. This is not to say that all individuals in the Netherlands will become near-native speakers, but if the educational system makes full use of the advantages of the setting, enough near-natives will emerge to satisfy the needs.

With respect to languages other than English, however, there is a considerable need for higher levels of proficiency than the educational system is providing. This is true for all types of education, even the tertiary level: "The demand for graduates with a useful knowledge of languages other than English is hardly met, especially in the case of commercial and administrative occupations" (van Els *et al.* 1992: 30). One of the present challenges is how this demand can be met. In the last few years extensive discussions have taken place on the allocation of teaching hours for different subjects in secondary education. Even though the outcomes of that debate in terms of hours are not unfavorable for the foreign languages (at least to the extent that the position of German and French at higher levels of education has not been undermined), a significant increase in the number of hours devoted to foreign language teaching (FLT) is out of the question. So the higher demands will have to be met either by an increase in the effectiveness of FLT in secondary education or by the provision of more and earlier FLT in primary schools. The point I want to make here is that in the long run we will have to turn to changes in primary schools for a substantial increase of our foreign language skills.

Starting Early

With respect to the age of introduction of the foreign language, there seems to be little reason to wait. As Clyne states in one of the earliest evaluation studies of "An Early Start" for foreign languages: "Generally speaking, the earlier the start, the more can be absorbed because second language acquisition can continue for a longer period of time" (Clyne 1986: 131). It should be noted that an early start is advocated, but not because of the presumed superiority of younger children to learn a language better and quicker than older children or adults. The debate on this point that has raged for quite some time now seems to have settled on the conclusion that older learners are more efficient learners, but that learners who start earlier will reach higher levels because they have a longer learning track (e.g., Lightbown 1993: 46–50).

There are other reasons to start earlier. One is that in the present structure of primary schools it is much easier to combine and integrate language teaching and subject teaching. In the last few decades various new approaches have emerged that may be promising in teaching foreign languages to younger children. Genesee (1987) reports on a successful experiment in a primary school in Montreal in which children are taught French, Hebrew, and English. This trilingual approach is a further extension of experiments with early immersion in Canada. As various overviews of the numerous evaluations of immersion programs have shown, there is little doubt about the effectiveness of this approach, though there is growing concern about the lack of accuracy in language production (Swain 1995).

An important but sometimes undervalued point is the relation between teaching in a foreign language and teaching the language as a subject in the curriculum. In primary education, as Clyne (1986: 132) points out, the meta-linguistic development of children will make structured intervention and some "focus on form" necessary. The didactics of the interaction between an immersion type of approach and formal language teaching is not very developed for primary education, however, and the same can be said about secondary education.

Two-Way Bilingual Immersion

More recently, various forms of what has been called "two-way bilingual immersion" (TWBI) have been set up in different parts of the United States. In this approach, which combines aspects of bilingual education and immersion teaching, both the minority language — which is typically the mother tongue of a

significant proportion of the school population — and the majority language are used as languages of instruction. According to Lindholm and Molina (1996), TWBI is now used in 180 schools in 19 American states. The aims of TWBI include high levels of proficiency in both the minority and the majority language for all pupils, minimal grade-level performance for academic subjects, and the development of positive attitudes towards other groups, languages, and cultures.

Schools in which a TWBI approach is used are typically located in surroundings where the minority language is the mother tongue of a large part of the local population. The presence of those groups is the main motive for English-background parents to send their children to those schools. For the implementation of TWBI, most schools apply a model in which teaching in grade one is done 90 percent of the time in the second language and 10 percent in the first, reflecting the immersion philosophy. For grades two and three the percentages are 80/20 and for grades four and five 50/50. This means that pupils in grade five of a Spanish/English TWBI school get 50 percent of their teaching in Spanish and 50 percent in English. Schools aim at providing teaching of all subjects in both languages, though the availability of suitable teaching materials, in particular for the minority language, tends to be a problem.

The results from the Lindholm and Molina study (1996), which was based on 652 third to eighth grade students, show that this approach can be very successful. The students maintain high levels of proficiency in their first language, they become fairly proficient in the second, they score at grade level for most academic subjects, and there are positive social-psychological effects. The students in the TWBI programs appear to outscore a control group in bilingual education in every area.

To what extent a TWBI program can be successful in the western European situation remains to be seen. The situation in a country like the Netherlands is different from that in the United States and Australia in two respects. First, minority groups are for the most part migrants who have arrived in the last few decades and who tend not to settle in concentrated communities. In many cities some neighborhoods are populated mainly by migrants, but a variety of ethnic backgrounds will be found, rather than large concentrations of a single ethnic group. This means that local schools will have to deal with many different language backgrounds, and concentrating on a single migrant language would be impossible. Secondly, ethnic group languages such as Turkish and Moroccan have to compete with languages such as English, German and French, which are valued much more. In the Dutch context it is hard to imagine a school setting up a two-way bilingual program with Dutch and Turkish: not many Dutch parents are likely to be attracted by such programs, and those parents who may be

inspired by multiculturalism as an ideal are not likely to live in the same parts of cities where larger groups of migrants can be found.

In principle the educational setting in the Dutch/German border region would be ideal for TWBI, also because the widely used local dialects show signs of both languages. Unfortunately, no substantial projects have been carried out; apparently the national border is still an educational border as well (Huibregste *et al.* 1994).

So even though TWBI may be very promising in specific contexts, it probably is not the solution for the Dutch need for higher levels of proficiency. As indicated earlier, late partial immersion is already very popular in many secondary schools, but in all those schools English is the foreign language. Attempts to start programs with French and German have failed so far. Official policy of the ministry of education does not reflect a recognition of the advantages of this type of program.

How Little Is Enough?

It comes as no surprise that children in well-organized schools with immersion or TWBI reach fairly high levels of proficiency in the foreign language. What is more interesting is whether less massive interventions can also have significant effects on FLT. "How Little Is Enough?" is the title of a project by a group of researchers at Kiel University in Germany headed by Henning Wode, who for several years have taken a "minimalist approach" to immersion teaching in secondary education. Their studies also show that more limited forms of immersion have a significant impact (Wode 1994), but again, English is the language taught.

Other evidence shows that early exposure to foreign languages may have lasting effects. Carroll (1980) has shown that early exposure to a foreign language leads to lasting changes in the organization of the languages in the brain. Even more interesting is a study by Yelland *et al.* (1993) in which a group of English-background first and second graders were taught Italian for an hour per week. There was no formal grammar teaching, and the language was taught mainly though games, songs, and role-plays. After six months this marginally bilingual group showed significantly higher scores than a monolingual control group when tested on their linguistic (grammatical/phonological) awareness. An even more surprising finding was that by the end of grade two the bilingual group also showed higher scores on reading tasks in English. It appears, therefore, that even a small amount of FLT can have lasting effects on language develop-

ment generally. This effect is not dependent on level of proficiency: the bilingual children in this experiment were unable to produce more than a small set of very simple sentences. The findings suggest that children who are raised bilingually are not the only ones to show higher scores on metalinguistic and linguistic tests (Ben Zeev 1977; Bialystok 1988); children who learn the language as a real *foreign* language also do so. The importance of this finding is that even when early FLT does not lead to proficiency in that language in itself, the time invested in it is worthwhile because of the effects on different aspects of first-language acquisition.

FLT in Primary Education

With these findings on early immersion and early exposure in mind, one could envisage a fairly drastic change in FLT in primary education in the Netherlands. At a conference in April 1997, I argued for the following configuration of FLT in primary education:

In the first two grades of primary education one foreign language is taught for two hours per week. In the next two grades the second foreign language is taught for two hours a week, while the first is taught for one hour a week. In the remaining four grades of primary education both languages are taught for one hour per week. It would be ideal to link the teaching of the foreign language with teaching of at least one subject in the foreign language; for example, biology in French and history in German. The link between a subject and a language should not remain the same over the years but should be swapped in order to stimulate the development of lexical knowledge in both the first and second languages. For the real die-hards, starting even earlier, for example, in kindergarten, could be an option. Karniol (1990) has shown that even very early immersion (one- to three-year olds) has lasting positive effects.

When children prepared in this way enter secondary education, they will already have a fairly extensive set of skills in two foreign languages, at any rate enough to have their teaching of different subjects in those languages, after which a third foreign language such as English could be introduced. As indicated earlier on, there is little reason to worry about the acquisition of English in the Dutch context; in a way, English can take care of itself. It would be important to pay attention to correctness and form to compensate for the largely unstructured acquisition of English up to that point. The program as described would be further enhanced if pupils would take part in exchange programs with countries in which their foreign languages were spoken. At the European level there are clearly

incentives to move in this direction within the framework of the Socrates program.

Is all this too utopian? Not as much as it may seem. The program as described above resembles the curriculum in the European Schools, a network of nine schools in six countries in Europe (see Baetens Beardsmore 1993 for a description of the system). The evaluations of those European schools are very positive, but it should be mentioned that priority of access to those schools is given to European civil servants (Housen and Baetens Beardsmore 1993). The philosophy of the European School group is to develop both the child's first language and cultural identity and to promote a European identity by teaching them at least two other languages.

It cannot be denied that the type of changes suggested will take a lot of time and effort. The momentum now present at the European level to further the position of FLT needs to be used. Various recent actions in the Lingua and Socrates programs provide opportunities for the implementation of changes, such as the possibility of hiring native teaching assistants (Action C) and training subject teachers to teach in a foreign language (Action B). Action E allows for the development of FLT curricula cross-nationally.

Bilingualism or Multilingualism?

The maintenance and even the survival of the minor European languages is a major concern in many countries. As mentioned earlier, the combination of a widespread proficiency in English, its undisputed presence in many walks of life, and the generally positive attitudes towards English (de Bot and Weltens 1997) have made English a serious threat to those languages. There are sound arguments for a language policy aiming at preservation of those languages in the European context, but whether promotion of the national language or restrictions on the use of English will be very effective is doubtful. Even in France there now exists a growing awareness of the futility of such top-down measures (Bonnet 1998).

There may be compelling reasons to aim at the kind of FLT provisions presented earlier in this paper. As Paulston (1994) has argued repeatedly, bilingualism is always likely to be transitional; that is, a phase between monolingualism in language A and monolingualism in language B. Bilingualism may be a threat to smaller languages, and an active policy aiming at multilingualism rather than bilingualism may be the only way to really protect the minor national languages. This may create a rationale for the rather far-reaching suggestions for

a change in FLT in the Netherlands as discussed above. Teaching foreign languages for two or three hours per week in secondary education will not lead to real multilingualism. If the governmental policy is to protect the national language, a substantial investment in an early start for the teaching of foreign languages other than English may be the only solution.

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CHAPTER 8

Elementary School Immersion in Less Commonly Taught Languages

Myriam Met

Abstract

Although foreign language immersion programs have been common in North America for three decades, it is only recently that programs in languages other than French and Spanish have become popular. An existing research base and professional experience often guide decisions about programs in French and Spanish. The same decisions are required of planners for Chinese or Japanese programs, yet decision makers must take into account the differences between those languages and English. Program planners must decide on the model of immersion to be used (partial, total, or a hybrid) recognizing that this choice, in turn, affects decisions about the introduction of literacy in the students' first and second languages and how subject matter will be taught in each language. In particular, the role of literacy in the first and second languages, and how these are developed in immersion settings, has significant implications for instructional decisions. Because Chinese and Japanese are not cognate languages with English, and because they use different writing systems, decision-makers must determine when and how to introduce second language literacy, the relationship between first language and second language literacy, and the interaction between second language literacy and content learning. This article explores the implications of the kinds of decisions program planners may make, noting that there are no "right" answers, but rather potential benefits and consequences of the choices made.

Immersion has become an increasingly popular approach to teaching foreign languages to young learners. In immersion, the foreign language serves as the medium of instruction. Immersion students, speakers of the dominant language

of society, learn the regular school curriculum through a new language. The first programs in North America were popularized in Canada, but by 1972 the United States had its first immersion program: a total immersion program in Spanish located in Culver City, California. Since that time, programs in the United States have proliferated. By 1999, 165 elementary schools in 28 states and the District of Columbia offered immersion programs. Not only has the number of programs increased dramatically since the inception of immersion in the United States, but diversity among programs has increased as well. Today, immersion programs vary by model, student population, and language of instruction.

Originally, Canadian immersion programs practiced "early total immersion." Students entered at kindergarten or grade 1 and received all instruction in the target language, including instruction in reading and writing. English literacy was introduced at grade 2. Eventually, half of the school day was conducted in each language (Lambert and Tucker 1972; Swain and Lapkin 1982; Genesee 1987). Variations on early total immersion were introduced later. In some total immersion programs, English language instruction may be introduced as late as grades 4 or 5.

Partial immersion programs, in which each language is the medium of instruction for at least half of the school day, are far more popular in the United States than in Canada. In partial immersion, students learn to read and write in their native language either before or simultaneously with the target language. Early entry programs predominate in the United States, whereas Canadian programs also provide for entry at grade 4 (middle immersion) or at grade 6 or 7 or 8 (late immersion) (Genesee 1981; Swain and Johnson 1997; Wesche *et.al.* 1996). In the United States, two-way immersion programs (also known as dual language or two-way bilingual programs) bring together equal numbers of English speakers and speakers of the target language beginning in kindergarten or grade 1 (Christian 1996; Christian, Montone, Lindholm, and Carranza 1997).

Around the world, immersion is becoming increasingly common (Johnson and Swain 1997). There are immersion programs in which the students' first language and second language are cognate languages (e.g., Spanish/Catalan), others in which the languages are not cognate but share a writing system (Finnish/Swedish, Spanish/Basque), and some in which the languages are noncognate and use different writing systems (Japanese/English). While Spanish and French — cognate languages to English — are the language of most programs in the United States, immersion programs are offered in other languages: Arabic, Chinese (both Mandarin and Cantonese), German, Hawaiian, Inupiaq, Japanese, Russian, and Yup'ik (Center for Applied Linguistics 1999).

The growth of immersion programs stems, in large part, from the levels of

student achievement the programs produce. Studies have shown that immersion students gain high levels of proficiency in the target language while performing in English and academic content at a level comparable to (and sometimes exceeding) that of nonimmersion peers (Campbell 1984; Cummins 1983; Fairfax County Public Schools 1991 and 1997; Genesee 1987; Harley, Hart, and Lapkin 1986; Lambert and Tucker 1972; Swain and Lapkin 1991; Thomas, Collier, and Abbott 1993). Given the successes of immersion in languages such as French and Spanish, it should not be surprising that educators might seek to expand early immersion programs to languages less commonly studied.

This article discusses the implications of designing and implementing an immersion program in Chinese or Japanese. Program planners who have decided to start an immersion program in one of these languages must make important decisions with far-reaching implications. Immersion programs are accountable for ensuring that children learn (and learn to the same levels) the same curriculum as nonimmersion students learning academic content in their native language, English. The goal and challenge for educators in all immersion models is the same: to enable students to learn academic content in a language they do not know, or do not know well. This article will examine issues in program planning affected by the choice of Chinese or Japanese as the language of instruction. As will be seen, many of these issues are similar to those faced by all immersion programs, but they are affected by the choice of language. The issues to be discussed include whether to select partial or total immersion, which subjects will be taught in which language, staffing issues, and availability of instructional materials. Such issues are common to all immersion programs but are uniquely shaped by the language of instruction, particularly when it is not cognate to English. Further, many of the factors in immersion education have mutual impact. Choice of program model, for example, interacts with choice of language, when and how literacy develops in the first and second language, academic content issues, staffing issues, and instructional materials needed.

In the discussion that follows, the factors that might influence program decisions in planning and implementing early immersion programs in Chinese and Japanese are examined. The purpose is to fully explore the advantages and possible disadvantages of options available, rather than advocate one position or another. Program planners may find it helpful to be clear about the advantages inherent in their decisions. Similarly, it may also be helpful to be aware of potential problems so that these may be anticipated and addressed in the planning process. The reader is therefore cautioned that there are no right or wrong answers, simply issues to consider thoughtfully as programs move through the stages of planning, implementation, and refinement.

Total Immersion or Partial Immersion?

Almost all immersion programs in the United States begin in kindergarten or grade 1, and program planners must decide whether their immersion program will be partial or total, or even something in between.

Advantages of Partial Immersion

There are some clear advantages to partial immersion, regardless of the language of instruction. Because half of the school day is conducted in English, students receive first language literacy instruction from the outset. This approach alleviates some of the concerns raised by parents and nonlanguage educators who may have some reservations about the immersion model. In addition, partial immersion requires fewer teachers proficient in the second language. Because immersion teachers are expected to teach the regular school curriculum in the foreign language, it is most desirable to have teachers who are effective elementary school teachers and have native (or near-native) proficiency in the second language. Such persons may be difficult to find. In partial immersion, one teacher can provide instruction to two groups of students, since each group receives only 50 percent of its instructional time in the second language. The other 50 percent of instruction can be delivered by an English-only teacher, most likely someone already on staff. This means that schools can involve existing staff in the program and may need to displace fewer staff members to make room for teachers who can teach in the second language.

In partial immersion, literacy issues can be diminished because only half the curriculum is taught through the medium of the second language. This may be an important consideration in Chinese and Japanese immersion, where students' limited literacy skills in the second language can restrict curriculum delivery in subjects where students are expected to read and write to gain information. Such limited literacy skills can affect the integrity of the curriculum and academic rigor. (The issue of second language literacy is explored in greater depth in the section that follows.) Therefore, partial immersion schools may choose to teach subjects that require less extensive proficiency in reading and writing; that is, subjects such as mathematics, science, or health as opposed to subjects in the social sciences (history, civics). Much instruction in mathematics and science is carried out through the use of visuals, manipulatives, and hands-on experiences, approaches that allow students to learn even if their language/literacy proficiency may be limited.[1]

Potential Drawbacks of Partial Immersion

Perhaps the most important disadvantage of partial immersion is that students do not attain the high levels of second language proficiency that students do in total immersion (Barik, Swain, and Nwanunobi 1977; Campbell, Gray, Rhodes, and Snow 1985; Cummins 1983; Swain and Lapkin 1982). That is, by the end of grade 4, for example, partial immersion students may be performing comparably to grade 1 total immersion students (Barik, Swain, and Nwanunobi 1977). One obvious reason is that partial immersion students spend half as much time learning through the second language as do total immersion students, and, given the challenges for English speakers to become proficient in Chinese and Japanese, maximum exposure to the language may be critical in developing the proficiency levels needed to address the school curriculum at the desired level of academic rigor.

Some veteran immersion educators might also argue that students may not feel a strong need to learn the second language in partial immersion. If half the day is in the native language, and the other is taught through instructional strategies that allow students to participate successfully — and to learn — despite their limited proficiency, students may be less intensely motivated to learn, and to learn quickly. In contrast, when students spend all day, every day, learning through a language they do not know, they soon come to realize that acquiring the new language is key to their success. In this regard the primary goal of immersion programs — to produce students who have high skill levels in the second language — may not be as effectively achieved in partial immersion.

Advantages of Total Immersion

The level of proficiency attained by students in total immersion is one of the principal reasons for selecting it over partial immersion. Students in total immersion are more likely to attain the level of language proficiency required for successful mastery of the curriculum. In the early grades, the content of the curriculum can be taught using many paralinguistic strategies that provide support to language. Teachers make extensive use of visuals, hands-on experiences, concrete materials, and body language. These instructional strategies serve a dual function: they make input comprehensible, and they are known to be effective teaching strategies for teaching the curriculum to young learners. Thus students in the early grades learn both content and language through opportunities to match the language they hear with experience. In the upper elementary grades, however, curriculum concepts become increasingly abstract. Students

learn more through language than through concrete experience, requiring the higher levels of language proficiency that are typically produced in total immersion. Classroom discussions and teacher explanations require students to understand and speak at higher levels. Students may be expected to engage in extended second language discourse in classroom activities. For example, students may be expected to explain the motivations of the pioneers in the westward movement, relate a mathematical procedure in their own words, or explain how the incline of a plane is related to the speed at which an object travels along its length. Students may also be expected to use reading and writing as tools for learning. Students may research and write reports about environmental pollution in local waterways or about their state's history. Clearly, the greater the language proficiency of students, the more likely it will be that students learn the curriculum. Such proficiency is more likely to be gained through total immersion.

Potential Drawbacks of Total Immersion

The very nature of total immersion (no instruction in students' first language until grade 2 or later) brings with it some potential issues, particularly for total immersion programs in Chinese or Japanese. First, in total immersion students generally learn to read in the second language for several years before receiving instruction in first language literacy. Little information is available about whether learning to read in a nonalphabetic system in the second language can have the same positive transfer to the first language as has been observed in French and Spanish immersion programs. Moreover, research provides little information to indicate whether even in total immersion students can gain sufficient literacy to use Chinese or Japanese as a research tool or for writing reports. Anecdotal evidence from experienced immersion professionals suggests that neither partial nor total immersion is likely to produce such results (Walker and Walker 1998).

Another potential drawback of total immersion is that it requires more teachers with native-like proficiency in the second language and skilled in teaching the elementary grades. Because all subjects are taught in the second language in the early grades, schools may not have the same flexibility in content delivery as they will in the upper grades (or as they do in partial immersion) where they can choose to teach certain subjects in English. Many districts have found that some parents are more comfortable with partial immersion, precisely because of the amount of first language instruction inherent in the model.

Implications of Total vs. Partial Immersion Decisions

The level of second language proficiency (oral and written) provided in total immersion is an important variable linked to content learning, and students in total immersion are more likely to develop sufficient proficiency for that purpose. Although it is unlikely that partial immersion students will be as proficient as those in total immersion, veteran immersion educators have found that it *is* possible to achieve the level of language students need for curriculum learning in partial immersion programs in French and Spanish. Doing so takes very careful planning and conscientious attention to language in day-to-day content instruction. On the other hand, we know very little about whether it is possible to achieve similar levels of proficiency in languages such as Chinese and Japanese. Of the few studies available on the language proficiency of students in partial immersion, it was found that the oral proficiency of the Japanese students was somewhat below that of the French and Spanish students (Fairfax County Public Schools 1997).

In addition to the differences in oral proficiency attained in partial vs. total immersion programs, differences exist in the literacy skills of students. There are several reasons why this might be so. First, students in French and Spanish total immersion learn to read in the second language first and later transfer those literacy skills to the first language. In partial immersion, literacy is developed in the first language. In fact, there is little time available in partial immersion for second language literacy development, since instruction in mathematics and science tends to fill 50 percent of the school day. (Moreover, additional time is required to gain skill in the non-Roman alphabetic systems of Chinese and Japanese.) Many partial immersion teachers successfully integrate literacy development with teaching of mathematics and science, but the range of literacy skills that can be developed and the range of text types students will encounter may be circumscribed by the nature of the disciplines themselves. Both factors can affect the progress of students learning to read Chinese or Japanese. As a result, students in total immersion programs are likely to achieve stronger literacy skills in the second language, although it remains to be determined whether students can attain the skill levels that are required for curriculum learning.

In contrast, partial immersion allows flexibility in choice of subjects. Because only half the school day is taught in the second language, the first language portion of the day can provide instruction in subjects or topics difficult to teach in the second language and can be used to provide support for content taught in the second language. Further, since first language literacy instruction is provided, concerns about the transfer of literacy skills between the English and

the non-Roman alphabetic writing systems of Chinese and Japanese can be minimized.

Literacy Issues

Literacy issues are important in immersion because literacy is important in education. Immersion programs generally include among their stated goals that students will achieve academically in their first language. That is, students will be literate in their first language and will demonstrate no detrimental effects from participation in the immersion program. Literacy is also critical to academic achievement. If students are to learn the curriculum to expected levels (that is, at least as well as nonimmersion students learn it) reading and writing must be important tools.

Immersion researchers have long held that literacy skills gained by students in their second language transfer to their first language. In immersion programs where the first and second languages use the same alphabet, students seem to have little difficulty reading in their first language once they read successfully in the second language. Thus, students learning to read in French or Spanish do not have to be taught from scratch how to read in English. While it is important to give students explicit instruction in some formal aspects of language (in particular, where the first language and second language differ, such as mechanics and punctuation) students tend to read well in English if they read well in French or Spanish. Often, cognates between the two languages facilitate an expanded vocabulary range. Exposure in the upper grades to a wide range of texts and topics in English ensures that students gain the experience and vocabulary needed for academic content and pleasure reading in English.

Literacy is a major challenge in immersion programs in noncognate languages, however. Learners of Chinese need to learn about 3,000 of the 7,000 characters in modern Chinese to achieve high-intermediate or advanced levels of reading proficiency. A system of simplified characters (approximately 3,000 of the total set of characters) is in use in the People's Republic of China and in Singapore, while Taiwan and Hong Kong continue to use traditional characters. Readers may also use a phonetic system based on the Roman alphabet (*pinyin*) and a set of phonetic symbols (*bopomofo*; not based on the Roman alphabet) to assist readers. In Japanese, learners will need to read three writing systems: *kanji* (characters borrowed from Chinese to represent identical or similar semantic concepts), *hiragana* (a syllabary using phonetic symbols not based on the Roman alphabet), and *katakana* (a syllabary using non-Roman-alphabet-based phonetic symbols for

loan words imported from other languages). Together, *hiragana* and *katakana* make up the Japanese syllabary system known as *kana*. *Romaji*, a phonetic system based on the Roman alphabet, can be used to transliterate Japanese.

Issues in First Language Literacy

Obviously, differences between the writing systems of English and students' second language suggest that each must be taught independently. There is no basis for assuming that second language literacy will or will not transfer to the first language. The question of transfer of literacy skills when two languages do not share a writing system is an important research question for the field.

In the absence of research to support positive transfer from a noncognate second language, it may be advantageous to include first language literacy development from the outset. The total-immersion model precludes teaching first language literacy, however, because by definition *all* instruction occurs in the second language. Setting time aside for first language literacy takes time away from the instructional program in the second language. For first language literacy instruction to be effective, however, sufficient time must be given to it. One solution may be a program designed to be more than partial immersion (that is, more than half of the school day) but less than total.

Issues in Second Language Literacy

Literacy in the first language is one issue. Literacy in the second language is another. As noted above, second language literacy may play an important role in content learning in immersion programs. Literacy is a tool for learning and remembering. Little is known about what happens when this tool is either unavailable or is of very limited usefulness, particularly in the upper grades when doing research, consulting references, and writing research reports are part of the curriculum.

Planners of Chinese and Japanese immersion programs must make important decisions about developing second language literacy. When should these skills be introduced? As we have seen, most total immersion programs introduce second language literacy at the outset and add first language literacy later. In partial immersion, second language literacy may be introduced simultaneously with or subsequently to first language skills. Some educators believe that learning to read simultaneously in two languages that share the same alphabet may be confusing to students (Genesee 1987). That will be an issue in Chinese or Japanese only if *pinyin* or *romaji* are taught, whereas teaching students to read characters or

phonetic symbols such as *kana* should not confuse students. Rather, for program planners, the primary issue will be one of time: how can sufficient time be found to teach literacy in both languages so that students attain the needed levels of proficiency in reading and writing?

Another challenge to immersion programs is how to teach reading and writing in Chinese and Japanese. (See Eleanor Jorden's essay in this volume for an excellent discussion of issues related to literacy development in Japanese.) It is possible that many of the strategies used to teach characters to native speakers will be appropriate for immersion classrooms. It is unclear whether the strategies used to teach native speakers the Japanese *kana* system or *bopomofo* (Taiwan) are useful in immersion programs for English speakers. Japanese and Taiwanese children, of course, come to school with a rich language background. Knowing *kana* or *bopomofo* helps them decode sounds so they can link the written and oral forms of a language they already know. English speakers learning *kana* or *bopomofo* may be able to read aloud phonetically — but not for meaning — if the vocabulary is not known. As of this writing, little research has been published to suggest effective approaches to teaching literacy to students in Chinese or Japanese immersion programs.

Immersion programs also struggle to define reasonable expectations for student achievement in reading and writing the second language. Chinese and Japanese educators may have clearly defined expectations for native speakers learning to read and write in terms of the number of characters or phonetic symbols they master, the quality of character production in writing, and so on. In fact, American students may be very surprised by the heavy emphasis that correct character formation and stroke order receive in the target culture, given that penmanship is not emphasized to the same degree in U.S. schools.

Immersion educators are still defining how many characters it is reasonable to expect American students to recognize and understand at given points in their education. They also are working to resolve whether the systems that have traditionally determined the order of presentation of characters makes sense for immersion learners whose language knowledge may be limited to the domains of content they learn. For example, Chinese children learning to read first learn common characters that represent vocabulary and concepts already known to Chinese readers. In contrast, in immersion settings, that vocabulary may be unknown to students and may need to be taught explicitly in order to teach character recognition. Teaching vocabulary out of context, particularly out of the context of the normal ebb and flow of daily classroom experiences, is atypical of immersion programs. Moreover, if literacy instruction must be linked to explicit language instruction, it will require an additional investment of time.

Immersion educators will need to decide whether it is sensible to teach students to recognize and produce characters for words they do not know (words they cannot or will not use in the context of the immersion classroom), and whether the time spent teaching the meanings of characters not linked to known language could be better invested in other types of instruction. Lastly, for planners of Chinese immersion programs, there is the further question of whether to teach simplified or traditional characters. Good arguments are available to support either decision, and either choice has its advantages and disadvantages.

Which Subjects Are Taught in Which Language?

In the upper elementary grades of many total immersion programs, half the school day is taught in the second language. In partial immersion, half the school day is taught in the second language from the early grades. Program planners in both total and partial immersion programs must decide how instructional time will be used in each language. Some immersion programs divide the curriculum so that English reading and language arts, plus one other subject (in partial immersion, that subject is usually social studies), are taught in English, while other subjects, such as mathematics and science, are taught in the second language.

Decisions about which subject to teach in which language are based on several factors. One reason that most partial immersion programs teach mathematics and science in the second language is that these subjects require less oral and written proficiency in the language and are taught more easily through strategies that make input comprehensible. From a curriculum standpoint, these are sound decisions, as evidenced by the continuing success of U.S. immersion programs.

From a language learning perspective, however, it is important to consider the language outcomes that emerge from teaching content. If students are to acquire a range of usable oral and written proficiency in the second language, content teaching must provide a sufficient range of opportunities to understand, speak, read, and write the language.

Mathematics and science are both based on a corpus of terminology unique to those disciplines. In the course of learning science, students may learn to describe the life cycle of butterflies, distinguish igneous from sedimentary rocks, or name the parts of a closed circuit. Not only is the terminology unique to science — and not highly functional outside the science classroom — it includes fewer cognates between English and Chinese or Japanese than are shared by English and the more common immersion languages. Thus, students are less likely to recognize in English the terms they have acquired from science instruction in Chinese or Japanese.

Other considerations affect the use of mathematics and science to develop second language proficiency. The styles of written discourse in science and mathematics differ from narrative prose and from the expository discourse of the social sciences. Further, the reading strategies that apply to much expository and narrative prose may be inappropriate to reading mathematics (Reehm and Long 1995). One cannot skim mathematics texts for gist, and decoding skills may not be helpful in learning mathematical symbols. In addition, mathematics and science may offer limited opportunities for students to hear and use social language. Social language skills are an important component of language proficiency; that is, students should be able to do more than discuss content. They need to be able to engage in nonacademic interactions with peers and adults on topics not encountered in the classroom. Thus, students who learn only mathematics and science in the second language will need sufficient opportunities to acquire a broad range of proficiencies. Teachers and program planners may find it helpful to plan carefully and conscientiously for language development within the context of teaching those subjects.

In contrast to mathematics and science, elementary school social studies instruction allows for development of a broad range of language. Social studies are highly language based, and increasingly so as studies progress through the grades. Students discuss; students research; students report. Students can also acquire social language skills through role plays. In the early grades, social studies instruction allows for the development of useful, high-frequency vocabulary (my family, my community, people who work in our community, our sources of goods). The very advantage of social studies, however, is also its drawback. Because social studies are so language dependent, students need to have acquired a certain level of language skills by the upper grades if they are to acquire curriculum concepts at a level commensurate with school-district expectations.

The question of selecting the content to be taught in each language is not unique to immersion in less commonly taught languages, but it is intensified. As we have seen, the development of literacy skills is more challenging when the native and target languages do not share writing systems. On the one hand, selecting content that is less dependent on literacy makes good sense. On the other, students will have limited opportunities to develop literacy skills unless they have rich opportunities and strong motivation to read and write the language. Further, effective elementary school practices currently include teaching curriculum objectives in an integrated fashion. Reading may be taught throughout the curriculum so that reading instruction is embedded in content instruction. Therefore, if literacy is a program goal, decisions about what will be taught in

the second language will affect the extent to which students attain that goal. Similarly, consideration needs to be given to social language development. In immersion programs for languages like Japanese, where social language skills are inextricably rooted in language proficiency, thoughtful consideration needs to be given to when and how students will gain those skills.

The ramifications of selecting certain subjects for instruction in Chinese or Japanese can be anticipated and addressed effectively. At the program level, there are alternatives to dividing the curriculum by language. Instead of teaching some subjects in English and others in the second language, it may be possible to select units within subject areas for each language. For example, in many states, students in grade 4 learn state history. Clearly this is a subject difficult to teach in the second language, in part because few, if any, resources are available in the second language that students may use as resources, readings, or reference materials. On the other hand, other social studies topics may be well suited to immersion. For example, contrasts between ways of life in colonial times and today may be more easily taught in the second language. Students can classify modes of transportation to show which were used in colonial times and which today, and which might be found in both time periods.

At the program level, questions related to content teaching and learning in Chinese or Japanese may be approached in different ways. One obvious solution is for students to start immersion at an earlier age, perhaps even in preschool. Where possible, schools might look toward maximizing opportunities in the community for out-of-school language experiences. This might include collaboration between the formal educational system and community "Saturday schools" that target heritage language students. Summer camps and programs can minimize language attrition over the summer and even promote growth in students' language proficiency.

At the classroom level, teachers can plan content lessons that integrate a focus on language learning (see Snow, Met, and Genesee 1989 for a fuller discussion). Teachers can plan for language growth within the context of teaching science or mathematics. Students can develop writing skills by keeping mathematics journals. Teachers can base math or science inquiry tasks on narrative stories students have read in either the first or second language. If students are spending part of the day in their first language and part in their second, it may be possible to see that some instructional experiences in subject disciplines be taught in each language; that is, rather than divide instructional time on the basis of which subjects are taught in which language, divide subject matter by units, or even within units, by tasks and activities. If teachers work in pairs (one teaching in English and the other in the second language), it will be

vital that they plan collaboratively to ensure that instructional experiences are complementary rather than repetitive.

Another alternative to consider in teaching science or certain aspects of mathematics (e.g., algebra, geometry) is to hold students accountable for comprehension of technical vocabulary, but not for production. This will also mean limiting how students express their content learning. Will it be done in English? Will students be expected to demonstrate recognition of terminology and concepts but not to speak or write in the second language in end-of-unit assessments? As administrators and teachers ponder these questions, it will be important to weigh how their decisions affect their program philosophy and, ultimately, the attainment of the goals of the immersion program.

Other Immersion Issues

This article has explored several major decisions related to planning and implementing immersion programs. Among those decision points are (1) program model (partial vs. total immersion), (2) literacy development, and (3) selection of content. As noted repeatedly above, such decisions are faced by planners of immersion programs in any language, but they are intensified when the immersion language is not cognate to English. Other immersion issues also are magnified when the program is in a less commonly taught language.

Staffing

Most immersion programs in French and Spanish encounter challenges in finding teachers who are highly proficient in the second language and well qualified to teach in the elementary grades. Finding teachers that meet the same criteria in languages other than French and Spanish is even more difficult. Very few English speakers attain native-like command of less commonly taught languages, and fewer still are certified to teach elementary school. Thus, most immersion teachers of less commonly taught languages are natives of other countries or heritage language speakers. In all immersion programs, there are clear advantages to having native speakers and heritage speakers as teachers. Not only are they competent in the language, but also they are knowledgeable culture bearers. It is important to keep in mind that, like all teachers, native speakers who teach in immersion programs will have professional development needs. Heritage speakers, educated in the United States in English, may need to learn the specific second language terminology associated with the academic content they teach. Teachers

educated outside the United States will find the U.S. system of schooling (and handling children) different from their own experiences. Sensitivity and good planning by program administrators can anticipate and address such issues.

Instructional Materials

Teaching academic content in a second language requires instructional materials in that language, particularly if students are to develop literacy. Finding appropriate materials is a challenge in all immersion programs (Lorenz and Met 1988). Two major factors frequently affect the usefulness of instructional materials produced abroad. One is that the level of proficiency assumed by texts written for native speakers (even for young children) often exceeds that of immersion students, even that of total immersion students learning a cognate language. Books written in language simple enough to be accessible to immersion students may be cognitively undemanding, below the level of the conceptual development of students. The second major factor is that differences in curriculum and educational philosophy may make it hard to match U.S. curriculum with materials produced abroad for students of parallel ages and educational attainment. It is not impossible to find appropriate materials, just difficult. Care and thoughtful review of materials prior to purchase can prevent waste.

The challenges presented above are magnified in the case of less commonly taught languages. Students will be even less likely to be able to read materials written for native speakers. Fewer vendors in the United States distribute a more restricted range of materials. In Chinese programs, considerations must include whether materials are written in simplified or traditional characters. Because many books must be purchased sight unseen from distant vendors, there is always the concern that once purchased, materials may not be as useful as had been hoped.

Culture

One of the goals of most immersion programs is that students gain knowledge and appreciation of the target culture. Teaching cultural knowledge in immersion programs therefore must be given careful attention. Because immersion teachers are focused on teaching the school curriculum in the second language, and because the target culture is often not part of that curriculum, conscientious attention must be paid to integrating culture into immersion instruction. Integrating culture into social studies instruction can be relatively easy; integrating it into mathematics and science may take more creativity, but it can be done. For

example, as primary grade students learn the concepts that underlie multiplication, they learn that two groups of three objects each (such as buttons, pencils, or candies) total six objects. The Chinese or Japanese immersion teacher may select objects with cultural significance for such activities.

Native and heritage speakers provide authentic cultural role models for students. They are likely to use body language and gestures in a natural way that allows students to observe and learn intuitively the meanings associated with them. New encounters with vocabulary provide opportunities to highlight cultural meanings. For example, a *bento* in Japanese is not what Americans mean by a boxed lunch, referring to a cultural phenomenon that serves a similar purpose but is expressed differently in the two cultures.

Another way for culture to be integrated into immersion classrooms is for teachers to highlight aspects of culturally acceptable ways of communicating. Cross-cultural communication skills are more difficult to achieve in the relative isolation of the classroom. An important aspect of cross-cultural communication is understanding what may be said to whom under what circumstances. Learning cross-cultural communication in foreign language classrooms has always been a challenge for learners; but it is even harder in less commonly taught languages because of the ways in which social relationships are frequently embedded in language, particularly in Japanese. In classrooms it may be difficult for students to become skilled in choosing formal vs. informal language, and male students may acquire incorrect usage from a female teacher. Should students learn to speak with peers or with adults? And if the latter, given the single adult in the classroom, how can sufficient opportunities to hear, acquire, and use appropriate language for speaking with adults be provided? Should children be taught to speak to one another as though they were addressing a native-speaking peer? Although it is both reasonable and common for children in immersion to speak only the second language in the classroom, it may be unnatural for children to talk to their classmates as though they were native speakers of the second language. However, unless students have opportunities to use language in culturally appropriate ways in the classroom, they are unlikely to speak well outside the classroom. Speaking in culturally appropriate ways is particularly important for immersion students, who may attain relatively strong oral communication skills and thus be expected to communicate in culturally appropriate ways.

Program Administration

In many schools and school districts, immersion programs are housed in schools where the principal does not understand or speak the second language. Although

such language skills are desirable, it is more important that the principal actively support the program and its goals. Often a district-level supervisor or a program coordinator will be competent in the target language. In the case of immersion programs in less commonly taught languages, however, it is less likely that program planners and administrators will have such skills. Knowledge of immersion education and instructional practices may be a more important prerequisite for program leadership than language proficiency. Teachers will have the language proficiency but will need help and support in learning the instructional strategies that characterize effective immersion teaching. Experienced program leaders, even if they lack proficiency in the second language, can provide that.

Leaders at the program level may feel hampered by their lack of language proficiency. When designing or selecting instructional materials, they can provide only advisory support. Only the teachers will be able to judge whether the language of the materials is appropriate to student needs, whether a book translated from English into the target language is accurate, and whether the information is culturally authentic and accurate. In the classroom, administrators can assess the appropriateness of instructional strategies, but they may feel limited in assisting teachers to analyze student feedback or in monitoring student progress in the second language. Here, a close collaborative relationship between program leadership and teaching staff is key to program success. Frequent and sustained opportunities for Chinese and Japanese immersion teachers to engage in professional dialogue about their practice will help ensure a quality program.

Community Attitudes and Involvement

Some immersion educators in Chinese or Japanese programs have found that community perceptions, community attitudes, and community involvement in their programs differ somewhat from those encountered in programs in other languages. People unfamiliar with immersion programs in Chinese or Japanese, for example, frequently assume that the program was created specifically to meet the interests of heritage background learners in the community. Although this assumption may be true in some programs, it is definitely not the case in others. Chinese and Japanese immersion programs in metropolitan Washington, DC, for example, serve very few heritage students. They were created to serve students of all backgrounds.

Some immersion programs in Chinese and Japanese find that heritage language communities take a keen interest in the program. Although French and Spanish programs often occasion interest from members of the local ethnic

community, other language programs have found even more ardent (if not also financial) local support. Community members often are concerned with the program's success. They hope to ensure that success by carefully observing program decisions. They may ask about teacher qualifications, discuss instructional approaches, review materials selected, and inquire about how culture is taught and which holidays are observed. Such community interest has important program benefits. It raises the level of awareness of the community at large, provides an important source of information regarding human and material resources, and sometimes offers resources to support the culture learning goals of the program.

A Research Agenda

Since the late 1960s, when French immersion programs began to proliferate in Canada, researchers have monitored their results, examining student outcomes in French, in English, and in academic content learning (Cummins 1983; Day and Shapson 1987 and 1996; Genesee 1987; Lambert and Tucker 1972; Lapkin 1984). Other aspects of immersion education also have been researched, including students' cultural attitudes (Campbell 1984; Genesee 1987; Lambert 1984; Lambert and Tucker 1972); the relative outcomes of different program models at differing points of student entry (Genesee 1981; Genesee *et al.* 1989; Lapkin, Hart, and Swain 1991; Wesche *et al.* 1996); and teacher behaviors and teacher preparation (Lorenz and Met 1988; Met 1994; Met 1989; Majhanovich and Fish 1988; Snow 1987).

Swain and Johnson (1997) suggest a research agenda for immersion programs in international settings. Although a growing body of research exists on immersion in other countries, relatively little research has been published on immersion programs in the United States. Almost all of the research conducted in the United States has examined immersion programs in French and Spanish. While research on French and Spanish immersion in the United States is meager, it may be even more meager for other languages because of the relative recency of these programs and their small number.

In addition to asking the same questions about immersion programs in less commonly taught languages as we might ask about programs in cognate languages, several interesting issues suggest themselves.

Are Chinese and Japanese harder to learn in immersion than French and Spanish? For older English speakers, noncognate languages may be harder to learn in instructed settings than are languages such as French and Spanish. It

takes longer for adults to learn noncognate languages than languages related to their own (Liskin-Gasparro, as cited in Omaggio 1993). Given the differences in students' ages and the uniquely different instructional approach that elementary school immersion uses as compared with foreign language instruction for adults, do these differences hold? Results from one partial immersion program indicate that students in Japanese attained somewhat lower second language proficiency than peers in comparable programs in French and Spanish (Fairfax County Public Schools 1997). More research on this question is needed.

Are the tones of Chinese easier for young children to learn than they are for adults? Given that research comparing younger and older language learners consistently points to an advantage for younger learners in the area of pronunciation, one might expect better tone reproduction from children in immersion. If this is the case, is enhanced pronunciation sustained through adolescence and adulthood?

How does the growth of literacy in the second language affect oral development? If second language literacy in cognate languages promotes oral language development, is the same true for less commonly taught languages?

How are culturally determined facial expressions, gestures, and body language interpreted by young learners? Do children perceive these as conveying affective information different from that intended by teachers? How do children perceive their teachers from an emotional standpoint? Is there any impact on student attitudes and student learning?

Given that it may take longer to reach usable levels of proficiency, should immersion programs in less commonly taught languages begin before kindergarten or grade 1? Should they provide greater contact time in the second language than is possible with partial immersion? If so, is there an optimal time allocation for the first and second languages?

How proficient can students become in partial immersion? In total immersion? What are reasonable expectations for student oral proficiency? For literacy?

Conclusion

Immersion programs in less commonly taught languages represent an exciting new development in U.S. education. As is true for all immersion programs, careful attention to key decision points can be helpful in ensuring program viability and long-term success. Although the kinds of decisions program planners and administrators make may be similar across immersion programs, implementing programs in less commonly taught languages can intensify the advantages and disadvantages of the choices available.

Immersion programs in Chinese and Japanese are in their infancy. Developmentally, these programs parallel the situation of French and Spanish immersion 20 years ago. They face many of the same questions about program design and instruction. They also face some of the same skepticism. Experience with French and Spanish immersion has provided many useful answers to the important questions researchers have asked. Time and experience have shown how effective immersion in French and Spanish can be at developing proficiency in the first language, the second language, and curriculum content. Fortunately, a growing number of programs in Chinese and Japanese will provide similar information to help guide decisions for new programs. As was the case in the early years of French and Spanish immersion, it will be important to complement experiential and anecdotal data with research that illuminates the variables that promote learning and help students develop language proficiency. Documentation of the success of immersion in Chinese and Japanese and the factors that contribute to it will be important to the future of immersion programs in these languages.

Notes

1. Literacy skills are not unimportant in mathematics and science. Indeed, in addition to hands-on experiences, current approaches to these subjects favor having students read and solve word (story) problems in mathematics or read for scientific information. Students are also expected to explain orally or in writing how the answer to a mathematics problem was derived, or how certain science processes work. Thus, even in these subjects, oral and written proficiency are important tools for learning.

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CHAPTER 9

Forging a Link

Tapping the National Heritage Language Resources in the United States

Xueying Wang

Abstract

This article develops the argument for forging a link between so-called heritage community language schools and the formal education system of the United States. Using evidence from a recent National Foreign Language Center (NFLC) study, it explains how language programs in the formal education system may tap the resources of the heritage community language school in order to promote effective programs in less commonly taught languages.

Creating such links will require a new approach to language education. Institutions will have to embrace a new mindset, new architecture, and new learning environments for language instruction. Institutions' needs for funding, support, staff, and participant commitment are likely to increase, since formal educational partnerships with the community lie outside the bounds of most institutional projects.

This article represents one of the first efforts to study the option of forging a link between the two systems. The approach has been all too long ignored, especially considering its potential for expanding the scope and effectiveness of tools and methods of language instruction as well as for enriching the environment for language learning and cultural exchange.

Rapid development of technology is making today's world increasingly smaller. The globalization of economies, increased international trade, and the rapid diversification of national security needs in the post–Cold War era have heightened the importance of cross-cultural and multilingual communication. The

United States, as one of the most complex multicultural and multilingual societies, is struggling to deal with critical issues of how its citizens can better understand and interact with one another. According to the 1990 national census, more than 300 languages are used at home by more than 30 million Americans. The dramatic changes in the composition of the minority population in the United States require its citizens to possess better cross-language and cross-cultural communications competencies in a broader array of languages. It is apparent that the nation is facing a genuine challenge in its capacity to meet both international and national language and cultural needs.

These growing needs are demonstrated by the efforts made by government agencies and private companies. The Department of Defense, for example, has moved to establish a database to store information on those whose native language is other than English. Private companies — such as AT&T's Language Line, which offers interpreting services for telephone users — are wondering whether they have exhausted domestic resources and should begin recruiting future interpreters from abroad. Academic institutions are focusing attention on how to prepare students to meet the language and cultural challenges of the twenty-first century.

Before tackling the enormous task of meeting the cross-cultural and language needs of the twenty-first century, however, we need to take a closer look at existing resources. In this article, I will compare and contrast the language programs of the formal education system with those of the so-called heritage community language school system and describe the major challenges both systems are facing. By gaining a better understanding of the strengths, weaknesses, and resources of the two systems, we should be able to discern the importance of forging a link between the heritage and formal education systems for the purpose of improving our students' cross cultural understanding and multilingual communication competency.

"Heritage students" are defined as those who, as part of their formal education, study the native language of their ancestors. To distinguish among different types of heritage students, the students who were born in the United States and did not learn their heritage language at home are defined as English-speaking students.

A View from Within (Wang 1996) discussed the advantages to heritage schools of forging a link with the formal education system. This article will focus on its importance for the formal education system. I will use evidence from the 1996 study to illustrate strategies for effectively linking the formal education system to the heritage community language schools.

Less Commonly Taught Languages in the Education System

The less commonly taught languages (LCTLs) are defined by Walton (1992) as languages other than French, German, and Spanish. According to the 1995 language enrollment survey of the Modern Language Association (MLA), of the 1,138,772 students enrolled in foreign language courses in the United States, 907,900 of the students study commonly taught languages (CTLs), whereas only 230,872 students take one of the many LCTLs. Thus, nearly four times as many students register for the three most common languages as for all of the LTCLs combined. Not surprisingly then, with a lack of adequate student enrollment in such LCTL courses, many problems surface.

Very few secondary and postsecondary institutions are prepared to offer a broad range of LCTLs or produce students with the language competency needed to meet domestic and international language needs. Faced with increasing demands for more languages by more learners with more diverse backgrounds, needs, and motivations, LCTL programs are hurt by diminishing financial resources and program cuts (Brecht and Walton 1996). Student demand for specific languages tends to be small and dispersed, particularly in second- and third-year classes, making it impossible for most institutions to maintain cost-effective student/teacher ratios. Without stable and sufficient enrollments in these languages, administrators are understandably reluctant to make long-term commitments to them. In institutions that do offer the less commonly taught languages, programs are unstable and subject to cancellation (Brecht and Walton 1994). In addition, LCTL faculty, typically consisting of professors of anthropology or area studies, or native speakers with little training in teaching, are besieged with serious problems regarding text materials, curriculum design, professional standards, and the long-standing lack of adequate resources (Walton 1992). Thus, LCTL instructors with extensive expertise are and will remain scarce and geographically scattered.

The problem of what to do with the heritage students who are flooding college language courses exacerbates the troubling situation. These students typically speak their heritage language at home in their early years. Some attend heritage community language schools on weekends or after school, disappear from these schools in early adolescence as they become "Americanized," and then reemerge, in remarkably increasing numbers, at the college level. Particularly interesting is that access to the study of their home language is rich in the younger years through the heritage community language school, absent at the K-12 level overall, and then available again only at the college level where, due to Title VI of the Higher Education Act, self-study programs such as those

offered by the National Association of Self-Instructional Language Programs offer the first viable option for study of LCTLs since the heritage community language school. National enrollments of heritage students in some LCTLs may now outnumber enrollments of native English speakers. Walton (1996) points out that this is particularly true on the east and west coasts, where students of Chinese heritage make up 85 percent of all enrollments in Chinese.

Heritage students within the formal education system are viewed as problem cases for several reasons. To begin with, they have never been considered to be the "right" clientele for existing programs. Heritage students come with an array of skills from prior exposure to the language. Some can speak but cannot read or write; others can understand the spoken language (from home life) but cannot speak. These varying backgrounds and differing needs confound placement, instructional goals, curriculum and materials design, teaching practices, and evaluation procedures, which were not designed with heritage learners in mind. In addition, teachers at all levels believe that heritage students frighten away native English speakers who feel intimidated by the "head start" and existing cultural knowledge possessed by the heritage students.

Educators are beginning to explore potential solutions to the crisis facing LCTL programs. Solutions range from rethinking what makes a program effective and innovative to developing new systems of language instruction and delivery. The heritage language school system, the most promising natural language and cultural resource, however, remains untapped. It would, undoubtedly, be beneficial for the formal education system to learn more about the heritage community language school system, its mission, its operational and managerial style, and its particular challenges and limitations.

The Heritage Language School System

Many ethnic communities in the United States have established local language schools to ensure that their descendants maintain their native language. Local communities own various kinds of heritage schools, such as religious schools, all-day schools that allow students to learn academic disciplines in their heritage language, and cultural schools that teach students home culture in English. This article deals only with the after-school and weekend community language schools that focus on language and cultural instruction.

The primary goal of heritage community language schools is to preserve language and culture, including social and family values, cultural identity, and pride. The schools are typically well organized, with a principal and, in some

cases, a "school board" and administrative staff (Chao 1996). The curriculum varies from school to school in all ethnic communities and may include literature, calligraphy, history, geography, and creative arts. Arrangements are made with local public schools or churches for weekend or after-school space, and the classes are usually taught by parents themselves with a focus on language instruction, particularly mastery of the written language and promotion of literacy in the language (Wang 1996).

Heritage community language schools have enrolled an impressive number of students. The following sample of enrollment data for heritage schools in five language communities was reported by the National Council of Associations of Chinese Schools, the National Association for Korean Schools, the Polish-American Congress, the Portuguese Language Schools Association, and the Ukrainian National Association. The data are contrasted with foreign language enrollment data in K-12 schools and colleges/universities collected by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages in 1994 and the Modern Language Association in 1995, respectively (Table 9.1).

The data demonstrate the tremendous contribution of heritage community language schools to foreign language education in the United States. The number of students receiving Chinese language instruction from heritage schools is 8.7 times greater than the number enrolled in Chinese language classes in the K-12 education system. This disparity is even starker among other LTCLs. When compared to the formal K-12 language classes, 5.1 times more Portuguese students, 76.6 times more Polish students, and 125.4 times more Korean students received language instruction at heritage community language schools. Higher education often does more to meet the diverse language needs of students; however, here, too, enrollments pale in comparison to the volume of students who receive language instruction at heritage community language schools. Enrollments at heritage schools exceed those in higher education by 3.1 times for Chinese, 23.9 times for Korean, 28.1 times for Ukrainian, and 35.5 times for Polish. Of these five languages, only Portuguese had a higher number of students enrolled in college language classes than in heritage community language schools. This phenomenon is due to the fact that Portuguese instruction at the college level is often supported by longstanding Spanish departments and draws on many of the same resources.

Despite the pervasive impact of heritage community language schools, their efforts and contributions have not been acknowledged by the formal education system. The time has surely come to capitalize on their tremendous efforts and contributions.

Table 9.1. *Student Enrollment in Various Settings*

By Language	K-12 Schools		Higher Education Institutions		Heritage Language Schools		Total Enrollment
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Chinese	9,456	7.97	26,471	22.32	82,675	69.71	118,602
Korean	638	0.76	3,343	3.98	80,012	95.26	83,993
Polish	372	1.25	802	2.70	28,500	96.04	29,674
Portuguese	833	7.48	6,076	54.52	4,236	38.01	11,145
Ukrainian	No data	N/A	89	4.44	2,500	96.56	2,589

Differences between the Two Systems

Before exploring ways to forge a link between the heritage community language school system and the formal education system, we need to differentiate between the two systems in program, curriculum, and administrative operations. In a heritage school system, students are either the first generation of immigrants who came to the United States with their parents, or they are American-born descendants of that heritage. The primary goal of the program is preserving cultural identities with a special emphasis on literacy, taught using home-country models. Since the school is run by parents of that culture, it is usually designed to teach a specific heritage language that is offered as an extracurricular course after school during weekdays or on weekends. Grades earned in the heritage school have no effect on the students' regular school GPA. The teachers, usually parent volunteers, are native speakers; they are neither trained in language instruction nor paid a regular salary. The program's resources are typically very limited.

In contrast, in an academic education system, the program is targeted at students of various backgrounds and the goal is cross-cultural communication. The various courses of a range of languages are taught during regular school hours by full- or part-time paid teachers who are instructed to follow a curriculum designed purely for native English speakers with little or no previous exposure to the language. The administrators, all experts in the language arena, have the resources they need to give students access to libraries, computer labs, and other facilities. Untrained parents have only a passive role, and the overall environment is essentially English speaking. Table 9.2 briefly summarizes the differences between the two systems in various areas.

Table 9.2. *Differences between Academic and Heritage-School Language Instruction*

	Academic Education System	Heritage School System
Goals	– Cross-cultural communication – Emphasis on four language skills: listening, speaking, reading, and writing	– Preserving language and culture, emphasis on literacy – Maintaining national or cultural identity
Programs	– For credit, part of curriculum – Established by experts – Range of languages offered – Weekdays during regular school hours	– Noncredit, extracurricular – Established by parents – One language offered – After school or weekends
Curriculum design/ Teaching methods/ Text books	– For native English speakers – Taught as foreign language – Texts and methods usually not from home country	– For heritage students based on a model from home country – Taught as a heritage language – Texts and methods usually from home country
Teachers	– Native and nonnative speakers – Paid, full or part time – Promotion based on research and publication	– Native speakers only – Parental volunteers with no pay or a limited stipend – Promotion based on classroom activities
Administrators	– Paid career position – Language expertise required	– Unpaid, volunteer position – No language expertise required
Students	– Of all backgrounds (heritage and nonheritage) – Similar ages – Choice of language – Learning usually starts at secondary or postsecondary level	– Primarily heritage students – Range of ages in one class – No choice of language – Learning starts at young age (4–5 years)
Parents	– Usually no active role – Not necessarily speakers of the language taught – Of diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds	– Active role – Usually speak language taught – Of the same cultural and linguistic background.
Resources	– Tuition and taxes (public funds) – Access to other school facilities (e.g., library, language lab, computers) – Permanent space (i.e., own building)	– Donations and tuition (private funds) – Limited or no access to facilities – No permanent space (i.e., rented classrooms)
Environments	– English-speaking environment	– Authentic language and cultural environment

Major Challenges Facing the Two Systems

The two school systems face similar as well as distinct challenges in their program designs and administrative operations. For example, both systems lack expertise in curriculum design. Teachers who are hired as native speakers and not as pedagogues often lack training in teaching methodology as well expertise in a specific field. For the heritage schools, however, the problems extend beyond teachers' inexperience as language specialists. In many situations, neither teachers nor administrators are paid a full salary. As a result, they may lack the long-term commitment to and understanding of the formal school system needed to forge a link. These circumstances also may explain why so many of their instructional materials are not age-appropriate or culturally appropriate for their Americanized, bicultural students. To exacerbate matters, students often attend the heritage school not of their volition but because their parents require them to do so. The vast majority receive no credit for the the work they do in the heritage school.

The formal school system, on the other hand, often lacks appropriate instructional materials and instructional expertise. Qualified LCTL teachers are difficult to recruit and retain. Furthermore, because the program is prohibited from offering low-enrollment languages, students' access to LCTL courses is often limited. Classes that do reach required enrollments often fail to meet the needs of students of various backgrounds with one-size-fits-all classes. The language environment, as well, may not be linguistically and culturally authentic or as rich as that found in the heritage schools. Table 9.3 compares the challenges the two systems face.

Rationale for Forging a Link

Some teachers may question initiatives to forge a link between the formal education system and the heritage community language school system. "Why," they may ask, "would we want to take on more responsibilities when we are already busy enough? What is in it for us?" These teachers should realize that they are already taking on an extra burden in trying to give heritage students a language education for which they are poorly trained and only marginally remunerated. A large number of heritage students who pick up a home language have moved into the formal education system from the home or from heritage community language schools. Such moves have created a crisis for the foreign language education system because the rationale, tradition, and pedagogical

Table 9.3. *Challenges Faced by Academic LCTL Programs and Heritage School Programs*

	Academic LCTL Programs	Heritage School Programs
Programs	– Program goals differ from those of students – Resources, particularly expertise, are scarce and geographically dispersed, and will likely remain so – Prohibited from offering low-enrollment languages	– Run by parents – Program design is based on home country model and may not relate well to Americanized students – Many schools work in isolation
Curriculum design/ Teaching methods/ Testing and assessment	– Teachers lack expertise – No sophisticated test to measure heritage students' language proficiency – Failure to meet the needs of students of various backgrounds with one-size-fits-all classes	– Teachers lack expertise – No sophisticated test to measure students' language proficiency – Failure to encourage students to conduct meaningful conversations (by forcing text-based instruction) – Failure to build on all four language skills
Instructional materials	– Lack appropriate materials of high quality – Constant need for better instructional material – Designed only for native English-speaking students	– Not relevant to students' daily life in the United States – Not tailored to age of learners – Not designed for students raised in bicultural environment
Teachers	– Inadequate training in teaching methodology – Lack access to expertise – Hired as native speakers, not as pedagogues – Lack collegial support on their own campuses – Often, nontenured, short-term appointments	– Lack training in teaching methodology – Lack access to expertise – Hired as native speakers, not as pedagogues – Lack understanding of the formal school system – Short-term commitment
Administrators	– Lack funding – Low enrollments – Difficult to recruit qualified faculty	– Lack funding – Lack management expertise and understanding of the formal school system
Students	– Limited access to some LCTL languages – Limited availability of high-quality instructional materials and other learning tools – Language instruction does not build on existing language ability	– Lack of genuine interest in language learning – Additional work and no credit awarded
Language learning environment	– Learning environment does not reflect authentic language and culture	– Authentic language and cultural environment, including families, schools, local communities, cultural centers

practices of that system are designed for native speakers of English and not for the needs and background of heritage students. These students, in many cases, have already mastered the English language and have turned their focus to advancing the level of their heritage language skills; typically, they have not maintained their heritage language beyond simplistic home use and may even have completely lost their first-language background. The arduous problem of accommodating students of varying proficiencies and backgrounds becomes the teacher's responsibility.

A link between the two systems would benefit instructors at both heritage schools and formal institutions. Some language instructors move between systems, teaching Chinese, for example, at the secondary or postsecondary level, and at the same time teaching classes at the local Chinese heritage language school. These teachers would most assuredly benefit if programs in both systems were linked administratively. However, even educators who teach at one or the other type of school would benefit from linkage. Teachers at heritage language schools will have a good idea of the special educational needs of heritage students, whereas teachers at the formal school will have more experience teaching students whose first language is English and who receive no exposure to the language at home. Through linkage, the teachers could learn from one another. The opportunity to exchange ideas and draw on each other's expertise in language, culture, and teaching methods would be an asset to both students and teachers. A link might provide students in the formal school with the opportunity to practice their knowledge in an authentic environment, as well as the motivation needed to continue to learn. Similarly, students at heritage schools might participate more willingly in these activities if they knew that credit could be awarded for their additional work. Furthermore, forging a link might help make the program known to students outside the language program, thus increasing student enrollment. The most important advantage, however, would be enhancement of the quality of language programs by taking advantage of the local community to use the language for meaningful communication.

In many ways, teachers in high schools, colleges, and heritage community language schools are grappling with many of the same issues: textbooks, teaching methods, use of technology, curriculum design, testing and assessment, motivating students, and creating drills and exercises. LCTL teachers, regardless of the system in which they teach, are members of a large, global community of teachers struggling with the same fundamental issues: how to help students better learn LCTLs and how to accommodate the special backgrounds and needs of LCTL heritage students within an educational system that was not designed for them. The more the teachers from the two systems are in contact, and the more

collaboration becomes commonplace, the faster and more effective will be the efforts to improve the learning of LCTLs.

Tapping heritage community language school resources would alleviate some difficulties in providing instruction in LCTL programs. The rich national language resource represented by the system of heritage language schools should be utilized in ways that are in the best interest of the entire society. For teachers and administrators in the formal education system, linking with heritage schools would relieve current pressures and offer heritage students a better language education.

An Innovative Approach: The NFLC Case Study

The National Foreign Language Center (NFLC) at Johns Hopkins University, with funding from the Freeman Foundation, undertook a two-year pilot project (January 1996 to December 1997) aimed at discovering ways for heritage schools and the formal educational system to collaborate. The project suggested methods to guide and structure future efforts. Although the study focused on Chinese residents of a California community, its goals were not exclusive to the Chinese language, or to any other community. Rather the project attempted to build working models, concepts, and strategies that could be adapted and implemented by educational systems and heritage language communities across the nation.

The project task force consisted of representatives from the Cerritos Chinese language school, the high school in the ABC Unified School District, and the California State University at Long Beach. The project was advised by a board consisting of influential members of the local government, business, and the university community. As the pioneer team in the nation, the task force explored many areas for collaboration between the two systems. The following is a synopsis of activities reported by Lee (1997) on behalf of the task force.[1]

Teacher Training. The task force members hosted a series of training sessions for more than 30 teachers from both systems covering such topics as computer-assisted instruction in Chinese language education to strategies for teaching Chinese language and culture. These sessions not only helped the participating teachers understand the problems each system faced (all expressed similar problems), but also provided opportunities for them to share their teaching techniques and problem-solving strategies. Finding collective solutions to common problems seemed to be an effective way to begin to build a bridge between educators in separate institutions. Encouragingly, both systems' teachers, who greatly enjoyed learning from each other, requested more training sessions

in the future. They reported that the project created an innovative support system so that they no longer felt they were working in isolation.

Sharing of Resources. Teachers of LCTLs such as Japanese and Chinese face a tremendous challenge in the lack of appropriate instructional tools and the scarcity and high cost of existing materials, conditions that alone can discourage schools from creating programs in LCTLs (Johnson and Swain 1997: 262). The task force reported that the teachers from each group shared their own collections of instructional materials and discussed their approach to the best utilization of resources. As a result of this collaboration, extracurricular cultural courses such as karate, brush painting, calligraphy, and Chinese knotting at the Chinese heritage community language school were opened to the students of the formal education system for a nominal fee of $50 per year. The teachers also shared knowledge and resources, curriculum design, program administration, and student assessment to foster program modification and to improve instruction in the participating institutions.

Student Collaboration. To address the lack of opportunities for students to use the language they were learning and to absorb the culture of its native speakers, 115 students from the three participating institutions were grouped into 28 teams, each with at least one student from each educational setting. Three criteria were used by the task force to group the students: level of language ability, sex, and hobbies. The task force reported that the participating students were required (1) to converse in Chinese to their teammates by phone at least twice each week; (2) to write a letter in Chinese to a teammate at least once a month; and (3) to record their learning experiences in English in a monthly journal. Many teams also participated in a group Chinese-cooking competition and a live performance competition that included singing Chinese songs, reciting Chinese poetry, putting on a play in Chinese, and demonstrating karate. The task force also attempted to have at least one Chinese-American family act as host family for each team. This way, team members would be able to introduce aspects of Chinese culture to each other and to other teams.

According to the task force report, most students enjoyed the program, particularly the group meetings in which they used English (rather than Chinese) as the primary language in their conversations. Two barriers, however, prevented some students from enthusiastically participating. First, students' age gaps sometimes complicated collaboration. Some of the university students were over 20, whereas high school and heritage community language school students were in their teens. Second, schedule conflicts between high school students and college students, many of whom had jobs, made it difficult to find a common

time for team activities. Despite these challenges, many of the students still made time to interact with one another at their own convenience outside of the team meetings. At the conclusion of the project, students commented that they deeply appreciated the opportunity that heritage community language schools provided them to better use and develop their language skills outside of the school setting. Although some students were less enthusiastic about some of the scheduled programs, this is a common problem when working with adolescents. The students appreciated the chance to meet with other students interested in learning Chinese.

Community Involvement. The project task force worked diligently to connect the school systems with the Chinese-American community and with the community at large. In turn, the community showed an amazing amount of support for the project. Many local community members offered not only their time, but also their assistance and services. In addition to providing advice to the project, some community leaders also participated in project activities. The local Chinese media featured the project in newspapers and on television to generate community support. The local business community worked with the task force and the advisory board to develop internships for student participants. Families of the students provided transportation for their children and teammates to ensure that students could attend team activities. They also offered their opinions to the project task force, suggested recipes and provided instructions for the cooking contest, and participated in student team meetings in order to gain a better understanding of the project. They also offered to host non-Chinese heritage team members in their homes, thereby offering them an opportunity to experience Chinese family life. The remarkable efforts of the Chinese-American community provided all of the students a living laboratory for learning Chinese language and culture (Lee 1997) and further stimulated interest in learning Chinese language and culture. For the students, the rewards came in the form of language and culture gains, and in the friends they made in the program.

Issues to Consider in Forging a Viable Link

The experiences and insights gained from the NFLC case study suggest that the formal education system would benefit from a new approach to language education — one that embraces a new mindset, a new architecture, and a new learning environment.

Need for a New Mindset

In many ways the prevailing mindset of those in traditional language programs has hindered the development of a broader view of teaching LCTLs that would include identifying national language needs and tapping heritage community resources. Changing this mindset is perhaps the most difficult challenge in linking the study of LCTLs in the formal education sector with heritage communities and their language schools.

Currently, the education system focuses on teaching commonly taught languages as foreign languages to native English speakers. Teachers of LCTLs have been following the path of the CTLs in emphasizing instruction of English speaking students. Can this approach produce the language expertise the nation increasingly needs? Walton (1996) points out that the nation's capacity for dealing with matters involving cultural exchange, educational exchange, national security, trade and competitiveness, and domestic needs in the twenty-first century cannot and should not be built solely on native English speakers, native speakers of a specific LCTL, or American students who have grown up in this country with family members who speak an LCTL. The present practice of concentrating on the complex, time-consuming goal of teaching LCTLs to native English speakers, though a necessary and valuable effort, is not one that — owing to the difficulty of LCTLs and the high attrition rates of native English-speaking students from programs in LCTLs — will likely produce a cadre of LCTL specialists. A reasonable mindset for the profession would be to give equal consideration to teaching native English speakers and to maintaining and enhancing LCTLs as a first language for the "other Americans," those who already have a cultural and linguistic head start. This new mindset should consider that the national interest is perhaps most effectively and efficiently addressed by preserving, maintaining, and enhancing specific LCTLs as a home language.

Need for A New Architecture

Two distinct systems coexist in the United States for LCTL instruction: heritage community language schools and the formal education system. The latter includes a population of ethnic LCTL learners at the K-12 and college levels. The two systems are currently linked only in that they share certain students — the heritage LCTL students — but they are not linked with regard to articulation, curriculum design, materials design, and the like. A more coherent architecture would link the academic system closely to ethnic communities and heritage community language schools. If this strand were strengthened, native English-

speaking students would have a better environment in which to practice their target language, and students with a background in an LCTL might well arrive at college prepared to undertake advanced training and to prepare to use the language in professional settings — very much unlike the current situation. Such students would not flood lower-level courses, present placement and curriculum design problems, or intimidate students who did not share their background. The special needs and potential of the heritage learners would be better addressed, as would the needs and potential of native English speaking students.

Need for a New Learning Environment

Typically, language instruction in both the formal school system and the heritage community language school is heavily focused on classroom study, resembling the study of math, science, and other disciplines. However, teaching LCTLs outside their natural environment can easily turn the language into an academic subject that is studied but often forgotten, tested but not used, credited but not related to everyday life. There is a place for classroom language schooling; however, greater understanding and proficiency with a language requires communication within a larger cultural context. Schooling alone can provide neither the range and flexibility of use nor the motivation required for concentrated study of a sometimes tedious subject. Both are gained only through real-world education involving real-world needs, opportunities, and rewards.

Language is perhaps unique among school subjects in that it can be learned and used without formal schooling. In fact, this is how languages are naturally acquired by children around the world and by individuals who live abroad. Realizing the fact that languages can indeed be learned out of school but that schools offer an opportunity that might not otherwise be present, the traditional school language program is often limited because it does not consider the enhancements of natural language learning. It is increasingly clear that language study in school settings can be enhanced in many aspects by making use of the changing linguistic and cultural demographics of the United States. An increasing number of schools in the United States find that by their geography they are immersed in a diversity of languages and “co-cultures” in their regions, cities, towns, neighborhoods, and schools.

If LCTL programs were linked to heritage language schools and communities, studying a language would be merged into an authentic cultural environment. These environments range from canonical literature to pulp fiction, from literary works to daily newspapers, from academic research to business deals, from surviving in the other cultures to making friends with members of the other

culture. All of these environments provide realistic opportunities, grounded in LCTLs and their cultures, and provide meaningful communication that stimulates learning in powerful ways.

Met and Lorenz (1997: 259) state that no one would question the importance of having language students learn about and understand the culture of the people who speak that language.

> Most teachers believe that language and culture are inextricably bound and therefore cannot be separated. Yet, little attention has been directed toward examining the best methods of teaching about culture. It is important for educators to ask questions, such as, "What culture should be taught? When and how should culture be taught?"

These questions cannot easily be answered in the scope of this essay. However, few would disagree that one of the effective ways for students to learn about a foreign culture is to immerse themselves in it, whether by travelling abroad or into the local heritage community, and to participate in activities that promote the use of the language in an authentic situation. These aspects are key in any school-community linkage and could include such opportunities as interaction with a host family, participation in cultural activities and arts, participation in cooking contests and fashion shows, and interning with heritage community businesses.

This approach has enormous potential for allowing learners of different U.S. co-cultures to participate in one another's cultural discourses. Heritage speakers of LCTLs have already embarked upon learning the American cultural discourse and thus have remarkable insights to offer native English speakers and others who do not share their background about the differences between their first and second cultures, ranging from social values and attitudes to food, customs, and traditional beliefs. Native English-speaking students learning many LCTLs need not venture to foreign countries, because those cultures are available right before them in the community language school and now even on cable television and in the many newspapers addressed to ethnic communities in the United States.

Need for Ongoing Commitment

Commitment is essential for success in any educational context. An overwhelming factor in the success of the NFLC project was the careful way in which the collaborative activities were planned and developed by a group of committed educators and parents in the Chinese-American community. The success of future links will depend on the commitment and initiative of teachers, administrators, community members, parents, and students. Only through many hours of

meetings were committed task force members able to manage substantial discussions on issues pertinent to curriculum, instruction, and community relations. Reaching the necessary level of commitment is complicated by the fact that such projects often demand resources beyond those that each institution normally supports. Teachers and administrators must initially go beyond their regular duties to forge the link. Furthermore, they must do so with little or no funds or other dedicated resources. These factors alone may spell the end for a potentially beneficial linkage before it has even begun.

Conclusion

Heritage language schools and the formal education system in the United States have each developed their own resources and methods to deliver language instruction. It would be mutually beneficial for the two systems to become acquainted with each other and to collaborate for the enhancement of teaching and learning LCTLs. The two-year NFLC case study closely examined a linkage between the two systems; it demonstrated that the challenging task of forging a link between the two systems can indeed be successfully accomplished. The project created a climate in which language learning and cultural understanding of a target language were strongly supported by the local community, one in which students were able to practice and use their knowledge for meaningful communication in an authentic environment.

We recognize that the project also underscores the need for ongoing attention and study. Planning and organizing activities and learning experiments that involve students from both heritage and formal schools, their families, and community members are time consuming and require adequate manpower and funding.

The NFLC case study makes it clear that forging a link enhances teaching and learning of LCTLs by making language learning more practical for students within formal educational systems. Beyond this it is clear that community involvement increases the range and effectiveness of opportunities for language use and creates a rich environment for cultural and language exchange.

Notes

1. The task force chair was Ming Lee, University of California at Los Angeles. Members of the task force were San-Pao Li, California State University at Long Beach; Pao-Ling Guo and Mary

Sieu, ABC Unified School District; and Grace Kung, Alice Ying, and Li Liu Sun, Cerritos Chinese School. The project directors were Xueying Wang and Ronald Walton, who upon his death was replaced by Richard Brecht.

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CHAPTER 10

Focus on Form in Task-Based Language Teaching

Michael H. Long

Abstract

Given adequate opportunities, older children, adolescents, and adults can and do learn much of the grammar of a second language incidentally, while focusing on meaning or communication. Research shows, however, that a *focus on meaning* alone is insufficient to achieve full native-like competence, and that such a focus can be improved upon, in terms of rate of progress and ultimate attainment, by periodic attention to language as object. In classroom settings, this is best achieved not by a return to discrete-point grammar teaching, or what I call *focus on forms*, in which classes spend most of their time working on isolated linguistic structures in a sequence prescribed by a syllabus or textbook, but rather by briefly shifting learners' attention to linguistic code features as problems occur in the context of an otherwise meaning-focused lesson in a sequence determined by their own internal syllabuses, current processing capacity, and learnability constraints. Such a *focus on form* is one of several methodological principles in Task-Based Language Teaching.

The absence of a widely accepted theory of language learning and a solid empirical base for classroom practice has rendered language teaching vulnerable to some drastic swings of the pendulum of fashion over the years. The coming and going of various unconventional and unlamented wonder methods is an obvious example of that phenomenon. The vulnerability to fashion has extended to perhaps the most basic question of all, one that inevitably affects the way a course designer approaches the thorny issue of grammar in the communicative classroom: Is teaching a new language more successful when the second language is the *object* of instruction or when it is the *medium* of communication

through which students are learning something else, such as the history, culture, or geography of a society in which the second language is spoken? Histories of language teaching (Howatt 1984; Musumechi 1997) show that this debate, like so many others in the field, has gone on for centuries. In this article, I will (1) point out some limitations of both these approaches; (2) describe a third option — a *focus on form* — that deals with the second language as object, including grammar, but within an otherwise communicative classroom; and (3) illustrate the role that focus on form plays in one kind of communicative program: Task-Based Language Teaching (TBLT).

Figure 10.1 illustrates in simplified form the three basic options for the design of a second language course, and for teaching grammar in particular: focus on *forms*, focus on *meaning*, and focus on *form*.

Option 1: Focus on Forms

Option 1 is today considered the traditional approach, although it has not always been viewed that way. Course design starts with the language to be taught. The teacher or textbook writer divides the second language into segments of various kinds (phonemes, words, collocations, morphemes, sentence patterns, notions, functions, tones, stress and intonation patterns, and so on), and presents these to the learner in *models*, initially one item at a time, in a sequence determined by (rather vague, usually intuitive) notions of frequency, valency, or (the all-purpose and question-begging) "difficulty." Eventually, it is the learner's job to synthesize the parts for use in communication, which is why Wilkins (1976) called it the *synthetic* approach to syllabus design. It is not just the syllabus that is

Option 2	Option 3	Option 1
Analytic	Analytic	Synthetic
Focus on meaning	*Focus on form*	*Focus on forms*
Natural Approach	TBLT	GT, Silent Way, ALM, TPR, etc.
Immersion	Some content-based LT	
Procedural syllabus	Process syllabus	Lexical, structural, N-F syllabus, etc.
Etc.	Etc.	Etc.

Figure 10.1. *Three options for the design of a second language course*

synthetic in this approach, however. Learners are typically encouraged to master each linguistic item in synthetic syllabi one at a time to native-speaker levels using synthetic materials, methodology, and pedagogy. Synthetic syllabi (lexical, structural, and notional-functional, for example), are accompanied by synthetic "methods" (Grammar Translation, Audio-Lingual, Audio-Visual, Silent Way, Total Physical Response, etc.), and by the synthetic classroom devices and practices commonly associated with them; for example, explicit grammar rules, repetition of models, memorization of short dialogs, linguistically "simplified" texts, transformation exercises, explicit negative feedback (so-called error correction), and display questions. Together, they result in lessons with what I call a *focus on forms*. Such lessons tend to be rather dry, consisting principally of work on the linguistic items that students are expected to master one at a time, often to native-speaker levels, with anything less treated as "error" and with little if any communicative use of the second language.

Focus on forms suffers from at least six major problems. First, no needs analysis is conducted to identify a particular learner's or group of learners' communicative needs, and no means analysis ascertains their learning styles and preferences. It is a one-size-fits-all approach that usually results in teaching too much, such as language, skills, and genres learners do not need, and too little, such as language, skills, and genres they do need. This is inefficient and discouraging to students.

Second, linguistic grading, both lexical and grammatical, tends to result in pedagogical materials of the basal reader variety ("See Spot run! Run, Spot, run!"), textbook dialogues and classroom language that are artificial and stilted ("Hello, Mary. Hello, John. Are you a student? Yes, I'm a student. What are you doing? I'm reading a book."), and classroom input that is functionally restricted and impoverished in various ways. In other words, a focus on forms often leads to what Widdowson (1972) called language *usage*, not to realistic models of language *use*. Simplification is also self-defeating in that it succeeds in improving comprehension by removing from the input the new items learners need to encounter for the purposes of acquisition. The elaboration of input, as opposed to its simplification, can usually achieve comparable gains in comprehension without this disadvantage and without bleeding a text semantically (see, e.g., Long and Ross 1993).

Third, focus on forms ignores language learning processes altogether or else tacitly assumes a long-discredited behaviorist model. Of the scores of detailed studies of naturalistic, classroom, and mixed second language learning reported over the past 30 years, none suggests anything but an accidental resemblance between the way learners acquire a second language and the way a focus on

forms assumes they do; that is, between the order in which they learn second language forms and the sequence in which those forms appear in externally imposed linguistic syllabi. Synthetic syllabi ignore research findings such as those showing that learning new words or rules is rarely, if ever, a one-time, categorical event, and that learners pass through developmental stages and sequences, as well as the fact that many of the target items students are expected to master separately are often inextricably bound up with other items. As Rutherford (1988) noted, second language acquisition is not a process of accumulating entities. Yet that is precisely what a focus on forms implies.

Fourth, leaving learners out of syllabus design ignores the major role they will play in language development. Research by R. Ellis (1989) and Lightbown (1983), for example, shows that acquisition sequences do not reflect instructional sequences, and although results are more mixed here (see Spada and Lightbown 1993), work by Pienemann (1984 and elsewhere), Mackey (1995), and others suggests that *teachability* is constrained by *learnability*. The idea that what you teach is what they learn, and that when you teach it is when they learn it, is not just simplistic; it is wrong.

Fifth, despite the best efforts of highly skilled teachers and textbook writers, focus on forms tends to produce boring lessons, with resulting declines in motivation, attention, and student enrollments.

Sixth, the assertion that many students all over the world have learned languages through a focus on forms ignores the possibility that they have learned *despite* it. Studies of language acquisition in abnormal environments have found the human capacity for language acquisition to be highly resilient. The assertion also ignores the fact that countless others have failed. A focus on forms produces many more false beginners than finishers.

Option 2: Focus on Meaning

A typical response to frustration with Option 1 has been a radical pendulum swing: a shift of allegiance to Option 2, and an equally single-minded *focus on meaning*. This position is implicit in much of the writing of Corder, Felix, Wode, Allwright, and others, in Prabhu's procedural syllabus, in part of the rationale for French immersion programs in Canada, in Newmark and Reibel's "Minimal Language Teaching Program," and more recently in Krashen's ideas about sheltered subject-matter teaching and in Krashen and Terrell's "Natural Approach."

Unlike Option 1, the starting point in Option 2 is not the language, but the learner and learning processes. While the rationales and terminology have

differed, advocates of Option 2 typically invoke one or more of the following in support of their proposals: (1) the alleged failures or irrelevance of Option 1; (2) observations of putatively universal "natural" processes in second language learning, reflected, among other ways, in relatively common error types and developmental sequences across learner age groups, first language backgrounds, and learning contexts (naturalistic, instructed, and mixed); (3) the futility of trying to impose an external linguistic syllabus on learners; and (4) the belief that much first and second language learning is not intentional, but incidental (i.e., that it occurs while the learner is doing something else) and implicit (i.e., that it takes place without awareness). Second language acquisition, in other words, is thought to be essentially similar to first language acquisition, so that the recreation of something approaching the conditions for first language acquisition, which is widely successful, should be necessary and sufficient for second language acquisition. Accordingly, Option 2 lessons that focus on meaning are purely communicative, at least in theory. Learners are presented with comprehensible, holistic samples of communicative second language use; for example, in the form of content-based lessons in sheltered subject-matter or immersion classrooms, lessons that are often interesting, relevant, and relatively successful. It is the learner, not the teacher or textbook writer, who must *analyze* the second language, albeit at a subconscious level, inducing grammar rules simply from exposure to the input; that is, from positive evidence alone. Grammar is considered to be best learned incidentally and implicitly and, in the case of complex grammatical constructions and some aspects of pragmatic competence, to be learnable only in that way.

Although arguably a great improvement on Option 1, a focus on meaning suffers from at least five problems.

First, there is usually no needs or means analysis to guide curriculum content and delivery.

Second, in the view of many researchers, there is increasing evidence for the operation of maturational constraints, including sensitive periods, in language acquisition. (For a review, see Curtiss 1988 and Long 1990, 1993.) The jury is still out on this, but a number of studies suggest that older children, adolescents, and adults regularly fail to achieve native-like levels in a second language not because of lack of opportunity, motivation, or ability, important though all of these clearly are in many cases, but because they have lost access to whatever innate abilities they used to learn language in early childhood. If so, it will be insufficient for later second language learning simply to recreate in the classroom the conditions for first language acquisition.

Third, although considerable progress in a second language is clearly achieved

in Option 2 classrooms, as evidenced, for example, by the ability of some graduates of Canadian French immersion programs to comprehend the second language at levels statistically indistinguishable from those of native-speaker peers, evaluations of those programs have also found that even after as many as 12 years of classroom immersion, students' productive skills remain far from native-like, particularly with respect to grammatical competence (Swain 1991), exhibiting, for example, a failure to mark articles for gender. Such items have been in the input all the time, but perhaps not with sufficient salience, and with inadequate sanction (e.g., negative feedback) on their accurate suppliance. Similar findings of premature stabilization have been reported in studies of adult learners with prolonged natural exposure by Pavesi (1986), Schmidt (1983), and others.

Fourth, White (1991 and elsewhere) has pointed out that some contrasts between the first and second languages, such as the grammaticality of adverb-placement between verb and direct object in French (first language), but its ungrammaticality in English (second language) — for example, "He closed quickly the door" — appear to be unlearnable from positive evidence alone; that is, simply from exposure to the input. English speakers should have no trouble learning that in addition to "*Je bois du café tous les jours*" (I drink coffee every day), it is possible to say "*Je bois toujours du café*" ("I drink every day coffee," which is ungrammatical in English). It should be easy because the learners will hear plenty of examples of each structure in the French second language input; that is, they will have plenty of positive evidence. The reverse is not true, however. French speakers trying to learn English in an Option 2 classroom will be faced with the task of noticing the *absence* of the alternative French construction in the input. Worse, the deviant structure ("He opened carefully the door") causes no communication breakdown, making it likely that learners will remain unaware of their error. Positive evidence alone may suffice to show the learner what is grammatical, but not what is ungrammatical.

Fifth, focusing purely on meaning is inefficient. Studies show rate advantages for learners who receive instruction with attention to code features. (For a review, see R. Ellis 1994 and Long 1983, 1988.) As I have argued for many years, comprehensible second language input is necessary, but not sufficient.

Option 3: Focus on Form

Both the extreme interventionist focus on forms and noninterventionist focus on meaning have problems that often lead to further pendulum swings, as advocates mistakenly see flaws in the rival position as justifications for their own. There is

a viable third option, however, that attempts to capture the strengths of an analytic approach while dealing with its limitations. This I call *focus on form* (not forms) (Long 1991; Long forthcoming; Long and Robinson 1998). Focus on form refers to how attentional resources are allocated and involves briefly drawing students' attention to linguistic elements (words, collocations, grammatical structures, pragmatic patterns, etc.) *in context*, as they arise incidentally in lessons whose overriding focus is on meaning, or communication. The temporary shifts in focal attention are triggered by students' problems with comprehension or production. The purpose is to induce what Schmidt (1993 and elsewhere), calls *noticing*; that is, registering forms in the input so as to store them in memory without necessarily understanding their meaning or function, which is a question of how new items are organized into a linguistic system (and which may not occur until much later), and certainly not necessarily with metalinguistic awareness. In other words, to deal with the limitations of a pure focus on meaning, systematic provision is made in Option 3 for attention to language as object. Unlike in Option 1, however, *which* forms are targeted, and *when*, is determined by the learner's developing language system, not by a predetermined external linguistic description. Focus on form, therefore, is learner-centered in a radical, psycholinguistic sense: it respects the learner's internal syllabus. It is under learner control: it occurs just when he or she has a communication problem and so is likely already at least partially to understand the meaning or function of the new form and when he or she is attending to the input. These are conditions most would consider optimal for learning — the psycholinguistic equivalent of worker control of the means of production.

Focus on form should not be confused with "form-focused instruction." The latter is an umbrella term widely used to refer to any pedagogical technique, proactive or reactive, implicit or explicit, used to draw students' attention to language form. It includes focus-on-form procedures but also all the activities used for focus on *forms*, such as exercises written specifically to teach a grammatical structure and used proactively; that is, at moments the teacher, not the learner, has decided will be appropriate for attempting the new item. Focus on form refers only to those form-focused activities that arise during, and are embedded in, meaning-based lessons; they are not scheduled in advance, as is the case with focus on forms, but occur incidentally as a function of the interaction of learners with the subject matter or tasks that constitute the learners' and their teacher's predominant focus. The underlying psychology and implicit theories of second language acquisition are quite different, in other words. Doughty and Williams (1998b: 4) capture the relationships among all three approaches very well.

> We would like to stress that focus on formS and focus on form are not polar opposites in the way that "form" and "meaning" have often been considered to be. Rather, a focus on form *entails* a focus on formal elements of language, whereas focus on formS is *limited to* such a focus, and focus on meaning *excludes* it. Most important, it should be kept in mind that the fundamental assumption of focus-on-form instruction is that meaning and use must already be evident to the learner at the time that attention is drawn to the linguistic apparatus needed to get the meaning across. (Emphasis in the original.)

Task-Based Language Teaching

Some examples would probably be useful at this point, so let us see how focus on form would work in a particular kind of communicative classroom, one implementing TBLT. There are several lines of "task-based" work in the applied linguistics literature, and a flurry of commercially published textbook materials. Most really involve little more than the use of tasks in place of exercises as carriers of an overt or a covert grammatical syllabus; they should not be designated "task-based" at all, therefore, since they are in fact grammatically based. The task-based approach referred to here deals with grammar, but without recourse to a fixed grammatical syllabus, through focus on form.

As described more fully elsewhere (see, e.g., Long 1985, 1997, and forthcoming; Long and Crookes 1992), recognizing the psycholinguistic problems presented by synthetic linguistic syllabi, the syllabus and methodology for TBLT are analytic and employ a nonlinguistic unit of analysis, the *task*, at each of seven steps in designing and implementing a TBLT program (see Table 10.1). Steps 1 to 5 concern the treatment of grammar in a communicative classroom.

Step 1. Conduct a task-based needs analysis to identify the learners' current or future *target tasks*. These are the real-world things people *do* in everyday life: buying a bus pass, asking for street directions, attending a lecture, reading a menu, writing a laboratory report, and so on. Target tasks for a tourist, for example, might be to make or change a hotel, plane, restaurant, or theater reservation.

Step 2. Classify the target tasks into *target task types*; for example, making/changing reservations. This temporary shift to a more abstract, superordinate category during syllabus design is made for several reasons, including the frequent lack of sufficient time to cover all the target tasks identified in the needs analysis separately in a course, and as one way of coping with heterogeneous groups of students with diverse needs (for an example and details, see Long 1985).

Table 10.1. *Stages in TBLT*

- Conduct task-based needs analysis to identify *target tasks*.
- Classify target tasks into *target task types*.
- Derive *pedagogic tasks*.
- Sequence pedagogic tasks to form a *task syllabus*.
- Implement syllabus with appropriate *methodology* and *pedagogy*.
- Assess student achievement using *task-based, criterion-referenced, performance tests*.
- Evaluate program.

Step 3. From the target task types, derive *pedagogic tasks*. Adjusted to such factors as the learners' age and proficiency level, these are series of initially simple, progressively more complex approximations to the target tasks. Pedagogic tasks are the materials and activities teachers and students actually work on in the classroom. A beginners' class of young-adult prospective tourists, for instance, might start with the following sequence: (1) intensive listening practice, during which the task is to identify which of 40 telephone requests for reservations can be met, and which not, by looking at four charts showing the availability dates and cost of hotel rooms, theater and plane seats, and tables at a restaurant; (2) role-playing the parts of customers and airline reservation clerks in situations in which the airline seats required are available; and (3) role-playing situations in which, due to unavailability, learners must choose among progressively more complicated alternatives (seats in different sections of the plane, at different prices, on different flights or dates, via different routes, etc.).

Step 4. Sequence the pedagogic tasks to form a *task syllabus*. As is the case with units in all synthetic and analytic syllabus types, sequencing pedagogic tasks is largely done intuitively at present. The search is on, however, for objective, user-friendly, nonlinguistic criteria and parameters of task complexity and difficulty (number of steps, location in time and space, etc.), and some progress has been made (see, e.g., Robinson forthcoming, Robinson, Ting, and Erwin 1995).

Step 5. Implement the syllabus with appropriate *methodology* and *pedagogy*. The way I conceive TBLT (and language teaching in general), there is a meaningful distinction to be drawn between potentially universal *methodological principles*, preferably well motivated by research findings in second language acquisition and cognitive science, and desirably particular *pedagogical procedures* that realize the principles at the local level, choice among the latter being determined by such factors as teacher philosophy and preference, and learner age and literacy level. "Provide negative feedback" is an example of a methodological

principle in TBLT (and most other approaches and "methods" in language teaching). Whether that feedback is delivered through explicit rule statements; in oral, manual, or written mode; via some form of overt "error correction"; or via unobtrusive recasts of learner utterances (see, e.g., Doughty and Varela 1998; Ortega and Long 1997) are local pedagogical decisions best left to the teacher.

"Focus on form" is another methodological principle in TBLT. As an illustration of how it might occur, let us imagine that while working in pairs on the third pedagogic task outlined above, a number of learners are repeatedly heard to use a form considered insufficiently polite: for example, "I want X seats" for "I'd like X seats"; to ignore key words like "window" and "aisle," and "coach" and "business"; or to employ singular "seat" when plural "seats" is required. One way focus on form might be achieved is through corrective feedback built into the materials themselves; for example, through the output of task 3 being rejected as input for task 4 in a travel simulation, thereby alerting students to the existence and nature of error. An input flood or a highlighting of the forms concerned in a text might achieve the same ends. Alternatively, the teacher might briefly interrupt the group work to draw students' attention to the problems, perhaps by modeling one member of a pair of forms and asking the class if it is good or bad, perhaps by explaining the difference between the pairs of target forms, or perhaps simply by pointing to the words on the board. As always in TBLT, the methodological principle is the important thing; the optimal pedagogy for implementing that principle will vary according to local conditions as assessed by the classroom teacher. He or she is the expert on the local classroom situation, after all, not someone writing about language teaching thousands of miles away in an office in Honolulu or a commercial materials writer sipping martinis on a beach in the Bahamas.

Future Directions

More research, both experimental and classroom-based, is needed on several of the issues discussed above, but many studies have already been conducted, and three useful reviews of the empirical work are available. The first two are comprehensive surveys of laboratory and classroom studies of form-focused instruction (including focus on form) by N. Ellis (1995) and Spada (1997). Ellis concludes that the research findings show a blend of explicit instruction and implicit learning to be superior to either one alone. Spada, similarly, finds broad empirical support for the view that form-focused instruction (including focus on form) is beneficial for second language acquisition. A statistical meta-analysis of

all studies of focus on form to date (Norris and Ortega 1999) finds focus on form superior to focus on forms (although not statistically significantly so) and to focus on meaning alone.

Also in need of attention is a crucial issue for teachers and researchers alike, namely pedagogical choices in focus on form (see Figure 10.2). An excellent start in this area has been made in an edited collection of work on focus on form by Doughty and Williams (1998a), whose book contains several new empirical studies documenting the efficacy of focus on form with children and adults in a variety of classroom settings. One chapter, written by the editors themselves (Doughty and Williams 1998c), focuses on six decisions and options for teachers and materials designers in this area: (1) whether or not to focus on form, (2) reactive versus proactive focus on form, (3) choice of linguistic form, (4) explicitness of focus on form, (5) sequential versus integrated focus on form, and (6) the role of focus on form in the curriculum. In meticulous detail, Doughty and Williams review the options available to teachers at each juncture, and what the research conducted at Hawaii, Georgetown, Urbana-Champaign, Chicago Circle, the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Michigan State, Concordia, McGill, Penn, Edith Cowan, Bangor, Thames Valley, and elsewhere has to say about those options. With regard to decision 4, for example — since

	Implicit ← → Explicit Unobtrusive — Obtrusive
Recast	X
Input flood	X
Task-essential language	X
Input enhancement	X
Negotitation	X
Focused recast	X
Output enhancement	X
Interaction enhancement	X
Dictogloss	X
Consciousness-raising tasks	X
(reactive) Garden Path technique	X
(reactive) Explicit grammar rules	X

Figure 10.2. *Some pedagogic options for* focus on form

Source: Adapted from Doughty, C. and Williams, J. 1998c. "Pedagogical choices in focus on form." In *Focus on Form in Classroom Second Language Acquisition*, C. Doughty and J. Williams (eds), 197–261. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

a major research issue concerns the relative utility of explicit or implicit procedures for different target structures and different kinds of learners — Figure 10.3, one of several from the Doughty and Williams chapter, ranks 11 procedures for delivering focus on form from least to most obtrusive and reviews the research findings on each: input flood, task-essential language, input enhancement, negotiation, recast, output enhancement, interaction enhancement, dictogloss, consciousness-raising tasks, input processing, and the Garden Path technique. Besides providing a service to teachers and researchers alike, the work by Ellis, Spada, Norris and Ortega, and Doughty and Williams offers the basis for a serious research program on the role of focus on form in TBLT and in any other form of communicative language teaching for the next decade.

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CHAPTER 11

Language Learning and Intercultural Competence

Ross Steele

Abstract

In today's global village, successful communication depends on "knowing how, when, and why to say what to whom." Consequently, in the foreign language classroom, developing the learner's intercultural communicative competence is increasingly recognized as a major objective along with linguistic competence. What has been traditionally called culture can no longer be an add-on at the end of the language lesson but has to be reconceptualized within the framework of intercultural communicative competence and integrated into the organizing principle of the curriculum.

Successful communication across national borders depends on the ability to negotiate with the foreign speaker meanings that draw their power from the core home society and from the foreign society. Teaching the language rarely changes the learner's often stereotypical, ethnocentric perceptions of the other society. Discussing how to interpret sociocultural differences is an essential step in making learners tolerant of other attitudes and beliefs to which they do not necessarily subscribe.

Just as the shift from focus on form to focus on communication has caused a shift from achievement testing to performance-based testing of linguistic competence, new assessment criteria are needed to reflect the shift from focus on knowledge *about* a culture to measuring the sociocultural, pragmatic, and interpretative components of intercultural communicative competence. The native speaker does not have the appropriate intercultural skills and experience to be the model for assessing the foreign language learner's level of competence.

Given that multinational companies have scattered their production and service components across different countries and the telecommunications revolution has

transformed the world into a global village, teaching culture in foreign language courses has assumed great significance. Alongside the crowds of international tourists, a rapidly increasing mass of people have to communicate professionally across the borders of countries and continents. The success of that communication depends on the "intercultural communicative competence" of the speakers. In formal education settings, a primary site for the acquisition of such competence is the foreign language classroom. However, many students leave their foreign language course unaware of the importance of the intercultural dimensions that determine whether they will be able to communicate successfully with foreign native speakers or other speakers of the foreign language. Why is this so? What can be done to change the way foreign languages are taught so that learners achieve intercultural as well as linguistic competence?

The formal education system is structured around teaching and the assessment of what has been learned by the students. One must take care to avoid generalizations, however, because the formal education system comprises many different teaching contexts in which different approaches can be used to achieve a range of outcomes, as well as many different learning contexts influenced by the age, the goals, and the ethnic and social backgrounds of the learners. Foreign languages are taught at all levels, from kindergarten to graduate school. Giving learners instruction in intercultural awareness can be successfully undertaken in primary school, as has been demonstrated in the language programs of schools in Montgomery County, Maryland (Met 1994).

The observations that follow are principally based on my experience teaching French culture and language at the postsecondary level, but they may be of general relevance for other cognate-culture languages. Different parameters exist for less commonly taught languages, such as Japanese and Southeast Asian languages whose culture is so markedly different from mainstream American culture. Cognate-culture languages have on the face of things many more similarities than differences. The ratio of perceived differences to similarities is much higher for so-called truly foreign languages and cultures. At a deeper level, apparent similarities in cognate-culture languages may reveal themselves to be false because the values attached to them differ in the two cultures or in the subcultures that constitute a culture. Nonetheless, successful teaching approaches highlighting similarities have been used at the beginning of foreign language programs to raise learners' awareness of the inseparability of language and culture and to promote positive attitudes to the foreign culture. Moreover, the perceptions that students in the foreign language class have of the other culture will vary depending on their ethnic background. In a Spanish class, students who speak Spanish at home will have a different view of Spanish culture than

students who speak only English and have had little or no contact with speakers of other languages. The same is true for speakers of truly foreign languages, for example, "heritage" speakers of Chinese in a Chinese class.

It is customary to classify foreign language learners into three levels: beginner/novice; intermediate; and advanced. These are levels of linguistic competence. The objectives set for learners may include a cultural component, but usually they are predominantly linguistic. The conventional assessment of the learners' competence at the end of the course is also predominantly linguistic. It is relatively easy to provide a quantifiable mark for a linguistic assessment. It is more difficult to quantify measurement of intercultural communicative competence. In situations where pretesting is required, for example in educational institutions having a formal language requirement for admission, linguistic assessments again predominate. In some cases the number of semesters of foreign language instruction completed at high school is taken as a measure of competence for the entrance requirement. Once again the assumption is that the learner has reached a certain level of linguistic competence, and cultural competence is largely ignored. This method of assessment is particularly inappropriate in the case of heritage language learners, who have chosen to enroll in a foreign language course for cultural reasons.

It is well known that assessment procedures have a washback effect on methods of instruction. What is not assessed is not given much importance in the classroom. To introduce the change necessary for intercultural communicative competence to become a major course objective, the current imbalance favoring assessment of linguistic proficiency over intercultural competence will need to be readjusted.

Determining Objectives

Consideration of the general purposes of foreign language teaching can help to clarify the objectives to be set for a course. The National Foreign Language Center (NFLC) in Washington, DC, has defined four basic missions for the teaching and learning of language in higher education:

- The *general education mission* seeks to develop, through the study of another language, cultural awareness, intercultural sensitivity, global perspectives, understanding of different modes of apprehending reality, and insights into the workings of language and systems of logic.
- The *applied language mission* supports the acquisition of task-specific competencies for occupational, recreational, or logistic purposes.

– The *specialist mission* (as exemplified by the undergraduate major) ensures the continuity of the profession and of the field by preparation for graduate study in language, culture, or literature, and for an academic career.
– The *heritage preservation mission* focuses on the maintenance or acquisition of language for the preservation or enrichment of cultural identity.

These missions are by no means mutually exclusive; indeed they can be mutually reinforcing. However, the NFLC's research in the higher education sector suggests that the relationships among these different missions are often little understood, rarely articulated, and almost never accounted for in programmatic or curricular terms.

The duration of the course is another important factor when the instructor is deciding what the linguistic and intercultural outcomes are to be. Is it a short-term course or is it a course planned over several years as a major sequence of study? If it is a two-semester "language" course, what are the most important: the linguistic or the intercultural outcomes? This of course depends on the learners' personal goals and their level of competence, and on whether the foreign language course is part of a general education mission or a specialist mission, or whether the language is being learned for a specific occupational purpose. The instructor has the choice of deciding whether to teach the usual type of course, focusing on linguistic outcomes, or whether to make intercultural communicative competence an equal outcome. In the latter case, given the time constraints imposed by the duration of the course, the level of linguistic competence will not be as high, but the learners will be expected to reach a similar level of intercultural communicative competence, evidenced partly by appropriate behaviors and attitudes indicating openness to "otherness" in interaction with a foreign interlocutor. The emphasis in this course will be on the capacity for effective communication, on the process rather than the end result, on meaning rather than form, and on solving communication difficulties in the foreign language with the help of sociocultural understanding and insights into how foreign language speakers interact through language. To achieve this intercultural outcome, some explanations may need to be given in the learners' mother tongue. This calls into question the established practice of using only the foreign language in class. But that practice is tied to a pedagogy that focuses on linguistic outcomes. A reformulation of the relationship between linguistic and intercultural outcomes will entail reconsideration of the use of the foreign language and the mother tongue in a course that is not part of a major.

Goals beyond the Language Course

Another reason for reconceptualizing the relationship of linguistic and intercultural goals for courses of short duration is to evaluate what the learner will take from the course into life at the end of the program. Linguistic competence declines if use of the foreign language is not continued. If the learner has not mastered the basic functions in the foreign language, there is little likelihood the language will be used for communicative purposes in life beyond the classroom. If the learner leaves the course with little new, conscious knowledge about the foreign society or without having consciously reviewed the attitudes and beliefs about the foreign culture that he or she brought into the classroom, then the course will have had little influence on the world view the learner carries into later life.

Learners do not arrive on the first day of the course like empty vessels waiting to be filled with a new language. They may know little or nothing of the language itself, but they bring with them attitudes and beliefs about the native speakers of that language and about their country. These attitudes and beliefs have been formed by the society in which they live, by what they have seen on television or read in the press, by opinions expressed inside or outside the family, by views presented by the instructor and in educational materials during the instruction process since kindergarten, and by entrenched national beliefs resulting from the historical links between their country and the countries where the foreign language is spoken.

The attitudes and beliefs the learner brings to the foreign language class are often stereotypical images of the foreign country and its inhabitants (Steele and Suozzo 1994). Have we as educators fulfilled our mission if learners reach the end of the course without having reviewed those images in the light of critical analysis that will show learners how influenced they are by an ethnocentric view of the world? In the years after the course, learners may not be able to remember much about the grammar of the language, but a more open attitude to otherness and a willingness to accept behaviors and values that are different from those that constitute the social norm in their own culture will enhance their ability to communicate with people from other ethnic backgrounds at home and abroad. This will enable learners to be more enlightened and tolerant citizens and to interact positively with foreigners visiting the home country or encountered during professional or social excursions in other countries. Each more enlightened and tolerant citizen will provide an additional window to the world and so increase the home country's capacity to play a successful and culturally sensitive role in the global village.

In planning the course, the instructor has to take into consideration its short- and long-term objectives. Often the long-term goals consciously or unconsciously take precedence when this choice is made. I suggest that this is because native-speaker fluency has been the conventional standard against which all levels of competence are calibrated. Because linguistic competence has been the ultimate goal, each course has been seen as a stage on the way to native-speaker fluency. Michael Byram (1997) has pointed out that the native speaker is not the most appropriate model for the foreign language learner. The interculturally competent communicator requires skills to mediate between people from different societies that native speakers do not need during everyday interaction with fellow members of their own society. Furthermore fluent foreign language speakers have their own personality and cultural individuality resulting from their upbringing and education in their home culture; they should not be expected to abandon this in an effort to clone the native speaker. Such attempts at cloning often end in deep frustration, because no matter how culturally and linguistically competent the foreign language learners are, they remain outsiders to varying degrees depending on the native speaker's personal attitude to foreigners and the foreign country's general perception of the learner's home country.

Because the relationship between linguistic and intercultural goals varies depending on each individual's purpose in learning the foreign language, it would seem desirable that each course should be seen as an autonomous unit, with priority given to short-term objectives that do not set unattainable linguistic standards based on the model of the educated native speaker. Learners who decide not to continue formal foreign language study after the end of the course should expect to leave the course with skills that will be useful for their life. The skills associated with awareness of the ethnocentric origin of foreign stereotypes and ways of becoming an efficient intercultural communicator will be more valuable to the majority of such learners than will linguistic skills that have not progressed past the beginner/novice level and that probably will not be used outside the classroom.

Giving intercultural communicative competence equal importance with linguistic skills, as both a short- and long-term objective, increases the relevance of foreign language courses for students in today's global village, where access to a world beyond traditional borders is technologically easy. A shift in emphasis to give more importance to intercultural skills in foreign language learning underscores the foreign language course as part of a general education that enhances the role the learner can play in society. Learning a foreign language thus becomes a significant educational experience for all students.

Concepts of Culture

In the foreign language class a distinction is conventionally made between culture with a small *c* and Culture with a big *C*. Culture with a small *c* is taught in parallel with language acquisition. Themes from daily life are the topics for dialogues and reading passages that develop the learners' skills in the practical use of the spoken and written language. Big *C* culture is introduced mainly in literature courses and in survey courses on intellectual traditions and the arts. Practical language taught with a communicative focus introduces the learner to some sociolinguistic parameters. However the small *c* culture topics tend to be compartmentalized. In most introductory course books, culture is not the organizing principle of each lesson. (Language structures presented communicatively are the organizing principle.) The small *c* culture topic that has been the theme of the lesson is summarized in a supplementary section of culture notes at the end of the chapter. This in fact objectifies small *c* culture, giving the learner the impression that culture is a set of facts that are external to the language. This impression is reinforced by culture tests aimed at measuring the learner's knowledge of these facts. Often the instructor is so busy with the linguistic content of the chapter that there is not enough time to incorporate the culture notes into the learning process. Because each chapter functions as a separate unit, the sections of cultural information in successive chapters are not related to each other, and the learner is not motivated to see the underlying system that provides the framework within which the isolated aspects of culture derive their meaning. The tendency is to focus on surface features of other cultures because they are visible, leaving aside what is invisible. What is invisible, however, is what provides the key to interpreting the meanings that are shared by members of the culture and that make the culture functional. Learners are thus left with a decontextualized hotch-potch of superficial cultural tidbits. Of these, they tend to remember those that are most exotic because these are the most salient in comparison with their own culture. This in turn reinforces perceptions of difference between the two cultures. What is different from the accepted norm in one's own culture is quickly categorized as inferior because learners have been socialized to perceive their own culture's values as the best and have had little experience of values outside their own culture. To raise learners' awareness of small *c* culture as a source of meanings for language, the usual linear progression of isolated culture topics needs to be supplemented by a spiral progression in which topics are revisited in the light of what has been observed from other topics. Creating connections between the topics will enable learners to deepen their understanding of the networks of values that

tie behaviors and attitudes into a meaningful and functionally coherent set of practices.

Literature is another source of information on small *c* culture, but the study of literary texts usually concentrates on literary analysis; students' attention typically is not directed to the small *c* culture component of the world the author is portraying. Big *C* culture surveys, on the other hand, are often assessed by testing students' factual knowledge. Once again this objectifies the other culture by reducing it to an accumulation of facts. What is lacking in this conventional approach to teaching small *c* and Big *C* culture is the interpretation of cultural phenomena on all levels, from the everyday, such as the organization of a meal, to the most abstract, such as beliefs about democracy. In our ethnocentric society we regard our behaviors, attitudes, and beliefs to be unique until we come into contact with people from another society whose behaviors, attitudes, and beliefs are different. Interpretation of the cultural practices of the other society then becomes meaningful in comparison to our own. To make these comparisons we need to possess intercultural skills.

Knowledge and Attitudes

Standing outside the other culture and objectifying it as a set of facts can increase knowledge about a foreign culture but not modify attitudes towards that culture. Learners who enter the language class with attitudes of prejudice and intolerance toward the other society or even attitudes of indifference and hostility — which not infrequently occurs when the class is part of a language requirement — do not have to submit those attitudes to critical analysis unless the teaching approach to the foreign language moves beyond "knowledge about" to "empathic understanding of." Stereotyping can go unchallenged until attitudes and reactions are analyzed and explained. An intercultural perspective will facilitate such analysis. Cognitive analysis increases understanding of the other society, but affect is the essential component in the clarification of attitudes. This does not imply that learners have to like everything about the other culture. It means, however, that they should be encouraged to adopt attitudes of openness and sensitivity to cultural difference, to be willing not to make an immediate, reductionist, subjective judgment but to postpone judgment of the aspects of the other culture that upset them until these have been analyzed in an intercultural perspective. It means that students are encouraged to become tolerant of differences.

The affective component makes teaching intercultural communicative skills

more complex than teaching knowledge about the other culture. Instructors need to clarify their own beliefs about culture and their own attitudes to the other society. Involving the learner in the process of affective change requires sensitivity and delicate decisions on the part of the instructor. The learner does not discard negative attitudes spontaneously. Promoting attitudes of openness and tolerance is a process. Empathic discussion by and with students of their opinions and emotions is an important part of the process.

Interpersonal contact with people from the other culture introduces the learner to diversity within that society. Diversity is a powerful instrument in breaking down stereotypical opinions. Each individual has more affinities with some people than with others. A society consists of many different types of people who participate in the life of different subcultures. When the other society is seen to consist of many groups with different behaviors and attitudes, it is more difficult for the outsider to reduce it to a unified, unchanging stereotype. Unless there are native speakers of the language in the classroom, face-to-face interpersonal contact with the members of the other culture has to take place in the local community, where immigrants may be living and working, or in a country where the foreign language is spoken. For this contact to be a productive learning experience it has to be integrated by the instructor into the linguistic and intercultural goals of the class. Giving students assignments using ethnographic methods of interview, along with fieldwork data collection and analysis, has proved to be successful in involving learners in the process of foreign cultural acquisition and in increasing their intercultural communicative skills. (See Byram *et al.* 1994 and Robinson-Stuart and Nocon 1996 for accounts of the integration of ethnographic interviews into foreign language instruction.)

If these ethnographic assignments are carried out in the local community, students become more conscious of subcultures and of diverse behaviors and attitudes within their own society. At the same time, they become aware of the interlocking network of beliefs and values that constitute the generally accepted value systems according to which the society as a whole operates. Students thus become aware of the relativity of social phenomena, of the need to interpret what are initially seen as facts in relation to other events that are manifestations of other values in the system. In developing intercultural communicative skills, students deepen their understanding of their own society as well as of the foreign society. They also become increasingly aware of the cultural values that are encoded in language and of the importance of cultural context in negotiating meanings with a foreign speaker and in avoiding communicative misunderstandings and breakdowns. Through interpersonal contact with people from another society, students become directly involved in the process of discovering how

culture functions in all aspects of daily living and how it fashions their world view and the world view of members of the other society. Culture is thus observed not to be static but to be an evolving, dynamic phenomenon in both societies.

Assessment

In the formal education system, assessment is given great importance. Instructors spend much time planning different forms of assessment to measure student learning and performance. Students spend much time preparing for assessment procedures because the assessment results obtained can dramatically influence their success or failure in a course, their progress through the educational institution, their employment opportunities, and their future social position. Assessment in foreign language courses takes place within this institutional and social context and has specific features associated with the nature of the discipline. What does language learning involve? In an earlier period, in the time of the grammar-translation approach, it mainly involved learning vocabulary, absorbing rules of grammar and pronunciation, translating, and studying literature. The principal focus was on reading and writing. Learning was assessed by weekly or monthly tests and end-of-semester examinations made up of vocabulary and grammar tests, translating a passage from the foreign language into English or vice versa, and writing essays on literary topics. The oral tests consisted of dictation passages in the foreign language, reading aloud in the foreign language, and answering conversation questions. Basically the aim was to assess the learner's knowledge, and it was not considered difficult for instructors to give a numerical result for the form-oriented, noninteractive written tests in which student answers were either right or wrong. Learners were assessed by achievement testing.

When language teaching methodology changed to a four-skills approach with emphasis on the spoken language, a transition was made from assessing the learner's form-oriented knowledge about the language to the learner's functional use of the language. Assessment became more complex because ways of measuring learner performance in listening and speaking had to be developed. As a result of research and experimentation, assessment of these skills has become increasingly refined. Assessment of the speaking skill is now frequently conducted in a socioculturally contextualized framework that reflects more authentically communication situations in the real world. Learners' ability to function in these communicative contexts is evaluated through performance. Performance also

gives the opportunity to integrate skills. By promoting proficiency testing and establishing reliable rating scales, the oral proficiency interview (OPI) of the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) gave impetus to the increasing adoption of performance-based assessment. In the OPI some attention is given to sociocultural appropriateness and discourse pragmatics. There is thus some implicit evaluation of sociocultural competence, but that evaluation covers only a small part of an overall assessment of intercultural communicative competence. ACTFL, in the 1996 report of the National Standards in Foreign Language Education Project, made a more deliberate effort at specifying levels of cultural competence. More generally, the transition from achievement testing to performance testing has diversified the range of evaluation procedures and makes it now possible to assess successfully and reliably the learner's knowledge of and proficiency in the use of the spoken and written forms of the foreign language.

We have already seen that assessment of small *c* and Big *C* culture is mostly done by measuring learners' knowledge of facts. A major weakness of this approach is that learners are not challenged to go beyond the facts, to contextualize them in the bigger picture, and to interpret their cultural meanings in particular; to make what is implicit explicit by analyzing the invisible levels of the value systems of the society. Achievement testing of cultural knowledge by right or wrong answers does, however, meet students' and institutions' conventional expectations of a quantifiable result. Making the transition from cultural knowledge to intercultural communicative competence requires a diversification of assessment procedures similar to what happened when the transition from learner knowledge about language to learner proficiency in the use of language caused the evolution from achievement testing to performance-based evaluation of skills. When the acquisition of language skills is assessed, learners have to demonstrate a practical ability in both spoken and written forms of language to communicate with speakers of the foreign language. Their attitudes to those speakers are irrelevant to the success of their productive use of the language. Although some sociocultural appropriateness is required, language competence is distinct from intercultural competence. Assessment of the latter calls for more diversified measurement instruments. Learners have to demonstrate, in addition to their communicative language skills, that they have become more informed about and more tolerant of what distinguishes culturally the people and societies whose language they are learning.

To develop valid and reliable ways of assessing intercultural communicative competence one first needs to establish a comprehensive taxonomy of the components of intercultural communicative competence. Those components

include behaviors, attitudes, values, and beliefs. Learner sensitivity to different behaviors, for example, cannot be measured by achievement testing with definitive right or wrong answers. There is a range of acceptable behaviors in a society. Some influencing factors are the age, gender, social class, and regional affiliation of the participants in the event. Will performance-based assessment be a sufficient evaluation instrument, or will some additional instruments need to be devised? What intercultural communicative competence outcomes can be set for learners at the beginner/novice, intermediate, and advanced levels? The OPI measures performance on a vertical scale. Is it possible to establish a similar scale for intercultural communicative competence? Research and experimentation are necessary for our profession to reach consensus on what performance features correspond to what level on the scale. The educated native speaker is the model against which the language-proficiency scale is calibrated. A more appropriate model for the competent intercultural speaker is a hybrid communicator who is proficient in both languages and able to mediate successful interaction between members of the home and target cultures. How can we assess progress in the performance of the learner who is a foreigner using the new language and acting as a mediator between the home culture and the target culture, interpreting and explaining both cultures, developing the knowledge and skills to make informed positive and negative judgments about both cultures?

Despite attention being given to sociocultural appropriateness and discourse pragmatics in newer forms of language testing, considerable emphasis is still given to accuracy in language-proficiency testing. Can accuracy retain so much importance when components of intercultural communicative competence other than language are assessed? As has already been indicated, for some of these components there is no single accepted standard. A range of responses could be considered appropriate. What level of response in this range can be set as an acceptable threshold or benchmark? For some components, such as attitudes of openness to otherness, it might be sufficient at the beginner/novice level to categorize the performance features according to two criteria only: successful and unsuccessful. At a more advanced level it would seem desirable to integrate degrees of competence in one component with breadth of competence across the components. Using different criteria for different components of intercultural communicative competence poses the problem of how to combine different types of evaluation into an overall result. Making this result quantifiable would appear to be extremely complex. That is why establishing each learner's profile for the different components of intercultural communicative competence has been proposed instead of attempting to give the learner a definitive quantifiable result. It is likely that formative assessment will play an important part in establishing learner profiles.

Individual learner characteristics probably influence speed of progress to different levels of competence in the different components. The time between input and successful output and the reasons for successful output can now be reliably stated with the help of procedures developed by researchers in language acquisition. But at present we have little information on the relationship between input and output for the acquisition of intercultural communicative competence. Research has shown how individual learning styles influence the outcomes of language acquisition, but what is the relationship of individual learning styles to success in the different components of intercultural communicative competence?

As professionals, foreign language instructors have considerable experience in assessing product but little experience in measuring process. Process, however, would seem to be a key feature in progress toward becoming an interculturally competent foreign language speaker. Helping learners to look at another culture in relation to their own, to understand it, to interact with it, and to interpret the signs of culturally motivated behaviors and attitudes in their context requires the development of instruments capable of assessing progress through the stages of this process. How can we construct assessment situations that resemble as closely as possible intercultural communicative situations in real-world contexts? What provision is there for holistic assessment before worrying about language accuracy?

These are some of the issues in which ongoing research will enhance the teaching, learning, and assessment of foreign language learners who engage in the process of becoming interculturally and linguistically competent members of the global village.

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CHAPTER 12

Acquired Culture in the Japanese Language Classroom

Eleanor H. Jorden

Abstract

The learning of a foreign language requires involvement with both a new linguistic code and a new cultural code. The latter relates to the kind of culture that is acquired by natives of a society unconsciously, out of awareness; it defines their mindset and determines how they interact in their daily life. When the foreign language is a truly foreign language, that cultural code, as well as the linguistic code, is totally unrelated to the codes of American English.

This very important cultural feature of language study is rarely given any place in the curriculum. Where the cultural code is found, it is regularly analyzed through interactions that take place outside the classroom. This article examines the unconscious demonstration of acquired culture *within* the foreign language classroom — specifically Japanese — as untrained and inexperienced native instructors develop their curricula and interact with learners on the basis of native intuition. The identification of beginning students as childlike in their lack of knowledge of the target language and as foreign has a telling effect on the instructor's pedagogy, and the mix of the instructor's acquired culture with that of the learners may create an unintentional impediment to language learning.

In the learning of a foreign language, the challenges presented by a new linguistic code constitute only one part of the process: in addition, the learner must master a new cultural code. This term does not refer to learned culture, the type that requires deliberate, conscious learning even by natives of the culture (like the aesthetic variety — literature, art, music, etc. — or informational culture, which covers factual information about the culture); rather it is what I call acquired culture, retaining the distinction frequently made between learned and

acquired language. Learning a language refers to the conscious, formal study of a foreign language, whereas acquiring a language is accomplished unconsciously, without awareness, in the manner in which native speakers regularly master their native language. In similar fashion, natives of a society acquire a variety of culture that determines their mindset, their overall behavior; that is, how they deal with one another in all their daily interactions. Examples of acquired culture include how natives regard the self as a member of society; the importance of ranking and what features determine that ranking within the society; and what promotes the smooth working of the society. The manifestation of a language's acquired culture is unceasing, and when the language being studied is a so-called truly foreign language (TFL), its acquired culture presents tremendous challenges at every step of the learning process because of its marked contrast with the learner's native culture; for example, how and when the language expresses social level, politeness, social closeness, and distance; how it handles conflict; and its basic attitudes toward directness, confrontation, and precision. In other words, the TFL provides a double challenge for the learner — its markedly different linguistic code and a markedly different cultural code.

Bringing Acquired Culture to the Surface

Traditionally the "culture" of "language and culture" courses has dealt almost exclusively with learned culture. A substitution of language *in* culture would provide a more accurate representation of the kind of pervading cultural behavior within which all language is used, but few foreign language courses have reflected any serious concern for this vitally important requirement for learning authentic language. It seems to be generally assumed that contact with native speakers of the target language, particularly in the classroom, is a reliable guarantee of the requisite exposure to native acquired culture.

Generally speaking, the natives of any culture are surprisingly unaware of features of their own acquired culture. Since acquired culture is concerned with everyday, unconscious behavior, the tendency is to identify it simply as normal human behavior. As long as cultural natives never encounter any foreigners, they can adhere to this conviction; and although upon their first encounter with members of a foreign society they may notice features of a different behavioral system, the usual assumption is that it is the foreigners who are out of step.

Even within foreign language curricula that have in fact begun to recognize the importance of acquired culture and the reason why the linguistic code of the target language must always be taught in combination with it, instruction has

been concentrated on how natives of the target culture interact in society *outside of the foreign language classroom*. However, the unconscious demonstration of acquired culture *within the classroom* by instructors who are native to the target culture should be an additional subject of investigation. In some cases, the mix of the instructor's acquired culture and that of the learner's may create an unintentional impediment to language learning.

First, a caveat: It must be strongly emphasized that there are many native language instructors who have lived and studied abroad or have received pedagogical training and guidance from those who are native to the culture of their learners and whose own language teaching methodology reflects that experience to varying degrees. Of primary interest to us in what follows is the native instructor, found in many language programs, who is new to the field or without pedagogical training or experience and who operates totally on the basis of native experience and native intuitions. The data on which my ideas are based were derived from observation of instructors who are Japanese language and cultural natives, teaching their language in an American classroom where Japanese is a TFL. This, therefore, is my area of concentration here. Some of my observations are undoubtedly discernible on a more general basis.

The Japanese Native Teaching Paradigm

Walton (1981) identified the phenomenon of this type of language instructor in his article on pedagogical paradigms. In the "Native Teaching Paradigm," native speakers bring to their foreign language teaching the approach, techniques, attitudes, assumptions, and intuitions that stem from their own experience as native speakers of the target language, socialized in the target culture. To make certain that our forthcoming remarks are not wrongly applied to all Japanese native-speaker instructors, we will adopt Walton's terminology and identify features of our analysis as characteristics of the Japanese Native Teaching Paradigm (JNTP); and we assume that the combination of all its features is as unique as is any native culture itself.

In taking on the challenge of adult foreigners who are embarking on a study of the Japanese language, JNTP instructors are affected by two major influences: the first is a pull unconsciously felt to treat their students as linguistically childlike, given these learners' lack of proficiency in the target language. Our JNTP instructors seem strongly affected by this influence, despite the obvious discrepancy in age, maturity, and cognitive skills of these foreign adults, compared to children, and the far-reaching effect of their already being proficient

in another language (i.e., their own native language).

Our JNTP instructors are prone to use the special intonations and speaking styles that occur in addressing Japanese children, following each correct learner response with enthusiastic praise. They are carried back to their own first days of formal learning in school, when they began immediately to learn to read. In the first week of class, at a stage when, unlike Japanese children who are already fluent in the spoken language, the foreigners know no Japanese whatsoever, they are introduced to the most complex writing system in the world.

Introducing the Japanese Writing System

In the study of a western European language, an early introduction to the writing system is not a major problem for Americans, since all use a similar alphabetic system represented by the same symbols as those used in the representation of English. And even languages like Russian and Greek that are written in foreign alphabets present only the minor difficulty of mastering a new set of symbols, limited in number and, like English, basically used to represent a single sound. Japanese writing is totally different in its approach to language representation. First, there are two independent syllabaries (together known as *kana*) of approximately 50 symbols, each representing the same sound sequences but serving different functions in the overall system. The representation is not of individual sounds but rather of syllable-like units. A sequence symbolized in Roman letters[1] as *doko ka* (somewhere) would be written in *kana* with three symbols only, representing /do/, /ko/, and /ka/, and the symbolization would not suggest that the same vowel sound /o/ and the same consonant sound /k/ each occurred twice. For an American who has been reading English for many years, this is a striking difference.

Kana and Kanji

No one except very young Japanese children just beginning to study the written language writes exclusively in *kana*. To read a normal Japanese text, one must also learn *kanji*, symbols (regularly referred to as characters) borrowed from Chinese and used to represent entire meaningful units. The present standardized list of accepted kanji and their pronunciations contains 1,945 characters, taught by the end of high school in Japan. While symbols of the *kana* syllabaries have sound value only, *kanji* represent sound plus meaning. Thus, although it is possible to write exclusively in *kana*, to do so would suggest that the writer was no more than about five or six years old. For example, *yama* (mountain), written

in *kana* as /ya + ma/ only by very young children, is normally written with just one symbol, a single Chinese character that represents /yama/ and specifically means "mountain." As a further complication, the same character has an alternate, accepted pronunciation, *san*, which originated as a Chinese word with the same meaning. This reading automatically occurs (provided one knows the language!) in certain other contexts: thus, *yamanobori* means "mountain climbing," but *santyoo* "mountain peak." However, *san* (three) is written with an entirely different character that bears no resemblance to the *kanji* that represents *san* (mountain).

Recent specialized research on Japanese reading has had little influence on JNTP instructors, inasmuch as their principal guide to pedagogy is their own language experience and intuition. The increasingly acknowledged importance of spoken language competence in the reading process goes unrecognized, as the early days of language instruction for the foreign adult are devoted to instruction in the reading and writing of *kana* symbols. For the Japanese child alone, following the same course of action, do countless *kana* combinations used as reinforcing examples have immediately recognized meaning.

Of the two *kana* syllabaries, the one usually taught first is *hiragana*, by far the more relevant for the Japanese child who is already fluent in the language. This is the syllabary that is regularly used to represent grammatical signals — inflectional endings, particles, forms of the copula, etc. — as well as words for which there is no *kanji* or, at least, no currently accepted *kanji* or none known by the writer.

This is a reasonable choice: Japanese children, who are already familiar with the vocabulary of grammatical features but are still limited in their knowledge of *kanji*, can with *hiragana* represent in an appropriately childish manner their entire language repertoire, which, by the age of six, is considerable. In contrast, during these initial stages of study, the American adult has a negligible knowledge of Japanese, particularly in the domain of grammatical signals. The solution, used by most JNTP instructors, is to use *hiragana* to introduce Japanese material that would ordinarily include occurrences of *kanji* when written for an adult, and cope with teaching meanings at the same time.

The current Japanese lexicon contains countless items that are borrowed from the English language; in fact, the borrowing process is proceeding so rapidly that dictionaries of *gairaigo* (loan words) are out of date by the time of publication. These loan words include, but are no means limited to, the category of substantives borrowed along with the actual items that are represented: thus, along with borrowings like *bēsubōru* (baseball), *konpyūta* (computer), and *aisukuriimu* (ice cream), we find items like *kēsubaikēsu* (case by case),

sensēshonaru (sensational), and *pātotaimu* (part time). Now this is one domain in which the American beginner, with only a few tips on sound conversion, has considerable reading competence from the very outset of training; and what is more, even in the normal written Japanese language of the well-educated, adult, native speaker of Japanese, all items of this borrowed vocabulary are *always* written in *kana*, specifically the second set of symbols, *katakana*.

The question is inevitable: Why isn't the foreign adult beginner who is a native speaker of English introduced to *katakana* before *hiragana*? A number of advantages come to mind immediately: Authentic reading practice that is immediately comprehensible to American beginners is possible (for example, American and British personal names, non-Japanese place names, lists of room accommodations at hotels, and menus from McDonald's, KFC, Pizza Hut, and Baskin-Robbins. Reading practice that involves truly authentic materials that are of practical use increases motivation. Learners are reading only those items in *kana* that are always written in *kana*; they are not practicing with texts used only by children and only temporarily by them. At a stage when foreign beginners have virtually no competence in the Japanese linguistic code, they have access to reading material that is nonetheless authentic without involving any special structural patterns. Learners are introduced to the contrast between Japanese and English pronunciation, by noting how Japanese transform English in incorporating it into their own phonology.

The answer to our question is simple. Because *hiragana* is introduced before *katakana* to native-speaking children in Japanese schools and came first in the experience of JNTP instructors, it should be introduced first to everyone everywhere.

Teaching Others as One Was Taught

For an adult to read and write Japanese exclusively by means of *hiragana* can hardly be considered authentic written language, but because of the assumption that all beginners should follow the same procedures, their JNTP instructors assume it is always appropriate to start the reading process as they did. They typically provide the texts of all classroom materials, even what is introduced for speaking practice, in written form, for the mastery of which the learners must devote considerable time. This also means that, even while hearing Japanese being spoken, the learners are usually poring over the written page, thereby listening with much less careful concentration. To the JNTP instructor, *kana* seems so simple that it is difficult to imagine its mastery can ever be a serious challenge. The foreigner, required to learn to read and write fluently 100 new

symbols and their special combinations, is prevented from developing a natural, confident, spoken style. What is more, many JNTP instructors forget that the adult beginner is dealing not only with unfamiliar symbols but also with their representation of a still unfamiliar language. What is avoided is the use — for reference purposes — of a special pedagogical system of romanization, which would not only make it possible for the beginner to start out by concentrating exclusively on the spoken language (as any native speaker of any language does) but also to be helped by the availability of a written representation of the language that shows accent, intonation, and various other significant phonological features that the traditional orthography ignores.

The False Promise of One-to-One Translation

In the JNTP classroom, instruction includes teaching of isolated vocabulary, fostering the tendency of learners to believe in a close equivalence between the meaning of one word of Japanese and one word of English. The learner who unhesitatingly asks, "What is the Japanese word for English X?" has clearly become a believer in this mistaken concept. It may easily develop into a seriously mistaken assumption about the nature of language, as the American learner regularly attempts to arrive at Japanese through word-for-word translation of English, gradually learning to "speak English in Japanese." The style extends beyond the sentence level as the learner assumes that the procedure for handling any situation in Japanese is to decide first what an American would say in that situation and then to translate literally into Japanese. The results run the gamut from rude to strange to incomprehensible to ludicrous.

As learners progress into more advanced levels of instruction, there is increased concentration on the introduction of *kanji*, based on the JNTP instructor's assumption that the goal of literacy is achieved primarily on the basis of recognition of symbols. Totally forgotten are the overall challenges of a TFL, which the native speaker has acquired unconsciously. Reading passages become exercises in translation into English; they are regularly accompanied by glossaries with English equivalents that are strongly context-dependent, often straying far from a basic explanation of the Japanese item that might be more generally helpful to the learner.

Classroom Materials

Classroom language materials used for instructional purposes were mentioned several times above. This item of critical importance to the curriculum also

represents an area of great difficulty for JNTP instructors, given their difference in orientation and general lack of familiarity with the American learner. In cases where they utilize materials available on the market, they tend to seek out those that are easiest for a Japanese instructor to understand, a feature that often makes them equally unhelpful for the American learner. However, it is not unusual to find JNTP instructors writing materials of their own, in spite of their lack of relevant pedagogical experience, background in the linguistic analysis of Japanese, and training in providing explanations that are meaningful to Americans. The preparation of such original materials has become a cottage industry in the United States, with the products rarely used by anyone other than the author.

The Problem of Nonauthentic Language

As the JNTP instructor embarks on the teaching of Japanese as a foreign language to beginning students, a second major influence strongly affects the style of instruction: the adult learners are not simply linguistic children, they are *foreign* linguistic children. With the identification of students as *gaijin* (foreigners, literally "outsiders") comes the expectation of the special consideration that is accorded guests in Japanese society, and, linguistically speaking, this results in special pedagogical features. Immediately removed is any insistence on authentic language, as it becomes more appropriate to accommodate the foreigner who is, after all, making an effort to learn Japanese.

This identification of learners as foreigners immediately suggests their need for instruction in features of Japanese acquired culture and its influence on the language. Instead, culture is covered in terms of emphasis on information about Japan, from discussions of food and clothing to lectures on the tea ceremony, flower arranging, and traditional theater, all examples of learned culture. Japanese acquired culture is assumed to be the domain of the cultural native.

Oversimplifying Style

One of the most striking features of the Japanese language is the fact that every sequence is marked for style — distal vs. direct, polite vs. plain, gentle vs. abrupt, careful vs. casual — but neutral is missing (Jorden with Noda 1987). Which style is appropriate in a given situation is determined by the relationship between the speaker (or writer) and addressee (or audience), in terms of hierarchical level and closeness, by the presence of others and who they are, by the setting, and by the subject matter. One thing is certain: although there may be

differences among speakers as to which style is most fitting for use in a specific situation, a selection cannot be avoided, and the choice that is made always carries a message.

The question that immediately arises is how the foreign adult learner is to receive instruction in Japanese stylistic levels during introductory stages of training. If there is no neutral way to express even the simplest utterance, what should foreigners be taught? Should they be required, from the outset, to handle every linguistic sequence of their materials in all the alternate styles they might have occasion to encounter or actively use? This would be impossible, both pedagogically and practically. The choice that is usually made is not without merit but the way in which it is usually presented is more problematic.

Most foreign learners are introduced first to the plain, distal style as most appropriate for those who are not yet well-informed about the language, or, by extension, about the workings of the society. The choice of this Japanese style, implying careful language that maintains social distance without special politeness, seems generally appropriate for the foreign adult beginner, as does the pedagogical decision to begin by teaching one style only. The problem lies in the widespread failure to explain immediately that this style is *not* neutral, that it fits into a complex stylistic system, and that there are definite constraints on its use. It is not the style to be used among close friends, particularly among the very young, for example, nor in situations that require special politeness. Nor is it accurate to continue limiting stylistic usage to this one style only in all the language material that is introduced, regardless of the situation. The learners must gradually master all the styles to which they will be exposed and that they will be expected to use.

Oversimplifying Structure

Unfortunately the introduction of nonauthentic language is not limited to stylistic inaccuracies. As a courtesy to the guest-learner, JNTP instructors may go so far as to modify Japanese structure and vocabulary to make them conform more closely to English. The frequent occurrence of questions beginning with *anata* (you) and statements with *watakushi* (I), in Japanese contexts where there would normally be no overt reference to any particular person, is clearly an attempt to make Japanese resemble English. The misuse of *anata*, occurring as if it were the only Japanese referent for the person addressed, exactly comparable to English “you,” is another glaring inaccuracy.

Attempts to analyze linguistic structures simply, in terms that make Japanese resemble English, pose serious problems and may lead to frequent contradictions.

Japanese is a TFL with a linguistic code that is strikingly different from that of English. What is more, explanations of structure require not only strong competence in the target language (i.e., Japanese) but also an ability to explain accurately and precisely in terms that are meaningful to the learners[2] — a task that requires, in addition, very strong competence in the learners' native language and a high degree of linguistic sophistication. For the American learner, accustomed to linear-style analysis, which divides a sequence into meaningful parts, the more holistic Japanese approach can result in puzzlement and misunderstanding. Consider, for example, the concept of words in the sense of the items that comprise a sentence. Words are important to an American learner's analysis. The lack of a close equivalent in the Japanese language becomes clear when Japanese use romanization: there is little agreement among individuals as to how to divide a sequence into words, regularly expected in a romanized transcription. Japanese simply do not think of sequences in their language as composed of words. The native writing system leaves no spaces within sentences as a guide: an entire sentence becomes a unified whole. There is linguistic evidence for a word-like unit in Japanese, but it usually goes unnoticed by native speakers of Japanese who have not received relevant specialized instruction.

JNTP instructors, accustomed to reading and writing Japanese in their native orthography only, expect also to handle inflection in the language in terms of the native writing system (in this case *kana*), which, as was pointed out earlier, does not represent individual sounds but rather syllable-like units. For the American, accustomed to reading an alphabetic system, the native writing system actually makes the description of patterns more complicated than the patterns themselves.

Oversimplifying Life

In Japanese language instruction, we encounter so many dialogues identifying pens and pencils that we wonder if the Japanese really cannot distinguish these two categories of objects! And videos beautifully filmed in Japan may present utterly improbable scenes with even more improbable dialogue, creating a totally inaccurate linguistic and cultural impression. Consider, for example, the Japanese customs agent at Narita Airport, who initiates a conversation with an American traveler in Japanese (never!), using only the simplest Japanese sentence structures and vocabulary (never!), speaking with slowed-down, distorted speech (never!), and asking totally improbable questions (never!). With this material serving as a learner's introductory lesson, the outcome is an unlikely vocabulary consisting of *kore* (this), *sore* (that), *nan* (what), *uisukii* (whisky), *tabako* (cigarettes), *kaeru* (frog), and *omocha* (toy)!

This kind of skit is a favorite form of classroom material, on the assumption that it is more amusing and interesting for foreigners. At a stage when learners desperately require instruction on culturally appropriate Japanese language and behavior, they may even be assigned to produce original material. At no point does their linguistic and cultural naiveté become more apparent than when they complete these tasks. They have no alternative but to concoct Japanese plots and narratives that originate as literal translations of the English skits and narratives they mistakenly assume would be accurate. Although the results may be bizarre as Japanese, JNTP instructors can be expected to be accepting of their efforts and encouraging.

A favorite form of competition is the Japanese speech contest, often conducted on a nationwide basis in the United States. This is a significant departure from the favorite American form of oral competition — the debate. The former involves careful preparation and practice of a script, with emphasis on perfecting its delivery: no surprises, no sudden challenges, no last minute changes — all important in Japanese culture. The contrast offered by the debate is obvious: a requirement to think on one's feet, offer persuasive arguments and counter-arguments extemporaneously, and even on occasion to support a side to an argument that is not one's own preference. Clearly this latter exercise is an extremely demanding linguistic task, rarely undertaken by foreign students. But of special interest in the present context is the cultural contrast between the two procedures: the American debate involves conflict and open arguments — scoring points against one's linguistic opponent — the kind of open confrontation that Japanese avoid. To propose even a simplified debating exercise as part of a Japanese language curriculum would certainly not conform to Japanese acquired culture. However, the American learner rarely understands the cultural significance of the speech contest.

Reluctance to Correct the Learner

In spite of their importance in the development of oral competence among language learners, JNTP instructors pay only minimal attention to pronunciation correction and rarely insist on accurate intonation. The same phenomenon can be commonly observed in the teaching of English in Japan. Here, too, instructors concentrate on reading and translation from the start, thus offering this model for JNTP instructors to use when they teach their own native language as a foreign language.

If we agree with the many psychologists who believe that what is first learned is last unlearned, we can understand the importance of developing

concern for good phonologic habits in learners from the onset of training. Internalized bad habits persist indefinitely, but for our JNTP group, it seems rude to correct and insist on good pronunciation from a struggling foreigner who is taking the trouble to study their language. What is more, it is assumed that foreigners inevitably sound like foreigners; reading and writing are more important, anyway. And so these instructors — and Japanese society at large — react to the beginner's faltering Japanese with the exaggerated but encouraging praise, *Ojō̄zu desu nē* ("Aren't you proficient!"). It often comes as a surprise to them to hear that serious American adult learners want to be corrected; they actually praise those instructors who take the trouble to be constructively strict.

Know the Learner's Culture: A Team Approach

Contrary to current methods of foreign language instruction in the United States, which have become strongly learner-focused, JNTP methodology focuses more on the instructor. "Learner-focused" of course does not imply the assumption of control of the class by the learners; it does mean that materials and methodology and goals should conform to the learners' reasons for studying Japanese and the methods by which they best learn. It means that textbooks should be learner-directed, satisfying the linguistic and acquired-cultural needs of those who are studying the language. This calls for an understanding of the learner's acquired culture on the part of the instructor.

The JNTP instructor reflects the Japanese mindset — Japanese acquired culture — as much inside the classroom as out. Similarly, the American reaction to it as special or different is derived from another type of acquired culture, in this case, American. There is nowhere a neutral system against which all others can be compared, any more than there is a neutral linguistic code. The degree of cognitive development required to permit discussion and comparison of cultural codes also implies previous acquisition of one particular code through which all conclusions are filtered and by which they are colored. Thus all the above comments pertaining to JNTP attitudes and approaches to the teaching of Japanese as a foreign language are strongly influenced by comparison with American assumptions and expectations as the basis. This can be observed from an opposite point of view when Americans become instructors of English in Japan, with their own *ANTP* attitudes, and Japanese as learners encounter classroom procedures counter to their own expectations and in opposition to their own acquired culture.

Lest the opposite conclusion be drawn, it must be emphasized that the

native speaker of Japanese is a critical, irreplaceable element in any Japanese language program of superior quality. Absolutely no criticism is to be directed against this category of instructors in general, but only against those without training for the specific task they have undertaken. That training must include instruction in the learner's language and acquired culture, for the teaching of Japanese to Americans is surely not the same as teaching Japanese to Chinese, for example. While the subject matter is the same, the learners and their mindset, including their learning styles, are very different, and the pedagogy should be adjusted accordingly.

Considering all the components of a formal language learning program, it is definitely the instructor who emerges as the most significant. Even skillfully designed materials can be ruined by unprofessional presentation, whereas poor materials can be improved by the well-trained professional, and it is the well-trained professional who has learned the proper delivery system — the proper mode of presentation — for dealing with the learners who are receiving instruction.

Returning to the initial identification of Japanese as a TFL, truly foreign in both its linguistic code and its acquired cultural code, a team of native instructors, including representatives of both the target language and culture (in this study, Japanese) and the learner's native language and culture (American), can be extremely effective from the learner's point of view. All must be professionally trained and familiar with the other language and acquired culture. Members of such a team can complement each other's work, offering useful insights that stem from a different orientation. We must always remember that although no foreigner can ever substitute for the native Japanese, no native Japanese has ever had the experience of actually being a *gaijin* in Japan. Each has something special to offer the learner of Japanese.

Notes

1. There are several recognized systems for representing the Japanese language in Roman letters. In this article, we will use the Hepburn system of romanization, the most commonly occurring within English language texts in the representation of Japanese sequences, including personal and place names.
2. The alternative is to use the "direct method," according to which the target language is used exclusively, with no attempt made to provide explanatory material in the native language of the learner. This approach is rarely used when learners of Japanese are native speakers of English.

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CHAPTER 13

Performed Culture

Learning to Participate in Another Culture

Galal Walker

Abstract

If we are to train adults to participate in a foreign culture, we must present culture as a lived experience. This requires us to devise concepts and procedures for dealing with culture as making meaning in the target culture rather than as creating interpretations in the base culture. The burden this intention places on foreign language pedagogy is the necessity of placing equal emphasis on cultural context and linguistic code, and of developing automaticity in negotiating both of these knowledge structures. Treating culture and language as performances of the target culture permits us to systematically accommodate culture while a language is being learned and taught. Understanding the features of specific performances is the surest way of correctly determining the intentions of others in the studied culture and establishing our own intentions when interacting with them.

I've long ago thought that teaching and learning anthropology should be more fun than they often are. Perhaps we should not merely read and comment on ethnographies, but actually perform them. Alienated students spend many tedious hours in library carrels struggling with accounts of alien lives and even more alien anthropological theories about the ordering of those lives. Whereas anthropology should be about, in D.H. Lawrence's phrases, "Man alive" and "woman alive," this living quality frequently fails to emerge from our pedagogics, perhaps, to cite D.H. Lawrence again, because our "analysis presupposes a corpse."

Victor Turner, "Dramatic ritual/ritual drama:
Performative and reflexive anthropology," 1991

Culture and Foreign Language Study

How would learners and teachers of a foreign language and culture go about taking seriously Turner's suggestion? Should we offer performance as a pedagogical alternative to the more common approach of seeking expert accounts in the humanities and social sciences? The answer may lie in finding the pedagogical analogy to treating culture as a corpse. When we humans have the resources and opportunities, we have an abundant variety of ways to deal with our dead: by the discrete weeping, noisy wailing, or stylized commentary of the still living. By doing something to or with our human remains: putting them out of sight, encasing or enshrouding them, preserving them, decorating them, transmuting them with fire, locating them with symbolic representations, distributing them over favored geographical formations, or feeding them to beasts. In some places we eat them. All this, it seems, is done with the general notion of creating memories of the deceased that please the still living and to ease the mourning; that is, the painful remembering of the deceased. Funerals are for the living — an understanding that makes good practical advice of Mr. Berra's injunction to "always go to other people's funerals — otherwise, they won't go to yours" (Berra 1998: 73).

Are curators, authors, social scientists, and critics the only ones who play metaphorically equivalent roles as the morticians and mourners of culture, or do language teachers contribute to this tradition? Observations of language classrooms often find the cultures of the societies we study safely out of sight, buried in the base culture of the learners, or conveniently encased in capsules. I once overheard a Japanese teacher respond to a student who made a mistake in the way he referred to the teacher in Japanese by saying: "Call me Kaz, dude." He later explained that he wanted his students to feel comfortable speaking Japanese, so he made sure he only talked about those things that were of interest to his high school students. In other classrooms at designated periods students are turned away from language to study culture, because, as I was once told at such a time, "language and culture cannot be separated."

Even sophisticated practitioners treat culture as a demonstration of the "knowledge about" found in eulogies rather than the situated "knowledge of" that we need when dealing with man and woman alive. A recent discussion of the behavior and attitudes of native and nonnative speakers presents an example of French, American, and German interpretations of a French advertisement that varied according to the nationality of the interpreters. Concerning the departures from the French interpretations we are told:

> The interpretations of those American and West German readers were not wrong. All three meanings are potentially enclosed in the French ad…. If the ad is used to teach French around the world, the diversity of potential readings will increase. Native and nonnative speakers will find in it different confirmations of their worldviews and different definitions of privilege, right, and prerogative. (Kramsch 1997: 361–362)

The concept of performed culture presented here draws a clear line in the sands of pedagogical intention. It contradicts Kramsch's assumption that the interpretations are "enclosed in the French ad" and that those enclosed interpretations will proliferate in proportion to the cultures of the readers that come upon it like a string of peculiar eulogies at a memorial service. The perspective presented here assumes that the interpretations exist in the cultures of the readers; therefore, the goal of persons wanting to learn French language and culture is to participate in the interpretations of any sector of French or Francophone culture within which they are likely to find themselves engaging in personal interactions or conducting social transactions. Furthermore, it is not a goal of persons wanting to learn to communicate within French-speaking societies to create interpretations that are characteristic of other languages and cultures.

Encountering a foreign culture with the intention to participate in the lives of people born and raised in it is a daunting challenge. In Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*, Paulina, who is about to bring a statue to life, warns: "Those that think it unlawful business I am about, let them depart." In citing Paulina's speech, Frederick Turner concurs that "it ought to be dangerous to bring the dead back to life" (F. Turner 1985: 47).

When evoking student performances of a foreign culture, this is an entirely appropriate caution. Playing in someone else's culture can be extremely disconcerting, if not actually physically dangerous. By not keeping the target cultures in our language classrooms safely inert, we abandon the singularity of the base culture and with it the security that what we intend is what our behavior actually means. Mark Turner, in a book about the study of English literature, describes this insecurity well enough for an extensive citation.

> Some of us are afraid of changing the language we speak, which is to say, of learning a foreign language. Accurately or not, some of us feel that to learn it in childlike ways would require us to open up a realm of competence we are afraid to open. There is a sense that language is a scary thing, and that we were lucky to have gotten though learning it the first time. This fear leads to the prevalent style of trying to learn a foreign language without changing or disturbing anything that is already in place — to learn in adult ways by controlling the learning, regulating the methods of instruction, insisting on seeing every phrase written down, and constantly translating everything into

> the mother tongue. The result, almost always weak, is nonetheless a level of competence that is acceptable to us because it causes nothing to be reopened or changed; the self, we feel, stays intact.
>
> At the deepest level, we feel that we will lose ourselves if we change our default concepts. We feel that we were lucky to have become competent once. We do not want to be faced with it again. Professionally and personally, we feel that a change in our default concepts will suddenly make us incompetent. As a defense, we tell ourselves that we do not have to pay attention to whatever would make us revise our default concepts. We call these things irrelevant. (M. Turner 1991: 27)

This avoidance of a challenge to our defaults was clearly illustrated by a young American student interviewed on National Public Radio. When advised to conform to the cultural expectations of Parisians by refraining from smiling at strangers and being somewhat flirtatious with the opposite sex, she expressed her determination not to abandon her American defaults, but her wavering voice (you will have to take my word for this in the medium of an essay) betrayed an unmistakable trepidation:

> If you flirt with the people here, you could get yourself into a kind of compromising situation. But just to smile…. Maybe you can change the people. And if they don't want to smile back, it's their choice. I'm a happier person for it. (National Public Radio 1994)

The student's suggestion that she might change French culture with her smile is a common kind of delusion with which many who find themselves challenged by the expectations of a still foreign culture comfort themselves.

Language teachers who set about to follow Victor Turner's suggestion by having their students actually perform culture must provide the possibilities of learning to converse in the cultures being studied. There is no way to learn a culture without talking with the folks who live it and create it day by day. Learners must perform the target culture as they perform the target language. Performing a culture in each case should aim to create a memory focused on pleasing the subjects of the remembering so they will want to continue conversing. This contrasts with the kind of memory that we seek to create by a funeral rite — a memory with appeal to the needs of the assembled mourners: the kind of memory that supports critiques and "war stories" told and retold back in the base culture, travellers' tales usually begun with the phrase: "When I was in …." Again, in contrast to the "accounts of alien lives" and "alien anthropological theories," performance as a way of demonstrating *knowing* is significantly different from the conventional discourses revealed by conventional academic reading and commenting.

A culture is the product of complex social interactions, and a performance of any fragment of it must involve a number of persons communicating in shared frameworks of agreements and expectations. To account for any specific part of a culture through performance should prove to be a more complicated matter than the creation or re-creation of any single person's interpretation. This is especially the case when the *interpretation* of a target culture is valued by its reception in the base culture (e.g., Kramsch), but the *performance* of a target culture is judged by its appropriateness to the target culture itself.

The discussion from here on regards conversations as performances within cultures and considers how adults from one culture learn to converse in another culture with something of the same purposefulness they evince in their native cultures. The assumptions behind the discussion revolve around the perspective that culture is the basis of meaning and that "language not only transmits, it creates or constitutes knowledge or 'reality'" (Bruner 1986: 132).

Culture, Language, and Performance

The concept of culture and behavior presented in this discussion is analogous to a grammar that subtends a language, the major difference being that a culture is many times greater and more complex than a grammar. My knowledge of English grammar can be identified with my ability to create utterances of more or less the right content and form at the right time without premeditation. When I want to speak, I begin an utterance with the confidence that I will be able to sequence sounds, words, and phrases without thinking about the process. In a similar way, my knowledge of American culture allows me to engage in social activities and interactions without a great deal of prior planning. Just as my knowledge of English grammar does not ensure that what I say is always correct in fact or beneficial to me personally, my knowledge of American culture will not guarantee success in all my social endeavors. After all, we each too often experience failure in our own cultures. Knowledge of a culture provides the basis for participation in the social interactions and transactions that lead to success or failure. In short, it gets us into the game. In foreign language study the goal is to inculcate the default behaviors in language and society that sustain culturally appropriate behavior.

Culture in an individual is a concept that is largely congruent with mind, memory, and meaning. It develops in the early years of life when the fictile brain itself is undergoing drastic restructuring — a process that to a significant degree proceeds under the influence of its social environment; that is, its culture. Jerome

Bruner (1983) tells us that children use culture before they use language. Hector Hammerly (1982: 214) illustrates the development of second language competence within a communicative competence that is itself developed within a culture competence.

Culture is about as complex a phenomenon as humans are capable of contemplating. As language teachers we are not going to represent it in a way that satisfies all of the academic traditions that claim culture as a subject, nor should we be expected to do so. But we can be expected to identify and stage performable chunks of the cultures we teach that can be rationalized within a coherent concept of culture. The main operational change this will entail is to require presentation of meaning to precede the presentation of the linguistic code, a view of communication that is not consistent with the way most linguists view language. Here is how Randy Allen Harris (1993: 5) explains to the rest of us how professional linguists approach language:

> Linguists examine language in a variety of largely opportunistic ways, as physicists examine matter, biologists life, but among their primary methods are those of the surveyor. They carve up the vast territory between sound and meaning into more manageable provinces. The borders between these provinces are frequently in dispute and hang on some very technical issues…, but their existence and their primary concerns are well established. Moving in the conventional direction, phonetics concerns the acoustic dimensions of linguistic sound. Phonology studies the clustering of those acoustic properties into significant cues. Morphology studies the clustering of those cues into meaningful units. Syntax studies the arrangement of those meaningful units into expressive sequences. Semantics studies the composite meaning of those sequences.

This explanation of the bottom-up approach to language is typical of a linguistics tradition which has meaning pieced together in a process of lining up increasingly complex units of a code. The epitome of this view is the fundamentalist belief in the existence of the sentence as the container of meaning, a belief that has a leading proponent of this view, Steven Pinker, identify the question he is asking himself as: "How does the brain represent the meaning of a sentence?" (*New York Times* 1997: B16)

Performed culture as an approach to language study starts with meaning and treats the linguistic code — and with it the concept of the sentence — as a medium for accessing and thereby more fully participating in that meaning. H. Ned Seelye (1998: 4) points out that this "language in culture" perspective is hardly new, citing John Dewey in 1897 and Yuen Ren Chao in 1968 on this point. I interject between them a pertinent later comment from Dewey that bears on the discussion.

> [L]anguage is almost always treated in the books of pedagogy simply as the expression of thought. It is true that language is a logical instrument, but it is fundamentally and primarily a social instrument.
>
> John Dewey, "My pedagogic creed," 1897

> Language exists only when it is listened to as well as spoken. The hearer is the indispensable partner.
>
> John Dewey, *Art as Experience*, 1934

> [A]ction and language are thoroughly mixed. (It is not most often in the form of the connected discourse of sentences and paragraphs.)
>
> Yuen Ren Chao, *Language and Symbolic Systems*, 1968

As a subject of study, language that is framed in culture and inextricably commingled with action demands performance as a pedagogical necessity rather than inviting it as an option.

Performance in the pedagogy of studied languages accommodates the ambiguity of the term in social and literary studies. It includes the ideas of a "staged" event, of observable behavior rather than abstract categories of behavior, and of situated knowledge in contrast to essential or idealized knowledge. Victor Turner (1991: 101) explains that "performance does not necessarily have the structuralist implication of manifesting form, but rather the procedural sense of 'bringing to completion' or 'accomplishing.' To perform is thus to complete a more or less involved process rather than to do a single deed or act." Performance in foreign language study also bears an aesthetic aspect not unlike performance on a theatrical stage. A dramatic actor earns admiration by braving the boundaries of his art, giving his audience the sense of possible failure at every turn. Performing in a foreign language and culture is no less a risky business, no less a matter of flirting with failure.

Contemplating performable culture leads us to relate words and concepts that are as often as not confused and interchanged. Cultures are complex knowledge structures that exist in societies that, in turn, are identified with particular civilizations. Cultural performances then are isolated events of civilized behavior that can be models of actual or ideal behavior in the target society. Such events can be as simple as a greeting or as complex as negotiating a disagreement while maintaining a relationship. To achieve the presence of a foreign culture in foreign language study requires the conscious repetition of events that conform to the expectations of the target culture. Thus, the main function of the design of a language curriculum is the selection, analysis, and presentation of cultural events to be performed by learners and critiqued by teachers.

Performances, in foreign language pedagogy as in other venues, are conscious repetitions of "situated events" defined by five specified elements

inferred from Carlson (1996): (1) place of occurrence, (2) time of occurrence, (3) appropriate script, program, or rules, (4) roles of participants, and (5) accepting or accepted audience.

Performance in language pedagogy also evokes the matter of the cultural valuation of repetition. Howard Gardner (1989: 261–262) compares the Chinese penchant for public performance to the American aversion, a contrast that may explain the relative success of *karaoke* in the two countries. While American students are learning Chinese culture through performance, they should also become aware that repetition of accepted understandings in Chinese culture may be more valued by the Chinese than the seemingly spontaneous insights prized by their fellow Americans.

Performed Culture in Foreign Language Study

A program of foreign language study based on performed culture should be clear in its basic assumptions about goals and procedures. Those presented here involve intention, situated meaning, memory, and pedagogical design.

First, the purpose of learning to converse in a foreign language is to gain the ability to establish *intentions* in the foreign culture. Whatever you set out to accomplish in a social environment, whether by conducting business, research, or personal relations, your intentions must be recognized and accepted by the people with whom you are interacting, and you must be able to perceive their intentions as well. In the absence of mutual understanding of intentions, whatever you create with your use of language will rarely be what you intend. Most of the observed failure of cross-cultural transactions can be attributed to not knowing how to have one's intentions recognized or how to recognize those of others. The act of being someone in a culture is framed by that culture. American students engaged in learning "truly foreign languages," to use a phrase from Jorden and Walton (1987), often have great difficulty with the realization that as individuals in the culture they are studying they are only who they are allowed to be by that culture. Recall Dewey's observation: "The hearer is the indispensable partner."

Given this understanding, the individual is presented with a "chain of being" in a culture:

> Culture creates contexts — Contexts provide meanings — Meanings produce intentions — Intentions define individuals

The connection between language and intentionality was noted by Searle (1983: 5):

> Language is derived from intentionality and not conversely. The direction of pedagogy is to explain Intentionality in terms of language[;] the direction of logical analysis is to explain language in terms of Intentionality.

To follow Searle's definition of pedagogy, it must be assumed that the language serving as the medium of the explanation of intentionality is already understood. For the purposes of teaching, learning, and performing an unknown language and a culture, it is necessary to approach the language through intentionality — the direction of logical analysis.

Second, culture is the source of meaning, and conversations in a particular language require communication in the frame of a particular culture. This implies that conversations between persons from different cultures extract interpretations from either the target or base culture of the foreigner, who may be expected to have access to both the culture of the language he is speaking and to his own native culture. If two people from different cultures are conversing, the strategy most likely to obtain a desired understanding is to take the purpose of the exchange from the culture of the language being spoken. If both the native and foreigner have access to the foreigner's base culture, the next best strategy might be to speak in one language and interpret from the other culture. Confusion or miscommunication is most likely to occur when both parties interpret a conversation in their respective cultures.

Creating the roles of nonintimate host and guest in Chinese and American cultures provides an easy illustration. Two persons behaving in the most socially appropriate manner, say, an American inviting a Chinese guest to a join him in a bit of refreshment, nicely illustrates roles that exist in one culture and not in another:

An American host offers a choice of beverage or something to eat but tends to not insist that the guest accept it. Many American hosts avoid any appearance of insistence, thinking it more polite to permit the guest to be in charge of making choices, even recognizing that guests might make choices other than those offered by the host. This is reflected in the phrase that American hosts often use: "Make yourself at home."

Chinese guests, on the other hand, are likely to avoid readily accepting proffered refreshments and avoid answering a question about what they would like, feeling it polite not to take the initiative by expressing a choice other than those that might be offered by the host. When offered a choice by the host, a Chinese guest will often repeat a formulaic phrase: "*Ke sui zhu bian*" (a guest conforms to the host's wishes).

For a simple invitation to resolve itself to the satisfaction of both concerned — that is, for a host to feel he has been a proper host and for a guest to feel he

has been a proper guest — our interlocutors have three basic options for conducting this interaction: (1) Use the Chinese contexts: The guest declines the offered refreshment an appropriate number of times and the host insists until the guest partakes or sets it aside. (2) Use the American contexts: The host mentions the refreshment options and awaits the guest's choice. (3) Adapt a meta-culture strategy: Host and guest recognize the conflicting behaviors required by the American and Chinese contexts and overtly negotiate how both are to behave.

In performing even such simple social behaviors, the culture provides the contexts. If a particular culture does not provide the context for a proper guest who imposes his choices on his host, then one cannot be that kind of proper guest in that culture. Anyone unknowingly performing such a role will be judged to be an improper guest or, if the host is aware of what is being attempted, a foreigner who must be either accommodated or avoided. If both the host and the guest are aware of differing expectations while being unable to perform to each other's expectations, they can create a temporary state of expectations by remarking on that difficulty and agreeing for the time being that they will recognize each other's behavior as acceptable.

Although this temporary adaptation of a meta-culture strategy serves to validate unexpected behaviors sufficiently to resolve a particular situation, it has limited efficacy. It cannot be sustained for an extended period of time or through a complex transaction without transforming into still more complicated cultural quandaries or having the participants exhaust their motivations for engaging in such a relationship. The meta-culture strategy also has the stringent requirement that all parties be equally aware and willing to play the game. Such circumstances do not usually occur when one is operating in a foreign culture.

The meta-culture strategy often backfires, causing the resentment or misunderstanding that it is employed specifically to avoid. An example of this was observed at a conference of American and Japanese educators seeking ways to increase the numbers of Americans studying in Japanese universities. The American director of the conference, an eminent educator who was chosen to lead the conference because of his knowledge of Japan and the Japanese, began the conference by announcing to the Japanese participants that although he knew he and the other leaders of the conference should have followed the Japanese custom of personally informing the participants of the content of the meeting ahead of time, circumstances prevented him from doing so. He would just go ahead with the program in the American fashion by dealing with items and decisions as the need arose. The effect on his Japanese audience was quite negative: They concluded that the "Japanese expert" was not so expert after all if he thought that explaining a Japanese custom that he had ignored was sufficient

to impress them. Almost to a person, they judged the efforts of the conference director to be at least a mild affront: If he knew what to do and he did not do it, then it must be that he viewed the prior consulting to be superfluous. The two-day meeting failed to address the issues in any meaningful way, perhaps partially as a result of this bit of meta-culture discourse and partially just because meetings frequently fail to be productive.

Taking the ability to establish intentions in a foreign culture as the goal of foreign language study expands the focus of that study as it is commonly practiced: the *contexts* of the language are given a standing that is equal to or greater than the formal *code* of the language.

Third, learning to perform a foreign culture entails constructing a memory of that culture. If the core experience of a successful foreign language study career consists of a spiral of increasingly complex interactions within a foreign culture, gaining the ability to successfully complete these interactions is a process of constructing an extensive memory. The complexity of such a memory is a constantly expanding story that cannot be explicated here, but the pedagogical designs of our instructional devices and environments suggest operational assumptions about the nature of the memories we are building.

– To function in a foreign culture an individual must draw on inculcated default memories of that culture rather than relying on a dialectic between base and target cultures. The flow of activity in a social interaction and the speed of human language production does not permit one to constantly refer to the differing requirements of a base and target culture.
– Memory subtending prolonged successful behavior in a target culture is not a translation or mapping from the base-culture memory to the target culture.
– Memory is a complex of subsystems that do not always interact. Thus, there are many processes of compiling memory and varied ways to evaluate it.

An important function of a memory is to provide contexts for communicating in a culture. Sustained by memory, our senses function in these contexts. Sensory systems do not simply let sensations in; they abstract multilevel features of the sensory data. Moreover, our sensory systems are constructed and modified as we develop our capacities; our surroundings determine what our eyes can see and our ears can hear and how to assign meaning as we develop the abilities of these senses by exposing them to different contexts. If we are to think of our capacities for language and culture as sense systems that process incoming information and extract meaning and that constitute the most self-referential of all imaginable information systems, we need to consider how to create and construct contexts for developing such systems.

Fourth, we can create pedagogical situations and devices that facilitate the construction of a memory of a foreign culture. Learning to establish intentions in a foreign culture involves learning the culture. Hector Hammerly (1982: 512–514) divides the instructional discourses on the target culture into three parts:

– Achievement culture: the hallmarks of a civilization
– Informational culture: the kinds of information a society values
– Behavioral culture: the knowledge that enables a person to navigate daily life.

As learners of a foreign language progress in their ability to function in the target culture, achievement culture and informational culture become increasingly useful knowledge, but from the early stages of a foreign language learning career, the focus is on behavioral culture, which is the knowledge that enables the learner to create sufficient comfort to encourage natives to maintain the long-term relations necessary for accumulating experience in the culture.

Presentation of behavioral culture in the instructional setting can be further categorized by the ability of an instructor of a target culture to present the knowledge to a base-culture learner:

– Revealed culture: cultural knowledge that a native is generally eager to communicate to a nonnative.
– Ignored culture: cultural knowledge a native is generally unaware of until the behavior of a nonnative brings it to light. This is what Edward T. Hall has called “hidden or covert culture.”
– Suppressed culture: knowledge about a culture that a native is generally unwilling to communicate to a nonnative.

While revealed culture is the main cultural content of textbooks and classroom lectures, it is the ignored, or hidden, culture that tends to occupy the attention of effective foreign language teachers. As we experience generations of novice learners generalizing behavior in the target language and culture, we are continually made aware of behaviors that reflect previously unsuspected cultural constraints. Although certain aspects of suppressed culture seem to fascinate novice learners, avoiding them can be justified on functional grounds except when they have direct bearing on the learners’ reception in the target culture.

Because many of us teaching East Asian languages are asked to consult briefly with business people who are off to deal with the folks across the Pacific, we are aware that it is possible to learn a small amount of culture without learning the language code. Conversely, we have all no doubt encountered many individuals who have learned to perform a foreign language code without having picked up any appreciable cultural knowledge. Many Chinese on official tours of America in the 1970s and early 1980s showed a remarkable

command of English that was never exercised outside the contexts of the Chinese culture of the time. Indeed, for a Chinese person of that time to do otherwise would have invited doubts about his loyalty and attracted serious criticism from within his group. American missionaries and State Department employees are other groups that often demonstrate target language abilities outside the parameters of the target culture. If one's intentions are narrowly defined — for example, completing a foreign tour without betraying one's cultural or political purity or promoting a singular base-culture message in the target culture — language without culture is an option.

If life gets any more complicated than that, language without culture eventually leads to disappointment. The North American edition of the *Asahi Shimbun* for September 21, 1993, carried a letter to the editor from a Japanese housewife of 30 that illustrates an event that involved a rather accurate linguistic perception with an insufficient cultural knowledge:

> This happened when I took my one-year old to a prestigious department store in downtown Manhattan. When I was looking at the directory, a sales clerk walked by and started talking to my child: "Hello, how are you? What's your name?"
>
> Startled by this approach by a total stranger, my daughter became silent with a stiff face. The store clerk turned to another customer, shrugged her shoulder, and said, "She is dull."
>
> When I returned home, I looked up "dull" in the English-Japanese dictionary and found as synonyms words like "blunt" and "boring." Whatever it was, it did not have a positive sense. I used to think that Americans were kinder to children than Japanese. As I used to feel grateful to them for volunteering to help with the baby, I was all the more shocked by the incident. Even if she meant it as a joke, how could the clerk at such a first-rate store be so insensitive?

The writer expresses her hurt at having her daughter insulted by a target native (American); while it is clear to any target native that no insult was intended, indeed, the intent was just the opposite. Had the writer known something of the five elements of a performance, she might not have misinterpreted the saleswoman's intent:

Specified place. Customers are supposed to be made "at home" in American department stores.

Specified time. When on the job, salespersons engage customers in casual conversation on observable personal matters in order to show friendliness and trustworthiness. This assumes that the personal matter is either complimentary or likely to lead to a sale.

Specified script/program/rules. Babies are praised by comparisons to dolls. The adjective *dull* is not ordinarily used to insult people. The phrases "She's a doll" and "She's dull" are phonologically close but far apart as possible scripts. A shrug of the shoulders indicates that the lack of response from the child is not important.

Specified roles. Salespersons do not ordinarily insult customers (even in New York City), but do involve strangers and onlookers in conversational exchanges with customers.

Specified audience. Babies are praised to favorably impress their parents and to show the praiser's good will to onlookers.

Foreign language teachers learn much from this kind of failure in communication. The writer demonstrated a fair command of English phonology: She was able to remember the pronunciation *doll* long enough to go home to consult a reference work about the expression using standard English orthography. This is no small feat in a foreign language. Her apperception of the syntax was a bit less skillful, hearing *dull* instead of *a doll*. However, I would argue that her failure derived mainly from her inability to perceive her interlocutor's intention, instead taking her interpretation of the event from the expectation that the sales clerk's comment would be a critique of her daughter's performance rather than an attempt to ingratiate herself with a customer.

Most foreign language pedagogues have a little secret: You cannot learn a foreign language; you can only learn to *do things* in a foreign language. This is a secret only because it is hard to explain to someone who is intent on learning (some say "mastering") a foreign language that he or she has to learn how to converse with members of a target language community one "event" at a time until the accumulated effect becomes a generalized capacity. The adventure of our Japanese housewife suggests how we can structure these events and what features we need to emphasize when creating culture-learning opportunities in foreign language pedagogy.

Curtain Call

Conversing in a foreign language is dangerous. Ways of behaving that have served us well from an early age can suddenly betray us and land us in a swelter of misunderstanding and embarrassment. Most of the behaviors that we use constantly in conversations in our native languages have been learned and then the learning has been forgotten. We are likely to be unaware that they are indeed distinct learned behaviors; therefore, we are equally unaware that we have to

learn to perform different (often contrasting) behaviors to converse effectively with a foreign language.

These behaviors are the means by which we enact the cultures within which we construct ourselves. As such, they are indispensable to creating a knowledge of a culture. To be useful this knowledge has to be a part of a memory that is instantly available in the heat of the culture game, not recalled at leisure and ruminated over in the safety of our base culture. Foreign language pedagogues will never eliminate the danger and the stress involved in learning to communicate in a foreign culture, but we can more clearly delineate the nature of the game, cultivate a healthy sense of adventure, and gain in our appreciation of what it means to be alive.

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CHAPTER 14

What Do They Do?

Activities of Students during Study Abroad

Ralph B. Ginsberg Laura Miller

Abstract

This article joins pedagogical and policy issues in a key research domain for language learning — study abroad. Opportunities for learning in a cohort of a hundred students studying in the former Soviet Union (for example, activities outside of class, who students interact with and in what settings, which language they use, and what attitudes and learning strategies they bring to their interactions), and how those factors are related to measured language gains are analyzed using quantitative data derived from detailed diaries kept by the students and case studies based on a variety of ethnographical techniques. We show that although students have ample opportunities to learn outside of class, no systematic relationship appears to exist between how much they speak and interact with native speakers, on the one hand, and measured language gains, on the other. Rather, language gains depend on complex interactions among learning strategies, the students' ideas about language and how it is learned, motivation, and the learning support provided by their Russian contacts. These results define an agenda for the empirical and conceptual research that must support sound policy and pedagogy.

Study and living abroad is commonly thought to be the most effective way of learning a foreign language and perhaps the only way of developing the fluency and cultural understanding required to engage in the transnational relationships that characterize our increasingly globalized economy and society. These beliefs are reflected in a powerful thrust in many colleges and universities to internationalize their curricula and in the hundreds of thousands of students from around the world who go abroad each year to further their educational goals. For U.S.

students studying in a non-English-speaking country, language learning is a central component of their programs and purposes; when language learning is not involved, students' experiences are often restricted to narrowly defined English-speaking enclaves. Given the stakes, the scale of the enterprise, and the significant costs involved, there is a clear need for policy, informed by data on a number of empirical questions:

- What is learned during study abroad? What language skills are acquired, and at what levels of language competence?
- Who benefits? How should students be selected? What program is likely to meet an individual student's needs?
- What is the nature of effective programs? What is the right mix of formal (didactic, classroom-based) and informal (out-of-classroom) learning opportunities? How should different learning settings be integrated?
- How does study abroad relate to other parts of the curriculum? How should students be prepared to take advantage of learning opportunities abroad? How can they build on their experience and learning abroad after they return?
- Is study abroad cost-effective relative to such alternatives as domestic immersion, intensive tutoring, language houses, etc.? What value does it add?

Answers to all of these questions turn in no small part on a detailed specification of what students actually do — where they go, what activities they engage in, with whom they interact, what language they use, and what they use it for — while they are abroad. Yet to date knowledge of the basic facts has been largely anecdotal, and the few available attempts at systematic study are either so lacking in detail or based on such small samples as to be of limited use. Moreover, data enabling us to relate what students do while abroad to careful measures of language gains that might result from the experience — the bottom line in the policy debate — are virtually nonexistent.

One should not minimize the difficulty of studying what students do. Programs, students, and the panoply of situations that make up social life in a language community are very diverse and difficult to characterize. Language competency is a notoriously complex and elusive concept, and our tools for measuring it are cruder than we would like. No less problematic is the matter of establishing the relationships between activities, learning experiences, and desirable outcomes. Be that as it may, simply presenting the basic facts of a carefully documented program will enable us to put the discussion on an empirical footing, clearing the air of misconceptions and wishful thinking, and establishing what really needs to be understood.

This article is based on data collected in the spring semester of 1990 in the

former Soviet Union in connection with the study entitled "Language Learning during Study Abroad: The Case of Russian," sponsored by the Ford Foundation.[1] Most of the students were enrolled in programs organized by the American Council of Teachers of Russian (ACTR, since renamed The American Councils for International Education), although a few students in programs sponsored by Ohio State University and Middlebury College also were involved. Students lived in dormitories and studied Russian in one of six Soviet institutes, spending five days per week in class or in organized outings. We focus here on what the students did outside of their formal, four-month programs.

The study is, to our knowledge, unique in combining qualitative and quantitative data to address the questions of activities outside the classroom raised above. In particular we draw on:

- Extensive, detailed data based on "calendar" diaries kept by a relatively large number of students to capture what they do, where they do it, who they do it with, and what language they use
- Extensive ethnographic data on the nature of their experiences and attitudes, including student narratives, focus groups, field observations, and videotapes to describe these experiences in a richly textured way
- Before and after measures of language competence, using the Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI), for the ACTR students, to determine how their experiences relate to initial language proficiency and language gains (or the lack thereof).

Using the calendar diaries, students were asked to record what they did; when, where, and with whom they did it; and what language they used for each after-class waking hour over a one-week period for three separate weeks — the second, tenth, and second to last — spread over the four-month semester. Forty-five students kept diaries in all three rounds; another 40 kept diaries in one or two rounds, for a total of 85 (53 women and 32 men) of the approximately 100 eligible students. For analytical purposes each student's weekly diary entries were aggregated (and quantified) to define the variables related to how time was spent: time spent hanging out in the dorm, partying with Russian friends and others, speaking only Russian with Russians outside the dorm, speaking some Russian with Russian strangers while shopping or doing some other functional chores, and so forth.

In addition to the calendar diaries a large amount of ethnographic data was collected in connection with the project. We use it here primarily to deepen our understanding of the activities and events identified in the calendar diaries and to develop case studies that will help us interpret the quantitative results. The

ethnographic data include 80 written and 29 audiotaped oral narratives of encounters or incidents the students themselves deemed significant for language learning (Miller and Ginsberg 1995); participant and nonparticipant field observations, several of them videotaped, carried out by our Russian-speaking research assistants in many different settings (visiting a Russian home, eating in cafes, shopping, etc.) in which the students were involved; and conversations, interviews, and focus groups.

The OPI is a widely used and well-documented test, although it is not free of controversy. Brecht and his collaborators (1990, 1991, 1995) discuss the use of OPI to study language proficiency in Russian and compare it to other measures of language gains; Freed (1995) reviews of the use of the OPI in the general context of research on study abroad. Discussion of the issues would take us well beyond the scope of this chapter. Suffice to say that, for our purposes, the OPI (as administered by ACTR) is an adequate overall measure of proficiency in Russian, although it may not pick up all aspects of language competency (e.g., discourse and conversational management skills and communicative strategies) that might be acquired during study abroad. Whatever its limitations, the before-and-after OPI results are a considerable advance over the anecdotal evidence of proficiency levels and gains characterizing most studies in the field.

In this chapter we take an exploratory rather than a confirmatory stance, using the calendar diaries to establish central tendencies in the behavior and activities of the sample as a whole and the qualitative data to develop case studies of "typical" individual language learners to interpret the findings in a meaningful and policy-relevant way. To anticipate our results somewhat, we shall see in the next section, based on the calendar diaries, that students have ample opportunities to learn in situations outside their formal classes where they interact with Russians and speak Russian. Nevertheless, no systematic relationship appears between how much they speak and interact, on the one hand, and measured language gains, on the other. In four case studies based on ethnographic data, we interpret these results and develop lines of inquiry for further research. In addition to the quality of the opportunities, we see that language gains depend on complex interactions among learning strategies, the students' ideas about language and how it is learned, motivation, and the learning support provided by their Russian contacts. Finally, we summarize our findings and draw out some of their implications for policy and pedagogy. In subsequent work building on this and our previous paper on folklinguistic theories of language learning (Miller and Ginsberg 1995), we will use ethnographic data to present a more systematic analysis of "situated language learning" in the study abroad context.

Activity Patterns from the Calendar Diaries

This section presents activity patterns and language use based on the calendar diaries. To keep the paper within the limits and spirit of this volume, only central tendencies are discussed (but see Ginsberg and Miller 1998 for a detailed analysis). At this level of detail one can get a good idea of the *opportunities* for language learning and cultural understanding for the sample as a whole. One cannot, of course, determine how those opportunities are *used* and why they occur. With regard to language learning, using the before-and-after OPIs, it is possible to look at the *results* of learning opportunities, but not why opportunities are productive for some learners and not productive for others. Nevertheless knowing about opportunities is worthwhile because it also makes more determinate just what the study abroad experience consists of and what needs to be understood about it; because it sets a frame for assessing the significance of the "thicker" case studies that follow; and most importantly, because it characterizes the *de facto* informal "program" and may therefore suggest changes in policy and program design.

Who, What, and Where?

The diaries cover about 75 hours per week, with a median of 34 hours in the dorm in each round, and a median of 39 hours a week spent out of the dorm in the second and tenth weeks of the program, jumping to 44 hours near the end. There is, of course, some variability around these averages, but with rare exceptions (such as students who turn out to have been sick in the weeks involved), more than 90 percent of the students are out at least 25 hours a week at the start and in the middle, and more than 30 hours a week at the end. These results hold regardless of program, institute, or sex (i.e., women spend just as much time in and out as men). Thus, although a typical student spends a significant amount of time in the dorm, he or she is far from "enclaved" — students are out doing things right from the start.

How Much Contact Do They Have with Russians?

Students reported a great variety of people with whom they interacted. For the purposes of this paper these were grouped as "Russian friends," "Russian strangers," and "other" (mostly dormmates, other students, and other Americans). The "Russian friend" category includes Russians the students met socially, such as acquaintances, close friends, lovers, friends of friends, roommates, friends' roommates, and family members of friends. People students termed "contacts —

that is, those they were told about prior to their arrival in Russia — were also placed into the "friend" category. The "Russian other" category reflects the students' rather limited public world. Through their programs they came into contact with teachers, tour guides, chaperones, classmates, and dormmates. Most institutes and public buildings had categories of employees the students frequently mentioned, such as floor checkers and doormen (*derzhurnaja* or *kommandant*). Outside the institutes interactions with people not falling into the "friend" category included strangers and service people such as cashiers, clerks, and farmers in the open market. Students also were quick to specify any brief encounters with militia, guards, soldiers, or police. Two culturally specific "Russian others" with whom the students had frequent contact were black-marketeers and *babushkas*, elderly women who habitually reprimanded their inappropriate behaviors.

Even in the second week of their programs the students are spending an average of 27 hours a week in the company of some Russians (friends or strangers). This increases to about 37 hours per week midway through and at the end, with corresponding decreases in the time spent with non-Russians. As with "where," there is significant variation around these averages, but 75 percent of the sample spent more than 20 hours with Russians in week 2, and by the middle of the program over 90 percent are spending more than 20 hours per week with Russians; 75 percent are spending more than 27 hours. Thus, most students seem to hit the ground running, perhaps after an initial period of adjustment when acquaintance circles are forming.

We can determine more precisely who the Russians are and who else is there. About two-thirds of the total time spent with Russians in all three periods is spent with Russian "friends"; that is, people with whom they have contact on a social basis. Also, about half of the time is spent with only Russians and the other half with Russians and others (almost entirely Americans). In the middle and end of the program this amounts to about 25 hours per week with only Russians present. There are thus many opportunities to use Russian with native speakers and hence many opportunities to learn the language.

What Are They Doing?

To get a handle on what students are doing out of class, the 108 different descriptive words they used were categorized in two complementary ways. The first, which we call "activities," is a straightforward semantic grouping. For example, "eating/drinking" contains "eating lunch," "eating dinner," "drinking tea," etc. The second, which we call "situations," consists of one or more events tied together by a central identifiable activity involving some type of intent on

the part of the student. They are culturally contexted "packages" of "who, what, where, and when," similar to Erickson's "situational frame cycle" (Erickson 1971). An illustration of this is the situation we term "residence visiting," which is not simply a student being in the home of a Russian friend — that would be the activity "visiting" — but includes all events in the process involved in accomplishing this, such as taking the Metro to the station nearest the friend's home, meeting the friend at the station, talking, drinking vodka, etc. Similarly the situation we call "hanging out" (which necessarily takes place in the dorm) closely resembles the students' own emic (native) category and is used as a descriptive label in many of the diaries.

When students are out of the dorm (which they are a lot), almost all of their time is spent, more or less equally, in the four most common situations: dining out, residence visiting, attending a cultural event, and shopping or other functional acts. Interestingly, the time spent in each of these situations is fairly constant over the course of the program, with perhaps a little more time spent shopping at the end when the students are buying presents and otherwise preparing to go home. There is, of course, variation, particularly with regard to residence visiting: in any given round more than 25 percent of the students do not visit at all. But remarkably, even in the second week of the program, a substantial majority of students *do* visit Russian homes, and 25 percent spend 10 or more hours a week doing that. As for the activities that comprise these situations, the five most common — attending a cultural event, eating and drinking, shopping/functional acts, transportation, and visiting/talking — show similar patterns (little variation over time, fairly even distribution on average). In sum, students are engaged in diverse settings in which language is used. Moreover, in the sample as a whole, a considerable part of the time outside the dorm and the classroom is spent interacting with Russians — 22 hours at the beginning, going up to around 30 by the middle and end. There is, of course some variation by situation in the likelihood of interacting with Russians, but all in all the variety of settings in which they are engaged with native speakers should have a powerful effect on language learning.

When students are in the dorm they are for the most part "hanging out," although they do spend a few hours a week doing homework and other academic pursuits. The median time spent hanging out is about 26 hours a week in all three study weeks. While they are hanging out students could be eating, drinking, talking, watching television, playing games, reading, sleeping, and just being alone; and several of these events could be combined to form one hanging out episode. Partying in the dorm is rare: it is not reported at all by more than half of the respondents in any round, and then only for a few hours for those who do.

(It could be combined with hanging out, but in the students' minds it is a different activity.) When our diary keepers are in the dorm they are spending most of their time (more than 80 percent) either alone or with non-Russians (dormmates or other Americans). Nevertheless, even at the beginning of the program they are spending an average of about 4 hours a week in the dorm with Russians, which increases slightly as the semester progresses. A substantial minority (more than 25 percent) spend more than 15 hours a week with Russians in the dorm, but another 25 percent do not spend any time with Russians in the dorm. Thus while opportunities to interact with native speakers in the dorm occur, for most students they are limited, with some notable exceptions. Considering how much time they are out of the dorm, however, almost all students seem to be involved with Russians to a significant degree.

Language Use

For each event in the calendar diaries, the reported language used was coded as Russian only, a mixture of Russian and English, and no Russian, and then summed over the week to get an overall measure of language use. The median number of hours in which the language used is exclusively Russian goes up from a substantial 20 hours a week at the beginning to an even more substantial 30 hours a week at the end of the program. The increase in Russian only is at the expense of mixed Russian and English. The use of English remains steady, reflecting the fairly constant amount of time spent in the dorms with other Americans. There is, of course, considerable variability around these averages, but there are no patterned (e.g., gender) differences. Even at the beginning more than 75 percent of the students are speaking Russian only more than 11 hours a week, and 75 percent are speaking Russian only at least 19 hours a week in the middle and end. By the end of the program a substantial minority (25 percent) are speaking Russian more than 42 hours a week; that is, most of the time. Reciprocally, when the students are with only Russians they are speaking only Russian most of the time, although when other, non-Russians are present there is a tendency to use a mixture of Russian and English. Thus most students spend quite as much time speaking Russian out of class as they spend in class, implying many informal opportunities for learning. This conclusion is reinforced by the fact that three-quarters of the time spent speaking Russian is with Russians, although interestingly most students spend 4–5 hours a week speaking Russian with their American friends and dormmates.

Our graphical analyses reveal some potentially interesting but statistically nonsignificant patterns in the data. For example, students using either a lot of

Russian only or a little Russian only tend to be women. This tendency toward polarization may reflect a differential likelihood of entering intimate relations and differential reserve, but that would have to determined from the ethnographic data. Another factor that might plausibly affect the language used is the initial level of language proficiency (as measured by the OPI), with students better at Russian tending to use it more. The most proficient students (those with OPI scores of 2/2+) all use Russian only about 60 percent of the time by the end of the program. Although they are not improving on the OPI, they are probably improving in unmeasured ways and gaining confidence with exposure to native speakers. The percentages for novices and intermediates (those with OPI scores of 1+ and below) are, however, quite comparable, indicating that even at low levels of competency students jump right in and use what Russian they have.

Activity, Language Use, and Language Gain

Language gain is the principal purpose of both the formal and informal aspects of the program, although cultural understanding is also important. We have seen considerable variation in exposure to circumstances in which language could be learned — opportunities to speak Russian with many different native speakers in a variety of structured and informal settings with varied intentions and demands — factors thought, with good reason, to be important for acquiring increased proficiency and fluency in the language. Are any of them *in fact* related to language gains in our sample? The results are surprising. Statistical tests and graphical analyses clearly show that there are no evident differences between gainers and nongainers on any of five key criteria: time out of the dorm, time with any Russian, time with Russians only, time speaking only Russian, and time speaking a mixture of Russian and English. If anything, nongainers are exposed to more favorable circumstances for learning (e.g., time spent speaking Russian only) than are gainers, although the differences are not statistically significant. Well! If time-on-task-like variables do not account for language gains, what does? For suggestions we turn now to the case studies.

Four Case Studies

In this section we will focus on the particular experiences of four individual students, two nongainers (Philip and Simone), and two gainers (Juanita and Floyd), in order to recapture some of the embedded details of real events and help interpret the essentially negative findings on the relationship between time

spent with Russians speaking Russian and language gain. None of these students is particularly unusual in the sample as a whole, in the sense of being outside the mid-range (25th to 75th percentile), on key variables that indicate opportunities for language learning, such as hanging out with only Russians, speaking only Russian with Russians, or being outside the dorm with Russians. It is the quality of their experiences, what they bring to them, and how they use them, that matters. These profiles describe characteristic or "typical" student experiences, attitudes, and motivations, and place language learning in a social context. We also document what students themselves perceive as positive and negative experiences during their stay.

Nongainers

Philip

Philip was a reserved, serious student who studied hard, never skipped classes, and was initially motivated to learn more Russian. Like most of the sample he also spent many hours in interactions with Russian friends and strangers during his semester abroad. It is rather surprising that he is one of the nongainers, starting and ending the semester with an OPI rating of 2. He completed three calendar diaries and three narrative journals throughout the semester and was interviewed by members of the research team. Researchers were struck by how seriously he took these tasks and how interested he was in the language learning process.

Philip spent a good part of his time outside the classroom in the dorm "hanging out" (watching television, cooking, eating, and talking), yet even in this situation Philip spoke Russian and interacted with native speakers. Philip also had a broad range of experiences with native speakers outside his dorm and institute. Time spent "inside the wall" does not necessarily reflect a retreat from Russian society or language use. Both inside and outside the dorm Philip's use of Russian increased dramatically at the end of the semester, with a slight slump in the middle.

Philip believed that, despite the heavy class schedule, he had numerous opportunities to meet Russians and use Russian in natural contexts. In both the calendar diaries and narrative journals, he reported using Russian for a variety of service encounters in which he requested information or obtained something, in some cases leading to meetings of a few hours in a less formal context. Among the many encounters recorded are activities such as ordering food at cafes or restaurants, giving directions and chatting with taxi drivers, visiting a domestic supply store, ordering a phone call at the post office, buying tickets or other items at a kiosk, buying and haggling over purchases in the *Tulskaya Ryonk*

(open-air market), and arranging for a library pass at the Lenin Library. In his narrative journals Philip described how he used Russian to negotiate problems in stressful bureaucratic situations. One such incident took place at a hospital when he and another American student attempted to visit a teacher who had been in an auto accident. He spent two hours at the hospital trying to accomplish this.

> The core of the incident was a conversation with a hospital official; this took place over a 30-minute period. We were trying to determine the name and location of the teacher. This involved explaining who he was, how he came to be in the hospital, and who we were.… The interchange was intense, demanding concentration on our part, and a great deal of misunderstanding still took place.

Special interests are often an avenue for developing relationships that go beyond brief, functional encounters. One of Philip's special interests was music, and in addition to plays and other cultural events he went to many concerts, either alone or with Russian companions. He began taking music lessons with a Russian instructor from the beginning of the semester and continued them until he left. During these lessons the teacher gave all instructions in Russian. In relation to his interest in music, he also initiated contact with a student at the Moscow Conservatory of Music about obtaining information and some music. He reported that he used "a lot of new musical terminology" such as keys in Russian and Russian words for dynamic markings. He also visited the Melodiya record store in search of particular items. (Nothing of what he learned here would be reflected in the OPI.)

Like most students, Philip had the opportunity to visit the homes of native Russian speakers. These visits were often to the home of friends of friends, as a member of a group of American visitors, rather than to the home of a special friend of his own. One visit included a *maslenista* dinner that lasted more than six hours. Another time he spent nine hours in an apartment with nine Russians and other Americans. Both these visits included eating, talking and joking, and conversations that took the form of an almost formulaic routine that he describes as follows:

> The talk was typical of the conversations that go on between Russians and American guests — differences in life and culture, comparisons between the two, qualities of each group that we have in common and that we don't share — the talk was identical to many other meetings I had with Soviet citizens — primarily a lot of curious questions. We spent the whole time sitting around a large table, eating, drinking, and talking. There was a lot of joke telling.

On the whole Philip was quite ambivalent about his study abroad experiences. Like many of the American students, Philip was sensitive to whether or not

Russian people treated him as a foreigner and hence an outsider. Some of his diary entries report that people were generally friendly, that he often felt comfortable, and that he felt he was treated the same way other Russians would be treated. An interesting perception of his is that Russians sometimes showed deference to him or that "they always put themselves underneath, and look up to you." Nevertheless on several occasions he felt he was the recipient of a type of "foreigner talk" or "foreigner register," a simplified speech style used by native speakers to nonnative speakers, involving slowed speech, formulaic conversational routines, and an intentionally lowered level of language (Ferguson and DeBose 1977). As he put it:

> The level of Russian spoken was lowered to a level that I could understand, and it seems that this was done willingly…. Thus no complex constructions [were] used — it was a simple Russian. My Russian was corrected at times, and usually with a clarification as to why what I said was incorrect.

Yet Philip felt no offense at this and never interpreted it as condescending treatment. Likewise, when native speakers corrected his Russian, he interpreted it as helpful interest in promoting his language fluency.

Despite these positive feelings, he also had some unfortunate and negative experiences early in the semester that led him to feel somewhat mistrustful and more reserved than he normally would be. After the first few weeks of the semester Philip was feeling panicked and insecure about such things as getting food. He was also involved in two physical assaults (one involving a robber, the other a drunk person) which added to his feelings of insecurity and distrust. He used words such as "hidden agenda" and "stilted" when describing talk with native speakers. Philip's negative feelings may perhaps indicate culture shock, a common phenomenon among students abroad (Grove 1982). This pattern involves an initial period of exhilaration and infatuation with the target culture, which is then supplanted by bewilderment, disenchantment, withdrawal, and even illness, followed in turn by a resumption of interest in the target culture and language. Although he made friends in Moscow and was not lonely or bored, he nevertheless felt "like a fish out of water." By the end of the semester he was still physically and emotionally uncomfortable and was "really happy to go home."

From the beginning of the semester Philip was monitoring his own progress in Russian and reported it in both the calendar diaries and the narrative journals. His previous language studies — three years of college Russian — coupled with his maturity (he was 32) may have combined to make him overly self-critical and demanding of himself. About his own ability in Russian he said, "My Russian is atrocious." His initial encounters with everyday, colloquial Russian

also damaged his confidence to the extent that he saw all his interactions as somehow lacking. In many entries in his diaries he claims that little or no improvement in his linguistic skills occurred, or even that they had deteriorated.

At the end of the semester he said that because of the blow to his confidence, he didn't think he would continue studying Russian when he returned to the United States, that he would "go into another line." He felt that his "idealistic view" was "destroyed" and that he did not think it was possible for someone to perfect his Russian without spending many years living there. Philip thought that he really needed a stronger background in Russian than three years of study. Part of his dissatisfaction seems to stem from the difference between the Russian he learned in classes in the United States and the actual language used in natural conversations. He said:

> What I was taught at home doesn't relate to anything I use here.… You know, I never got over the feeling that I'm speaking right out of a book here.

The data on which this and our other case studies are based are not sufficient to enable us to locate the specific reasons for Philip's lack of gain. We need more data on Philip and more cases to evaluate the factors adumbrated above. Based on his introspective comments it appears that he was easily discouraged and very critical of his own accomplishments and ability to learn. Given his motivation and attitudes toward learning, better preparation for confronting the colloquial language and some means of dealing with culture shock would perhaps have made his semester more successful in his eyes.

Simone

Simone was an outgoing and unflappable student who began and ended the program with an OPI score of 1. She had completed three years of Russian before entering the program. Simone completed two calendar diaries and two narrative journals at the beginning and the middle of her program. Members of the research team had opportunities to talk with her and to observe her in interactions with native speakers outside the dorm or institute and during classroom lessons. We also were able to videotape her while she was visiting the home of some Russian friends. Simone was a bit more sociable than Philip and made numerous friends during her semester in Moscow. She was less vigilant about keeping up with her diary entries, however, and her descriptions display a great deal of irreverence and humor.

Much of Simone's time and energy, both inside and outside the dorm, was discharged juggling boyfriends, potential boyfriends, and unwanted suitors. She seems to have had a prior relationship with a Russian man back in the United

States who was also in Moscow during her stay. She met with him several times for various outings but also established some new romantic relationships. Her active social life also included many female friends, a German couple, and two Russian families she met through contacts.

Simone spent about one-half of her free time inside the dorm. She spent many of those hours reading or resting in bed all day after a late night socializing. While outside the dorm, Simone liked to walk around the central downtown area looking for bookstores, finding ice cream, buying chocolate, and attending plays or symphonies at the Tchaikovsky Conservatory. Like other students, she spent many hours doing everyday errands. For example, she waited with some Russian friends in the central telegraph office for an hour just to have a brief telephone conversation with her parents. She also attended cocktail parties at the German embassy and the American embassy.

Simone wrote about two separate encounters with the militia. In one instance, she was strolling around near the Politburo offices and was reprimanded by militia who told her not to take photographs or to loiter. A more dramatic occurrence happened after an evening of drinking at a party in the dorm. Simone left the dorm late with a Russian man in order to catch a cab out on the street. Instead, they were picked up by the militia and taken to the local holding cell for unruly drunks. Eventually the militia drove her back to the dorm. Simone viewed these events as wonderful adventures that enriched her study abroad experience.

Regarding her total Moscow experience, Simone most valued her connection with a Russian family she met through a journalist friend back in her college town in the United States. She met this family at the beginning of the semester and visited them two or three times a week while in Moscow. Each visit lasted several hours, during which they would talk, watch television, eat, and drink tea. One visit on a Sunday lasted well over eight hours. These friends were prototypical members of the Russian intelligentsia. The mother was a former biochemist who became an icon painter, and the father was a physicist who worked at a nearby institute. They had a large family of five grown children who were always coming and going with assorted spouses and friends in tow. (Simone described this as "their many different-faced guests.") Here is what she wrote about one visit:

> One fine Friday afternoon, I sat with my Russian friends in their kitchen, and at their eager invite, related to their attentive ears several short stories with which I'd become familiar through book and speech. They cheered me on through Pushkin's "Pikovaia Dama," and cracked several smiles through Tolstoy's modest "Phillipok" and even his "After the Ball," all in Russian to Russians. But a real winner with them was my English rendition of the "Three Little Pigs."

One member of the research group who observed Simone in this setting noted that several members of the family talked very fast and used highbrow vocabulary without any attempt to modify their speech for her benefit, resulting in many moments of confusion and misunderstanding. Some members of the family habitually laughed at Simone's mistakes and lack of comprehension. Even toward the end of the semester, after they had spent so much time together, Simone still had difficulty understanding them. On the surface at least, this lack of positive support for her language learning efforts did not seem to deter or discourage Simone at all.

Simone had some characteristics that would lead us to predict better success with language learning. Observations of her behavior in two different classes reveal that she was an attentive and active student. In her literary text analysis class and her vocabulary development class she was often the most active student, answering all of the instructor's questions. Nevertheless, she made many grammatical errors and spoke as though she were "thinking in English." Videotapes of Simone show her producing something like "Valley Girl Russian" with many English fillers and frequent code-switching to words such as "okay." Yet Simone was not easily dissuaded or embarrassed, and in situations in which other students would let things flow and not ask for clarification, or would feign understanding, she unabashedly asked for explanations. She did not appear unnerved by any of her failed interactions and kept plodding along in even the most uncomfortable social situations. Even though Simone was a highly intelligent person, once an interaction was over, she did not seem to reflect on it or on her own learning processes. It appeared that the study abroad experience was primarily a social event in her life. Her diary and journal entries focused on what she did and whom she met and contain little information about her attitudes and feelings about learning the Russian language. She did not view her free time as an opportunity for learning, and at her level — an OPI of 1–"incidental learning" was not enough to carry her forward. It is surprising, though, that a whole semester of serious class work (five hours a day), in country, had no effect either.

Gainers

Juanita

Juanita began the semester with an OPI score of 1 and improved to 1+ by the end of the program. She had had five years of college Russian previously. Juanita was an extroverted and optimistic student who fully enjoyed her stay in Moscow. She was greatly interested in languages and had some unusual insights and observations to offer. She completed three calendar diaries and one narrative

journal (during round 2). We were able to interview her and also accompanied her on a visit to a Russian friend's apartment where we videotaped her visit.

Juanita made three special friends during her stay. One was a female friend named Katya who had a four-year-old daughter. Through Katya she later met her other good female friend, Sasha. She also met a Russian man, Andrei, who became very close to her, and by the end of the semester they had become engaged to be married. Most of her interactions with non-Americans were with these three people. Despite her restricted social circle, her interactions were of unusually high quality and intensity. It was clear that her two female friends had sincere affection for her. She often went to their homes for visits, during which they would talk, prepare and eat food, or settle down for what she called "girl talk" about relationships. Here is her description of this kind of talk she so highly valued:

> [O]nce the others left we began talking about things other than the passing scenery and began to talk more. I found that as we progressed to more personal (and therefore more interesting) topics, I had less and less trouble with language and almost forgot to concentrate on it at all. We started talking about the kinds of things I would talk about with friends at home — men, relationships, problems with men and relationships in general, and then the problems she's having with her marriage and the potential problems I see with a new relationship of mine.

She also visited Katya's family dacha outside Moscow for a weekend where she met Katya's parents and enjoyed time in their garden. She occasionally attended church services with her Russian friends.

Juanita was unapologetic about her interest in food. Unlike other American students who avoided the Moscow branch of McDonald's after one obligatory visit, Juanita loved to go there with anyone willing to accompany her. She frequently went out to eat pizza or to load up on provisions at Stockmann's, the foreign food provider, which most other students found too expensive. She also did many of the necessary outside errands students do when class is over, such as going to the public laundromat, stopping by the central post office or one of the hotels to mail letters, and shopping. Yet other than visit her Russian friends, Juanita engaged in few of the typical activities of students outside the dorm. She was not interested in walking around Moscow exploring historical or noteworthy places, and she did not attend concerts or go to exhibits. Once she went to the circus at Gorky Park, but she had difficulty understanding the loudspeaker announcements and was upset by the treatment of the animals.

The bulk of Juanita's time was spent visiting her friends at their residences and hanging out with her Russian friends, especially her boyfriend, in her dorm.

She met her fiancé after the semester was underway and spent increasingly more time with him until, by the end of the program, they were together virtually all the time. When inside the dorm, Juanita was always very sociable and often sat in the kitchen or lounge area to chat with anyone there. (Her institute was one of the few that had a decent kitchen/lounge area.)

During a videotaped visit to Katya's apartment, we see that Juanita appeared to be very comfortable with her Russian friends and they seemed to enjoy her company as well. A native speaker of Russian who viewed Juanita on the videotape said that she asked questions any "normal" Russian might ask in a similar situation, and that she was able to joke successfully in Russian. For instance, while talking about waiting in line at McDonald's, her friend made reference to the many languages the staff needs to speak. Juanita then acted out, in a falsetto voice, the part of a staff member who would handle orders in four languages, a performance that was greatly appreciated. Her speech manifested good affect and intonation, with Russian fillers, although her expansive demonstrativeness remained very American.

From her own perspective, Juanita found that the most difficult but rewarding part of her experience was friendship management. Because of her genuine interest in people as individuals rather than as walking Russian language units, she felt that "two Soviet friends is plenty, more than enough to fill up every bit of free time." Once she had developed more intimate relationships with people, she learned of the difference in emotional investment expected of friends in the two countries. Unlike American friendships in which one might see friends once or twice a week, she found that her Russian friends expected more of her time. For example, telling her girlfriends she would "give them a call" did not have the same offhand leave-taking function as it did in English. Instead, it was tantamount to a promise to call them next time she was anywhere near a telephone.

One trait that served Juanita well was her awareness of and reflection on her language use. For instance, she commented often about her own and others' code-switching between Russian and English. (Simone, by contrast, was mostly unaware of her own frequent code-switching behavior.) Juanita was also conscious of sociolinguistic norms, and of prosodic and paralinguistic aspects of speech. In one of her journals she described her own talk this way:

> I noticed myself developing flexibility in my word order because I know what case the object needs to be in as I start the sentence. I also noticed in this conversation that I'm starting to use Russian filler words and sounds — *vot* [here is; there (you) are], *nu* [well], *da* [yes] — rather than English ones.

Spending the majority of her free time outside the dorm was not necessary for Juanita to upgrade her language skills. Instead, her relationships with a small

group of Russians enabled her to go beyond the scripted and predictable type of conversation found among relative strangers to more meaningful talk. She expressed this in one of her journals, which illustrates the power of incidental learning when attitudes are right.

> The whole encounter was very good for me psychologically because I felt that I was spending time with someone and *just happened to be speaking Russian* by choice.

In contrast to Simone, her special relationships coupled with her sensitivity to language rules and use allowed Juanita to improve her proficiency in Russian.

Floyd

Our final case study is Floyd, a gainer who went from an initial OPI score of 1+ to a score of 2 by the end of the program — a hard barrier to cross. He was a very earnest and focused individual who, even though he had slightly less background in Russian than most students in the sample (only two and a half years), started out at a relatively high level and was apparently a good language learner. We collected three calendar diaries and three narrative journals from Floyd. We also were able to spend time with him outside the dorm and to videotape one of his visits to a Russian friend's home.

Floyd had many Russian friends and loved sports. Much of his time outside the dorm was engaged in sport-related activities. He went cross-country skiing, played soccer, and enjoyed basketball with his Russian friends. He also liked playing chess and visiting the *banya*, or public saunas. Floyd frequented bookstores around Moscow but did not spend much time eating out. He had different networks of Russian friends and often visited one family in particular, an upper-class Russian family with two sons. The oldest boy was a high school student who also played basketball, and he and Floyd often talked together about sports, politics, and current events. Almost all of the time he spent outside the dorm was in the company of Russians.

While in the dorm Floyd spent more time studying than partying. He took his language studies seriously, as seen in this entry:

> My roommate and a mutual Russian acquaintance came by and started speaking mile-a-minute Russian. Couldn't understand all of the conversation. Eventually shooed them out so I could do some homework.

He was always consciously engaged in language learning, repeating new words and connecting words and phrases to social situations. In his journals he often noted particular vocabulary he learned and the setting in which he learned it, such as the time he visited someone's home:

> One word that I remember sticking in my mind is *ogurets* [cucumber], because we had pickles.

He also actively worked at learning new words:

> One thing I did after meeting my professor was to look up a few words like *erunda* [nonsense] (which I always thought was spelled *irunda*) so as to make sure I remembered them.

In an interview Floyd described a visit to a friend's house in which he took along a few other Americans. He explained how he sometimes had to translate the mother's talk for them because he was more accustomed to talking with her. She had been ironing when they arrived, and he was the only one who knew the word for "iron" because it was something she had done in his presence before, and he had made the effort to learn it. After an encounter, Floyd would also think about and evaluate his use of Russian. In a journal entry about a residence visit he wrote:

> I found that words and phrases "Joe" had taught me earlier popped up again, and I was able to recognize them and translate or explain in Russian if one of my American friends didn't understand. I think this experience was good reinforcement of some phrases and expressions that I've picked up in class and just talking to friends. I had a chance to use introduction, toasting, and parting expressions. I was happy that I remembered and was able to use the appropriate expressions for these situations. Also, I think my comprehension is coming along.

Floyd's focus on the structural elements of language did not mean that he felt linguistic form was more important than content. He believed "the important thing about language is communicating ideas," and that the purpose of his studying Russian was to be able to exchange ideas with people. We see in him a different kind of learner from our other three cases, one who consciously applies learning strategies, is quick to take advantage of learning opportunities and tries to create them, and who tries to integrate his formal (in-class) and informal (out-of-class) learning activities.

Conclusion

In our study the integration of qualitative and quantitative data analysis is essential for the conclusions we want to draw. The quantitative analysis of the calendar diaries establishes the context within which the case studies take on significance and generality. As for learning, the cases show opportunities and

perhaps results but not the processes that program design must address. The qualitative analysis suggests processes that need to be further examined if we are to understand what works in study abroad, but without a strong empirical argument for their generality they are hardly compelling. Taken together the two approaches are mutually supportive, permitting much stronger conclusions than would be justified in separate studies.

The calendar diaries show that on average the students in our sample are spending a lot of time with Russians in many different out-of-class settings, doing many different things, ranging from specific functional encounters to intimate personal relationships. Even in the dorms there is a constant flux of native-speaking visitors and Russian dormmates. Moreover, in these interactions with native speakers they are speaking only Russian much of the time, not English or a mixture of Russian and English. There is, thus, ample opportunity for language learning and the acquisition of cultural understanding, and in this regard study abroad lives up to its promise.

But the most striking finding of the study is a negative one that flies in the face of common assumptions about the efficacy of study abroad: There is no association between gains in language proficiency and the amount of time the students expose themselves to the native culture and engage in linguistic interactions with native speakers. There is certainly enough variation among the students to expect different results, and whatever its defects, the OPI cannot be blamed for being too insensitive a measure to detect changes. Clearly time on task, which is all the calendar diaries can really measure, is not sufficient — although it may be necessary — for language learning. We must dig deeper into the quality and specifics of student experiences, and we must understand what students bring to them and how they use them *for learning*, if we are to understand why some students gain and other do not.

The case studies move us in that direction. All four of the students profiled here had experiences that we know from analysis of the calendar diaries to be common among students in the programs we studied. They spent time visiting friend's homes, they went shopping or on errands that involved service encounters and sometimes haggling, and they put in many hours hanging out in their dorms with both Americans and Russians. Variation in their experiences depended on their individual interests and how well they were able to establish relations with individual Russians and membership in Russian social groups. Yet simply becoming a member of such a group did not ensure language success, as we saw in Philip's case with his music interests. Sometimes students appeared to be doing all the right things — they spent time in close company with native speakers, or displayed a lack of inhibition in using the language, as in Simone's

case — yet nevertheless failed to improve their language ability. Rather, language improvement seemed to depend on a complex balance of intellectual, emotional, and psychological features, not the least of which are their conceptions of learning and learning styles (Miller and Ginsberg 1995).

The case studies, against the background of the range and variation of student experiences, suggest several conclusions concerning language learning that bear on the issues of program design and educational policy that motivate our research.

First, experience *per se* is not enough — the results of the case studies underline that it has to be productive for learning. In Simone's case the quality of her social experiences was very high and very gratifying to her and her companions, but her experiences were not supportive of language learning, especially in terms of adapting to her level of competence and helping her to use her errors and misunderstandings productively.

Second, reflection on learning is critically important, as seen in all four cases. Juanita and Floyd, our two gainers, were both very aware of their own learning processes and tried quite consciously to improve and build on them. Simone, by contrast, although very serious in class and far from shy about asking for help out of class, did not seem to reflect on her language after the fact and was too involved in her social activities to bother with what Schön called "reflection-in-action" (Schön 1983). Philip was reflective, but his reflections are more judgmental than analytical and colored by his high expectations.

Third, individual learning styles vary considerably. Juanita and Floyd could not be more different in this regard. Floyd is very self-conscious, purposeful, and systematic in creating learning opportunities and using them. Juanita draws on what comes her way, trying to accomplish social goals that are meaningful to her and picking up language as she needs it. Learning settings do not necessarily support all styles: it is important for students to find the settings that are comfortable for them.

Fourth, the relationship between in-class and out-of-class learning deserves much more attention than it gets. The students in this study spend five hours a day, five days a week, in classes of various sorts, and they are assigned homework — the equivalent, say, of doing nothing but taking Russian for a whole semester. Simone is a good student, but there seems to be no carryover to her language use or learning in social settings, and she fails to improve. Philip, echoing common student sentiments, complains about the irrelevance of his language preparation for dealing with native speakers in Russian cultural contexts. Floyd, on the other hand, seems almost to recreate the "classroom" in natural settings, to good purpose, although for many students such a strategy is

counterproductive (Miller and Ginsberg 1995). From a pedagogical point of view it is not hard to imagine how a more explicit and careful articulation of in-class and out-of-class learning, especially abroad, might benefit both.

Fifth, the affective quality of experience is important. As Philip's case indicates, experiences can be negative as well as positive. Assaults aside, Philip's ambivalence toward native speakers and Russian culture is typical of the widespread and well documented phenomenon of culture shock. Better preparation beforehand, more realistic expectations, and better ways of dealing with these feelings when they occur might help students like Philip profit more from their study abroad experiences.

Finally, questions of how much Russian students speak outside of class affects comparisons between study abroad and purely classroom based programs. Whom they speak with — and over what range of circumstances — bears on the comparative advantage of study abroad versus, say, domestic immersions. In the light of Philip's (not uncommon) experience with "foreigner register," there remain questions of how "authentic" the speech is, how it differs from classroom talk and encounters with native speakers in domestic programs, and what experiences afforded by study abroad can be replicated in other settings to enhance learning.

Strong recommendations must await more case studies and more thorough analysis of the ethnographic data than is possible here. That said, we hope the results are clear enough to put the discussion on a firmer empirical footing and hence move it forward.

Notes

1. Many people contributed significantly to the study, "Language learning during study abroad: The case of Russian," on which this paper is based. Without them the research would not have been possible, and we gratefully acknowledge their contributions. Richard D. Brecht was co-principal investigator with Ralph Ginsberg and was involved in all aspects of the study, and our many long hours of discussion helped form our ideas. Our research assistants, David Filipov and Betsy McKay in Moscow, and Joanna Robin in Leningrad, collected all of the diaries and some of the ethnographic data. They also contributed significantly to our understanding of what the data meant. Paul Wheeling managed the coding and data processing of the calendar diaries. The cooperation and advice of Dan E. Davidson was instrumental in getting access to the ACTR data and the subjects of this study. We also very much appreciate the guidance of Richard D. Lambert, then director of the National Foreign Language Center, in shaping the policy issues and research design. Finally, we wish to thank the Ford Foundation for its financial support of the study, and the National Foreign Language Center, which sponsored it.

2. The OPI scale has the following interpretation (Brecht *et al*. 1990, 1991):
   - 3 (Superior): Can support opinion, hypothesize, discuss abstract topics, and handle a linguistically unfamiliar situation
   - 2 (Advanced): Can narrate and describe in past, present, and future time/aspect, and handle a complicated situation or transaction
   - 1 (Intermediate): Can create with language, ask and answer simple questions on familiar topics, and handle a simple situation or transaction
   - 0 (Novice): No functional ability; speech limited to memorized material.

   A "+" (e.g., "1+," a common score before and/or after the program in our sample) indicates that the student "substantially surpass[es] the requirements for a given level but fail[s] to sustain performance at the next higher level" (Brecht *et al*. 1995).

   It should be noted that the sheer quantity of language knowledge increases dramatically as one moves from one level to the next, making it progressively more difficult to register gains. But this is just where study abroad is reputed to have its most significant effects.

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