



CONCISE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF

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APPLIED  
LINGUISTICS

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MARGIE BERNS



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APPLIED  
LINGUISTICS

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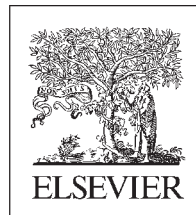
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## THE EDITORS

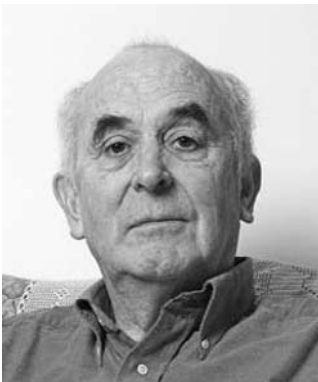
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

---

Subject Classification		xi
Introduction		xv
Contributors		xvii
PART I: INTRODUCTION TO APPLIED LINGUISTICS		
Applied Linguistics	<i>M Berns and P K Matsuda</i>	3
Critical Applied Linguistics	<i>A Pennycook</i>	14
Educational Linguistics	<i>N H Hornberger and F M Hult</i>	22
PART II: REGIONAL STUDIES		
Africa	<i>R Wildsmith-Cromarty and D Young</i>	31
Australasia and the Pacific	<i>D E Murray</i>	37
China	<i>K Bolton and A S L Lam</i>	45
Europe	<i>K de Bot</i>	52
North America	<i>W Grabe and R B Kaplan</i>	59
South America	<i>M C Cavalcanti</i>	66
South Asia	<i>R Gargesh</i>	72
Southeast Asia	<i>W K Ho and R Y L Wong</i>	82
PART III: LANGUAGE, LEARNERS AND LEARNING		
Acquisition of Second Language Phonology, Morphology, and Syntax	<i>R Hawkins and C Lozano</i>	93
Assessment of First Language Proficiency	<i>D L Rubin and H-W Lim</i>	100
Assessment of Second Language Proficiency	<i>T McNamara</i>	105
Bilingual Lexicography	<i>M-H Corr��ard</i>	113



Endangered Languages	<i>L Grenoble</i>	123
Grammar	<i>R Hudson</i>	126
Immigrant Languages	<i>S Kroon and T Vallen</i>	130
Interlanguage	<i>E Tarone</i>	134
Language Assessment Standards	<i>A Davies</i>	140
Languages for Specific Purposes	<i>J Engberg</i>	144
Learning Sign Language as a Second Language	<i>R I Mayberry</i>	149
Learners' Dictionaries	<i>M Rundell</i>	153
Listening in a Second Language	<i>G Brown</i>	157
Motivation and Attitudes in Second Language Learning	<i>R C Gardner</i>	164
Pedagogical Grammars for Second Language Learning	<i>Y Kachru</i>	172
Reading in a Second Language	<i>E Bernhardt and M Kamil</i>	179
Second Language Attrition	<i>M S Schmid</i>	187
Second Language Corpus Studies	<i>R Reppen</i>	194
Second Language Discourse Studies	<i>D Boxer</i>	196
Learning Second Language Vocabulary	<i>P Nation</i>	200
Sign Language Acquisition	<i>R I Mayberry and B Squires</i>	206
Speaking in a Second Language	<i>M McCarthy and A O'Keeffe</i>	212
Third Language Acquisition	<i>J Cenoz Iragui</i>	219
Variation in Second Language Acquisition	<i>I Tsimpli</i>	225
Writing in a Second Language	<i>T Silva</i>	233

#### PART IV: LANGUAGE, TEACHERS AND EDUCATION

Bilingual Education	<i>C Baker</i>	243
Classroom Talk	<i>E Hinkel</i>	251
Communicative Language Teaching	<i>S J Savignon</i>	254
Computer-Assisted Language Education	<i>G Davies</i>	261
Content Teaching and Learning	<i>D J Short</i>	272
Culture in Language Teaching	<i>C Kramersch</i>	276
Education in a Former Colonial Language	<i>E Williams</i>	283
Internet and Language Education	<i>L van Lier</i>	287
Language Awareness	<i>P Garrett</i>	293
Language Education of the Deaf	<i>J Kyle</i>	296
Languages in Tertiary Education	<i>U Ammon</i>	299
Minority Language Education	<i>O García</i>	302
Nonnative Speaker Teachers	<i>K K Samimy and Y Kurihara</i>	307

Oracy Education	<i>B Davies</i>	315
Pedagogy of Languages for Specific Purposes	<i>A Johns</i>	318
Politics of Teaching	<i>T Santos</i>	324
Reading and Multiliteracy	<i>B Street</i>	333
Remediation of Language Disorders in Children	<i>P J Pagliano</i>	337
Second Language Curriculum Development	<i>J D Brown</i>	341
Second and Foreign Language Learning and Teaching	<i>P Skehan</i>	350
Second Language Teacher Preparation	<i>M Schocker-v. Ditfurth and M K Legutke</i>	358
Second Language Teaching Technologies	<i>S Otto and K Hatasa</i>	367
Teacher Preparation	<i>C Brumfit</i>	375
Teaching of Minority Languages	<i>G Extra and K Yağmur</i>	383
Traditions in Second Language Teaching	<i>D Musumeci</i>	392
Translation Pedagogy	<i>M Davies and D Kiraly</i>	401
Vocabulary Program for Second or Foreign Learners	<i>P Nation</i>	406
 PART V: APPLIED SOCIOLINGUISTICS		
Bilingualism and Second Language Learning	<i>T K Bhatia</i>	413
Communicative Competence	<i>T M Lillis</i>	420
Correctness and Purism	<i>W Davies</i>	427
Educational Failure	<i>J Edwards</i>	434
Foreign Language Teaching Policy	<i>R Lambert</i>	443
Gender in Language Education	<i>B Egbo</i>	450
Languages of Wider Communication	<i>J Brutt-Griffler</i>	454
Language Policy in Multilingual Educational Contexts	<i>S Romaine</i>	461
Language Revival	<i>M Ó Laoire</i>	474
Lingua Francas as Second Languages	<i>C Meierkord</i>	479
Linguistic Imperialism	<i>R Phillipson</i>	487
Religion and Literacy	<i>J F A Sawyer</i>	490
Multilingual Societies and Language Education	<i>J Cummins</i>	493
Native Speaker	<i>R Singh</i>	496
Nonstandard Language	<i>E Annamalai</i>	500
Second Language Identity	<i>B Norton</i>	504
Second Language Socialization	<i>C Kinginger</i>	511
Standard Language	<i>K S Goodman and Y M Goodman</i>	518
World Englishes	<i>B Kachru</i>	521

## PART VI: BIOGRAPHIES

Brown, Gillian	<i>G Yule</i>	531
Catford, John C. (1917–2009)	<i>J G Harris</i>	532
Ferguson, Charles A. (1921–1998)	<i>J Fishman</i>	534
Fries, Charles Carpenter (1887–1967)	<i>J G Fought</i>	536
Hall, Robert A., Jr. (1911–1987)	<i>M Danesi</i>	537
Hill, Archibald A. (1902–1992)	<i>S I Sara</i>	539
Hornby, Albert Sidney (1898–1978)	<i>H Kishimoto</i>	540
Lado, Robert (1915–1995)	<i>M Thomas</i>	541
Nida, Eugene Albert (b. 1914)	<i>F Kerleroux</i>	542
Palmer, Harold Edward (1877–1949)	<i>J Kelly</i>	544
Passy, Paul Édouard (1859–1940)	<i>P D Fallon</i>	545
Quirk, Professor The Lord Charles Randolph (b. 1920)	<i>N Kerecuk</i>	547
Ratke, Wolfgang (1571–1635)	<i>J B Walmsley</i>	550
Richards, Ivor Armstrong (1893–1979)	<i>N Kerecuk</i>	551
Smith, Henry Lee (1913–1972)	<i>A Sacknovitz</i>	553
Twaddell, William Freeman (1906–1982)	<i>J Rischel</i>	555
Viëtor, Wilhelm (1850–1918)	<i>J B Walmsley</i>	556
Index		557

## SUBJECT CLASSIFICATION

---

Note that italicized subject classification entries do not cross-reference articles.

### *Applied Linguistics: Overview*

Applied Linguistics, M. Berns, K. Matsuda  
Critical Applied Linguistics, A. Pennycook  
Educational Linguistics, N.H. Hornberger, F.M. Hult

### *Applied Sociolinguistics*

Bilingualism and Second Language Learning,  
T.K. Bhatia  
Communicative Competence, T.M. Lillis  
Correctness and Purism, W. Davies  
Educational Failure, J. Edwards  
Foreign language teaching policy, R. Lambert  
Gender in Language Education, B. Egbo  
Languages of Wider Communication, J. Brutt-Griffler  
Language Policy in Multilingual Educational  
Contexts, S. Romaine  
Language Revival, M. Ó Laoire  
Lingua Francas as Second Languages, C. Meierkord  
Linguistic Imperialism, R. Phillipson  
Native Speaker, R. Singh  
Nonstandard Language, E. Annamalai  
Religion and Literacy, J.F.A. Sawyer  
Second Language Identity, B. Norton  
Second Language Socialization, C. Kinginger  
Standard Language, K.S. Goodman, Y.M. Goodman  
Variation in Second Language Acquisition, I. Tsimpli  
World Englishes, B. Kachru

### *Bilingualism*

Bilingual Education, C. Baker  
Bilingual Lexicography, M.-H. Corréard  
Bilingualism and Second Language Learning, T.K. Bhatia

### *Language and Education*

Bilingual Education, C. Baker

Classroom Talk, E. Hinkel  
Computer-Assisted Language Education, G. Davies  
Education in a Former Colonial Language,  
E. Williams  
Educational Failure, J. Edwards  
Gender in Language Education, B. Egbo  
Internet and Language Education, L. van Lier  
Language Awareness, P. Garrett  
Language Education of the Deaf, J. Kyle  
Languages in Tertiary Education, U. Ammon  
Minority Language Education, O. García  
Multilingual Societies and Language Education,  
J. Cummins  
Oracy Education, B. Davies  
Reading and Multiliteracy, B. Street  
Remediation of Language Disorders in Children,  
P.J. Pagliano  
Religion and Literacy, J.F.A. Sawyer

### *Language and Languages*

Education in a Former Colonial Language, E. Williams  
Endangered Languages, L. Grenoble  
Immigrant Languages, S. Kroon, T. Vallen  
Languages for Specific Purposes, J. Engberg  
Languages in Tertiary Education, U. Ammon  
Languages of Wider Communication, J. Brutt-Griffler  
Lingua Francas as Second Languages, C. Meierkord  
Minority Language Education, O. García  
Standard Language, K.S. Goodman, Y.M. Goodman  
World Englishes, B. Kachru

### *Language Learning and Loss*

Acquisition of Second Language Phonology,  
Morphology, and Syntax, R. Hawkins, C. Lozano  
Bilingualism and Second Language Learning,  
T.K. Bhatia



Interlanguage, E. Tarone  
Learning Second Language Vocabulary, P. Nation  
Learning Sign Language as a Second Language,  
R.I. Mayberry  
Motivation and Attitudes in Second Language  
Learning, R.C. Gardner  
Second and Foreign Language Learning and  
Teaching, P. Skehan  
Sign Language Acquisition, R.I. Mayberry, B. Squires  
Second Language Attrition, M.S. Schmid  
Second Language Identity, B. Norton  
Second Language Socialization, C. Kinginger  
Third Language Acquisition, J. Cenoz Iragui  
Variation in Second Language Acquisition, I. Tsimpli

#### *Language Assessment*

Assessment of First Language Proficiency, D.L. Rubin,  
H.-W. Lim  
Assessment of Second Language Proficiency,  
T. McNamara  
Language Assessment Standards, A. Davies

#### *Language Modalities*

Listening in a Second Language, G. Brown  
Reading and Multiliteracy, B. Street  
Reading in a Second Language, E. Bernhardt, M. Kamil  
Speaking in a Second Language, M. McCarthy,  
A. O'Keeffe  
Writing in a Second Language, T. Silva

#### *Linguistics*

Bilingual Lexicography, M.-H. Corréard  
Correctness and Purism, W. Davies  
Grammar, R. Hudson  
Linguistic Imperialism, R. Phillipson  
Native Speaker, R. Singh  
Nonstandard Language, E. Annamalai  
Second Language Corpus Studies, R. Reppen  
Second Language Discourse Studies, D. Boxer  
Standard Language, K.S. Goodman, Y.M. Goodman  
World Englishes, B. Kachru

#### *Pedagogies*

Communicative Language Teaching, S.J. Savignon  
Content Teaching and Learning, D.J. Short  
Pedagogy of Languages for Specific Purposes, A. Johns  
Traditions in Second Language Teaching,  
D. Musumeci  
Translation Pedagogy, M. Davies, D. Kiraly

#### *Regional Studies*

Africa, R. Wildsmith-Cromarty, D. Young  
Australasia and the Pacific, D.E. Murray

China, K. Bolton, A.S.L. Lam  
Europe, K. de Bot  
North America, W. Grabe, R.B. Kaplan  
South America, M.C. Cavalcanti  
South Asia, R. Gargesh  
Southeast Asia, W.K. Ho, R.Y.L. Wong

#### *Sign Language*

Language Education of the Deaf, J. Kyle  
Learning Sign Language as a Second Language,  
R.I. Mayberry  
Sign Language Acquisition, R.I. Mayberry,  
B. Squires

#### *Teachers and Teaching*

Communicative Language Teaching, S.J. Savignon  
Content Teaching and Learning, D.J. Short  
Culture in Language Teaching, C. Kramsch  
Foreign language teaching policy, R. Lambert  
Nonnative Speaker Teachers, K.K. Samimy,  
Y. Kurihara  
Pedagogy of Languages for Specific Purposes,  
A. Johns  
Politics of Teaching, T. Santos  
Second and Foreign Language Learning and  
Teaching, P. Skehan  
Second Language Curriculum Development,  
J.D. Brown  
Second Language Teacher Preparation, M. Schocker-  
v. Ditfurth, M.K. Legütke  
Second Language Teaching Technologies, S. Otto,  
K. Hatasa  
Teacher Preparation, C. Brumfit  
Teaching of Minority Languages, G. Extra,  
K. Yağmur  
Traditions in Second Language Teaching,  
D. Musumeci  
Translation Pedagogy, M. Davies, D. Kiraly  
Vocabulary Program for Second or Foreign Learners,  
P. Nation

#### *Teaching and Learning Aids*

Learners' Dictionaries, M. Rundell  
Pedagogical Grammars for Second Language  
Learning, Y. Kachru  
Second Language Teaching Technologies, S. Otto,  
K. Hatasa

#### *Teaching and Technology*

Computer-Assisted Language Education, G. Davies  
Internet and Language Education, L. van Lier  
Second Language Teaching Technologies, S. Otto,  
K. Hatasa

*Biographies*

Brown, Gillian, G. Yule

Catford, John C. (b. 1917), J.G. Harris

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Viëtor, Wilhelm (1850–1918), J.B. Walmsley

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# INTRODUCTION

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## Introduction

Margie Berns

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At first blush, the task of compiling this concise encyclopedia on applied linguistics seemed rather straightforward to me. I had only to extract the contributions that had been included in the Applied Linguistics section of the *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics* (Elsevier, 2006) and to select those papers from other sections that would complement them. Simple enough. However, in the course of selecting the complementary pieces I soon realized that it would not be easy to determine where I should stop. In other words, how to represent the scope of applied linguistics? This question is hardly trivial. As outlined in the article ‘Applied Linguistics’ (printed in this volume), which I co-authored with Paul Kei Matsuda, there has been lively and vigorous academic discussion and debate on the matter of what constitutes studies in applied linguistics. As we pointed out, although applied linguistics is often referred to as a field, there is no broad consensus on what it encompasses. Perspectives range from the rather inclusive to the more restrictive. A narrower view may see applied linguistics as primarily concerned with matters related to foreign and second language teaching, while a broader perspective may regard applied linguistics as concerned with real world problems that involve language issues.

In the case of the *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics* (hereafter *ELL2*), for a number of reasons – logistical, practical, and disciplinary, among others – the scope of the final list of topics was somewhat conservative. However, with the *Concise Encyclopedia*, I could be more inclusive because my charge was to expand coverage. Nevertheless, scope was again an issue to be addressed. The 101 papers printed herein are my response this time around.

In addition to the original set of papers solicited for the Applied Linguistics section of *ELL2*, the second largest number of papers are drawn from Educational Linguistics, an area with considerable overlap and which, ironically, came about due to dissatisfaction with the prevailing views of applied linguistics that exclude matters concerning language in education that go beyond first and second language teaching (see Spolsky, this volume). Articles were also drawn from sociolinguistics, pragmatics, language acquisition, and other related areas. As a result, topics range from language teaching and learning, language policy, translation pedagogy, and communicative language teaching to language revival, language socialization, language awareness, *lingua francas*, and world Englishes.

For convenience the contributions are grouped into six broad categories. The first comprises overview articles, one each on applied linguistics, educational linguistics, and critical applied linguistics. These provide both big-picture accounts of these areas of focus and provide historical and state-of-the-art statements as well as a look into the future. A second category consists of regional studies that describe issues of particular relevance to the diverse social and cultural contexts of Africa, Australasia and the Pacific, China, Europe, North and South America, and South and Southeast Asia.



A third grouping concerns learners and the learning of languages. Within this group authors report research on learner dictionaries and bilingual lexicography, pedagogical grammars, acquisition of a third language and of structural features of a language (phonology, morphology, and syntax) as well as second language learning in skill areas (writing, reading, speaking, listening, vocabulary, and grammar). Additional issues addressed are interlanguage, variation in second language acquisition and second language corpus and discourse studies, assessment of proficiency in first and second languages, and standards for such assessment. Rounding out the subset are articles on languages for specific purposes, immigrant and endangered languages, and sign language. The fourth group, language, teachers, and education, focuses on the classroom rather than individual learners. It includes teaching of sign language and minority languages as well as the second language classroom. Thus, there are articles on various approaches to and traditions in language teaching and curriculum development, on language awareness and the politics of teaching, on classroom talk, on the internet, on teaching technologies more generally, and on computer assisted language education. Also found here is the pedagogy of translation in addition to the pedagogy of languages for specific purposes, the teaching of minority languages, the role of culture in language teaching, and vocabulary teaching. Teacher issues are addressed directly in the contributions on non-native speaker teachers and on teacher preparation (both first and second language). Another subset of papers in this category covers topics less commonly identified with applied linguistics studies. These address the language education of the deaf, education in former colonial languages, oracy education, reading and multi-literacy, the treatment of language disorders in children, and a discussion of languages in tertiary education.

What is being called applied sociolinguistics is the fifth category, which covers concepts and concerns of sociolinguists and sociologists of language. The notion ‘communicative competence’ is central for its profound influence on theories of language, learning and teaching from the 1970s to the present. Gender, religion, and multilingualism have likewise (re-) shaped interpretations of social identity and prompted studies of socialization. Each social marker is recognized as an influence on language education and learning regardless of whether it is the first, second, or fifth language in the learner’s repertoire. Discussions of the meaning of standard language, its counterpart non-standard language, and of the role and reality of the native speaker have long been a part of sociolinguistics. However, attention to these constructs has intensified more recently with the simultaneous phenomena of globalization and unprecedented increase of users of English and the uses they make of this language. The development of new varieties of English (although many of them have been recognized for several decades or longer) associated with these global changes has not only heightened awareness of the inadequacy of time-honored notions, but has led to fresh approaches and responses to prior understanding of the roles of a language of wider communication, and lingua francas and their influence on other languages and cultures (World Englishes is one such approach; see Kachru, this volume). Other sociolinguistically informed topics of relevance are language revival, correctness, and purism, and, more generally but no less importantly, the matter of educational failure which can be traced to any number of language and social factors. The management of language in public life and education is another dimension of the relationship between language and society. Policies affecting foreign (second) language teaching and language education in multilingual societies are one example of programs and prescriptions that affect the status of languages.

A domain of study is made possible by the individuals who think, research, and write about the issues and problems characteristic of the domain in question. The set of biographies comprising the last grouping are a recognition of just a tiny fraction of those who have made contributions to applied and educational linguistics. They represent researchers, scholars, and practitioners who have investigated the kinds of issues and concerns covered by the papers in this volume, have provided insights into theory, research, and practice, and have done the work of implementing policies and new practices. The woefully small number of biographical entries is not the only misleading feature of this section. The names and dates for each entry strongly suggest that anyone of note must be male, white, and deceased – hardly a fair and accurate (or encouraging) representation of those who have been or are actively engaged in the investigation of matters concerning language, learning, society, and education. The explanation for this idiosyncratic set of entries is that my sources were limited to the biographies printed in *ELL2*. A corrective to this embarrassing state of affairs falls to the editors of revised or new editions of the fourteen volume set or to any subsequent editions of this volume. Excellent candidates for inclusion are those authors whose work is published in these pages.

Understandably, not everyone who uses this volume will agree with the scope ascribed to applied linguistics throughout, or consider the contents of the articles adequate, or appreciate the positions of the authors. This is to be expected, even desired. Language and educational specialists are, after all, engaged in intellectual inquiry, a pursuit that finds anathema any claims made by any person or any school of thought to have a lock on the truth about anything. Regardless of readers’ assessments of my success in compiling this *Concise Encyclopedia*

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# **I. INTRODUCTION TO APPLIED LINGUISTICS**

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## Applied Linguistics

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### Introduction

Applied linguistics can be described as a broad interdisciplinary field of study concerned with solutions to problems or the improvement of situations involving language and its users and uses. The emphasis on application distinguishes it from the study of language in the abstract – that is, general or theoretical linguistics. However straightforward this characterization of applied linguistics may be, it is not universally embraced. In fact, ever since the term ‘applied’ was attached to linguistics, language specialists identifying with this field of inquiry and activity have offered and continue to offer competing, sometimes contradictory definitions and descriptions of its scope, status, and significance. Lack of consensus on an issue as basic as the domains and limits of applied linguistics poses a particular challenge to an encyclopedia compiler: how to capture the nature of a complex, dynamic field without slighting a particular point of view, a pet project, or an entire area of study?

This situation is comparable to that of many other intellectual formations that arose in the mid–20th century – such as composition studies, cultural studies, environmental studies, and women’s studies – in that applied linguistics defies the traditional, taxonomic view of disciplinarity that seeks to draw clear and unambiguous boundaries. This state of affairs is addressed in the following account of how applied linguistics came about and developed as an area of study and in a survey of some issues and areas of focus that occupy those who engage in the study of language problems that affect the lives of individuals, groups of individuals, or entire societies and cultures.

### Overview

One approach to understanding a field is to review the scholarly journals devoted to research on the topic. In the case of applied linguistics, which at one time had one journal – *Language Learning: A Quarterly Journal of Applied Linguistics* – published in the United States by the University of Michigan, there are several: *Applied Linguistics*, *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, *Journal of Applied Linguistics*, *IRAL*, *International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching*, and *AILA Review*, to name

only a small sample of those with international distribution. Locally produced and distributed journals dedicated to applied linguistics are also available but to a more limited audience, for example, the *Hong Kong Journal of Applied Linguistics*, *New Zealand Studies in Applied Linguistics*, *Indian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, *ITL*, *Review of Applied Linguistics*, *Canadian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, and, from Japan, *Tsukuba Journal of Applied Linguistics*.

The *AILA Review* is the journal of the International Association for Applied Linguistics (AILA). Founded in 1964, AILA, with a worldwide membership of 8000, represents not only the disciplinary and interdisciplinary inclusiveness of the field of applied linguistics but also the geographical, linguistic, and sociocultural diversity of its practitioners and the problems they address. The inclusiveness of AILA is represented in a set of 25 topic areas called Scientific Commissions, a list that often serves as a ready-made definition of the field. Topics may emphasize learner and user groups, as in Child Language, Adult Language Learning, and Sign Language, or analytical procedures or methods, as in Contrastive Linguistics and Error Analysis, Discourse Analysis, and Rhetoric and Stylistics. Issues in information transfer and interpersonal communication are highlighted in Language and Ecology, Language and Gender, and Language and the Media. Psycholinguistics and Second Language Acquisition focus on cognitive processes. Language problems in professional contexts are associated with Forensic Linguistics, Interpreting and Translating, and Communication in the Professions, whereas other areas explicitly emphasize instructional issues: Literacy, Immersion Education, Learner Autonomy in Language Learning, Foreign Language Teaching Methodology and Teacher Education, Educational Technology and Language Learning, and Mother Tongue Education. Language Planning, Language and Education in Multilingual Settings, and Language Contact and Language Change represent research on the interplay of language use, learning, and development.

However, this list of topic areas is identified with just one applied linguistics organization and its interpretation of the field – a field that changes as problems related to language factors change. Issues in need of attention vary in intensity from time to time, or solutions are found and applied linguists move on to new challenges or return to unsolved problems using new approaches. Much depends on localized views of what applied linguistics is at a particular time, in a particular place, and in a specific set of circumstances. Three issues seem to be more enduring



and ones that applied linguists, especially those working in Western contexts, deliberate and discuss with respect to the field's identity: the relationship of applied linguistics to linguistics proper, the scope of activities in the ambit of applied linguistics, and the meaning of the term 'applied linguistics.'

### **Linguistics and Applied Linguistics**

The role and relationship of the field of linguistics within applied linguistics has been variously interpreted in large part due to the ambiguity of the term applied linguistics. What is applied? Is it only linguistics? What is it applied to? Who is (not) an applied linguist? Is a degree in linguistics assumed? Or is it enough to be working with language-related issues? Three positions present answers to these questions.

Applied linguistics, because linguistics is part of its name, is linked to linguistics, which is sometimes referred to as the 'parent' discipline. The literal interpretation of applied linguistics as 'linguistics applied' reinforces this view. From this perspective, linguistics is the authoritative source for all that is needed to meet the aims of applied linguistics. The description of language and the concepts and terms offered by linguistic inquiry apply directly and unilaterally. The process or activity of applied linguistics is carried out by taking the known research and theory of linguistics and applying a linguistic analysis to specific contexts outside linguistics proper (e.g., language teaching, interpreting and translating, or lexicography). This position is taken by those whose work is influenced by a functional view of language in the tradition of Roman Jakobson, Michael Halliday, and Dell Hymes. This view assumes that only linguists can participate in applied linguistic work, that practitioners need credentials as linguists before they can apply known research and theory.

Another view, 'autonomous applied linguistics,' sees applied linguistics as at least semiautonomous, if not completely autonomous, from linguistics or any source discipline and allows that anyone can be an applied linguist. While acknowledging that linguistics may be part of applied linguistics, practitioners do not rely exclusively on linguistics.

A third view is known as the 'applied linguistics' position, so called because applied linguists are linguists engaged in application. It is distinguished from other views in its recognition that the knowledge and skills of a linguist are inadequate to the task of solving problems related to the uses and users of language. To address this inadequacy, the applied linguist calls upon the skills and knowledge of other professionals both inside and outside the academic world. Holders

of this view more or less agree on what the field is, but the question of who can claim to be an applied linguist remains open.

Each view, regardless of the role linguistics has within it, excludes much of modern linguistics, particularly that associated with the Chomskyan approach, which deals with language at an abstract, idealized level and largely ignores language as interaction, as performance. In fact, Chomsky does not argue for the relevance of his branch of linguistics to concerns identified with applied linguistics. The linguistics that does have relevance and is of utility for applied linguists needs to be broader in aim than a search for universal grammar, and it need not be associated with any canonical school or branch of linguistics. Rather, all understanding and knowledge of language as a means of human communication is relevant and useful in solving language issues of all kinds.

Whether adopting the linguistics applied or applied linguistics view, researchers in a number of areas draw upon the theoretical and methodological approaches of sociolinguist Michael Halliday and anthropological linguist Dell Hymes. Neither sees a strict boundary between linguistics and applied linguistics, perhaps because of their distinctive approach to language studies. Halliday, first in the United Kingdom and then in Australia, developed systemic-functional linguistics, whereas in the United States Hymes was key in the establishment of sociolinguistics as a legitimate discipline and in the adaptation of research techniques from anthropology into language study, namely, the ethnography of communication. Significant about both Halliday and Hymes is that neither explicitly accepted a binary distinction between general linguistics and applied linguistics. In fact, Halliday holds the view that all linguistics is sociolinguistics; that is, the study of language is the study of language in use.

### **Interdisciplinarity and Applied Linguistics**

For some time, language teaching – first, second, and foreign – has been synonymous with applied linguistics. Since the development and improvement of classroom acquisition and competence in languages is a central educational concern for society, it is not surprising that this is one area that has long had the attention of applied linguists. This, however, was not the intention of the founders of contemporary applied linguistics, whose public and published statements on the scope of the field insisted that language teaching was but one example of the areas in which theories and methods of linguistics (in its broadest sense as the study of language) have relevance. This broader and more flexible interpretation of applied linguistics not

only recognizes the limitations of relying solely on linguistics as a source field; it also recognizes that the language problems that applied linguists address are found in many areas of human life.

Although language teaching and learning remain primary concerns in many non-Western settings, elsewhere applied linguistic activity focuses on a range of language-related issues and often draws upon other disciplines in studying language problems. Engaging expertise from other professions (e.g., medicine and law) or fields of study (e.g., psychology, communication studies, or sociology) presupposes precise identification of the problem to determine its scope. Related disciplines are tapped for available facts, techniques, and theories that can aid in addressing the problem. In some cases, there may be close collaboration with practitioners from these disciplines.

A sampling of applied linguistic studies that involve other areas of specialization includes better diagnosis of speech pathologies, design of a new orthography, natural language processing, improvements in the training of translators and interpreters, development of valid language examinations, determination of literacy levels in a population, development of tools for text analysis, comparison of the acquisition of languages from two language families or age groups, consultation to a ministry of education on introducing a new medium of instruction, developing language teaching materials, providing workplace language training, or resolving communication differences between cultural groups.

Applied linguists not only seek out the expertise of others but also can be called upon as consultants. Consulting tasks can range from advising a defense lawyer on the authenticity of the transcript of a suspect's confession to evaluating a school language program. In this, they play an indirect role in any subsequent change, improvement, or amelioration of the problem. Rather than offer any definitive solution, they provide information to help those involved in the problem solving better understand the issues, provide an explanation of what is involved, set out options for resolution, and suggest implications. The applied linguist engaged in such situations has been described as a mediator between theory and practice who enables the contribution of one to the other.

### **Approaches to Making Knowledge**

Applied linguists take various approaches to knowledge making. Modes of inquiry vary from area to area, from researcher to researcher, and from subfield to subfield. From the 19th to the mid-20th century, the research was predominantly empirical (specifically experimental) in methodology and based on the

belief that the truth about reality could be discovered through observation alone. Today, interpretive methodologies are adopted as well, either alone or, as in some subfields, in tandem, depending on the particular language-in-use problem under study. This multimodal methodology represents the integration of empiricism (qualitative as well as quantitative) and hermeneutics (interpretation and dialogue) and the recognition that no human can fully, absolutely know physical reality because of the perceptual, cognitive, and social filters that influence the ways in which a person 'sees' the physical world.

Among the approaches to research that are adopted today, the following are the most common: correlational studies with statistical methods of analysis, case study, survey by means of questionnaires or interviews, ethnography and participant-observer techniques, experimental with control and treatment groups, and, for large-scale studies, multisite multimodal approaches that rely on a variety of collection and analytical instruments and techniques. An illustration is the investigation of second language acquisition through experimental tasks and observational techniques. The former could be a pre- and post-test design to determine whether a particular linguistic feature, for example, the past tense form of irregular verbs, has been acquired (faster, longer term, more accurately or consistently, and so on) through participation in a classroom activity by the experimental group of participants. The nonexperimental methods of learner diaries or participant-observer journals could be used during the period of the study to complement pre- and post-test scores.

Although the empirical approaches and methodologies outlined previously are well represented in applied linguistics research, interpretive (or hermeneutic) methodology is also represented, although less commonly. Relevant examples are sociolinguistic studies that profile the social and linguistic features of a language of wider communication in either a second or foreign language learning context. Sociolinguistic profiles of English in a particular country (e.g., India, Germany, or Colombia) or world region (Southeast Asia, Eastern Africa, or East Asia) done by world Englishes scholars are examples of this approach. The aim is not the determination of any cause-and-effect relationships but to make general sense of the role and status of English, to understand the situations in which it is present, and, through continuing dialectic with the researcher and the participants, to achieve a new construction of the sociolinguistic situation with respect to the functions of English, of linguistic innovation and change, and of users' motivation for learning and use in diverse social and cultural contexts.

## History

The origin of applied linguistics is commonly attributed to the establishment in 1941 of the English Language Institute at the University of Michigan and the coinage of the term applied linguistics to the creation in 1948 of *Language Learning: A Quarterly Journal of Applied Linguistics*. Although these developments have been influential in the institutionalization of a version of applied linguistics in the mid-20th century, both the term and the concept of applied linguistics have longer histories.

### Applied Linguistics in Ancient Times

The history of applied linguistics can be traced back to the studies of grammar and rhetoric in the ancient world. A distinction between the concept of applied linguistics and the formal study of language can be found in Greece, Babylonia, and India during the fourth, third, and second millennia B.C.E., respectively, where grammarians engaged in the analysis of language as well as its practical application in the realms of teaching and text preservation (Catford, 1998). Applied linguistics in its broader definition can be found in the study of rhetoric, which examined and taught language and language production in relation to its functions in the real (i.e., not abstract) world. Evidence of rhetorical terms and concepts can be found in India from the eighth millennium B.C.E., in China between the fourth and fifth millennium B.C.E., in Greece since the fifth millennium B.C.E., and in Egypt during the early part of the second millennium B.C.E. (Kennedy, 1998).

Thinkers in these ancient civilizations, working mostly in isolation from each other, were interested in various language-related issues and their real-world implications, including the development and style of discourse, the relationship between discourse and knowledge, the construction of logical argument, the construction of credibility in discourse, the consideration of the predispositions and affective responses of the audience, and the teaching of the art of discourse production. Because they arose in close relationship with the study of knowledge and truth, early Indian, Chinese, and Greek rhetorics focused in many ways on the creation and negotiation of knowledge through discourse, resembling the social constructivist view of language in contemporary thought.

Partly because of the dominance of the Greco-Roman intellectual tradition in many areas of the world, Western rhetoric has been studied most extensively. In as early as the 5th century B.C.E., a group of scholars known as the Sophists studied forms and functions of language in various domains of life. Like their Indian and Chinese peers, Greek Sophists

approached the study of language in tandem with other subjects, such as politics, law, ethics, dialectics, and many others. The rise of the concept of rhetoric as an identifiable domain of intellectual activity can be traced back to Plato, whose preference for classifying intellectual subjects into discrete units led to the denouncement of his predecessors who saw rhetoric as transcending domains of knowledge. Greek rhetoric was developed most extensively by Aristotle, whose theory of persuasive discourse in legal, ceremonial, and political domains played an important role in language education and, in recent years, influenced the development of contemporary theories of rhetoric for speech and writing instruction. Applied linguists have begun to use the Aristotelian modes of persuasion – credibility, affective, and rational appeals – as a framework for the analysis of persuasive discourse and for the development of writing tasks.

The Greco-Roman tradition of rhetoric encompassed the study of the process of discourse production including the development of ideas, organization, style, memory, and presentation as well as the teaching of the effective use of language. Although the Renaissance brought a renewed interest in classical rhetoric, the rise of modern science and the taxonomic view of disciplines between the 17th and 18th centuries stripped rhetoric of its intellectual components, relegating it largely to the study of style and figures of speech. Although rhetoric continued to be a key subject of study until the early 20th century, it focused mostly on the presentation of knowledge rather than the creation of knowledge through language.

In the 20th century, the new rhetoric movement, which is closely tied to the development of communication as well as rhetoric and composition studies, not only restored but also expanded the original scope of rhetoric. However, the influence of the broader field of rhetoric on applied linguistics has been rather limited because of the persistence of the taxonomic view of disciplinarity.

### The European Origins of Early Applied Linguistics

Although applied linguistics has a long history, the term is a more recent invention, but it is older than commonly believed. The term applied linguistics, which originally arose in relation to general linguistics, can be traced back to 19th-century Europe, when linguistics was gaining recognition as an autonomous and scientific discipline distinct from philology, the humanistic study of the areas of language, culture, and literature.

One of the earliest discussions of applied linguistics took place among Indo-Europeanists during the 19th

century. Rasmus Rask, an influential Danish Indo-Europeanist and the father of comparative linguistics, made a distinction between linguistics, which is concerned with the identification of linguistic rules, and applied linguistics, which is concerned with the production of dictionaries and with the teaching of grammar (Gregersen, 1991). Catford (1998) documented the uses of the term applied linguistics or its equivalent in Russian (*prikladnoe jazykovedenie*), German (*angewandte Sprachwissenschaft*), and French (*linguistique indo-européenne appliquée*) by Indo-Europeanists such as Jan Baudouin de Courtenay, Herman Hirt, and Paul Regnaud. The goal of applied Indo-European linguistics was to apply linguistics in the realm of other sciences as well as the acquisition of first and second languages. Baudouin de Courtenay also characterized the development of the so-called international auxiliary languages – such as Johann Martin Schleyer's Volapük in 1879 and Ludovic Lazar Zamenhof's Esperanto in 1887 – as deliberate attempts to apply linguistics.

Another strand of early applied linguistics can be traced back to the Reform Movement, particularly the efforts of Henry Sweet in England, Paul Passy in France, and Otto Jespersen in Denmark. Although the Reformists did not use the term applied linguistics, Sweet made the distinction between theoretical and practical language studies: the former was concerned with the historical studies of language and etymology and the latter with language learning. Sweet saw practical language study to be on a par with theoretical study and considered phonetics to be at the core of both theoretical and practical language studies. The Reformists' principles of language teaching were summarized in *La Phonétique et ses Applications (Phonetics and Its Applications)*, published by the International Phonetic Association (Passy, 1929). Jespersen (1928) also applied his knowledge of linguistics to the development of an international auxiliary language called Novial [the acronym for Nov (New) International Auxiliary Language].

Another significant tradition of applied linguistics that emerged in early 20th-century England is associated with the work of C. K. Ogden, who is most well-known for his collaboration with I. A. Richards in developing Basic (British American Scientific International Commercial) English. One of the central features of Basic English was the use of a limited vocabulary – an approach that was also used by Henry Sweet, Charles Fries, Michael West, and others. What is probably the first use of the term applied linguistics in English occurred in *Word Economy: A Study in Applied Linguistics* by Leonora Wilhelmina Lockhart (1931), a publication sponsored by Ogden's Orthological Institute, where Lockhart was a staff

member. She sought to provide further support for Basic English by studying the efficient use of language among shorthand specialists, scientists, grammarians, creative writers, and others. Using the term applied linguistics, Lockhart described her work as an attempt to legitimize the work of applied linguists by demonstrating the practical value of language research.

Significantly, all these traditions of early applied linguistics tried to distinguish themselves from philology, and its humanistic approach to the study of language, literature, and culture, while aligning themselves with the developing discipline of 'scientific' linguistics. It is also important to note that the scope of early applied linguistics was not necessarily limited to language teaching. One of the important common applications of linguistics among these traditions during this period was the development of international auxiliary languages (Novial), which grew in popularity as the need for international communication became increasingly clear. Another common application of linguistics at the time was spelling reform. As will be shown, however, it was the pedagogical work of the Reformists – particularly that of Henry Sweet and Otto Jespersen – that became influential in the development of early applied linguistics in the United States in the 1940s.

### Early Applied Linguistics in the United States

Applied linguistics in early 20th-century North America was closely tied to the rise of American structural linguistics, which continued to dissociate itself from philology. In the early 20th century, applied linguistics was seen almost exclusively as linguistics applied. Furthermore, applied linguistics was an integral part of linguistics and had no separate disciplinary identity. Linguistic descriptions were applied to the translation of the Bible into Native American languages in an effort to convert Native Americans into Christians. During the 1940s, the applied linguistic approach to language teaching played an important role in training anthropologists for fieldwork. These activities, however, were integral to the development of structural linguistics. What came to be recognized as applied linguistics took place in the contexts of language teaching – specifically the teaching of English in schools, the teaching of foreign languages other than English, and the teaching of English as a second language.

In the United States, one of the earliest deliberate attempts to apply insights from linguistics to language teaching began in the context of the teaching of English in schools. This movement was spearheaded by Fred Newton Scott, the founding president of the National Council of Teachers of English



(NCTE), and his students – most notably Sterling Andrus Leonard and Charles C. Fries. By the time NCTE was established in 1911, English classrooms in the United States – from elementary school to college – had come to be characterized by strong emphases on mechanical correctness as well as prescriptive and rigid standards of grammar based largely on British literary usage and Latin grammar. Scott and his students in the Department of Rhetoric at the University of Michigan sought to replace this prescriptive grammar with a descriptive grammar of American English based on actual usage. The efforts of Fries and others in replacing a prescriptive grammar with a descriptive grammar of English had little effect in English classrooms. In fact, Fries's sustained effort to apply structural linguistics to the teaching of English was met by strong resistance from English teachers.

The efforts to apply linguistics also took place in the teaching of foreign languages. The foremost proponent of an applied linguistic approach to foreign language teaching was Leonard Bloomfield, who was strongly influenced by the Reform Movement. Although he began developing teaching materials in the 1930s, his view was slow to gain acceptance among foreign language teachers who had emphasized the importance of reading. Bloomfield's applied linguistic approach was adopted by the American Council of Learned Societies, which needed a way of preparing anthropologists for fieldwork, and by the Army Specialized Training Program (ASTP), which sought a way of providing language instruction for military personnel during World War II. Although these programs did not last long, Bloomfield's teaching program had a significant impact on foreign language teaching in the post-World War II era, as many colleges and high schools began to develop language programs modeled after the ASTP. Furthermore, following the launch of the Russian satellite Sputnik, the U.S. government generated renewed and intense interest in expanding and improving the teaching of foreign languages (as well as mathematics) for Americans. The National Defense Education Act of 1958 promulgated the Bloomfield approach through teacher preparation programs.

The most commonly recognized tradition of early U.S. applied linguistics arose in the context of teaching English as a second language. Beginning in the mid-1930s, Fries's interest shifted from the teaching of English as a mother tongue to the teaching of English as a second language. This shift coincided with U.S. foreign policy during this period that created projects and funding opportunities in second language teaching. In 1939, at an invitational conference cosponsored by the U.S. Department of State

and the Rockefeller Foundation, Charles Fries and I. A. Richards proposed competing approaches to the teaching of English to Latin American students. Fries's applied linguistics approach, drawing heavily on the work of the Reformists, was chosen over Richard's approach rooted in Basic English, which he had developed with Ogden. An outcome of this discussion was the establishment of the English Language Institute (ELI) at the University of Michigan in 1941. The ELI and its applied linguistic approach to language teaching became influential throughout the United States and even throughout the world. The Michigan ELI became influential by creating the first professional preparation program of its kind. Many of the former students and staff members – including Harold B. Allen, H. Douglas Brown, Kenneth Croft, Edward Erasmus, Diane Larsen-Freeman, Larry Selinker, William Slager, and Ronald Wardhaugh – later moved to institutions where they created or taught in graduate programs.

### The Growth of Applied Linguistics

The ELI's influence was also perpetuated by many of its theoretical and pedagogical publications, including *Language Learning: A Quarterly Journal of Applied Linguistics*, the first journal known to bear the term applied linguistics as part of its title. Created in 1948 by the Research Club in Applied Linguistics at the University of Michigan, *Language Learning* has played an important role in the initial development of applied linguistics as a field of inquiry. During the first 10 years of publication, the journal expanded its readership from 200 U.S. subscribers to 1200 subscribers in 76 countries. In the 1950s, applied linguistics began to move away from linguistics because mainstream linguists were increasingly uncomfortable with the idea of language studies with implications for everyday life. By the end of the decade, applied linguists had begun to identify itself not as a branch of linguistics but in what today would be called a separate discourse community at the intersection of linguistics and language teaching (Lado, 1960).

One of the first significant events in the institutionalization of applied linguistics after the Michigan ELI and *Language Learning* was the founding in 1950 of the Annual Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Teaching (which later dropped 'Language Teaching' and became the Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics), resulting in the publication of proceedings from these meetings. Stimulated by the developments of their peers in the United States, particularly the creation of *Language Learning* and the Georgetown Round Table, Edinburgh University, Scotland, in 1956 chartered

the School of Applied Linguistics, a postgraduate program in the field, with J. C. Catford as its first director. The program later produced the *Edinburgh Course in Applied Linguistics*, a four-volume textbook series, and many of its faculty members – including S. Pit Corder, Alan Davies, Peter Strevens, and Henry Widdowson – later contributed to the development of applied linguistics throughout the world. The interest in the study of language with applications to everyday language problems grew throughout the 1950s, and the discussion of the relationship between applied linguistics and language teaching began to appear in journals such as *Modern Language Journal*.

The growing interest in applied linguistics in both the United States and Great Britain led the Ford Foundation to fund the 1957 Conference on Linguistics and the Teaching of English as a Foreign Language in Ann Arbor, Michigan. The conference, cosponsored by the Linguistic Society of America and the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils (a British organization), prompted the creation in 1959 of the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) with Charles Ferguson as the founding director. Initially sponsored by the Modern Language Association of America, the center was incorporated in 1964 and became an independent organization. The initial mission of CAL was to serve as an international clearinghouse for the application of linguistics in solving practical language problems, including the teaching of English. Although, with the creation of CAL, applied linguistics was beginning to broaden its scope, the teaching of English outside Britain and the United States continued to serve as a vehicle for the spread of applied linguistics in various areas of the world. For example, CAL's early activities included cosponsoring a conference on the teaching of English abroad with the United States Information Agency and the British Council, contributing to the internationalization of applied linguistics.

In 1964, the International Association of Applied Linguistics [Association Internationale de la Linguistique Appliquée (AILA)] was created as an international association of various national organizations and liaison groups for applied linguists. Its official journal, *International Review of Applied Linguistics*, was first published in 1963 and, in the following year, AILA held its first international colloquium in Nancy, France. In 1967, the British Association for Applied Linguistics came into being, and it sponsored the second AILA meeting in 1969. By this time, AILA had affiliate organizations (national associations, working groups, and centers) in 18 European and North American countries, including Austria, Belgium, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Federal

Republic of Germany, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Great Britain, Hungary, Italy, The Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States. Most of these countries were represented by a national or regional applied linguistics association, except Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, and Switzerland, which were represented by working commissions, and Italy and the United States, which were represented by centers for applied linguistics.

As applied linguistics carved out its disciplinary niche outside of linguistics proper, it began to look to other fields, especially psychology and anthropology, for additional theoretical and methodological insights. As early as 1951, psychologist John B. Carroll (1951) explored the role of educational psychology in relation to the study and teaching of language at the second Round Table Meeting at Georgetown. In 1967, *Language Learning* officially announced its interest in publishing articles that drew on other disciplines.

The expansion of applied linguistics also meant that the language-related problem was now defined more broadly than just language teaching, encompassing first language acquisition, bilingualism, translation, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, writing systems, and language policy. Although the view of applied linguistics as the application of the theory of linguistics persisted, the sites of application had now expanded to include various other fields, such as geography, lexicography, medicine, and engineering as well as language teaching. The expanding scope of the field is evident in the 1969 meeting of AILA in England, which encompassed linguistic analysis of literary texts, computer analysis of texts, psychology of first language learning, psychology of second language learning, speech research, technology of language learning, language teaching materials, language teaching methodology, speech disorders and therapy, lexicography, language testing, error analysis, translation, contrastive linguistics, and sociolinguistics.

In 1973, when the editorial board of *Language Learning* considered publishing a survey of applied linguistics as a special issue, its members concluded that more than a journal issue was needed because of the broad scope of the field. Three years later, *A Survey of Applied Linguistics*, edited by Ronald Wardhaugh and H. Douglas Brown, was published. The volume covered a wide range of topics, including language development, first language teaching, orthography, reading, second language learning, second language teaching, bilingualism, dialectology, language and society, literature, language disorders, and language testing. Among other topics considered

for inclusion, but omitted due to lack of space, were translation, psycholinguistics, experimental phonetics, animal communication, extralinguistic communication, and language planning.

In the United States, Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) was created in 1966 to serve the needs of English language teaching professionals, and the publication of *TESOL Quarterly* began in the same year. In 1973, a group of applied linguists – including H. Douglas Brown, S. Pit Corder, Paul Holtzman, Robert B. Kaplan, Bernard Spolsky, Peter Strevens, Tony Robson, and G. Richard Tucker – gathered at the TESOL conference in San Juan, Puerto Rico, and began to discuss the creation of a separate organization. In the interim, the Linguistic Society of America created an applied linguistics subsection. In 1975, the constitution of TESOL was amended to allow special interest groups (SIGs), and an applied linguistics SIG (which later became the Applied Linguistics Interest Section) was created with Bernard Spolsky as its first chair. The 1977 TESOL convention in Miami sponsored a panel that explored the scope of applied linguistics, which led to the 1980 publication of *On the Scope of Applied Linguistics* edited by Robert Kaplan. Contributors were well-known and influential scholars from Great Britain and the United States – Edward M. Anthony, Thomas Buckingham, S. Pit Corder, David E. Eskey, Robert Kaplan, Stephen Krashen, John Oller, Joe Darwin Palmer, Peter Strevens, Bernard Spolsky, and Henry Widdowson – and one from South America, Francisco Gomes de Matos. In November 1977, the American Association for Applied Linguistics (AAAL) was created with Wilga Rivers as its first president.

In the same year, the Applied Linguistic Association of Australia, which had begun the publication of the *Australian Journal of Applied Linguistics* in 1976, came into being, with Ross Steele of the University of Sydney as the first president. Tim McNamara (2001) suggests that whereas U.S. and British applied linguistics in the early years tended to focus on the teaching of English to international students and to students in various areas of the world, the Australian tradition of applied linguistics, which began to arise in the 1960s, focused more on language education for its immigrant population and on foreign language education, especially French and German. Later, the emphasis shifted to the education of native English speakers and aboriginal children. In this tradition, in which linguistics was more broadly defined than in the United States, the work of linguists such as Michael Clyne and Michael Halliday continued to play an important role in applied linguistics, although other influential figures, such as Terry Quinn

and Keith Horwood, brought a stronger teaching orientation to Australian applied linguistics.

As the field of applied linguistics continued to grow, the field expanded not only in its scope but also geographically. Toward the end of the 1970s and throughout the 1980s, new applied linguistics associations began to form in various areas of the World, including countries outside of continental Europe and North America. For example, the Irish Association for Applied Linguistics came into being in 1975, followed by the start up in 1978 of the Applied Linguistics Association of Korea. In 1980, the Greek Applied Linguistics Association and the Hong Kong Association for Applied Linguistics were established, and in 1982 the Japan Association for College English Teachers formed the Japan Association of Applied Linguistics. In Latin America, the Asociación Mexicana de Lingüística Aplicada and the Applied Linguistics Association of Brazil were established in 1986 and 1990, respectively. Today, AILA is a triennial congress of applied linguistic associations from throughout the world, serving applied linguistic organizations from 34 countries as well as 10 associate affiliates.

### Applied Linguistics Today

The field of applied linguistics has extended in breadth and depth far beyond what anyone could imagine when the field, as it is known today, was named and recognized as an academic discipline. Researchers and scholars identifying themselves as applied linguists can be found on every continent and, as the affiliations to AILA attest, in many countries on each continent, and the number of new affiliates adds to greater international representation. Scholars in the member states of the European Union and North America, two long-standing centers of activity, are joined by colleagues in a range of global contexts.

Occupying many applied linguists in multilingual Europe are issues stemming from the development of the European Union and a pressing need for a language policy at the European level. The policy makers' goal was to respond in some equitable and practical way to the need for lingua franca communication among the member states at all levels of society and at the same time to keep other languages, particularly so-called smaller languages (spoken natively by a relatively small number of Europeans), from being devalued. This problem gains urgency with labor migration from various regions both inside and outside the European Union that adds to the multilingual mix. Thus, immigrant languages as well as the smaller European languages (e.g., Dutch or Portuguese) or

LWULTs (Less Widely Used and Lesser Taught) are the subject of investigations. Areas of focus include language attitudes, language policy, bilingual and multilingual programs and projects, teaching and learning materials, textbooks, teacher and school resources, methodological and analytical tools, and research perspectives.

Applied linguistics research is being enriched by work carried out in the Baltic States, Central and South America, the Middle East, Africa, China, South Asia, Southeast Asia, Australasia, and the Pacific region. Their contributions expand the number of new voices that document multiple sources of power in the interpretation, authentication, and representation of the concerns of applied linguistics and introduce other than Western perspectives on agendas and on feasible solutions to language-related problems.

At the regional or country level, applied linguistics is often characterized by a smaller set of specializations than presented and published at the international level. This set depends on a number of factors (e.g., urgency of language-related problems, the availability of qualified specialists, or sources of funding). A review of recent conference programs for annual meetings of the North American affiliate of AILA indicates that a large number of Canadians and Americans who attend the AAAL conference focus on second language acquisition, second/foreign language pedagogy, and discourse analysis. Members of the Russian affiliate focus on these areas as well but also have a long tradition of research in contrastive linguistics, error analysis, lexicography and lexicology – areas with a low profile, if represented at all, at the North American meeting. These differences in emphasis reveal as much about linguistic traditions as they do about the language problems that are identified as meriting consideration by applied linguistics.

Although applied linguistics in Europe and North America by and large encompasses more than language learning and teaching, many applied linguists elsewhere continue to be largely concerned with language teaching. Due to globalization of the world's economy and the attendant spread of English and its social values, considerable time, attention, and money are devoted to the teaching of English as a foreign or second language. In China, for example, although applied linguists have been engaged in activities associated with language standardization, the teaching and the computerization of the Chinese language, and the description and learning of minority languages, the teaching of foreign languages, particularly English, receives a large share of attention in current scholarship and governmental support. The recent surge in second language studies is in large part due to the modernization and economic development

of China, with which English is closely associated. Reforms in English language teaching at all levels – from primary through tertiary – are a response to these social developments. The Chinese Ministry of Education has been promoting changes in teaching practice that move language teaching from a focus on intensive reading and close attention to the rules of sentence structure to the use of language for communicative purposes through spoken as well as written texts. For example, specialists in English language and teaching form the All-China Committee on the Reform of English Language Teaching at the College Level, whose charge is implementation of reforms in language teaching policies throughout China. The committee has been engaged in training teachers in new language teaching approaches and in writing textbooks reflecting advances in language teaching and language learning research that serve broad communicative goals. Regrettably, much of the research is published only in Chinese, although this is changing with post-implementation studies done outside China.

In other regions of Asia, studies investigate the challenges posed by the presence of, need for, and consequences of English, for example, in Malaysia, where the social, cultural, political, and educational challenges of English interface with Malay, also known as Bahasa Malaysia. In Korea, English language teaching's relationship to future employment prospects and financial security and parents' push for instruction at the earliest stages of schooling are prompting studies of the successes and failures of the teaching of English at all levels of education. Other topics and issues – some, but not all, relevant to Western contexts – dominate investigations, including the status of Southeast Asia as a linguistic region; adoption of national languages and the movement from nationalism to nationism (or pragmatism) in language education policy making; politics of language acquisition planning in multilingual societies; language use in multilingual settings (e.g., gatekeeping functions, code mixing and switching, and language and identity issues); the expanding role of English and the recently developed and developing varieties of English; teaching and learning of international, endangered, heritage, and less commonly taught languages; and societal bilingualism and models of formal bilingual education.

### **New Directions**

Diverse interests and issues make up the research agenda of contemporary language-in-use research, and it falls outside the scope of this article to discuss or describe them all. Three quite distinct directions in applied linguistic research serve to illustrate a sample of the theoretical, analytical, and ideological issues



that have gained considerable attention in the past decade: critical applied linguistics, corpus analysis, and languages of wider communication.

**Critical Applied Linguistics** Applied linguists have been influenced by philosophical positions and intellectual activities carrying the label ‘critical.’ In the case of critical applied linguistics, the interest is addressing social problems involving language. Its proponents consider it an indispensable part of the intellectual activity that is applied linguistics, especially because applied linguistics claims as its mission the study of language with implications for everyday life, or the ‘real world.’ Critical applied linguists believe it is incumbent upon them to link language issues to general social issues (e.g., unemployment) and to be more than a student of language-related situations, namely to be an agent for social change. Generally, this is done within a broad political framework. Subsumed under this type of applied linguistics are critical literacy, critical pedagogy, and critical discourse analysis. Although this alternative approach has been the subject of a number of books, articles, and conference papers, it has yet to be widely accepted among applied linguists, many of whom are uncomfortable with the assumptions and implications of the critical position. It has, however, been widely discussed and debated, and its long-term effect on and place in the field is difficult to judge.

**Corpus Analysis** Corpus linguistics has been around a long time in the form of concordances used by lexicologists, lexicographers, and language syllabus designers. Its recent revival is linked to implementation of the computer in building corpora and for convenient data access. This has brought about the expansion of existing databases and the creation of new ones. A primary goal of corpus studies is identification of the linguistic characteristics and patterns associated with language use (both typical and atypical) in different contexts, for example, genres, settings, and audiences. The focus is empirical analysis, whereas the interpretation can be either qualitative or quantitative. Also new about contemporary corpus linguistics is the addition of such approaches as discourse analysis, intercultural communication, and conversational analysis to the applied linguists’ tools and techniques.

**Languages of Wider Communication** Studies of languages of wider communication (LWC), languages that provide a mutually intelligible medium for speakers in multilingual societies, or lingua francas, are not new. However, advances in modern communication technology and travel have intensified a need for common languages. Subsequently, a variety of concerns have arisen that are relevant to areas of

focus within applied linguistics, including language policy and planning, especially educational language planning; language variation and change; language teacher preparation; language and identity; and multilingualism and bilingualism. Given the role of English as a global lingua franca, it is the LWC with the lion’s share of attention today. Much recent research, although not all, takes a sociolinguistic perspective and focuses on the uses and users, forms and functions, and models for learning and teaching in contexts outside of Great Britain and North America. Sociolinguistic profiles are one of the tools used to demonstrate the wide functional range, linguistic creativity, and status English has throughout the social layers of a given national or regional context. One of the more controversial aspects of this approach to the Englishes of Asia and Africa is its challenge to the ultimate authority of the native speaker. This orientation toward varieties of English is finding a place in studies of other languages of wider communication. Varieties of Spanish, both peninsular and colonial, for example, have been investigated with respect to their status among users. This is in part a response to the increased contact with, use, and learning of Spanish in the United States, conditions that make salient the choice of a variety to serve as classroom model and the status of the native speaker. The effects of the spread of languages such as English and Spanish and acknowledgment of the multiple norms their varieties provide are likely to keep applied linguists with interests in LWC engaged for some time in the solution of related language problems.

### **A Disciplinary Challenge**

Although well represented as a discipline in established journals, book series, and conferences, consensus on a coherent theory or conceptual base for applied linguistics has not been reached. This is problematic if a goal of applied linguistics is to provide such a basis. Without a shared set of assumptions for analysis and interpretation, understanding the relationship between and among studies conducted in the various branches and subfields becomes difficult. For example, how do findings from studies in language policy relate to research in bilingual aphasia? What underlying base connects translation research to investigations of issues in second language identity?

An argument against a search for a unifying framework is that it is impossible to achieve. An applied linguist, *per se*, does not actually exist in the sense that no one person is equally qualified or competent in the whole field. The introduction of new journals, a reflection of new areas of interest and orientation, tends to further fragment the field into specializations. This fragmentation makes it impossible to read all that is published under the rubric of applied

linguistics or attend all the specialized conferences, symposia, or workshops that address these interests and specialties. The elaboration of new theoretical approaches, expansion in techniques and tools of the trade, and incorporation of an increasing number of subfields add to the challenge of defining applied linguistics as more than an umbrella term to cover a broad set of compartmentalized areas of study that are linked by a focus on language in use.

*See also:* Critical Applied Linguistics; Educational Linguistics; Fries, Charles Carpenter (1887–1967); Lado, Robert (1915–1995); Passy, Paul Édouard (1859–1940); Richards, Ivor Armstrong (1893–1979); Second Language Corpus Studies; World Englishes.

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## Critical Applied Linguistics

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### Doing Applied Linguistics Critically

Although the term ‘critical applied linguistics’ is relatively recent (see Pennycook, 2001), it draws on a far longer history of critical work in related domains, work that can be traced back at least to the early part of the 20th century. In this first section, however, I will present critical applied linguistics in its contemporary forms by providing a brief summary of interlocking domains of applied linguistic work that operate under an explicit critical label, including critical discourse analysis, critical literacy, critical pedagogy, or critical language testing, as well as both areas that have developed a critical focus without using the label, such as critical approaches to translation or language policy, and those that have used alternative critical banners, such as feminism, antiracism, and so on (Table 1). By and large, this work can be characterized as dealing with applied linguistic concerns (broadly defined) from a perspective that is always mindful of the interrelated concerns (adapting Janks, 2000) of dominion (the contingent and contextual effects of power), disparity (inequality and the need for access), difference (engaging with diversity), and desire (understanding how identity and agency are related). Thus, in their discussion of critical literacy, Luke and Freebody suggest that “although critical literacy does not stand for a unitary approach, it marks out a coalition of educational interests committed to engaging with the possibilities that the technologies of writing and other modes of inscription offer for social change, cultural diversity, economic equity, and political enfranchisement” (Luke and Freebody, 1997: 1).

Probably the best known work has been in the related areas of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and critical literacy, which share a concern to understand texts and practices of reading and writing in relationship to questions of power, equity, diversity, and change. Whether as a mode of research (analyses of texts or of literacy contexts) or as a mode of pedagogy (developing abilities to engage in critical text analysis), these approaches to textual analysis are concerned with relations among texts, discourses, ideologies, and the wider social and political order. Norman Fairclough, whose approach to CDA has achieved considerable popularity, explains that critical discourse analysis “aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of

causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power” (Fairclough, 1995: 132). CDA and critical literacy have also been combined under the rubric of critical language awareness, since the aim of this work is to “empower learners by providing them with a critical analytical framework to help them reflect on their own language experiences and practices and on the language practices of others in the institutions of which they are a part and in the wider society within which they live” (Clark and Ivanic, 1997: 217).

A textual domain that has received much less attention is critical work in translation studies (a minority focus within applied linguistics itself). And yet, it is clear that a focus on dominion, disparity, difference, and desire underpins various forms of work, from studies of how particular translations can clearly be read as ideological formations (see Hatim and Mason, 1997) to studies of the role translation has played within different historical formations, from colonialism to globalization. Indeed, Venuti’s approach to translation takes the position that to “shake the regime of English, a translator must be strategic both in selecting foreign texts and in developing discourses to translate them. Foreign texts can be chosen to redress patterns of unequal cultural exchange and to restore foreign literatures excluded by the standard dialect, by literary canons, or by ethnic stereotypes” (Venuti, 1997: 10–11). Such work surely needs to be included within critical applied linguistics since it is based on an antihegemonic stance, locates itself within a view of language politics, makes an ethics of difference central, and tries, in its practice, to move toward change.

Also focusing on the global hegemony of English and the need to promote diversity is critical work in language policy and planning. While much work in language policy has been remarkable for its political quietism, debates around the global spread of English and the destruction of the world’s linguistic diversity have developed a clearer critical agenda. Central here has been Phillipson’s (1992) accusation of (English) linguistic imperialism, and his argument that English has been spread for the economic and political advantage of the core English-speaking nations. As Tollefson (2000) explains, Phillipson’s work differs markedly from mainstream sociolinguistic work focusing on the global spread of English since he “focuses on the unequal distribution of benefits from the spread of

**Table 1** Domains of critical applied linguistics

Domains	Key works/authors	Orientation
Critical applied linguistics	Pennycook A (2001). <i>Critical applied linguistics: a critical introduction</i> . Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum	“Critical applied linguistics . . . is more than just a critical dimension added on to applied linguistics: It involves a constant skepticism, a constant questioning of the normative assumptions of applied linguistics. It demands a restive problematization of the givens of applied linguistics, and presents a way of doing applied linguistics that seeks to connect it to questions of gender, class, sexuality, race, ethnicity, culture, identity, politics, ideology and discourse” (Pennycook, 2001: 10)
Critical discourse analysis	Fairclough N (1995). <i>Critical discourse analysis</i> . London: Longman.	CDA “aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power” Fairclough (1995: 132).
Critical literacy	Muspratt S, Luke S A & Freebody P (eds.) (1997). <i>Constructing critical literacies: teaching and learning textual practice</i> . St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin Clark R & Ivanic R (1997). <i>The politics of writing</i> . London: Routledge	CL “marks out a coalition of educational interests committed to engaging with the possibilities that the technologies of writing and other modes of inscription offer for social change, cultural diversity, economic equity, and political enfranchisement” (Luke and Freebody, 1997: 1).
Critical language awareness	Fairclough N (ed.) (1992). <i>Critical language awareness</i> London: Longman.	“People cannot be effective citizens in a democratic society if their education cuts them off from critical consciousness of key elements within their physical or social environment. If we are committed to education establishing resources for citizenship, critical awareness of the language practices of one’s speech community is an entitlement” (Fairclough, 1992: 6).
Critical approaches to translation	Venuti L (1997). <i>The scandals of translation: towards an ethics of difference</i> . London: Routledge.	“To shake the regime of English, a translator must be strategic both in selecting foreign texts and in developing discourses to translate them. Foreign texts can be chosen to redress patterns of unequal cultural exchange and to restore foreign literatures excluded by the standard dialect, by literary canons, or by ethnic stereotypes” (Venuti, 1997: 10–11)
Critical approaches to language policy	Phillipson R (1992). <i>Linguistic imperialism</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press.  Ricento (ed.) <i>Ideology, politics and language policies: focus on English</i> . Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 9–24.	Phillipson’s work “places English squarely in the center of the fundamental sociopolitical processes of imperialism, neo-colonialism, and global economic restructuring” (Tollefson, 2000: 13). Language policy and planning “must deal with issues of language behavior and identity, and so must be responsive to developments in discourse analysis, ethnography, and critical social theory” (Ricento, 2000: 22–23).
Critical sociolinguistics	Williams G (1992). <i>Sociolinguistics: a sociological critique</i> . London: Routledge. Wodak R (1996). <i>Disorders of discourse</i> . London: Longman.	“Discourse sociolinguistics, like critical linguistics . . . aims at de-mystifying . . . disorders [in discourse] . . . in the two domains of discourse, in actual language use in institutions and in the intersection of institution and everyday life. In both cases, we will also pose the question of possible changes” (Wodak, 1996: 3).
Critical approaches to second language education	Canagarajah S (1999). <i>Resisting linguistic imperialism in English teaching</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press.  Norton B (2000). <i>Identity and language learning: gender, ethnicity and educational change</i> . Harlow: Longman/Pearson.	“It is important to understand the extent to which classroom resistance may play a significant role in larger transformations in the social sphere” (Canagarajah, 1999: 196). We need a “concept of the language learner as having a complex social identity that must be understood with reference to large and frequently inequitable social structures which are reproduced in day-to-day social interactions” (Norton Peirce, 1995: 579).
Critical pedagogy and second language education	Morgan B (1998). <i>The ESL classroom: teaching, critical practice and community development</i> . Toronto: University of Toronto Press.	“ESL teachers, through both their responses and their silence, define what is appropriate and what might be possible in a new country” (Morgan, 1998: 20).

Continued



Table 1 Continued

Domains	Key works/authors	Orientation
	Norton B & Toohey K (eds.) (2004). <i>Critical pedagogies and language learning</i> . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.	"Advocates of critical approaches to second language teaching are interested in relationships between language learning and social change" (Norton and Toohey, 2004: 1).
Critical English for academic purposes	Benesch S (2001). <i>Critical English for academic purposes: theory, politics, and practice</i> . Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.	"The overarching goal of critical EAP is to help students perform well in their academic courses while encouraging them to question and shape the education they are being offered" (Benesch, 2001: xvii)
Critical bilingualism	Walsh C (1991). <i>Pedagogy and the struggle for voice: issues of language, power, and schooling for Puerto Ricans</i> . Toronto: OISE Press.	CB implies "the ability to not just speak two languages, but to be conscious of the sociocultural, political, and ideological contexts in which the languages (and therefore the speakers) are positioned and function, and the multiple meanings that are fostered in each" (Walsh, 1991: 127)
Critical multiculturalism	Kubota R (2004). 'Critical multiculturalism and second language education.' In Norton B & Toohey K (eds.) <i>Critical pedagogies and language learning</i> . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 30–52.	CM "critically examines how inequality and injustice are produced and perpetuated in relation to power and privilege" (Kubota, 2004: 37) exploring "a critical understanding of culture" (Kubota, 2004: 38), and involving all students "in critical inquiry into how taken-for-granted knowledge, such as history, geography, and lives of other people, is produced, legitimated, and contested in power struggles" (Kubota, 2004: 40).
Critical classroom discourse analysis	Kumaravadivelu B (1999). 'Critical classroom discourse analysis.' <i>TESOL Quarterly</i> 33(3), 453–484.	CCDA draws on critical ethnography as a research tool, has "a transformative function" and "seeks to play a reflective role, enabling practitioners to reflect on and cope with sociocultural and sociopolitical structures that directly or indirectly shape the character and content of classroom discourse" (Kumaravadivelu, 1999: 473).
Critical language testing	Shohamy E (2001). <i>The power of tests: a critical perspective on the uses of language tests</i> . London: Longman.	CLT "implies the need to develop critical strategies to examine the uses and consequences of tests, to monitor their power, minimize their detrimental force, reveal the misuses, and empower the test takers" (Shohamy, 2001: 131).

English." Rather than viewing the spread of English in positive terms and focusing on descriptions of varieties of English, Phillipson's work "places English squarely in the center of the fundamental socio-political processes of imperialism, neocolonialism, and global economic restructuring" (Tollefson, 2000: 13). These concerns have then been allied with accusations of linguistic genocide and the need for linguistic human rights to protect the global diversity of languages (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). While these arguments have raised considerable debate, especially in relation to the need to understand how the global position of English is resisted and appropriated (Canagarajah, 1999; Pennycook, 2001), the focus on the politics of language and an agenda for change clearly provide a significant critical dimension to any understanding of the dominance of English and continued linguistic diversity.

Sociolinguistics more generally has also been taken to task for lacking a critical dimension, Mey calling for a "critical sociolinguistics" that can "establish a connection between people's place in the societal hierarchy, and the linguistic and other kinds of oppression that they are subjected to at different

levels" (Mey, 1985: 342). While sociolinguistics would appear to have the tools to deal with questions of language and power, the argument here is that ways in which power operates in relation to class, gender, or race have not received adequate attention or a focus on possibilities of intervention. Some of these challenges have been taken up in work on language use in workplace settings, which aims not just to describe inequitable practices but also to change them. Wodak's study of hospital encounters, for example, looks not only at the ways in which "doctors exercise power over their patients" (Wodak, 1996: 170) but also at ways of intervening in this relationship. Other work in this domain has looked at language use in a range of institutional settings – language and the law, language in medical settings, language and education – to reveal how the complex relations between institutional power and the larger social context create inequitable but potentially changeable relations through language.

Critical approaches to language education – sometimes under the rubric of critical pedagogy – have had fairly wide coverage. As Norton and Toohey explain, "advocates of critical approaches to second language

teaching are interested in relationships between language learning and social change” (Norton and Toohey, 2004: 1). As with the related domains of critical literacy and discourse analysis, critical approaches to language education can be viewed as both a critical research enterprise and as a domain of practice. Significant research in the first category would include work such as Canagarajah’s critical ethnographies of ‘periphery’ students’ and teachers’ forms of resistance to English and English teaching methods: “it is important to understand the extent to which classroom resistance may play a significant role in larger transformations in the social sphere” (Canagarajah, 1999: 96); and Bonny Norton’s work on ways in which gender, power and identity are interlinked in the process of language learning (Norton, 2000). Morgan (1998) and many others (see Norton and Toohey, 2004; Pennycook, 1999), meanwhile, look more directly at how forms of critical pedagogy in second language classrooms may bring about change.

Interrelated fields of research and practice have also emerged here, including Benesch’s *Critical English for academic purposes*, which “assumes that current conditions should be interrogated in the interests of greater equity and democratic participation in and out of educational institutions” (Benesch, 2001: 64); Walsh’s notion of critical bilingualism, which she explains as “the ability to not just speak two languages, but to be conscious of the sociocultural, political, and ideological contexts in which the languages (and therefore the speakers) are positioned and function, and the multiple meanings that are fostered in each” (Walsh, 1991: 127); Kubota’s argument for critical multiculturalism, which “critically examines how inequality and injustice are produced and perpetuated in relation to power and privilege” (Kubota, 2004: 37) by focusing directly on issues of racism – on “collective, rather than individual, oppression” (Kubota, 2004: 37) – by problematizing, rather than presupposing difference, exploring “a critical understanding of culture” (Kubota, 2004: 38), and involving all students “in critical inquiry into how taken-for-granted knowledge, such as history, geography, and lives of other people, is produced, legitimated, and contested in power struggles” (Kubota, 2004: 40); and Kumaravadivelu’s critical classroom discourse analysis, which, drawing on critical ethnography as a research tool, has “a transformative function” and “seeks to play a reflective role, enabling practitioners to reflect on and cope with sociocultural and sociopolitical structures that directly or indirectly shape the character and content of classroom discourse” (Kumaravadivelu, 1999: 473).

The related domain of language testing has also taken a critical turn in recent years. In Spolsky’s

history of the development of the TOEFL exam, it is clear from the outset that “testing has been exploited also as a method of control and power – as a way to select, to motivate, to punish.” So-called objective tests, he points out, by virtue of their claims to scientific backing and impartiality, are “even more brutally effective in exercising this authority” (Spolsky, 1995: 1). These concerns have been pursued furthest by Shohamy in her notion of critical language testing (CLT) which “implies the need to develop critical strategies to examine the uses and consequences of tests, to monitor their power, minimize their detrimental force, reveal the misuses, and empower the test takers” (Shohamy, 2001: 131). Shohamy’s proposal for critical language testing clearly matches many of the principles that define other areas of critical applied linguistics: her argument is that language testing is always political, that we need to become increasingly aware of the effects and uses of tests, and that we need to link preferred visions of society with an ethical demand for transformative practice in our own work as (critical) applied linguists. Doing applied linguistics critically, then, implies an interest in the workings of power, a concern with issues of inequitable access to and through domains of language, consideration of the effects of social and cultural difference, and attention to the ways in which people are located, understand themselves, and have opportunities to change.

### The Critical in Applied Linguistics

The emergence of these various critical projects has been met with mixed responses. For some, critical applied linguistics is little more than a critique of other orientations to applied linguistics; thus, Davies provides the following definition: “a judgmental approach by some applied linguists to ‘normal’ applied linguistics on the grounds that it is not concerned with the transformation of society” (Davies, 1999: 145). Yet it is clear from the previous section that critical applied linguistics is not so much a critique of ‘normal’ applied linguistics (though it certainly may engage in such critiques) but is rather a different, alternative, or even transgressive way of doing applied linguistics. A central concern in discussing critical applied linguistics, then, is what is actually meant by the term ‘critical.’ One position would argue that all good academic work is by nature critical, entailing an open mind, a degree of skepticism, and an ability to keep a form of academic distance from the objects of inquiry. From this point of view, it is crucial to avoid bringing one’s own judgments into any form of academic inquiry. Thus, Widdowson, for example, in arguing for a “critical, not a hypocritical,

applied linguistics to take us into the future” (Widdowson, 2001: 16), is concerned that by taking an *a priori* critical stance, critical applied linguistics may impose its own views on the objects of inquiry, taking inappropriate stances on the social world rather than maintaining a critical distance. For Widdowson, it is impossible as an applied linguist (though not necessarily as an individual) to choose between different ethical and political concerns, and thus critical applied linguistics hypocritically fails to maintain a critical distance.

An alternative position, however, turns the tables on Widdowson’s dichotomy, suggesting that it is mainstream applied linguistics that is hypocritical by dint of its inability or unwillingness to grapple adequately with the social, political, and ethical concerns that inevitably come to bear on any applied linguistic context. By making claims to deal with real world issues to do with language, but by failing to engage with questions of power, inequality, racism, sexism, or homophobia in relation to discourse analysis, translation, language learning, literacy, or language in the workplace, mainstream applied linguistics might therefore be described as espousing a form of liberal ostrichism (Pennycook, 2001) in its relativistic refusal to engage with the social, political, ethical, and epistemological concerns of an inequitable world, and the tendency for applied linguists to bury their heads deep in the sand and eschew engagement with the broader context of applied linguistic work. This second sense of the critical, to which Widdowson objects, is one which draws on a long history of critical theory, and takes as its starting point the analysis of power and inequality in the social world. From this point of view, academic responsibility requires more than critical distance; rather, it demands that we attempt to address social, cultural, and political concerns head on, with an explicit political agenda.

If a strong case can thus be made for the unavoidability of political engagement, the concern nevertheless remains that critical applied linguistic research may be blinkered by its political normativity. Indeed, it may be argued that much of critical applied linguistics operates with a normative, leftist political agenda and a conservative applied linguistic epistemology. That is to say, it follows a modernist emancipatory framework (Pennycook, 2001), bringing together a static politics based on various forms of neo-Marxian analyses of inequality and emancipation, with an equally static applied linguistic epistemology. In addition to a political focus on inequality, then, critical applied linguistics also needs a form of problematizing practice. From this point of view, critical applied linguistics is not only about relating micro-relations of applied linguistics to macro-relations of social and

political power; nor is it only concerned with relating such questions to a prior critical analysis of inequality. A problematizing practice, by contrast, suggests a need to develop both a critical political stance and a critical epistemological stance, so that both inform each other, leaving neither the political nor the applied linguistic as static. From this point of view, then, critical applied linguistics maintains both a consistent focus on issues of dominion, disparity, difference, and desire while at the same time maintaining a constant skepticism toward cherished concepts such as language, grammar, power, man, woman, class, race, ethnicity, nation, identity, awareness, and emancipation. Remaining aware of the diverse contexts in which it may hope to be applicable, this transgressive applied linguistics remains wary lest the very terms and concepts of any critical project at the same time inflict damage on the communities it is aiming to assist. This form of critical applied linguistics is far more than the addition of a critical/political dimension to applied linguistics; rather it opens up a whole new array of questions and concerns about language, identity, sexuality, ethics, and difference.

### Applied Linguistics and the Critical

Elder suggests that “the very existence of a transgressive critical applied linguistics which attacks the foundations and goals of applied linguistics is perhaps a sign that applied linguistics is a discipline which has come of age” (Elder, 2004: 430). The emergence of critical applied linguistics, however, has broader implications for applied linguistics than mere maturity. By drawing on a far more extensive range of external domains than is often the case with applied linguistics, critical applied linguistics not only opens up the intellectual framework to many diverse influences, but also makes old debates over linguistics applied versus applied linguistics (for example, Widdowson, 2001) little more than a red herring. As Rajagopalan suggests, we may now start to view applied linguistics as a “*transdisciplinary* field of inquiry,” which means “traversing (and, if it comes to the push, *transgressing*) conventional disciplinary boundaries in order to develop a brand new research agenda which, while freely drawing on a wide variety of disciplines, would obstinately seek to remain subaltern to none” (Rajagopalan, 2004: 410). Thus, by taking not only a broad view on knowledge but also a political view on knowledge, critical applied linguistics transcends a conception of applied linguistics as a fixed discipline, or even of applied linguistics as a domain of interdisciplinary work, and opens the doors to a diversity of epistemological influences. While Davies may lament such a position as being “dismissive totally

of the attempt since the 1950s to develop a coherent applied linguistics" (Davies, 1999: 141), critical applied linguistics will always be concerned about the interests behind such constructions of coherence.

Critical applied linguistics in fact plays a crucial role in opening the narrowly defined domains of a coherent applied linguistics to a range of different theoretical positions. It is responsive not so much to shifts in mainstream linguistic and applied linguistic theory, but rather to the linguistic, somatic, and performative turns elsewhere in the social sciences. To the extent that applied linguistics remains partially dependent on linguistics, it has been hampered by the inability of linguistics to deal with the linguistic turn in the social sciences. Thus applied linguistics has been desperately slow to address such concerns. It is only recently, as Canagarajah puts it, that we have started to "redefine our understanding of the human subject. We have borrowed constructs from disciplines as diverse as philosophy, rhetoric, literary criticism, and the social sciences. We have adopted different theoretical positions ranging across feminist scholarship, language socialization studies, Bakhtinian semiotics, and Foucauldian poststructuralism. These schools have helped us understand identities as multiple, conflictual, negotiated and evolving. We have traveled far from the traditional assumption in language studies that identities are static, unitary, discrete, and given" (Canagarajah, 2004: 117). Understandings of the role of discourse in constituting the subject, of the subject as multiple and conflictual, of the need for a reflexivity in knowledge production, are slowly starting to emerge in applied linguistics, led by work in critical applied linguistics.

At the same time that the linguistic turn has swept across the social sciences, there has also been a somatic turn, a turn towards the body. For some, the somatic turn runs counter to the perceived logocentrism of the linguistic turn, though others suggest it is more of a redressing of this imbalance so that we can see that the social order is both textual and corporeal. For Bourdieu, the somatic turn has been part of an attempt to understand how dispositions are written onto our bodies, how cultural capital is not something we pull on and take off but is deeply bound up with how we act. "The sense of acceptability which orients linguistic practices is inscribed in the most deep-rooted of bodily dispositions; it is the whole body which responds by its posture, but also by its inner reactions or, more specifically, the articulatory ones, to the tension of the market. Language is a body technique, and specifically linguistic, especially phonetic, competence is a dimension of bodily hexis in which one's whole relation to the social world, and

one's whole socially informed relation to the world, are expressed" (Bourdieu, 1991: 86). Applied linguistic orientations to the body have to date generally been limited to versions of nonverbal communication, but again, as critical applied linguistics opens up this orientation to understanding the relation between the social order, language, and the body, it is starting to push more mainstream work in new directions.

Finally, the growing interest in identity across other fields of inquiry is increasingly affecting (critical) applied linguistics (see, for example, Norton, 2000). At the forefront of this focus on identity is the performative turn, and the crucial insight that identities are performed rather than preformed. Central to this move toward the performative has been Butler's argument that "gender proves to be performative – that is, constituting the identity it is purported to be. In this sense, gender is always a doing, though not a doing by a subject who might be said to preexist the deed" (Butler, 1990: 25). These arguments have been most influential in queer studies, where the questioning of categories of sexual and gender identity has allowed a framing of sexuality that goes beyond lesbian and gay identification and instead embraces the broader category of queer (Nelson, 1999). Cameron points out that such a position has serious implications for sociolinguistics and studies of language and gender, since "sociolinguistics traditionally assumes that people talk the way they do because of who they (already) are," whereas a performative approach to identity "suggests that people are who they are because of (among other things) the way they talk" (Cameron, 1997: 49). The question for language and gender studies (or any other focus on language and identity), then, is not how men and women talk differently, as if males and females preexisted their language use as given categories of identity, but rather how to do gender with words. This does not mean that we do not constantly perform gendered identities through language but rather that we constitute through language the identity it is purported to be. It is in the performance that we make the difference. Again, cutting edge work in critical applied linguistics is starting to open up applied linguistics to such perspectives.

This view suggests, then, that a transgressive, critical applied linguistics has become far more than a political add-on to mainstream applied linguistics. It has now, by contrast, become the gateway through which new theories and ways of thinking about applied linguistics are entering and changing the discipline. A newly emergent approach to critical applied linguistics has superseded the static politics



and epistemologies of the modernist emancipatory framework, and started to take on board the implications of the linguistic, somatic, and performative turns, with major implications for applied linguistics more broadly. It accepts that we have to confront the crisis of realist representation in Western academic life and the need for reflexivity in knowledge production, that we need to understand the role of discourse in constituting the subject, and that the subject is multiple and conflictual. At the same time it acknowledges that the logocentric idealism of an overemphasis on discourse overlooks the ways in which the social order is not only about language, textuality, and semiosis but is also corporeal, spatial, temporal, institutional, conflictual, and marked by sexual, racial, and other differences. The somatic turn allows applied linguistics to readdress the embodiment of difference, while the performative turn suggests that identities are formed in the linguistic and embodied performance rather than pre-given. This in turn provides the ground for considering languages themselves from an antifoundationalist perspective, whereby language use is an act of identity that calls that language into being. These are the concerns of an exciting new era of transgressive applied linguistics.

See also: Educational Failure; Educational Linguistics; Endangered Languages; Foreign Language Teaching Policy; Gender in Language Education; Linguistic Imperialism; Multilingual Societies and Language Education; Nonnative Speaker Teachers; Politics of Teaching; Reading and Multiliteracy; Second and Foreign Language Learning and Teaching; Second Language Discourse Studies; Second Language Identity; World Englishes.

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## Educational Linguistics

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### The Emergence of Educational Linguistics

By all accounts, educational linguistics as a defined area of study began in the 1970s with the work of Bernard Spolsky, who first put forth the term in a 1972 conference paper and later produced the seminal introductory monograph on the topic in 1978. He originally envisioned educational linguistics as a sub-field of linguistics, much like educational psychology and educational sociology are subfields of their disciplines proper, that would specifically address the broad range of issues related to language and education.

He positioned his educational linguistics in relation to applied linguistics, which, he noted, encompassed a broader territory of practical language issues. Educational linguistics has, indeed, continued to develop in tandem with applied linguistics, which has come a long way since the middle of the 20th century (Markee, 1990; van Lier, 1994). There is less than total agreement as to what the relationship between the two is, however. Some scholars, for example, identify themselves as linguists who are applied linguists who are educational linguists (e.g., van Lier 1997: 95), whereas others, pointing to its unique objectives and goals, distinguish educational linguistics as a field unto its own (e.g., Christie, 1994: 97; Hornberger, 2001: 5). What is clear, however, as Hornberger (2001: 19) points out, is that educational linguistics has developed a unique niche in that its “starting point is always the practice of education and the focus is squarely on (the role of) language (in) learning and teaching.” It is in filling this niche that educational linguistics has found its place in a variety of contexts around the world.

### Three Schools

Internationally, educational linguistics seems to have taken shape in three major ways, or in what might be considered loosely the British, the Australian, and the American schools. Each is distinctive in a number of ways.

The British School may be the most closely coupled with general linguistics as seen in the efforts to make linguistics a foundational area of teacher training (Brumfit, 1997; Stubbs, 1986), as well as attempts to create curricula based on linguistic principles (Carter, 1990, cited in Christie, 1994: 96). At the

same time, British educational linguistics cannot be said simply to be the marriage of linguistics with education. On the one hand, there has not been universal agreement as to how linguistics should relate to education, leaving much to be done on this front by both linguists and educators (Hudson, 2004). On the other hand, following the lead of an applied linguistics that synthesizes multiple disciplinary approaches, British educational linguists also draw on a wide constellation of research tools beyond those offered by linguistics alone (Brumfit, 1996; see, for example, Creese, 2003).

Australian educational linguistics stands out for its clear connection to systemic functional linguistics, in particular. Here, systemic functional linguistics, in which language is viewed as a social semiotic that is part and parcel of creating and interpreting social context, is brought together with other social sciences in order to study language use in educational practice as a socially situated process (Christie, 1994; Martin, 1998). A central focus of the Australian School has been the teaching and learning of genre in literacy for professional and academic purposes (e.g., Christie and Martin, 1997). It also is worth pointing out the loose connection between the British and the Australian schools because of Halliday's influence on both the beginnings of British educational linguistics and the growth and development of educational linguistics in Australia (see Halliday *et al.*, 1964, for an early influential work; see also Hudson, 2002).

The American School is characterized by its diversity of topics and conceptual underpinnings. Aspects of general linguistics are brought together regularly with the research tools of other social sciences, most often anthropology, psychology, and sociology, to investigate the totality of issues related to language acquisition, language use, and sociolinguistic context in formal and informal education (Hornberger, 2001). In addition to Spolsky, Hymes has been an influential figure in American educational linguistics, especially in the early days, and his perspective on sociolinguistics (e.g., Hymes, 1974) has been drawn on in a great deal of research under the rubric of educational linguistics, especially in the United States.

It should be noted, of course, that the British, Australian, and U.S. contexts are not the only sites where educational linguistics has emerged. The principles of educational linguistics have been put to use in a variety of settings; for example, Pakir (1994) describes the use of educational linguistics to examine the role of multilingualism and cross-cultural communication for education in Singapore; and in Argentina, Suardiaz and Domínguez (1987) take an

educational linguistics perspective in considering the role of the native language in elementary education, as both instrument and object of the educational process and as means of evaluating that process. The importance of educational linguistics for other contexts also can be seen in the establishment of training programs in various parts of the world, which will be discussed later.

### Taking Stock of the Field

Despite the clearly identifiable (albeit nonexclusive) trends in what we call the three schools of educational linguistics, there is much common ground and activity. Educational linguistics is characterized by certain core features that, by and large, all approaches to educational linguistics share. In particular, we highlight the tendency toward transdisciplinarity that, although latent in Spolsky's formulation, is increasingly gaining prominence. We then pause to reflect on academic and professional developments including the establishment of degree programs and the publication of core texts.

### Defining Characteristics

Fundamentally, as Hornberger (2001) shows, educational linguistics can be characterized as a field with a dynamic relationship to a range of disciplines which takes a problem-oriented approach to issues focused squarely on language in or around education, yielding analytical scope with depth on these issues. Accordingly, educational linguistics has a broad scope and a narrow focus.

The interface of linguistics with other disciplines has always been a core feature of educational linguistics. As Spolsky remarks, it "start[s] with a specific problem and then looks to linguistics and other relevant disciplines for their contribution to its solution" (1978: 2). Its scope, he continues, "is the intersection of linguistics and related language sciences with formal and informal education" (1978: 2). The potential set of problems to be examined is, of course, unquestionably vast, as are the possible combinations of research tools that could be used to investigate them. This does not mean, however, that educational linguistics is adrift in an ocean of research prospects. Rather, as a field, it is "pluri-centric, multi-method, and multi-level" (Kjolseth, 1978, in reference to *Sociology of Language*). That is to say, there are, as the entries in this section of the encyclopedia indicate, multiple core issues at the heart of educational linguistics, which demand different sets of research methods. Thus, a broad scope is achieved through the range of work done under the auspices of the

field and depth is accomplished through intricate investigations by individuals with expertise in specific areas. Each educational linguist approaches research in different ways, some focusing on micro-level issues, some on macro-level issues, and others on the connections between them. The result is a holistic, or transdisciplinary, understanding of the interplay among individuals, language, society, and education.

### From Interdisciplinary to Transdisciplinary

Educational linguistics came of age in a dynamic moment in intellectual activity, particularly in the area of language study which also saw the birth of Fishman's sociology of language (Fishman, 1968, 1972) and Hymes's ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1972; see Joseph, 2002, and Murray, 1998, for discussions on the history of [socio]linguistics). It is not surprising, then – given this climate that eschewed disciplinary boundaries in favor of the holistic study of specific issues – that educational linguistics emerged as problem-oriented and interdisciplinary. Spolsky suggested that linguistics, although central to the study of language-related issues, must be synthesized in a complementary manner with the approaches of other disciplines in order to comprehend fully any specific problem (viz. issue or theme) related to language and education (1978: 2–3). It is here that the seeds of transdisciplinarity in educational linguistics were first planted.

Writing on the subject of applied linguistics more broadly, Halliday (2001: 176) stated:

I say 'transdisciplinary' rather than 'inter-' or 'multidisciplinary' because the latter terms seem to me to imply that one still retains the disciplines as the locus of intellectual activity, while building bridges between them, or assembling them into a collection; whereas the real alternative is to supercede them, creating new forms of activity which are thematic rather than disciplinary in their orientation.

Halliday remarks that activities in applied linguistics "involve more than the content of any one discipline: at the very least, they involve psychology, sociology, and linguistics" (2001: 176) and he offers foreign language teaching as an example. In his call for a transdisciplinary applied linguistics, he notes that the aim should be not simply to create an amalgam of intellectual activity made up of a collection of features from a variety of disciplines but to go further and synthesize what each relevant discipline has to offer on a particular issue. By doing this, the focus becomes theme-based. A theme, he explains, "is defined not by content but by aspect, perspective or point of view" (Halliday, 2001: 176). In this way,



Halliday suggests, the focus of intellectual activity would not be on building bridges across disciplinary content areas but, rather, on synthesizing specific research tools (which are often, although not always, disciplinary-based) to investigate a particular theme or issue. It is a fine distinction but an important one.

The starting point is at the core of the difference between inter-/multidisciplinarity and transdisciplinarity. In inter-/multidisciplinary inquiry, the research begins with what is knowable from the point of view of specific disciplines and how, by building bridges across them, a researcher can achieve a more vibrant picture than one would be able to view from the vantage point of a single discipline alone. In a transdisciplinary orientation, research begins with a theme – an aspect (a specific issue, concern, problem) of a specific situation – and then uses the resources at one's disposal to investigate that theme. This, to use Halliday's words, removes the locus of intellectual activity from the disciplines, thereby superseding them to place the locus of intellectual activity around the theme itself. The transdisciplinary researcher is like a painter who creates a multidimensional picture of a particular theme by using the spectrum of research tools on her or his palette.

Following Spolsky's characterization of educational linguistics as problem-oriented, it is easy to see how it is best considered transdisciplinary. Problem-oriented is similar in spirit to theme-based in Halliday's formulation of transdisciplinarity. In each case, the idea is that a researcher not simply take disciplinary knowledge and apply it to a situation. In educational linguistics, a researcher begins with a problem, issue or theme, related to language and education and then synthesizes the research tools in her/his intellectual repertoire to investigate or explore it. The work of educational linguistics, then, is carried out in and across a variety of academic departments (anthropology, area studies, education, English, foreign languages, linguistics, psychology, sociology, etc.) depending on the theme. This is, incidentally, how the pioneering anthropological linguist Edward Sapir envisioned that *all* research in linguistics should take place (Anderson, 1985: 219–221). In this way, educational linguistics follows in a tradition of linguistics broadly conceived. The Australian School has long taken this approach, characterizing educational linguistics as a transdiscipline (Martin, 1993: 141).

The theme-based nature of a transdisciplinary educational linguistics also serves to highlight another crucial element of this field – research/practice reflexivity. Research in educational linguistics is not done for the sake of knowledge alone but, rather, with the aim of addressing a particular aspect of a practical concern to formal and/or informal language

education. Thus, the aim of research is to impact on practice. This is a two-way street, however. What is done in the practice of formal and/or informal education often serves as the impetus for research. In this way, themes to be investigated are not generated exclusively in the mind of a researcher but from the researcher's contact with practice. In educational linguistics research and practice feed off of as well as inform each other (Freeman, 1994; Myers, 1994; Pica, 1994).

From its beginnings, the field of educational linguistics has been concerned with the study of all the factors that influence language use as it relates to education. The objective has always been the creation of a thorough and articulated body of knowledge about these factors, and relationships among them, for the purpose of advancing educational issues ranging from language acquisition to language planning. Clearly, no single paradigm or discipline could suffice for such an endeavor and, consequently, educational linguistics is likely to continue to evolve as a transdisciplinary field, bound not by a disciplinary base but by its single focus.

### Professional Activities

Since the founding in the early 1970s of the first two doctoral programs in educational linguistics at the University of New Mexico, by Spolsky, and at the University of Pennsylvania, by Hymes and Wolfson (Hornberger 2001), a number of academic training programs specifically in educational linguistics have grown around the world. Doctoral programs with a concentration in educational linguistics have been established at Arizona State University, Stanford University, The University of Manchester, the University of Newcastle upon Tyne, and the University of Warwick. Master's level training in educational linguistics has been created at Lancaster University, Srinakharin Wirot University, and the University of Colorado, Boulder. Coursework in educational linguistics is offered at universities in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Saudi Arabia, the United States, and probably elsewhere as well. In addition, the University of Groningen hosts the Educational Linguistics Research Group and the Monterey Institute of International Studies offers master's degrees in TESOL and TEFL through its Graduate School of Language and Educational Linguistics. Educational linguistics is clearly becoming firmly institutionalized (see Relevant websites).

Intellectual activity in educational linguistics also has been strong since the early 1970s. The first foundational book, alluded to earlier, was Spolsky's (1978) *Educational linguistics: an introduction* followed by

Stubbs's (1986) *Educational linguistics*. Developments continued in the 1990s when educational linguistics was a featured topic of the Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics (Alatis, 1994) as well as the subject of other conference presentations (e.g., Brumfit, 1996; van Lier, 1999). The *Concise encyclopedia of educational linguistics*, an impressive summary of work in the field, edited by Spolsky, was released in 1999. Most recently, Kluwer Academic Publishers inaugurated its *Educational linguistics* book series with van Lier as general editor. Although there is as yet no professional organization or peer-reviewed journal devoted to educational linguistics, the student-managed *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics* ([www.wpel.net](http://www.wpel.net)) has continuously published work since 1984. Individual educational linguists have published and presented their work in a variety of venues since the beginning and they continue to have a strong presence in linguistics and related social sciences.

### Future Directions

Lamentably, as Gee reminds us, "linguistics has had much less impact on education, and teachers know much less about language and linguistics, than the current state of our knowledge about language in education, or the current dilemmas of our schools, would seem to merit" (2001: 647). After depicting how differing theories of language arising from functional and generativist linguistics, respectively, play a role in major educational debates (such as that around whole language vs. phonics instruction), Gee goes on to exemplify some of what we do know about language in education, including the role of overt focus on language in helping children acquire new forms of academic language, the need for teachers to understand the diverse linguistic and cultural resources children bring to their classrooms, and the ways in which language form and meaning are interactionally worked out in moment to moment classroom interaction. He argues, then, as other educational linguists have before him, that we need to do a better job of putting what we know in linguistics into practice in schools.

As pressure builds on the educational systems of the world to serve the needs of increasingly diverse multilingual populations and at a time when multilingualism and multiliteracy are clearly becoming socially and economically advantageous, the need to understand relationships between language and education is particularly acute. The more the complexity of the relationships between language and education is recognized, the more complex research must become, in turn. Transdisciplinary work is likely to be more

important than ever before. Although educational linguistics as a field has tended in this direction since the beginning, there is much to be done to build a truly unified and coherent body of knowledge. Although all educational linguists seem to share the common goal of fostering education that is linguistically appropriate and socially responsible, there is little strategic dialogue on how to realize this goal on a grand scale. As a whole, then, educational linguistics seems to lack a clear course. If educational linguistics is to emerge as an articulated transdiscipline that encompasses all issues in language and education, it is time to seek out the connections and relationships among all the individual and societal topics that are studied at micro-, meso-, and macro-levels. Recent trends in ecological research are promising in this regard.

Although ecological approaches are not new to the social sciences, they have recently gained prominence in educational linguistics. Van Lier (1999), for example, emphasized the importance of integrated multidimensional inquiry over the decontextualized study of discrete variables when trying to understand matters related to language and education, which are all socially situated. In this vein, an ecological approach is increasingly used in the study of all facets of educational linguistics, from individual-level language acquisition to classroom pedagogy to language policy. For instance, Leather and van Dam's (2003) *Ecology of language acquisition*, the first text released in Kluwer's *Educational linguistics* series, features a collection of articles that consider the complex contextual factors that influence language acquisition. In addition, Hornberger's (2003) *Continua of biliteracy: an ecological framework for educational policy, research, and practice in multilingual settings*, also an edited volume, highlights the value of synthesizing multiple levels of analysis in order to fathom the intricacies of constructing, implementing, and evaluating educational programs for bi-/multilingualism. Although these books reflect different perspectives on ecology, they share the understanding that the processes involved in any aspect of language and education cannot be effectively studied in isolation. It is in this sense that ecology is likely to play a central role in the future of educational linguistics.

Consistent with the early core characteristics of the field, these ecological approaches in educational linguistics are problem-oriented and interdisciplinary. At the same time, the theme-focused holism in these approaches moves the field more firmly toward transdisciplinarity, making a strength of drawing on multiple disciplines to create a holistic portrait of (the role of) language (in) teaching and learning. In all, educational linguistics, as it has done throughout its short history, is certain to remain grounded in its core

principles while adapting to fit the needs of research and practice in an ever-changing multilingual world.

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- <http://www.wpel.net>.
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## **II. REGIONAL STUDIES**

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## Africa

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Within a framework of postmodern and postcolonial theory, much applied linguistic work in Africa today is in response (and resistance) to the erstwhile creations of the colonial period. There is an underlying tension between the legacy of colonialism in the form of the excolonial languages, which carry status and economic opportunity, and the need to protect and develop the indigenous African languages in the face of rapid globalization. For applied linguists working in these contexts, this translates into the need for effective, high-quality language teaching programs in the excolonial languages, from early literacy to professional contexts, while simultaneously contributing to the development of multilingualism through research into and development of the indigenous languages.

Language issues in Africa have been the focus of vigorous ideological debates, some of which are underscored by an increasingly Africanist perspective. What is missing in the Western-based discourses about African language development is an **African** perspective, drawn from the local communities themselves, and represented and researched by **African** applied linguists. For example, the construct of *indigenous languages* is perceived as an arbitrary division of a natural continuum. A term that reflects language use across boundaries, such as *communitarian languages*, is considered preferable (Makoni and Meinhof, 2003: 7). Further information on ideological debates in the African context can be found in Alexander (1989), Bamgbose (1991), and Blommaert (1999). However, what internationally is classified as applied linguistics is often hidden or euphemized under labels such as language education, African Languages and Literatures, Applied Language Studies, among others. For a fuller discussion of the recharacterization of applied linguistics, see Young (2001).

### Multilingualism and the Role of the Excolonial Languages

Applied linguistic research and practice on the African continent has to deal with complex sociolinguistic profiles and ideologically and logistically complex language issues. Most African countries are multilingual in that the majority of the populations speak more than one language, and often three or more. However, in many of these multilingual societies, the official business of the country is carried out on a monolingual

basis, usually through the medium of an excolonial language, such as French, English, or Portuguese. For example, in fifty-six African countries, twenty-two have French as an official language; seventeen, English; eleven, Arabic; five, Portuguese; and one, Spanish (Webb and Kembo, 2000). In Nigeria, there is also rivalry between English and French as official languages, as there was in South Africa between English and Afrikaans. Webb and Kembo (2000: 312) provide a bird's-eye view of the language profiles of the African states, including their population figures, number of languages spoken, main languages spoken, official languages, and literacy rates.

A number of African countries have proclaimed an African language as an official language, for example: KiSwahili in Tanzania and Kenya; Amharic in Ethiopia; Sesotho in Lesotho, and Tigrinya in Eritrea. Some countries, such as Eritrea and South Africa, recognize more than one African language as official languages (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). Although these policies may give greater recognition to **all** indigenous languages, the trends are toward convergence and language shift, often from the local languages to other major African languages, such as Sesotho for Tshivenda and Xitsonga speakers in South Africa, or toward Swahili in Kenya and Tanzania (Abdulaziz, 2000). The functions of these local African languages are still subsidiary, being used for instruction in lower primary school, adult literacy, local and regional administration, and in informal contexts (Bamgbose, 1991). In Mauritius, French-based Creole is the popular lingua franca, while French is the prestige lingua franca, and English is the language of education, business, and government. This situation engenders major language-of-instruction difficulties in schooling and tertiary education (Owodally, 2004).

The use of the excolonial languages, or a major African language, as languages of instruction and official communication, limits access to information for the majority of speakers of local languages. This situation serves to maintain an educated minority, and has serious consequences for literacy (Moyo, 2003). The response to this has been the establishment of various language development initiatives on the continent, some of which entail interstate collaboration. Applied linguistic research in Africa is thus moving from a preoccupation with the teaching of the excolonial languages, to advocacy work and development of the African languages to ensure equitable access to resources. Information on the roles of various languages and new urban varieties in African countries appears in Muthwii and Kioko (2003) and Mesthrie (2002).

## Language Development: Some African Initiatives

A number of initiatives established in various African states aim to increase the status and functions of the indigenous African languages, with special emphasis on crossborder languages, to strengthen relationships between the peoples of Africa, and to promote literature and the oral tradition. In Nigeria, the Language Development Center promotes standard orthographies for local Nigerian languages, and the River Readers project has helped to increase their status (Abdulaziz, 2000). In Cameroon, a Language Committee has been established to research and support the status of local languages at the regional level (Tadadjeu, 2004). Two further initiatives are the establishment of the African Academy of Languages (ACALAN) by the President of the Republic of Mali (ACALAN, 2002: 17) in 2001, and the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB, 2000) in 1995, to promote multilingualism in South Africa and to develop nine of the eleven official South African languages (SiSwati, isiNdebele, isiZulu, isiXhosa; Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, Xitsonga, and Tshivenda). Their work involves accelerating the introduction of African languages into the education system, the legal system, and in administration. They also have links with bodies such as the African Association of Lexicography (Afrilex), established in 1995 to promote research and teaching in lexicography and terminology, especially in the fields of science and technology.

An important area of concern are the problems experienced by learners and local communities in understanding and using newly coined terms which are experienced as artificial, or as belonging to a deep, often rural, variety of the language, which is unfamiliar to the more urban population (Anthonissen and Gough, 1998). An analysis of existing terminology is needed to evaluate its efficiency in the current educational context, coupled with a more participatory approach to language development. Such an approach is discussed with reference to corpus development of Chichewa in Malawi (Banda, 2001). The opinions of first language speakers influenced key decisions regarding the inclusion in the corpus of certain consonants that were applied variably by different native speakers. Banda (2001) provides further information on corpus development of African languages across borders.

## Translation and Interpretation

A much-neglected area of applied linguistic work concerns the training of translators and interpreters

to give substance to national language policies that call for language equity and multilingual language development. In South Africa, the Unit for Language Facilitation at the University of the Free State successfully trained interpreters for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Cape Town, 1995–1998. However, without foreign aid, this work cannot be sustained. There is also a need for extensive training of court interpreters, as many South African court proceedings are conducted in English and/or Afrikaans only, putting African language-speaking plaintiffs and accused at severe disadvantage. Judge J. Hlophé, in a public address, underscored the need for individuals to “receive justice in their own languages.” It remains to be seen whether governments can meet the demand for effective training of translators and interpreters in the African languages.

## Language Learning and Teaching

The teaching of the excolonial languages in Africa has tended toward linguistic and cultural assimilation (Bamgbose, 1991). However, this has been largely unsuccessful due to inappropriate and ineffective Western-based teaching methods. These languages are often taught as if they were first languages, especially in Francophone and Lusophone Africa, with a heavy focus on grammar and with little regard for developing communicative ability (Webb and Kembo, 2000). This situation is exacerbated by the lack of natural exposure to these languages outside the formal teaching context. The communicative language teaching approach, introduced in Anglophone Africa, still has a Western bias in terms of expected behavioral norms, which are inappropriate and irrelevant in African contexts, with a disregard for “African discourse conventions and patterns of communication in language teaching approaches” (Webb and Kembo, 2000: 306).

Case studies of teachers in Eritrea, Namibia, South Africa, and Mozambique show that teachers use grammar-translation methods to teach the excolonial languages, with the emphasis on grammatical explanations and translation, often in the form of code-switching to the learners’ home language. Where teachers have been exposed to more communicative methods in their pre- and in-service training, they tend to construe communicative activities as further exercises for oral work (Weideman, 2003), thereby fostering dependence on repetitious choral work, and rote learning (Macdonald, 1990; Taylor and Vinjevold, 1999). Resistance to an alternative language teaching methodology has been ascribed to various factors, including collusion to mask lack of proficiency (Chick, 1985); entrenched habits; and resistance to change through attitudinal factors (Weideman,

2003; Wildsmith, 1992). Despite interventions to increase exposure to the languages, such as *Learning English by Radio: The Mozambique Project*, in collaboration with *Radio Mozambique* in 1994, learners do not learn these languages sufficiently well to use them either as languages of instruction or to increase access to information in the public domain.

Because the ideology behind the learning of the ex-colonial languages in Africa, and English language teaching (ELT) in particular, has generally been assimilationist, one standard variety has been accepted as the norm to be attained. However, this may not always be an appropriate target for African learners of English, where students and teachers often bring their own Africanized variety to the learning experience. This variety tends to be transferred from teachers to learners in formal learning contexts where there is seriously reduced target language input. South African researchers have identified such a variety of English as Black South African English (BSAfe), and vigorous debates have ensued as to its acceptance as a language of learning (De Klerk and Gough, 2002; Anthonissen and Gough, 1998). This has a number of implications.

First, accepting BSAfe in the classroom might be perceived as a further form of disempowerment, as learners would not be encouraged to master the standard variety. Second, it would challenge the status of the African languages, which are currently being developed as languages of learning in South Africa. Third, there are many localized varieties subsumed under the label BSAfe, some of which are being developed into sub-corpora (e.g., isiXhosa), to eventually form a comprehensive corpus of BSAfe (De Klerk and Gough, 2002). There is thus no single variety known as BSAfe which could be restandardized (Wright, 1996) for educational purposes. Further information on the linguistic composition of BSAfe and the standards debate is provided in De Klerk (1996) and Mesthrie (2002). Research into attitudes toward English, its forms and its functions in various African countries, is covered by Schmied (1991).

### Language Learning and Teaching: African Languages

The question of a standard variety also applies to the learning and teaching of African languages. It is a complex issue, as their development reflects different histories and different methods of standardization across the continent. In South Africa, the initial development of these languages was done by the erstwhile language boards, which often adopted a purist rather than a pragmatic approach to the development

of a standard variety, which has been challenged as contrived, as it does not reflect actual community language use (Anthonissen and Gough, 1998). This adherence to a standard variety also affects language teaching methods, as a rigid, grammar–translation approach is commonly used, resulting in a sound knowledge of linguistic rules but little or no communicative proficiency. This seems to be the *status quo* in many African classrooms (Webb and Kembo, 2000).

In South Africa, there have been attempts to revise mainstream African language curricula and teaching methodology at both secondary and tertiary levels to reflect a more communicative orientation. However, the problems encountered with this type of innovation are similar to those encountered for English language teaching. In addition to resistance to new methods by African language-teachers in schools, non-African language teachers, who are professionally trained to use these methods, often do not have the level of language proficiency required (Wildsmith-Cromarty, 2003). However, various universities in South Africa have mounted language courses to teach African languages for basic functional purposes in the workplace, using communicative methods. One such course is run by the University of KwaZulu-Natal in partnership with Yale University, for foreign students from America who take isiZulu as a credit toward their degree. A course in Northern Sotho, offered at the University of the North, includes a teacher training component for the language tutors, which requires them to critically reflect on their praxis, as well as to teach the language. This need for greater reflexivity on the part of language teachers is in line with a postmodern perspective on language learning and teaching, and is becoming more evident in teacher education courses in South Africa.

### Academic Literacy Development in Higher Education

Much applied linguistic work has been directed toward English language and academic literacy development at tertiary institutions in Southern Africa. In the postmodern era, there seems to have been a shift from a problem-oriented, deficit approach, where non-English speaking students were perceived as limited in English proficiency and underprepared (Chimbanda, 2001), to a more constructivist approach which takes account of the student's own subject positioning and voice *vis-à-vis* academic discourse (Thesen, 1997; de Kadt and Mathonsi, 2003). The deficit perspective resulted in skills-based programs that were mainly adjunct, and packaged as language-bridging courses. The focus was on developing academic reading and writing



skills for learning in other course subjects, so that assessment in these courses was mostly formative. The problem with these courses is the perceived lack of relevance by students, especially where the content does not form part of the mainstream curriculum (Chimbganda, 2001).

More recent South African approaches to teaching academic literacy include an integrated approach in which reading and writing skills are no longer decontextualized, but linked, instead, to the content of the disciplines. This is the approach taken at the University of KwaZulu-Natal where the scaffolding is done collaboratively between the academic literacy specialists and the subject specialists. The other approach works within a critical discourse analysis (CDA) framework (Janks, 1992; Thesen, 1997) and takes an academic-literacies perspective which locates research and practice within the ideological context of the particular institution. Crucial issues considered within this framework are “ownership of knowledge construction” (De Kadt and Mathonsi, 2003), identity, where discourse is perceived as contributing to the construction of social identities and subject positions, and voice (Thesen, 1997; Angelil-Carter, 1998). This approach is learner-centered, focusing more on the reader’s role in interpreting texts. Students are encouraged to use their own experience as a base for critical commentary, and to construct their own interpretation of texts, which, in turn, creates a sense of agency. This is a move toward a more politically engaged applied linguistics in Southern Africa (Kapp, 2001: 14). Further information on writing practices at tertiary level, academic discourse and cultural diversity, accessing and acknowledging sources, feedback and assessment, writing pedagogy, and critical reading practices can be found in Leibowitz and Mohamed (2000) and Angelil-Carter (1998).

Because students bring to the learning experience a primary language or a variety of English not normally used for instructional purposes, they experience alienation from the discourses of the institution and of the disciplines. Yet, they wish to learn through the medium of English, even though the provision of academic literacy modules in English only runs counter to the expression of an African identity and voice within African tertiary institutions. Allowing students to learn and express themselves through their primary languages allows them to access sociocultural ways of knowing that are deeply embedded. It also constructs the primary languages as rich sources of knowledge, which can facilitate learning. This has major implications for the development of the African languages to carry academic content, and is an area that needs serious engagement by African applied linguists in the future.

There is still, however, a wide gap between the demands of the school curriculum and those of the university. Language teaching at school level does not provide learners with adequate cognitive academic language proficiency in either English or the primary languages. It is difficult to encourage critical reflection without the basic ability to read and write. This is one of the main areas of weakness in applied linguistics research in Africa.

## Literacy

Literacy is crucially important for social emancipation, especially in African countries, which, until the 20th century were more preliterate than most Western counterparts.

### Reading Levels and Literacy Measures

Country-by-country valid and reliable literacy measures and estimates of reading levels in Africa are not available in data that would characterize, generally, continental African literacy levels. Data from three reliable sources, however, give some indication of reading and language proficiency levels within the context of overall educational quality assessment surveys. The Program Analysis of Educational Systems of the Conference of Education Ministers of Francophone Countries (PASEC), the Monitoring Learning Achievement Project (MLA), and the UNESCO-based Southern African Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality (SACMEQ) all independently found overall low levels of reading and language proficiency in both Anglophone and Francophone African countries.

The PASEC study revealed language proficiency in French to be 65.1% in Cameroon, 43.5% in Senegal, with Burkina Faso, Cote d’Ivoire, and Madagascar scoring in the range 50–58%. In Madagascar, good performance in Mathematics and French “seem to confirm the hypothesis that learning in the native language . . . (Malagasy) . . . acts as a real accelerator in learning foreign languages” (Sylla, 2004).

The MLA study found “significant variations among countries and disciplines in reading levels, life skills, and arithmetic, with Year 4 performances generally low” (Saito, 2004). For example, the average pupil reading scores in 12 Southern and Eastern African Countries against a SACMEQ norm of 500 (SACMEQ Study II, 2000) reveal that only seven (Seychelles, Kenya, Tanzania, Mauritius, Swaziland, Botswana, and Mozambique) scored minimally higher than the SACMEQ norm, the Seychelles scoring the highest at 582. The other five countries (Uganda, Lesotho, Namibia, Zambia, and Malawi) scored below 500, with the lowest, Malawi, at 429.

The above scores were derived from 8-level reading tests, which measured pupil reading levels at Grade 6 against minimum skills levels, as defined “independently by the authorities in each country.” (ADEA, 2004, 10). In effect, these results show that a large number of pupils at Grade 6 level were reading *de facto* at Grade 3 or 4 levels only.

### Adult Literacy

The low educational levels of many adult Africans and the current high attrition rate from schooling together contribute to high levels of adult illiteracy. The PASEC survey referred to above found that the proportion of adults who can read easily after six years of schooling is generally low throughout Francophone Africa. If this is true of Africa generally, there would seem to be a high regression from school-achieved literacy. Retention of school pupils to Grade 12 is an ideal not easily achieved in Africa as yet, and literacy levels will remain low until this ideal is attained. The question of adult literacy, especially in the workplace, is considered in depth by Prinsloo and Brier (1996).

### Early Literacy Development

Western cultural agencies and publishing interests have ensured a good promotion and supply of reading and learning materials which privilege the Western languages. This has served to devalue the status and currency of the few materials written in the indigenous languages. Control over one’s mother tongue is more likely to ensure successful control over an additional language. However, this has been largely ignored in many African contexts, with the result that many African preschool and primary level children are denied the basic right to acquisition of literacy in their mother tongue (Bloch, 1999).

### Enliteration: Challenges and Responses

Both early childhood and adult literacy development present high priority challenges to applied linguists wishing to contribute to language development and effective, communicative, multilingual use of languages, both primary and additional (Western) languages. This requires urgent attention to the role of the mother tongue in first and second language enliteration processes. Three Southern African-based responses are worth mentioning here.

The Molteno project, based in Johannesburg, has achieved considerable success in training and retraining teachers using an additive bilingualism model that draws on teachers’ first language resources to enable them to teach English as an additional language.

Concept literacy is the goal of a major project involving the Universities of Cape Town, KwaZulu-Natal,

and Rhodes. Based at the Center for Applied Language and Literacy Studies and Services in Africa (CALLSSA), this project seeks to provide a textual resource base of mother tongue equivalents of English medium core concepts in Math and Science at Grades 1–9 levels, to assist teachers and learners to overcome the barriers of language and concept formation in the new South African curriculum.

Finally, the Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa (PRAESA), working in multilingual education, has initiated a program of biliteracy at Grade 2 level. Children learn to read and write in both isiXhosa and English simultaneously, so that they do not lose the emotional creativity and potential for literacy that comes with learning through the mother tongue (Bloch, 1999). In addition, there is a move to revive the strong African oral tradition, with its rich folklore and story genres, so that literacy practices may arise naturally from orality.

### Conclusion

At the turn of the millennium, applied linguistics in Africa was becoming indigenized, in keeping with the ideological focus on linguistic diversity, language development, and multilingualism. There is a strong call for community participation in research at all levels – an emic perspective which will help inform decisions on language varieties versus language standardization, pedagogic practices, and language practices in key domains. Linguistic and sociocultural diversity is being foregrounded, as the hegemony of excolonial languages is increasingly challenged, giving rise to research truly characteristic of an African postmodern context. In keeping with the emphasis on social justice and equity, Africa needs to promote expertise in African language development, including translation, lexicography, terminology, interpreting, creative writing, and journalism. There is need for a focus on bilingual and multilingual language learning in teacher education programs, and increased professionalization of language teachers at all levels of education. Finally, there is a need for more research into legal, medical, and business discursive contexts, where intercultural communication is so crucial. This needs to happen, however, from an *African* applied linguistic perspective, in support of the formation of a truly African identity and the need for social accountability.

*See also:* Assessment of Second Language Proficiency; Communicative Language Teaching; Education in a Former Colonial Language; Educational Linguistics; Language Assessment Standards; Languages in Tertiary Education; Languages of Wider Communication; Lingua Francas as Second Languages; Multilingual Societies

and Language Education; Nonnative Speaker Teachers; Nonstandard Language; Second Language Corpus Studies; Second Language Identity; Traditions in Second Language Teaching; Translation Pedagogy; World Englishes.

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## Australasia and the Pacific

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### The Domain of Applied Linguistics in the Region

The domain of applied linguistics is contested worldwide; the region of Australia and the Pacific is no different. Applied linguistics is seen in a variety of different ways, the broadest view being that of the Australian Applied Linguistics Association, whose website states its goal as the application of linguistics to

- the methodology of teaching, learning, and testing languages (mother tongue and foreign languages);
- multicultural education in Australian society, including aboriginal, migrant, and other groups;
- language teaching technology;
- problems of language and the individual (including language acquisition and dysfunction);
- problems of language and society (including language planning and language standardization);
- the theory and practice of translation;
- the analysis and interpretation of spoken and written discourse (including stylistics, poetics, and pragmatics);
- the study of language in relation to other semiotic systems (including film and theatre, mime and dance, codes and ciphers, costume and ornament, mythology and folklore).

A scan of university departments and their degrees offers a different perspective. Macquarie University, for example, offers a Masters degree in applied linguistics, with four strands: general, literacy, TESOL (teaching English to speakers of other languages), and language program management, while other degrees cover many of the topics above. For example, language dysfunction is the subject matter of a number of degrees in speech and hearing, while interpreting and translation have degrees under their own name. The University of Melbourne, on the other hand, includes four different strands under the rubric of applied linguistics: computer-assisted language learning, English language, language testing and language program evaluation, and TESOL. The University of Auckland has a Department of Applied Language Studies and Linguistics, with programs in linguistics, language teaching and learning, and TESOL.

If applied linguistics is concerned with applying our knowledge about language to real-world decision

making, then the discipline includes the broad areas of language in education, language in the workplace, and language in social life. While language, and therefore its study, linguistics, appears to be the core knowledge base of applied linguistics, it is necessarily interdisciplinary in nature, drawing on disciplines as different as psychology, education, sociology, computer science, and philosophy. However, it is neither linguistics nor an interdisciplinary *mélange* that is the emphasis of applied linguistics; rather, it concerns issues and the research on and solution to language-related problems that people encounter in the real world, whether those people be policy makers, lawyers, doctors, teachers, or interpreters. Further, applied linguistics is not simply the application of knowledge of language to issues of language use; increasingly, applied linguists study the very practice of language in use in real-world situations, leading to theorizing that itself contributes back to linguistics and other fields. This article then takes the view that applied linguistics is itself a discipline that uses a variety of disciplinary tools to analyze language in use, constructs theories from such research, and contributes to new knowledge in linguistics and other disciplines. It looks, therefore, at both the research/theory building and the practice of applied linguistics within the region. This position is not uncontroversial, as linguists within Australia, working in the systemic functional linguistics paradigm, have asserted that linguistics by its very nature is social, responsive to community need, and interventionist and so there is no need for the term applied linguistics (Painter and Martin, 1986). While this article is organized under the three broad issues mentioned above, they do, of course, overlap. All three areas by their very nature of referring to real-world problems require an understanding of the professional practice under investigation. Therefore, "If applied linguistics is truly problem driven, then it needs to be equally outcome focused, and collaboratively undertaken with professional practitioners" (Candlin and Candlin, 2003: 146). As we discuss below, much of the applied linguistics research in Australasia has been collaborative and focused on problem solution.

### The World of Australasia and the Pacific

The Macquarie Dictionary, the authoritative source of Australian-English usage, defines Australasia as "Australia, New Zealand, and neighbouring islands of the South Pacific Ocean" (Delbridge *et al.*, 2001: 117). In one sense, this definition makes the title of this article repetitive; however, for those not



familiar with the term, it may explain the region under discussion. For the purposes of this article, the region is confined to the Macquarie Dictionary definition of Australasia, that is, islands in the Pacific region not in the neighborhood of Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand will not be included (for example, Guam).

### The World of Applied Linguistics in the Region

Research and practice of applied linguistics in the region, as in any other region, draw on a variety of research and linguistics paradigms; however, this region is unique in that one particular theory of language has dominated the discipline in the latter half of the 20th century, namely, systemic functional linguistics. This framing began with the appointment of Michael Halliday to the Chair of Linguistics at Sydney University in the late 1970s and the subsequent development of the Sydney school of genre, which has been influential in applied linguistics throughout the region and beyond (for example, Singapore and Hong Kong SAR (Special Administrative Region)).

### Language in Education

In many journals and articles, applied linguistics is synonymous with second language teaching; however, the real-world language-related problems in education include literacy, mother-tongue education, language teacher preparation, and languages for specific purposes, as well as additional language education (whether as a second or foreign language). While accepting that the dichotomy between second and foreign language cannot be upheld either theoretically or descriptively, it is a useful shorthand (*see Second and Foreign Language Learning and Teaching*).

The influence of systemic functional linguistics can especially be seen in research and practice in language and education, an influence that cuts across all levels of education. One of the primary characteristics of this approach is the description of genres, that is, the culturally typical ways of engaging rhetorically with recurring situations. The Sydney school, as well as following a specific, social model of language, has promoted pedagogical approaches to provide access to the genres of power for learners other than the brightest, middle-class monolingual students (Martin, 1989). This has led to explicit instruction in the features of specific genres for specific learner groups, for example, recount for young learners and adults new to English or even literacy, or report

for secondary science students, or thesis writing for tertiary students. This instruction follows a teaching–learning cycle with the following characteristics:

- building the context, during which teacher and learner explore the sociocultural context of the text type or genre being studied
- modeling, during which teacher and learner read sample texts and analyze and discuss their language and structure
- joint negotiation of text, during which teacher and learners construct a text together
- independent construction of text, during which learners write their own texts, consult with their teacher, and finally redraft and edit
- linking to other texts, during which teacher and learners explore other texts in similar or different contexts (Callaghan and Rothery, 1988).

**Literacy** Literacy within applied linguistics has been variously defined; however, the approach taken here is one that goes beyond reading and writing as skills but that includes the sociocultural construction of literacy, including visual literacy. Literacy has been extensively researched in the region at primary, secondary, adult, and tertiary levels; however, the research has not always been conducted by applied linguists and, in Australia in particular, there has been considerable tension between literacy researchers and applied linguistics researchers, between proponents of process writing and whole language and proponents of explicit modeling, and between views of literacies as socioculturally constructed, as cognitive-psychological skills, as reading and writing, or as entailing four competencies, namely, coding, semantic, pragmatic, and critical. The cognitive-psychological approach (for example, Coltheart, 1980) has had particular research application in the area of reduced literacy skills in children and adults with cognitive dysfunction, with particular focus on reading of individual words. Work in second language learning has also shown that growth of vocabulary is one of the more, if not most, important aspects of second language learning. In contrast, a study in Fiji, where reading for pleasure is not part of the culture, found that immersing learners in a ‘flood’ of extensive reading positively affected reading and listening comprehension, as well as related skills (Elley and Mangubhai, 1981). However, literacy education remains a key priority in Fiji, as in other Pacific nations that have jointly signed on to the Basic Education and Literacy Support Program, in conjunction with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and other aid agencies. Delivery of such programs is

complicated in Fiji because of its history of local, community-based, controlled education system. While Fiji is often praised for its decentralized system because it meets local needs, attempting to implement a nation-wide program is difficult. The 1991 policy document that established the Australian Language and Literacy Policy (ALLP) (Department of Employment Education and Training, 1991) defined literacy in such a way that it became equated with English, language, or even oracy and defined literacy as merely functional. Across education sectors, English as a second language (ESL) teachers considered themselves to be language teachers, and that language included literacy. However, these practitioners acknowledged the important distinctions between mother tongue and additional language acquisition, a distinction lost in the ALLP definition and subsequent provision. The view that second language education and literacy are distinct fields has also been advocated in New Zealand. This conflation of terms led to disputes over research funding and service delivery, but more importantly, has also led to the almost invisibility of ESL (and English as a second dialect (ESD)) in many sectors, as it is subsumed into generic literacy programs, although many states in Australia still maintain Intensive English Programs as centers specializing in English as an additional language (EAL) instruction for recent arrivals of high school age. Most recently, there has been a move to change qualifications of teachers teaching in the technical and further education sector (largely vocational education) within Australia, so that the qualification for teaching a second language be a diploma in language, literacy and numeracy, and that holders of such a diploma be able to teach ESL as well as literacy and numeracy to native English speaker adults. Currently, Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand have no official literacy policy on which to draw.

Within the vocational and training sector in Australia, there has been recent discussion about appropriate models of delivery of literacy (and numeracy): fully integrated, isolation, and shared responsibility. Fully integrated models are those in which there are no specialized literacy instructors or curriculum, but literacy is embedded in training packages. In the isolation model, literacy specialists provide support for learners through independent programs and curricula. The shared responsibility model, the one favored by the sector, blends the two extremes so that literacy specialists provide specialized literacy instruction, but vocational subject matter instructors also share some of the responsibility for the literacy development and referral of their students.

In Aotearoa/New Zealand, while there is debate between whole language and a more cognitive approach to early literacy, literacy has a wide definition within the schooling sector – not merely reading and writing, but also uses of language valued by society, individuals, and communities. New Zealand research has found that some groups (for example, Samoan and other Pasifika communities) are not well served by schools because there is a mismatch between community and schooling literacy practices (McNaughton, 1995). Others have found that non-English speaking background (NESB) learners were behind their peers in literacy, mathematics, and logical problem solving (Wylie *et al.*, 2001) and that teachers perceive that it is students' own characteristics that affect their ability to learn English (Kennedy and Dewar, 1997).

**Mother Tongue Education** While literacy may be subsumed under mother tongue education, it was dealt with separately above because of its salience in public discourse. Because the region under discussion includes countries with multiple languages, either indigenous or immigrant, the language of education is a contested issue. Papua New Guinea, for example, with over 850 languages, has embarked upon education reform, with the children's vernacular used in the early primary years, a transition period during which both the vernacular and English are used, and upper primary, where English is the language of instruction. However, research (Honan, 2003) has shown that, because of the number of languages and the mobility of families, the vernacular taught in a child's school may not be the vernacular used by the child. The child's home language may in fact be Tok Pisin, one of the three official languages of Papua New Guinea, not the vernacular of either parent. Additionally, while the vernacular may be the home language for some communities, it may not be the language for literacy practices. The language planning assumption seems to be that through mother tongue education, a community of literacy practice will develop in that mother tongue; however, the only opportunity for literacy practices may be in one of the official languages – for completing forms, reading the contents of packaged goods, and so on. While education has used the vernacular in Papua New Guinea and several other former British colonies such as Fiji (initially by missionaries for evangelism), Samoa, and the Kingdom of Tonga, English was used for education in the Solomon Islands during the colonial period, supposedly because of the large number of languages (today around 80) used by the small population (today about one-third of a million), and today is the official language, although Solomon Islands Pijin is a *lingua franca*. In the Solomon Islands,



the Pijin word for 'one language' is used to describe one's extended family, all being speakers of the same language. Tonga maintains a strong tradition of literacy in Tongan and English as an additional language and, unique among Pacific Island nations, has universal primary education. Its strong religious focus as a nation has encouraged Tongan literacy for Bible reading and English as a language for wider communication. Almost all Tongans are literate in either or both languages. In Samoa, Samoan is the national language and children are educated in it; English is used officially for business, a result of its long association with New Zealand, having been a mandated and then trust territory of New Zealand for almost 50 years after World War I.

In Australia, English-only instruction was policy for Australia's indigenous peoples, Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders, until the early 1970s (except for some Christian Mission schools), when the government of the time considered that every Australian should be literate in their first language (L1) first, leading to bilingual schools in a number of states and territories. However, by the 1990s, the only extant bilingual programs for indigenous peoples were some run by individual states. What is important to note is that Aboriginal languages were not written until the 19th or 20th centuries, so the transition from an oral to a literate culture has been quite recent in comparison to the cultures from which the majority of Australians come. Additionally, most Aboriginal adults in remote communities speak English as a second (or more) language, while their children start school speaking an indigenous language. These children therefore acquire literacy first at school in English. In cities and rural centers, children (and adults) will often be speakers of Aboriginal English so that acquisition of standard Australian English, with its different linguistic features at the word, sentence, and text levels, needs to be explicitly taught; this is not always the case, however. Additionally, language and literacy education needs to be culturally appropriate and to use learning strategies compatible with indigenous learning styles. One such effective and well-researched program has been operating in Western Australia for several years as a collaboration between university-based and community-based researchers (Malcolm *et al.*, 1999).

In Aotearoa/New Zealand, grass-root (usually called flax-root after flax, a native plant in Aotearoa/New Zealand) initiatives in the early 1980s led first to the development of Te Kohanga Reo, preschools in Maori in which grandparents transmitted language and culture to their grandchildren, bypassing parents who are mostly not native Maori speakers. Later, the Kura Kaupapa Maori movement developed strict

criteria for their schools, which included only teachers who are fluent native speakers of Maori and immersion for youngsters for 6 years. Research has shown that Maori and Pasifika languages are supported at early childhood level and there are some immersion and bilingual classes in primary schools but virtually no support at the secondary level (David *et al.*, 2001).

For mother tongue education for students whose families use community languages (community language is used in Australia for the languages of immigrant communities), this education has primarily relied on community language schools, although many community languages are taught in schools and, in Australia, increasingly in the primary school. Many state governments provide financial support and free access to government school premises for community language schools. In Australia, many of these languages are examinable at end-of-high-school gate-keeping examinations so that learners from different community languages can count their mother tongue competence for graduation requirements. Bilingual education is not as prevalent in Australasia as it is in the United States, for example, largely because there is seldom a critical mass of learners of the same language at the same age level. The exception is Australian Sign Language (Auslan), for which there are schools specifically for learners with hearing loss. However, as more and more children have cochlear implants and are mainstreamed, there is some fear that Auslan is becoming an endangered language.

**Language Teacher Preparation and Professional Development** While there are many language teacher preparation programs in the region, there is no coherent body of research into teacher knowledge and skills required for effective language instruction. Some recent research has focused on the role of the non-native teacher and teacher candidate. There has, however, been a long tradition, especially in the adult ESL field in Australia, of teacher-conducted action research (for example, Burns and de Silva Joyce, 2001), which has examined a variety of different teaching and learning issues, from vocabulary instruction to using computer-mediated communication in the language classroom to learner-centered curriculum, always with the goals of both the professional development of teacher-researchers and the improvement of instruction in mind.

**Languages for Specific Purposes** While English for specific purposes, especially at the tertiary level, is well researched in the region, there is little research on the use of languages other than English (LOTE)

for specific purposes, largely because English is the primary medium of communication in the region. Much of the work has been completed using the systemic functional linguistics model of language to describe the discourse of disciplines such as sociology, geography, science, and social studies (for example, Halliday and Martin, 1993). Other work includes English for academic purposes (EAP) (Kaldor *et al.*, 1998), contrastive rhetoric, scaffolding, and genre studies.

**Additional Language Education** As a result of Australia's 1987 *National Policy on Languages* (Lo Bianco, 1987), Australia developed initiatives for the teaching of LOTEs, both languages of ethnic communities and languages of trade or tradition. Since their introduction, research has been conducted to examine all aspects of the use and learning of these languages. Such studies have shown that different levels of attainment are reached for different languages (Brown *et al.*, 2000), that participation affects acquisition (Brown *et al.*, 2000), that mother tongue affects classroom management (Clyne *et al.*, 1997), and that computer-based instruction may facilitate learning (Felix, 2001).

One thrust of research and practice in both LOTE and English language education in Australia has been the inclusion of culture in language teaching – not high culture or popular culture, but rather the way culture is transmitted through language. This has led to theories about and research into intercultural competence, an expansion of Hymes's communicative competence (Liddicoat and Crozet, 2000). This work has posited the notion of an intercultural space that educators need to help their learners develop, a space that other researchers refer to as fault lines or contact zones. This intercultural space is complex, requiring tolerance of ambiguity and negotiation of meaning.

Another theoretical thread through the research in both additional languages and language (especially English) for specific disciplinary purposes has been scaffolding, a strategy based on Vygotsky's zone of proximal development (1978). Research into scaffolding has identified both contingent and planned scaffolding (Hammond, 2001), that is, scaffolding that occurs *in situ*, as students interact with the teacher and jointly construct spoken and written texts, and scaffolding that is at the macro level, occurring through pre-planned selection and sequencing of activities and strategies.

While the genre approach discussed above under language in education focuses on language as text, written or spoken, considerable research has also been conducted in both Australia and New Zealand into the teaching and learning of individual skills,

such as casual conversation, vocabulary, grammar, and pronunciation.

Although Aotearoa/New Zealand is an immigrant nation, most immigrants came from English-speaking countries, except for a large wave of Pacific Islanders in the 1960s and 1970s and Chinese and refugees in the last few years. For the former group, the Pasifika Education Plan was recently developed to cover all education sectors, with a focus on improving early literacy and provision of bilingual education. Recently, as a result of the growing numbers of second language learners in grade K–12, the New Zealand Ministry of Education commissioned research into best practices for delivering ESOL services to new immigrants and developed an adult ESOL strategy (Ministry of Education, 2003).

### **Language in the Workplace**

Language in the workplace encompasses workplace communication as well as the discourse of the profession, extending even to forensic linguistics. There is a strong tradition of research into health care communication, especially in intercultural contexts (for example, Dowell *et al.*, 2001), and more general language use in the workplace, especially targeted for immigrants. In Australia, this included a televised program with accompanying workbooks. Forensic linguistics is a strong application of linguistic work in Australia (see, for example, Gibbons, 2003) and New Zealand and includes work on Aboriginal and NESB clients in the courts.

### **Language in Social Life**

While language in social life could be a broad-ranging area covering many topic areas, within the region, language planning has had the most impact. However, translation and interpretation and language assessment have also been prominent in the region. While language assessment may appear to apply largely to language and education, within the region it has been used for broader social decision making, such as immigration and professional accreditation. Language education policies could arguably fall into language in education; however, since such policies involve interventions that affect the broader society, that is, not only educationalists and learners, it is best categorized and discussed under language planning more generally. Because another article considers language education policies in the Pacific, this article is confined to language education policies in Australasia.

**Translation and Interpretation** Translating and interpreting became a recognized profession in Australia in the 1970s, with the establishment of the

National Authority for the Accreditation of Translators and Interpreters Ltd. (NAATI), a company that determines the levels of competence expected of professionals and that also accredits training programs, from which graduates are automatically certified. NAATI is the official organization for such testing and accreditation in both Australia and New Zealand.

**Language Assessment** Language assessment covers a broad range of both achievement assessment of language learning and high-stakes tests for accreditation, immigration, and placement into educational programs. In Australia, within the Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP), there has been more than a decade of research and development of assessment of adult migrants' competency as a result of instruction in AMEP language programs. This research has investigated task comparability and difficulty, rater consistency, washback, and task moderation (for example, Brindley, 2000). The overall goal of the program has been to provide professional development for teachers to be able to assess their learners themselves reliably. Within the school sector, there has been research into oral assessment of NESB adolescents.

One line of research has been into the IELTS (International English Language Testing System) examination, the test used for university entrance of international students, immigration, and entrance to some professions. Research covers most areas of test design and implementation, from task difficulty to predictive validity to reliability.

Another form of assessment has been the benchmarking projects in Australia, projects designed to determine learner pathways for NESB learners in Australian schools (McKay *et al.*, 1994). More recently, the government has developed a national Literacy and Numeracy Plan, with reports on all learners against benchmarks, disaggregated for language background. There is no equivalent in Aotearoa/New Zealand; however, there are the New Zealand Curriculum statements of expected achievement and NESB assessment guidelines. Both, however, are benchmarked against native speaker students.

**Language Planning and Policy** Australia is unique in the English-dominant world in having developed an extensive and inclusive national policy on languages in 1987 (Lo Bianco, 1987). This policy included policies in three main language arenas:

1. English for all
2. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages
3. A language other than English for all.

It thereby affirmed English as the national language with three types of provision: first language acquisition, acquisition by immigrant adults and children, and English as a foreign language (EFL), which was to include Aboriginals who have little exposure to English use in their daily lives learning English, assistance in the form of foreign aid, and a regional provider for international students and guests. In the arena of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages, the policy provided for bilingual education programs, translating and interpreting services, English and literacy programs, national awareness of these languages, and support for and revitalization of these languages. In the arena of LOTEs, languages to be taught included community languages for both maintenance (such as Maltese) and new learning (for example, Greek), as well as programs for languages of importance to Australia for trade (for example, Japanese and Indonesian) or historical reasons (for example, French).

Prior to the adoption of the National Policy, Australia had legislated a national program for the teaching of English to adult immigrants and refugees. This national program (see Martin, 1999 for a history of this program), begun in 1949, is a settlement program, funded through the Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs. Unlike the teaching of the official language to immigrants in many other nations (for example, the United States, Great Britain, and New Zealand), Australia's program is both national and highly integrated, containing features unique to Australia, such as a national curriculum framework, a national research center to coordinate and conduct research and professional development across the program, highly professional teachers, and a collaborative approach between the Commonwealth and organizations providing the program.

In Aotearoa/New Zealand, the 1987 Maori Language Act established both English and Maori as official languages, with the Maori Language Commission established to oversee programs promoting indigenous language. In the early 1990s, Aotearoa/New Zealand attempted to develop a national language policy and in 1992 published a draft document, which was, however, never ratified or implemented. In the meantime, various government documents created a *de facto* if not a *de jure* language policy. Such documents include ones referred to above for language in education, as well as statements within the New Zealand Curriculum Framework, which recognizes English as the language of national and international communication, but also acknowledges that students from language backgrounds other than English (LBOTE) should initially use their first language and

move between it and English, and that such students should also develop and use their own language as part of their schooling.

One of the more interesting language-planning initiatives in the region has been in East Timor, since its liberation. Like much of the region, the language situation is highly complex, with 15 indigenous languages (Tetum [Tetun], the vernacular of the Belu who united central Timor under their rule, being the most widely spoken), two colonial languages (Portuguese and Indonesian), and one language of wider communication, English. The new government chose Portuguese as the national language of the new nation, because the Portuguese influence on East Timor is reflected in their views of themselves as a nation and their common ethnic consciousness and unity.

*See also:* Assessment of Second Language Proficiency; Foreign Language Teaching Policy; Language Education of the Deaf; Multilingual Societies and Language Education; Nonnative Speaker Teachers; Second and Foreign Language Learning and Teaching; Second Language Teacher Preparation; Standard Language; Teacher Preparation; Teaching of Minority Languages.

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<http://www.minedu.govt.nz> – Aotearoa/New Zealand Ministry of Education website.

<http://www.naati.com.au> – National Authority for the Accreditation of Translators and Interpreters Ltd. (NAATI) website.

<http://www.ielts.org> – International English Language Testing System (IELTS) website for all IELTS research project reports.

<http://www.dest.gov.au> – Department of Education Science and Training website.



## China

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### Introduction

The People's Republic of China (PRC) is a country in which 56 ethnic groups (or nationalities) are officially recognized. The majority ethnic group, the Han Chinese, accounts for 91.6% of the total population, which is estimated to be approximately 1.27 billion on the China mainland alone and 1.3 billion for the 'Greater China' region, which includes the populations of Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan (National Bureau of Statistics of the People's Republic of China, 2001). On the China mainland, around 8% of the population are members of 55 minority groups, many of which have retained their own languages. The Han Chinese people speak two main groups of dialects: the northern dialects and the southern dialects. The northern dialects can be subdivided into seven subgroups, and the southern dialects into six subgroups (Huang, 1987: 33–45). Among the 55 minorities, it has been reported that as many as 80–120 languages are spoken (of which 60 are officially recognized) (Zhou, 2003: 23), and that these minority languages also show a significant amount of dialectal variation.

After the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, it took a few years for an official language policy to be formulated, but since 1956, the government language policy has been the 'unification of the Chinese language' and the promotion of *Putonghua*, the 'common language' based on the northern dialect and the Peking pronunciation. Other language-planning aims have included the removal of illiteracy, the propagation of simplified characters, and the promotion of the official romanization system of pinyin. Following the establishment of the republic, ethnic minorities were initially allowed to use and develop their languages, but their languages were suppressed during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976); afterward, they were encouraged to become bilingual in their own languages and Chinese. Since 1949, various foreign languages have been taught in China at different times, and the learning of Russian has been considered to be of prime importance. Since the late 1950s, however, with the exception of during the Cultural Revolution, English has been regarded as the most important foreign language to learn. Other foreign languages of secondary importance include Japanese, German, French, and other languages for diplomatic purposes. At Beijing

Foreign Studies University (BFSU), for example, over 30 foreign languages are currently taught.

Although applied linguistics can be dated back to the 1940s in the United States (Kaplan, 2002: vii), applied linguistics as a recognized discipline did not begin to establish itself in China till the late 1970s, at the end of the Cultural Revolution. Nevertheless, it can be claimed that applied linguistic issues and practices were part of the Chinese experience long before the term *yingyong yuyanxue* ('applied linguistics') came into use. This article begins with a brief review of the recent history of China and a summary of the development of linguistics in China. It then proceeds to a discussion of applied linguistics, with reference to the study of three types of language issues in China, concerning the Chinese language, minority languages, and foreign languages.

### Historical Background

It is generally accepted that the Chinese have one of the oldest language traditions in the world, with a number of written texts dating back some 3000 years. Issues related to language have been at the heart of many of the key philosophical debates in Chinese intellectual history (Hansen, 1983). In addition, China has had a long history of classical lexicography dating from the work of Hsü Shen in the 1st century A.D. to the present (Wang and Asher, 1994). When the first Catholic missionaries under Matteo Ricci began to visit China from the late 16th century on, they were immediately impressed by the intellectual culture they encountered. The first pioneers of modern dialectology were arguably the Protestant missionaries who arrived from the early 19th century on. They were fired by the desire to map the dialects of China in the service of their churches and were keenly concerned with learning and codifying the vernacular languages of their constituencies, including the Canton dialect, Hokkien, and the Amoy (Xiamen) dialect (Bolton and Luke, 2005). A number of the Protestant missionaries were also convinced of the need for language reform, and their proposals included the vernacularization of the Chinese writing system, and the use of various romanized writing systems alongside or instead of Chinese characters.

Such early dialectological work was accompanied by the incursion of Western traders, diplomats, and missionaries into China. After the First Anglo-Chinese War (1839–1842) and the Second Anglo-Chinese War (1856–1862), a number of 'treaty ports' were established at such locations as Canton (Guangzhou), Amoy (Xiamen), Foochow (Fuzhou), Ningpo (Ningbo),



and Shanghai. A system of missionary schools was established in these and other locations, in which pupils were often taught English, which fast gained popularity as a language of commercial value. The Chinese authorities also began teaching English themselves and founded an interpreters' college, the *Tongwen Guan*, in Peking in 1862, followed by other foreign language schools elsewhere. Somewhat later, by the beginning of the 20th century, a system of English-medium colleges and universities had been established across China (Bolton, 2003).

Late-19th-century China was a time and place of rapid social and political change, as the country attempted to come to terms with social disturbances, the pressures of modernization, and contact with the West. In 1911, the last emperor of China was deposed, and a republic was declared the following year. The decades that followed were politically chaotic, with various nationalist (*Guomingdang*) and communist factions competing for power. In 1931, Japanese forces occupied Manchuria, and throughout the 1930s they fought against both the communists and nationalists for control of the country. After the defeat of the Japanese in 1945, the communists gained control, and the PRC was established on October 1, 1949.

The new government faced immense problems in rebuilding the economy and infrastructure of the country and in formulating its foreign policy. Initially, China's leaders aligned themselves with the Soviet Union, but from the late 1950s and early 1960s on, they began to move away from this stance. Following this distancing, there was renewed interest in English, but this was cut short by the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). During this period, education was made subservient to politics at a time when economic and political turmoil resulted in a tremendous loss of lives. At the end of the Cultural Revolution, however, a number of important policy changes took place, including the resumption of university education and the launching of Deng Xiaoping's policy of 'Four Modernizations,' which soon evolved into a "reform and opening policy" (Dillon, 1998: 109). In the 1980s and 1990s, China industrialized rapidly and economic growth has now created substantial pockets of new wealth (at least for certain sectors of the population) and has assisted in the formation of a new middle class. On the international front, China joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) in December 2001 and will host the Olympics in 2008.

### Modern Linguistics in China

According to Branner (1997: 244), before the late 19th century, the Chinese linguistic tradition was "almost entirely philological" in the sense that "it

was concerned with how to read received classical texts (especially rhyming texts), how to read rare characters, how to manage the great wealth of canonical alternate readings for individual characters, and how to explain the graphic structures of characters." By the early 20th century, however, comparative linguistics in China had been advanced by the work of British scholars such as the missionary Joseph Edkins (1823–1905) and the consular official Edward Harper Parker (1849–1926), who was a pioneer in the collection of dialectological data (Branner, 1999). Such Western linguists contributed to the debates that took place on modernizing and reforming the Chinese language in the late nineteenth and early 20th century. After the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1912, various groups of Chinese scholars pressed for the reform of the written language, which eventually resulted in the *baihua* movement of the 1920s and 1930s and in the emergence of modern standard Chinese (De Francis, 1950).

By the 1930s, a domestic tradition in linguistics and dialectology began to be established, associated with such scholars as Yuen Ren Chao (1892–1982), Fang Kuei Li (1902–1987), and Wang Li (1900–1986). By this time, linguists also began to classify Chinese dialects according to seven or eight major groups. Varieties such as the 'Shanghai dialect,' 'Amoy vernacular,' and 'Canton dialect' now came to be referred to as the *Wu*, *Min*, and *Yue*, a system of classification credited to Fang Kuei Li (Chan and Tai, 1989). All three scholars studied at Western universities: Chao took a Ph.D. in philosophy at Harvard (but also had extensive contacts with Edward Sapir, as well as Leonard Bloomfield and Roman Jakobson), Fang Keui Li studied linguistics in Chicago with Edward Sapir, and Wang Li read general linguistics and phonetics in Paris (Chan and Tai, 1989; Shen, 1994). In the 1920s and 1930s, many Chinese linguists, including Chao, became keenly involved in discussions on language reform and on such issues as a national phonetic alphabet, simplifying characters, and promoting literacy. Among nationalist politicians in the 1930s, however, the issue was how to 'unify' the language and the need for "one state, one people, one language" (De Francis, 1950: 84). After the establishment of the People's Republic in 1949, such goals resurfaced in various language planning initiatives, as discussed in the next section.

### Linguistics Applied and Applied Linguistics in Contemporary China

In contemporary China, applied linguistics is broadly associated with three types of linguistic activities: Chinese language education, developing minority

languages, and the teaching of foreign languages, including English.

### Applied Linguistics and the Chinese Language

In the post-1949 period, as noted above, a central tenet of official language policy has been the promotion of the spoken standard, Putonghua, and the codification and teaching of a standardized Chinese script. In 1954, the government initiated discussions on the simplification of Chinese characters, and in 1956, the First Character Simplification Scheme was implemented. After the Cultural Revolution, some attempt was made to increase the number of simplified characters, but it was not well received. In 1986, the 1964 list with 2235 simplified characters and 14 radicals (or parts of a character) was reaffirmed for general use. In tandem with the teaching of simplified characters, Putonghua has also been promoted as the standard spoken dialect in all official domains. In February 1956, the State Council issued a directive requiring all primary schools and secondary schools, except those in ethnic minority regions, to include the teaching of Putonghua in Chinese lessons from the autumn of 1956. If Chinese was taught in minority schools, then Putonghua should be used as a standard. To facilitate the learning of Putonghua, a romanized script, *Hanyu Pinyin*, was finalized in 1958. Training workshops were organized for teachers, but this initiative was interrupted by political events and the Cultural Revolution. From the mid-1980s, much effort was spent in developing assessment instruments, culminating in the *Putonghua Shuiping Ceshi* (PSC or Putonghua Proficiency Test) for native speakers of Chinese, which was implemented widely from 1994 and formally endorsed again in 1997 by the State Language Commission. Another test designed for nonnative speakers of Chinese, the *Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi* (HSK or Chinese Proficiency Test of China) was also established by 1988. The Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi is now internationally accepted as the standard test for Chinese as a Foreign Language (Gu, 1997; Lam, 2005).

Another notable area of applied Chinese linguistics has been that of machine translation. As early as 1956, a machine translation project team was established at the Chinese Academy of Sciences. The initial work involved translation between Chinese and Russian. The focus was later changed to multilingual systems based mainly on translation protocols between Chinese and English. This machine translation research group later evolved into the Applied Linguistics Research Laboratory: Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, 2002.

Although the effect of linguistics on language planning and Chinese studies can be traced back to

the late 19th century, as mentioned earlier, it was not until 1980 that the *Zhongguo Yuyan Xuehui* (Society of Chinese Linguistics) held its inaugural meeting. In January 1984, the *Yuyan Wenzhi Yingyong Yanjiusuo* (Applied Linguistics Research Institute) was established under the auspices of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the *Zhongguo Wenzhi Gaige Weiyuanhui* (Commission on Language Planning of China), and in September of the same year, the institute held its inaugural conference. In 1985, at the first international conference on the 'Teaching of Chinese,' held in Beijing, it was proposed that an association for the teaching of Chinese should be established worldwide. In 1990, a symposium was held jointly by the Applied Linguistics Research Institute and Suzhou University to explore issues such as the scope of applied linguistics and its relevance for language teaching and language standardization. Two leading journals in applied Chinese linguistics are *Yuyan Wenzhi Yingyong* (Applied Linguistics), which was first published in 1992, and *Zhongwen Xinxu* (Chinese Information Processing), which appeared in 1984 (Fei, 1997).

### Applied Linguistics and Minority Languages

The 55 minority ethnic groups occupy a sensitive position within China's officially multicultural state, as their speakers represent some 8% of the population but are located in approximately 64% of the total land area (Dai, Teng, Guan and Dong, 1997: 10). The ten largest minority groups in China are the Zhuangs (16.2 million speakers), the Mans (10.7 million), the Huis (9.8 million), the Miaos (8.9 million), the Uygurs (8.4 million), the Tujias (8.0 million), the Yis (7.8 million), the Mongols (5.8 million), the Zangs or Tibetans (5.4 million), and the Buyeis (3.0 million) (Population Census Office, 2002).

The official language policy toward minorities is inscribed in the section of the Chinese constitution that states that "every ethnic minority is to use and develop their language" (Zhou, 1992: 37). The official educational directive on this issue further states that:

In schools where the majority of students belong to an ethnic minority, the language of textbooks and instruction should be in the language of that minority, if conditions permit. The Chinese language ... should be taught in the last two years of primary school and in middle school to promote the national language. (Article 37 of the Program for the Implementation of Regional Autonomy for Ethnic Minorities, cited and translated in Zhou, 1992: 37.)

In the post-1949 drive to eliminate illiteracy, a number of literacy programs for the minorities have

been organized. Before 1949, excluding the Huis and the Mans who use Chinese, 20 of the 55 minorities already had a written form for their languages; from the 1950s to the 1980s, orthographies were developed for nine other minority groups (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, 1992; Ministry of Education, People's Republic of China, n.d.). In some regions, the government and schools are now adopting a bilingual language policy aimed at preserving minority languages, yet simultaneously promoting Chinese, although the balance between languages varies greatly from region to region (Zhou, 1992: 38–40).

At present, a particular concern for both Chinese linguists and international concern groups is the plight of a number of endangered languages. Huang (2003) notes that 22 languages in China currently have fewer than ten thousand speakers, and that a process of intergenerational language shift toward Chinese is firmly underway in many regions. Huang (2003: 4) adds that “the minority nationalities lack confidence in their own mother tongues” and believe that “mastery of Chinese will help them secure more opportunities,” and he comments that “[t]his has brought the minority nationalities to a crisis with respect to their mother tongues and . . . to lose confidence in the future of their mother tongues”. Huang finally reports that since 2002, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences has been working with the State Commission of Minority Affairs and UNESCO on “programs aimed at rescuing and documenting these endangered languages” (Huang, 2003: 5), but given the powerful economic and political dynamics at work, documentation rather than rescue may have more success.

Perhaps the most direct application of linguistics in relation to minority languages in China has been in the phonological and grammatical descriptions of these languages, a whole series of which have been published by the Central University of Nationalities Press in Beijing. Minority language or minority education issues are explored in journals such as *Minzu Jiaoyu Yanjiu* (*Journal of Research on Education for Ethnic Minorities*), *Minzu Yuwen* (*Ethnic Languages*)

and *Guangxi Minzu Yanjiu* (*Studies of Ethnicity in Guangxi*).

### Applied Linguistics and Foreign Language Teaching

To understand the role of applied linguistics in foreign language education, it is necessary to also consider the history of China's international relations and foreign policy. In broad terms, one can identify six phases of foreign language education since 1949 (Lam, 2002, 2005) and these are illustrated in Table 1 below.

Russian lessons were first broadcast in Beijing in 1949, and in the early 1950s, in line with its political orientation, China promoted Russian in education. In 1950, Russian departments were established in 19 higher-education colleges, and Russian training courses were organized in several party, government, and military sections. By the following year, these courses had been set up in at least 34 universities and colleges. The emphasis on Russian continued until 1956–1957 when China's foreign policy moved away from the Soviet Union. From that point onward, English replaced Russian as the most important foreign language in China's schools. In 1957, a draft syllabus for teaching English in junior secondary school was distributed, and in 1960, the Beijing Foreign Language School piloted the teaching of English from Primary 3. In 1961, the syllabus for English majors at university level was designed, and in 1962, the first English syllabus for non-English majors in science and technology was published.

The promotion of English at this time might have continued unabated but for the Cultural Revolution, which broke out in 1966 and swept throughout the country. During this period, all academic learning (including foreign language learning) was condemned, although Zhou Enlai, China's Premier from 1949 to 1976, managed to deploy a small number of students to jobs requiring foreign languages. In 1971, in the midst of the Cultural Revolution, China was recognized as a member of the United Nations, and in 1972 Richard Nixon, then President of the United States of America, visited China, establishing a new era of United States–China diplomacy. The

**Table 1** Six phases in foreign language education in China after 1949

Historical period	Phase in foreign language education	Years
Before the Cultural Revolution	1. The interlude with Russian	Early 1950s
	2. The back-to-English movement	1957–1965
During the Cultural Revolution	3. Repudiation of foreign learning	1966–1970
	4. English for renewing ties with the West	1971–1976
After the Cultural Revolution	5. English for modernization	1977–1990
	6. English for international stature	From 1991

biggest breakthrough in foreign language teaching, however, came after the Cultural Revolution, when Deng Xiaoping announced his policy of the Four Modernizations in 1978. In the same year, plans to teach foreign languages from primary school were announced, and the recruitment of foreign teachers to China resumed. Throughout the 1980s, much work was done in drafting or revising syllabi, developing materials and tests, and training teachers at various educational levels, including universities.

To support these developments after 1978, there was an urgent need for educators trained in linguistics, and it was at this time that 'applied linguistics' for foreign language teaching was established as an academic discipline. According to Wang (personal communication, 2003), Guangdong University of Foreign Studies (GUFs) was the very first institution to offer a Master's program in Applied Linguistics in 1978, followed by a Diploma in Applied Linguistics in 1980 and a Doctor of Philosophy in Applied Linguistics in 1986. The first conference on 'Applied Linguistics and English Language Teaching (ELT)' was held at Guangzhou Foreign Language Institute (the predecessor to GUFs) in 1980, with participants from 22 higher-education institutions in China and three institutions from Hong Kong (the University of Hong Kong, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, and the Hong Kong Polytechnic). In the same year, foreign language specialists from China visited the Hong Kong Examinations Authority for advice on test design, and materials development teams in various foreign languages were set up at many universities. In 1984, research projects on various aspects of learning English at university level were conducted. In 1985, an ELT conference at the Guangzhou Foreign Language Institute attracted applied linguists such as Michael Halliday, Henry Widdowson, Peter Strevens, and Alan Maley. Around this time, English specialists from China also began to travel abroad more frequently, and in 1986, the first official delegation from China attended the Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) conference in Anaheim, California, and presented the 'College English' syllabus for China. In the same year, Fu Ke (1986) published his influential history of foreign language teaching in China (see Sichuan Foreign Language Institute [1993] for a chronology of events in foreign language teaching).

By the early 1990s, applied linguistics had been established as a field of academic activity in China, and a number of Chinese scholars sent overseas for training in the 1970s had returned with new perspectives on foreign language education (Gui, 2002: 2). The disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991 also provided an opportunity for China to adopt an

increasingly international outlook and further expand foreign language education, especially with reference to English. While work on English language curricula at tertiary level continued, attention now turned to English teaching in schools. In May 1990, new guidelines for teaching English in primary school were issued, followed in 1992 by a new syllabus for junior secondary school and, in 1993, for senior secondary school (later revised in 1996). Further international links have also been recently established, and in 2000, the International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language (IATEFL) endorsed the establishment of a China branch. In August 2002, the first IATEFL China conference was held in Tonghua in Jilin province. The year 2002 also saw China joining the International Association of Applied Linguists (AILA) under the aegis of the Chinese English Language Education Association (CELEA).

In China, it is common practice for the government to seek advice from several institutions in different cities to draft syllabi and to develop and pilot materials before they are adopted nationally. In recent decades, key institutions from throughout China have contributed to the national initiatives in the teaching of English and other foreign languages, and thus to 'applied linguistics' in the context of foreign language teaching. Individual institutions have also played an important role in this process, including Guangdong University of Foreign Studies, as mentioned above. GUFs now houses the nationally recognized Center for Linguistics and Applied Linguistics. A key role has also been played by Beijing Foreign Studies University (BFSU) and the Shanghai International Studies University. Beijing Foreign Studies University houses the Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press (FLTRP), the leading publisher of foreign language and applied linguistics materials. The press also sponsors and organizes national conferences on English language teaching in collaboration with the BFSU and the CELEA. Beijing Foreign Studies University is also the home of the National Research Center for Foreign Language Education, which was established at BFSU in March 2000 to conduct research on foreign language education and bilingualism.

Although Chinese 'applied linguistics' in the arena of foreign language teaching did not achieve academic recognition until the late 1970s, it has been professionalizing very rapidly, both through domestic innovations as well as through the education of many linguists overseas. A number of major universities in China now recognize applied linguistics as a distinct academic field. Major journals based in China dealing with foreign language education include *Foreign Language Teaching and Research*, *Modern Foreign Languages*, *Foreign Language Research*,



and *Journal of the Foreign Language World* (Gao, Li, and Lu, 2001).

## Conclusion

In the sections above, we have attempted to locate our discussion of applied linguistics in China with reference both to the long tradition of Chinese language study and to the recent history of Chinese politics and society. The survey of issues we present in this article indicates that, in recent decades, there have been three broad areas where the influence of applied linguistics (in theory, practice, or both) has been felt: applied linguistics and the Chinese language; applied linguistics and minority languages; and applied linguistics and foreign language education.

With reference to Chinese, initiatives in applied linguistics have focused on the teaching and assessment of *Putonghua* and Standard Chinese to speakers of other dialects and languages and have also involved advances in Chinese information technology. With reference to minority language studies, linguistics has been applied to the description and archiving of such languages, as well as to issues of bilingualism, linguistic description, and language maintenance and loss. At present, applied linguistics in the field of English language teaching displays the greatest international orientation in terms of theory and practice, as might be expected. In the decades ahead there may be increased contacts between these three strands of 'applied' activities as interest in both linguistics and applied linguistics is likely to remain strong in an era of increasing internationalization. Whether that proves to be the case is likely to depend substantially on the degree of institutional support and 'academic space' granted by the educational authorities (in what is still a largely centrally organized educational system) for linguistics, both 'pure' and 'applied.'

See also: Lingua Francas as Second Languages.

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## Europe

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Applied linguistics is a field with many subdisciplines. The definition of applied linguistics ranges from SLA to language planning, from language ecology to disorders and from mother tongue education to forensic linguistics as the list of AILA scientific commissions witnesses. Grabe (2002: 10) defines applied linguistics (AL) as "... [A] practice driven discipline that addresses language based problems in real-world contexts." Although the use of such a limiting definition would make it somewhat easier to select topics, the 'practice-driven' focus would force us to leave out some of the fundamental research carried out in the European context. What is presented is for the major part typically European, which is not to say that the themes and paradigm are not of interest and studied in other parts of the world. Given the large amount of applied linguistic research in the European setting, it is impossible to cover everything within one article.

One limitation should be mentioned here: The research discussed is basically mainland European. Applied linguistics in Great Britain and Ireland has a long history and a very active present, and it would be impossible to include the specific issues from that context into the larger European picture.

Applied linguistic research has been carried out on a wide range of topics. In order to give some structure to this overview, the research is presented under the following headings:

- Language planning and policy
- Sociolinguistic aspects of multilingualism
- Psycholinguistic aspects of multilingualism

### Language Planning and Policy

The end of World War II also meant the beginning of the Cold War and the division of Europe into two zones of influence: the western part that organized itself strategically in NATO and the eastern part that became dominated by the USSR and Warsaw Pact. Linguistically this meant that these two zones came under different influences: although in the western part English and, to a lesser extent, French dominated the scene, in the eastern part Russian became the language of wider communication and the language taught widely in education. German continued to play an important role in Eastern Europe, in particular in academia, whereas its role was very limited in Western Europe. Rannut and Rannut (1995) discuss

the specific problems of setting up a language policy in Estonia after the Soviet era. Estonia is faced with the difficult task of strengthening the position of the Estonian language, while at the same time taking into account the needs of the monolingual Russian speakers in Estonia. As Leontiev (1995) mentions, similar problems occur in the autonomous republics of the former USSR to where large numbers of Russians migrated, often driven by force. They now face problems in the republics in which they have been living for a long time: "Because of their monolingualism, they are excluded from the cultural life of the state. They cannot understand the media or official documents, unless Russian is the second official language of the new state. Many of them do not want to learn a 'new' language: They have no real experience of being bilingual or multilingual, as for instance citizens of Switzerland have" (Leontiev, 1995: 199–200).

### Language in the European Union

In multilingual Europe, linguistic differences have always played a role. Languages typically were regarded as the core of national identity and therefore they were and are highly symbolic of developments in Europe. In this respect, it is interesting that it was a French politician, Jean Monnet, who became the main actor in the development of several associations between western European countries that led to the emergence of the European Economic Community (EEC) and later the European Union (EU), which has recently grown from 15 members to 25 members. The impact of the development of the EU on almost all aspects of language and language policy can hardly be overestimated. Here we will focus on a number of developments that are directly or indirectly related to the emergence of the EU and discuss some of the research that has been done in relation to this.

A number of issues have to be discussed here:

- Language policies in the EU
  - Content and language integrated learning
  - An early start for foreign languages
  - The development of the European common Framework of Reference
- The choice of languages in the EU.

The main aim of the EU is the formation of a united Europe with open borders and active communication between residents. To achieve this, various policy measures have been enacted, in particular with respect to learning foreign languages. In a 1998 meeting of the EU ministers of education, a long list of intentions was presented aimed at the development of multilingualism in the EU. These intentions aimed to enable "all Europeans to communicate with speakers

of other mother tongues, thereby developing open-mindedness, facilitating free movement of people and exchange of information and improving international cooperation” (Recommendation R (98) 6 of the European Council). Among the recommendations listed are the learning of more than one foreign language by all citizens, the use of foreign languages in the teaching of nonlinguistic subjects (for example, history or mathematics), an early start for the teaching of foreign languages, the promotion of lifelong learning of foreign languages, and a focus on learner autonomy. Although the last point has not attracted much attention in the European research community, there has been more research undertaken on various forms of content-based instruction, or what in the European context has become known as CLIL: Content and Language Integrated Learning (Marsh, 2002). In many European countries, this form of language teaching has become popular, although it also should be mentioned that in the vast majorities of schools the foreign language taught is English and only a few schools offer CLIL with any of the other EU languages.

### **An Early Start for Foreign Languages**

In the literature on early bilingualism there are numerous studies on children who have been brought up in two languages. There is a long European tradition that began with the seminal work of Ronjat (1913) on his son Louis, who was brought up in French and German, and Leopold (1939–1949), who made careful analyses of his daughter Hildegardt’s development in German and English. More recent work on simultaneous bilingualism includes work by Arnberg (1987), De Houwer (1990), Meisel (1990), and Lanza (1997). One of the main research questions is when and to what extent young children develop separate systems for their different languages and to what extent the well-known principle of one parent—one language is really necessary for full bilingual development.

There is much less research on early consecutive bilingualism (Kielhöfer and Jonekeit, 1983), but there is growing interest in the development of bilingualism through early bilingual schooling that is becoming more popular because of the EU’s policy to promote an early start for foreign language learning (Leman, 1991; Housen and Baetens Beardsmore, 1993). In policy documents on early foreign language teaching, the distinction between early simultaneous acquisition and early language teaching in schools is not always made, and some of the findings showing high levels of proficiency in children that have been brought up bilingually are too easily used to

claim equally positive outcomes for foreign language teaching in primary education.

### **The Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR)**

One of the problems in defining a language policy with respect to the teaching and learning of languages in the EU was how to define levels of proficiency in a foreign language. The need for a common framework of reference became one of the spearheads of language policy in Europe. North and Schneider (1998) report on a large project set up to compare systems of reference for various national and commercial language tests and examinations and present a system that is primarily based on self-evaluation through the use of so-called can-do statements (“I am able to understand a conversation between native speakers when they speak at a normal speed about non-specialist topics”: 1 = not at all ... 5 = without problems). The resulting Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR; Council of Europe, 1996) has become the standard for both national examinations and commercial placement tests, such as the Cambridge Exams for English. Although the use of the can-do scales is not without problems, they have now become the standard in research that aims at comparing foreign language proficiency between countries (see, for instance, the evaluation of English proficiency at the end of compulsory education in different countries reported on by Bonnet, 2004).

### **The Choice of Languages in the EU**

Inevitably, questions arose following the establishment of the EEC and the EU based on various aspects of the emergence of language as a political issue: What should the language or languages of the EU be; How many languages should inhabitants of member states be able to speak; How can we test language proficiency over countries through a unified system?

In the EU in its pre-May 2004 form there were 13 official national languages, ranging from German with 63 million speakers to Letzebuergesh with 0.4 million speakers. In addition, there were several so-called autochthonous languages, ranging from Catalan with 10 million speakers to Gaelic with 0.1 million speakers (Ammon *et al.*, 1991). Of the national languages, 11 languages were official and working languages for the EU. For the running of the EU as an organization, this large number of working languages has become a heavy financial burden, because all documents have to be made available in all working languages; in all meetings, all languages can be used, and so there has to be simultaneous interpreting

for all possible language combinations. With the enlargement of the EU this problem will become even more pressing, not only because the number of languages and, accordingly, the number of possible combinations will grow dramatically but also because it will be very difficult to find sufficient numbers of translators and interpreters for all language combinations. Van Els (2004), in his analysis of the use of languages in the EU and its institutions, considers various models to simplify the language regime in the EU. The language issue is a very sensitive one, because giving up a language as one of the official languages is seen as a serious devaluation of and threat to the position of a language nationally and internationally. Defendants of national languages urge their representatives in all committees and working groups to insist on the presence of interpreters, whereas in the daily running of the EU at the lower levels the general practice is that only English and French are used. Van Els discusses various options, which broadly fall into two groups: restrictive (not all languages as working languages) and nonrestrictive (all languages allowed). He rejects the financial argument related to the costs of translation and interpreting, observing that the EU falling apart because of the language issue would be far more costly. For the restrictive options he mentions various choices, such as a smaller number of languages (German, French, English), the use of an international language (Esperanto), and English only. Van Els concludes that in the end the last choice, only English, is the only feasible one, if not because it causes less damage than any of the other options, then because no politician will be brave enough to really try to solve the issue, and doing nothing means that in practice English becomes the working language in most meetings. The use of the other languages will become more or less symbolic.

## Sociolinguistic Aspects of Multilingualism

### The Position of English and Other Languages in Europe

It is one of those curious developments in European history that English has become the dominant language in Europe although its country of origin has played a marginal political role on the European scene. For quite some time, Great Britain was not accepted as a member of the EU. At first, then French president Charles the Gaulle opposed the entry of Great Britain, fearing it would weaken the German–French axis; later, entry was opposed because Great Britain did not meet the economic criteria for new

**Table 1** Percentages of inhabitants of EU with basic knowledge of a foreign language

	<i>EU of 15 states</i>	<i>EU of 28 states</i>
English	40%	35%
German	18%	16%
Russian	>1%	11%
French	16%	10%

members. As a consequence, the English language was never actively promoted by the British, or at any rate not nearly as much as French was defended by the French government, which wanted to maintain French as the language of diplomacy (Willingham-McLain, 1997).

With the extension of the EU (an addition of 13 new member states), the linguistic scene is changing dramatically. Holdworth (2003) mentions statistics on foreign language skills that show that the majority of the people in the new member states are bilingual or multilingual and that in those countries Russian is the most widely spoken foreign language, followed by German. If we look at language skills in the enlarged EU as compared to the present situation an interesting picture emerges. Table 1 contains the percentages of people that claim that they can hold a conversation in that foreign language.

These figures show that the position of English and German – and, in particular, French – is weakened. The Russian language still holds a strong position, but it is not clear whether that will last, because the call for English in the new states on all levels of society will inevitably grow at the expense of Russian.

Graddol (2004) presents data on proficiency in English in the present EU showing that in Denmark, Sweden, and the Netherlands more than 75% of the people interviewed claim to be able to hold a conversation in English. In Luxembourg, Finland, Belgium, Germany, and Greece, 40 to 50% can hold a conversation in English, whereas fewer than 30% can do so in Italy, Portugal, and Spain. These figures show that the knowledge of English may not be as widespread as is sometimes assumed, and that its dominant position might not be as overwhelming as previously thought. As Graddol (2004, 1330) puts it:

Any look into the future must entertain the idea that soon the entire world will speak English. Many believe English will become the world language to the exclusion of all others. But this idea, which first took root in the 19th century, is past its sell-by date. English will indeed play a crucial role in shaping the new world linguistic order, but its major impact will be in creating new generations of bilingual and multilingual speakers across the world.

### From Bilingualism to Multilingualism

A typical European issue is the growing interest in trilingualism and multilingualism. In German-speaking countries in particular, the interest in what is basically ‘English plus x’ has led to a range of projects on trilingualism from both a theoretical perspective (Dewaele, 1998; Jessner, 2000) and a language teaching perspective (Dentler *et al.*, 2000). One of the most important outcomes of this research is that, in multilingualism, all language systems interact: The mother tongue can affect and also be affected by the second or third language. In some bilingual regions in Europe, such as the Basque country and the Province of Friesland in the Netherlands, English is taught as a third language.

### Sociolinguistic Aspects of Multilingualism

#### SLA and Migration

The booming of the economy in Western Europe that first came about as a result of American support for the rebuilding of Europe (under the Marshall Plan) and later on the development of trade and agriculture led to the rapid growth of labor migration from countries in southern Europe, North Africa, and Turkey to Germany, France, the Low Countries, and the Nordic Countries. This migration quickly turned from temporary stay into permanent residence and family formation in the immigrant countries. This led to a number of language-related problems. Because of low proficiency in the language of the immigrant country, many migrant workers never integrated; in particular, their children suffered from low educational achievements, and accordingly there were higher risks of educational dropout and unemployment. In many countries, initiatives were taken to improve language skills of the migrants and their children and a number of large-scale projects were set up to study the language development of those groups. Probably the best-known example was the ESF project, “Second Language Acquisition by Adult Immigrants,” coordinated by Wolfgang Klein and Clive Perdue in 1992. In the project, the acquisition of different languages by speakers with different L1s was studied in a then well-known “saw-tooth” pattern:

English German Dutch French Swedish  
Punjabi Italian Turkish Arabic Spanish Finnish

So, for example, the acquisition of German by Italian and Turkish learners was compared to the learning of English by Italian learners and Dutch by Turkish learners, enabling a cross-linguistic comparison between both source and target language. One of the outcomes of this research was the development

of what became known as ‘the basic variety’: “One of our findings is that all our learners, irrespective of the source and target language, develop a particular way of structuring their utterances which seems to present a natural equilibrium between the various phrasal, semantic and pragmatic constraints” (Klein and Perdue, 1992: 311).

#### Languages in Contact

There are many national languages, minority languages, regiolects, and dialects in Europe, and therefore language contact is a common phenomenon. There is also a long-standing interest in this. Weinreich’s well-known *Languages in contact* (1953) is an early example of research that takes into account linguistic, sociolinguistic, and – to a certain extent – even psycholinguistic aspects of language contact. There are few examples of language contact situations in which the two languages live in peace alongside each other. In most cases, there is a difference in status and this implies that the weaker language is in danger of being overtaken by the stronger one. Nelde (1987) aptly described this: Language contact is language conflict. As we will see later, in the discussion on maintenance and loss of minority languages, this is the reality for many languages, and, as some argue, even all languages except English.

At the same time, we see the development of new varieties resulting from language contact, along the lines of Graddoll (2004). In Germany, in particular, there is a growing group of researchers who are interested in the contact languages that develop in multi-ethnic cities. For some, those new varieties pose serious threats for young people with a migrant background, because the kind of input they need for their education and their position on the job market is limited when they only speak these youth varieties. Schlobinski *et al.* (1993: 9) cites several very negative comments on such youth language, but not all comments have this sombre tone. For many linguists, the development of such ‘wild’ varieties is a sign of the ability of languages to renew themselves and to adapt to new situations. Youth language often has a sort of ‘secret language’ function aimed at the exclusion of outsiders in the communication and it clearly reflects the interests of the age group of 12- to 18-year-olds. Varieties are typically unstable, and being able to juggle with the language and be creative with new words adds prestige.

#### Maintenance and Loss of Minority Languages

Because of the changes taking place in Europe, two trends in language contact have emerged: the migration to Western Europe by various groups from Southern Europe, North Africa, and Turkey, and the growing



impact of national languages on nonmigrant minorities. Both trends have been investigated in terms of the maintenance and loss of minority languages in various parts of Europe. The loss of language skills in migrant languages has been studied in many European countries. Fase *et al.* (1995) and Ammerlaan *et al.* (2001) present many examples of this line of research.

### Regionalization

The tendency of larger and more powerful languages to dominate the smaller ones has led to a strong reaction in various countries to support and strengthen the position of smaller languages. Within the EU, several resolutions have been adopted aimed at protecting regional minority languages. These actions have led to the foundation of the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages (EBLUL) and a very active MERCATOR network in which representatives from most regional minority languages cooperate. The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (1992) was a milestone, because all member states that ratified the Charter had to take positive action to protect and support their regional minority languages. This clearly strengthened the position of those languages, although there are important differences between the various regions.

The almost comfortable position of regional languages in Europe stands in sharp contrast with the weak position of migrant languages in those countries. In that sense, there is an uneasy relation between proponents of migrant languages and other minority languages in Europe. Extra (1989) points to the fact that the arrangements for local or regional minority languages (such as Frisian and Basque) are generally much more supportive for language maintenance than the arrangements for migrant languages. In more recent publications, the defenders of the rights of the two minority communities – regional and migrant – seem to have found a common interest in campaigning for the rights of minority languages. In an aptly titled edited volume, *The other languages of Europe*, Extra and Gorter (2001) argue for the provision of teaching for both migrant and regional minority languages.

### Psycholinguistic Aspects of Multilingualism

Although the interest in psycholinguistic aspects of multilingualism is not a typically European topic, it certainly is a field in which European researchers have been key players. The focus has been on the lexicon as well as on the role of cognitive processing in language

acquisition and use. The central question most of the research is concerned with is language specific versus nonspecific access. In other words, when we are confronted with a word, e.g., in a lexical decision task, do we first access the lexicon from one language and then the next, or is there a parallel search through all languages, with words not being organized primarily through language, but, e.g., through frequency. In the past, the language selective position was favored but in the last two decades research has accumulated to support the nonselective view. A number of experimental paradigms have been used to study this question, these include various forms of lexical decision with or without priming (Dijkstra and van Heuven, 1998), translation (de Groot *et al.*, 2000) and word naming (Hermans *et al.*, 1998). Overall, the evidence in support of the nonselective access hypothesis is substantial, and much stronger than for the selective access hypothesis.

There is a large body of research on psycholinguistic aspects of language acquisition and language attrition. Again, even a global overview of that research would take more space than is available here. There is a strong tradition in various European countries to apply the Chomskian generative framework to second language acquisition. More functionally or cognitive linguistically oriented studies also have been carried out. The ESF project mentioned earlier falls within this category. A direct link between cognitive processing and SLA is made in work by Hulstijn (e.g., Hulstijn, 2002) and Pienemann (1998). Their main claim is that language acquisition is constrained not so much by the linguistic characteristics of the language but, rather, by the cognitive processing mechanisms. Good overviews of the study of linguistic aspects in SLA can be found in the EUROSALA yearbooks that contain articles based on the annual EUROSALA conferences.

### Language Attrition

One specific line of research that has a firm European basis is the study of language attrition, i.e., the decline of language skills in individuals over time. Research on attrition has proven to be relevant, both from a language policy perspective ('Why teach a language if you forget it quickly?') and from a psycholinguistic perspective ('How is knowledge stored and lost?'). Research on this topic has been carried out over the last 20 years in several European countries (see Weltens *et al.*, 1986, for an account of early studies, and Schmidt and Köpke, 2004, for more recent ones). There is also some research using more advanced neuro-imaging techniques to study language attrition: Pallier *et al.* (2003) used such techniques to study the

attrition of the first language among adopted Korean children living in France.

## Final Remarks

In this article, an attempt has been made to provide a sketch of what has been going on in applied linguistics in Europe. The focus has been on the relationship 'between language in use and the complex sociolinguistic situation in Europe rather than the specific contributions to applied linguistics made by European researchers.

What might be the direction of future developments for applied linguistics in Europe? A number of issues are likely to gain further prominence in the near future. These include the following:

- Further expansion of EU: What other languages, how many, what are the costs?
- Growth of English at the expense of other languages in all walks of life, and the detrimental effect this will have on the learning of other foreign languages.
- Language and aging in migrants: The first wave of migrants is now reaching old age, and with that come problems related to physical and cognitive decline. Few countries are ready to take appropriate measures to deal with this problem.
- The role of national language/local language/ English: One scenario is that English will become the language of wider communication for all Europeans, but that Europeans will stick to their local language as the language of comfort and solidarity. This may mean that the role of national languages is undermined, because there will be no role for them to play.
- The future of foreign language teaching: Will there still be foreign language learning and teaching other than English?
- Neuro-imaging studies of second language use, learning, and forgetting: These new techniques offer very interesting opportunities to get to the basics of multilingual processing.

*See also:* Content Teaching and Learning; Language Policy in Multilingual Educational Contexts; Second Language Attrition.

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## North America

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Applied linguistics has been, and continues to be, a very active academic field in North America. Over the past 30 years, applied linguistics has gained steady recognition as an academic discipline. There are more than 45 academic departments and programs in applied linguistics at North American universities, and applied linguists work in English departments, modern languages departments, education departments, linguistics departments, and communications departments. There are more than 20 national and international academic journals in applied linguistics with major contributions by North American researchers. The American Association for Applied Linguistics (AAAL) has 1500 members, and its annual meeting regularly attracts approximately 1000 participants. Large groups of applied linguists are also in regular attendance at the meetings of the Modern Language Association (MLA), Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, Inc. (TESOL), and the American Council of Teachers of Foreign Languages (ACTFL). Moreover, applied linguists dominate the Second Language Research Forum (SLRF) and the Language Testing Research Colloquium (LTRC) at their annual meetings. Conservatively, there are a few thousand applied linguists in North America, not counting the many thousands of second and foreign language teachers.

The AAAL is the leading organization for applied linguists in North America with strong executive board representation from both Canada and the United States. AAAL provides one fairly objective way to interpret the nature and scope of applied linguistics in North America through the categories established in their annual call for paper abstracts. This listing of categories defines the broad, inclusive nature of the field without making very strong claims to represent allied disciplines (e.g., English, rhetoric, education, communications, speech pathology). We provide a 3-year synthesis of this 'call for papers,' adjusting the list for slight variations in subfield labels that arise from year to year. It is important to recognize that these categories, for the most part, apply to second-language contexts, though many issues of language policy, language socialization, discourse analysis, and dialect variation incorporate both second and foreign language (L2) and first language (L1) situations.

1. Assessment & Evaluation
2. Bilingual, Immersion, Heritage, Minority Language Learners
3. Critical Linguistics & Language Ideology
4. Discourse Analysis
5. Language Acquisition & Attrition
6. Language, Cognition, & the Brain
7. Language, Culture, & Socialization
8. Language Policy & Planning
9. Reading, Writing, & Literacy
10. Research Methods & Applied Linguistics
11. Second & Foreign Language Pedagogy
12. Sociolinguistics
13. Technology & Language
14. Translation & Interpretation

There are, in fact, several other ways to define and interpret the field of applied linguistics. We will briefly note this debate as a way to establish the rationale for the research that we review under various categories below.

### A Brief History of Applied Linguistics in North America

There have been several discussions on the origins of applied linguistics. From a North American perspective, the first use of the term dates back to the English Language Institute at the University of Michigan in the 1940s. A group of professors and language teachers wanted to be identified with scientific concepts, rather than more casual humanistic and educational approaches to language learning. From this beginning also emerged the journal *Language Learning: A Journal of Applied Linguistics* in 1948.

In the 1950s and 1960s, applied linguistics expanded considerably, along with the great increase in the number of foreign students going to North American universities to study. In the mid-1950s, the Ford Foundation, based in New York, became heavily involved in establishing centers for applied linguistics in various parts of the world including Hyderabad, Cairo, Tunis, the West Indies, and Washington, D.C. The Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, D.C. opened in 1959. In the 1960s, the professional teacher organization, TESOL, was formed and had its first annual conference in 1966. In 1967, *TESOL Quarterly* began publication, providing a second North American-based applied linguistics journal. By 1969, TESOL began to develop interest sections. The Applied Linguistics Interest Section constituted the primary (and for a time, the sole) venue for applied linguistics activity and research in the United States.

In the 1970s and 1980s, applied linguistics underwent a maturing process in North America. The first

Ph.D. program specifically in applied linguistics was offered at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) in 1977, with other programs following fairly quickly. The AAAL was formed in 1977. The late 1970s and early 1980s were also a time in which many new journals appeared to support and energize the growing field, including *Applied Linguistics*, *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, and *The ESP Journal*. By the 1980s, the field began a series of discussions that continues even to the present, concerning the nature and status of applied linguistics (Kaplan, 1980, 2002).

### Defining and Delimiting Applied Linguistics

Over the past five years, there have been a number of publications that have explored the nature and status of applied linguistics, with both North American and European emphases (Candlin and Sarangi, 2004; Davies and Elder, 2004; Kaplan, 2002; Widdowson, 2003). There is no longer serious debate about the larger interdisciplinary scope of applied linguistics, as opposed to an earlier and more limited interpretation as a designation for language teachers, language-teacher trainers, and language testers. To be sure, the fields of language learning, language teaching, and language testing are still central components in applied linguistics, but the disciplinary discussions of the 1980s and 1990s have established applied linguistics as an interdisciplinary field that addresses real-world language problems of various types.

Applied linguistics is a field that centrally involves linguistic knowledge and training. That knowledge is combined with one or two other specialized concerns and is applied to problems that arise in the normal (and sometimes abnormal) course of daily life. These problems include needing to learn and use a second or third language; being taught in an L2 in an effective manner; being assessed and evaluated in an L2; negotiating services or health care in an L2; being impacted by language policies (whether planned or unplanned) that apply in educational, institutional, civic, or work settings; needing interpreter services for various reasons; and maintaining home languages in dominant L2 contexts. These problems, and several others like them, are the core of the field of applied linguistics.

Seeing the field from the perspective of language problems makes clear the fact that no one academic discipline is going to serve the needs of people facing such problems. No person trained in education or psychology will be able to work effectively with language

problems if he or she does not also have a strong grounding in linguistic knowledge. Conversely, a linguist who is not also grounded in some other relevant discipline will not be able to approach language-based problems effectively. For example, a linguist with little education/pedagogical background will not be able to address major language-learning and language-teaching issues. To solve real-world language issues requires expert knowledge across specific disciplines; for this reason, 'linguistics applied' can never be an adequate substitution for applied linguistics.

Applied linguistics, in the broader context, encompasses second language learning and teaching, language assessment, language policy and planning, language use (and misuse) in professional and occupational settings, language contact and bi/multilingualism, and translation. It is also a major contributor to research in literacy, corpus linguistics, lexicography, teacher training, and sociolinguistics. Somewhat more distantly, it has linkages to allied disciplines such as education, cognitive psychology, English studies (stylistics, rhetoric, discourse studies, and literary studies), foreign languages (discourse, culture, and literary studies), speech pathology, and communications.

The goal of representing applied linguistics in these wider terms is to establish the taxonomy of applied linguistics research that we review in the following sections. Taking a broad view not only reflects the current nature of applied linguistics, at least as understood in North America, but also ensures that the work of applied linguistics from various backgrounds is reasonably represented in our overview. In covering research work over the past six to eight years, we will use the classification given below.

1. Second language acquisition
2. L2 reading and writing research
3. Language learning and teaching
  - a. Second language teaching (English for Academic Purposes)
  - b. Foreign language teaching
  - c. Bilingual and language minority education
  - d. Instructional approaches
4. Language assessment
5. Language policy and planning
6. Societal bilingualism and language contact
7. Language use in professional contexts
8. Corpus linguistics

These categories represent the core of applied linguistics and will be the focus of the remaining discussion. Many of these subfields are large and complex. We will provide only some insights into the work being done in these areas.

## Research in Applied Linguistics in North America

### Second Language Acquisition

The greatest amount of applied linguistics research in North America is done in the area of second language acquisition (SLA). Detailed coverage of this work was well represented in the recent *Handbook of second language acquisition* (Doughty and Long, 2003). There are many subfields within SLA, and there is no agreed-upon taxonomy of areas within SLA. We have organized our comments on subfields in a way that is reasonable, but we make no claims to a definitive taxonomy. We will offer only a few comments on SLA since it is already well covered elsewhere in this encyclopedia.

Cognitive SLA, as a general cover term, is by far the largest grouping within SLA. It includes all areas that see second language learning as an individual developmental process, and it explores various alternative views on how learning occurs, in both the short- and long-term. One way to divide the territory is to distinguish functional (or descriptive) linguistic orientations from formal linguistic orientations; a second way is to distinguish representational orientations from processing orientations in research.

Functional linguistic orientations include the roles of input and output in learning, of attention and awareness, of negotiated interaction, of 'Focus-on-Form' as opposed to focus on forms (standard grammar instruction), of strategies, of motivation and affective responses, of individual differences in cognitive learning traits. It also focuses on the importance of transfer in learning, the impact of the critical period hypothesis and the limits of ultimate attainment for learning (Doughty and Long, 2003; VanPatten, 2003). More formal linguistic orientations include the role of hypothesized categories and constraints on performance, the status of the initial linguistic state on learning outcomes, and the impact of specific underlying structures on learning outcomes (White, 2004).

Other subfields that have gained in prominence over the years include: sociolinguistic, sociocultural, pragmatic, social-psychological, and neurolinguistic orientations. Sociolinguistic orientations cover learner-language variability, as well as variability in the linguistic input and the influence of cross-cultural factors on language use and communication. Sociocultural factors draw heavily on Vygotskian explanations for cognitive development, examine how social interactions trigger learning, and how peers and more knowledgeable partners in interaction provide the input and support for the transfer of

learning. Pragmatic perspectives focus on the role of pragmatics in language learning, pragmatic cross-cultural miscommunication, and the nature of pragmatic transfer. Social-psychological views of SLA provide a hybrid perspective on SLA, focusing on how social factors impact psychological performance and, in this case, second language learning. In the North American setting, research focuses specifically on the relation between integrative motivation and language learning, the role of instrumental motivation, and the range of wider social factors that influence language learning. Neurolinguistic explorations in SLA are just beginning, but the potential is considerable. To date, most neurolinguistic work in SLA has examined the role of motivation and affect on learning performance (Schumann *et al.*, 2004). All of the subfields noted in this section could be the source for entire books (see Grabe, 2004 for more detailed overview).

### L2 Reading and Writing Research

In any general understanding of language learning, one might consider research on reading and writing development to be part of SLA. However, this subfield is treated separately in this article because reading and writing are not seen as important aspects of SLA in North America; most books on SLA do not discuss reading, writing, or literacy development. While this is somewhat odd, given the many articles related to reading and writing in journals oriented to second language learning, it is, nonetheless, the case that much of the theorizing about SLA does not specifically take into account the learning of reading or writing abilities. For this reason, we comment on L2 reading and writing development separately.

A considerable amount of research in L2 reading has been carried out on specific processes involved in reading, including word recognition, morphological processing, and sentence processing. Research over the past decade has shown that all of these processing factors strongly influence reading abilities. A second area of importance for L2 reading is the role of language transfer, demonstrating that phonological processing, morphological awareness, and reading strategies are capable of transfer, though at differing times in the development of L2 reading abilities. Other research has focused on metalinguistic knowledge, metacognition, and reading strategies, arguing that metacognitive and metalinguistic awareness play important roles in reading development (Cohen, 1998; Koda, 2005).

Writing research in L2 contexts is an area in which an extensive amount of research is done, much of

which focuses on university and pre-university student writers. Several overview volumes on writing research cover a wide range of issues, including the role of feedback and responding to L2 writers, genre influences on writing, research in contrastive rhetoric and its criticisms, the use of corpus analysis to study L2 writing, and L2 writing assessment (Ferris and Hedgcock, 2004; Kroll, 2003).

### Language Learning and Teaching

The category of language learning and teaching focuses more generally on the classroom contexts in which language are taught. Under this heading, North American scholars focus on second language teaching (with a very large emphasis on English for Academic Purposes), foreign language teaching, bilingual education and language minority education, and a range of instructional approaches that take on the status and purpose of curricular approaches for teaching.

**Second Language Teaching (and English for Academic Purposes)** Much like research on L2 reading and writing, there is a strong emphasis in research and scholarly articles focusing on second language teaching with university and pre-university students. In the United States, some of the most popular methodology texts by North American authors address the adolescent or adult learners. Celce-Murcia (2001) provides coverage for K–12 student contexts, but the majority of the book is aimed at older students and students learning English for academic purposes. K–12 research and resource texts are regularly produced by the Center for Applied Linguistics. In Canada, the ongoing work of language immersion programs has led to much greater study of L2 learning in K–12 contexts (Swain, 2000).

**Foreign Language Teaching** In North America, foreign language teaching has a lesser, but still important, role to play in student education. Unlike other regions of the world, where all students are exposed to one or more foreign languages for long periods in the educational curriculum, foreign language learning is not required at all in some secondary schools; most secondary school students have three years of one foreign language. In university settings, foreign language requirements are decreasing. In Canada, with its federal bilingual policy and 20-year history of language immersion programs, there is somewhat more emphasis on learning another language. Nonetheless, there are still a large number of students learning a foreign language in both the United States and Canada. Enrollments in foreign language courses

in the United States are at about the same level in 2000 as they were in 1970 (approximately 1.1 million students in university courses). Aside from Spanish, however, many traditional foreign languages are in decline (e.g., French, German, Russian), and the number of university majors in recent years has declined by one-third (Klee, 2000).

### Bilingual and Language Minority Education

Bilingual education in both Canada and the United States is an issue that has led to much discussion and debate. In Canada, bilingual instruction, whether as immersion or as heritage language instruction, has been more widely accepted than in the United States. Much research on bilingual instruction and second language learning has emerged in this context. In the United States, where governmental and community groups are usually less supportive, bilingual education is on the defensive. One might expect more support for bilingual and foreign language instruction in a country where approximately 18% of the population speaks a language other than English in the home. However, social and political issues drive the discussion in the United States more than do educational issues (Crawford, 2003). A large part of the discussion on bilingual education in the United States is the debate over its effectiveness on student learning. Cummins (2000) and Valdez (2001) both provided an important overview of this issue.

**Instructional Approaches** Second language instruction at more advanced levels or with older students usually involves either communicative language teaching approaches or more traditional language skills approaches (see McGroarty, 2004). In non-academic and adult education contexts, communicative language teaching (CLT) dominates L2 instruction. Language skills instruction, in contrast, is more prevalent in academic-purposes settings. In K–12 settings, there is also an emphasis on whole language instruction (reading authentic texts, reading extensively, no reading-skills instruction, extended writing) in many L2 classes. Over the past 10 years, there has been greater emphasis placed on learning strategy instruction, task-based instruction (TBI), and content-based instruction (CBI). These last two curricular approaches have gained popularity in North America. TBI is an easily adaptable approach for CLT curricula, and it is a preferred orientation for much SLA research. CBI introduces students to specific content material, and through learning the material, language is learned as a result. CBI draws heavily for thematic ideas on both L1 elementary instruction and also on EAP courses in academic settings. TBI and CBI are not conflicting curricular options, but complementary ones. Both focus on meaning and



conveying information; both focus on language learning indirectly as part of learning and using other information; and both have the potential to engage learners in meaningful project work.

### **Language Assessment**

Language assessment research has been an important part of applied linguistics over the past 20 years. Several testing issues have generated much discussion over the past decade: test validity, fairness in testing, performance assessment, evidence-centered design, language-skills constructs, and technology in language assessment. Validity in language assessment gained prominence as a driving concept for language test design and use (Bachman and Palmer, 1996). Validity discussions have generated much debate over fairness in testing and ethical testing practices.

Performance assessment has been the source of much discussion (drawing on workplace performance assessment and professional licensing examinations). Performance assessment ties in closely with TBI and the need to demonstrate successful outcomes on various language tasks. Another development in language testing in the past decade has been the movement for evidence-centered design in language assessment. This approach focuses on the evidence linking the tasks used in assessment to the constructs to be assessed and the inferences made from scores given. Two further developments have been the return to language-skills assessments and the increasing use of technology in assessment. Evidence for both of these trends was seen in the assessment volumes appearing in the past five years as the Cambridge University Press assessment series (e.g., Douglas, 2000; Read, 2000; series editors, Lyle Bachman and Charles Alderson), and in the research supporting the design of New TOEFL (TOEFL Research Monographs series, 28 volumes to date, Educational Testing Service: 1995–2004).

### **Language Policy and Planning**

Language policy and planning has been another important part of applied linguistics in North America. Included among key issues are the debates around bilingual education, the English-only movement, government language policies in Canada, and the development of models for engaging in language policy and planning activities. Canada has formal language policies and an official bilingual policy at the federal level, and the federal and regional governments provide some support for minority and heritage languages.

The United States does not have a clearly articulated language policy, and many language policy

debates are not worked out through rational and planned discussions. The Ebonics debate is a good case in point. The emotional arguments over African-American dialect use in school arose in the public media, and many competing, if ill-informed, perspectives prevented any rational discussion or effective policy development from being carried out. Similarly, many versions of English-only amendments are adopted by states based on emotional and racist arguments. These examples illustrate the many unforeseen consequences of political and adversarial language policies (or perhaps, nonpolicies; see chapters in Finegan and Rickford, 2004; see Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997 for general overview).

### **Societal Bilingualism and Language Contact**

Bilingualism and language contact situations most commonly lead to analyses of new dialect formation, as well as examinations of language spread, maintenance, shift, and death. The spread of English in North America (and elsewhere) and the growth of immigrant populations in the United States and Canada have led to analyses and overviews on language contact situations in both countries (see Finegan and Rickford, 2004). In North American contexts, it has been very difficult to reverse language shift once it has taken hold in language minority communities. Canada, Mexico, and the United States all provide strong examples of the shift from L1 to English or to Spanish. In North American contexts, several authors have argued for the need to maintain and revitalize languages endangered by major languages (Fishman, 2001). To date, maintenance and revitalization efforts have not proven very successful, though considerable effort has gone into preserving specific minority and indigenous languages.

### **Language Use in Professional Contexts**

Important work has been ongoing in the study of language use (and abuse) in professional and academic settings. Significant work has been undertaken in legal settings, medicine, and science (McGroarty, 2002). Legal language use has focused on evidence collection and interrogation, language practice in court settings, and bilingual interpreting. In medical settings, language issues focus on gaining appropriate services and support for language minority patients; the power differentials and the conversational interactions between patient and care provider; the role of oral narrative to explain a patient's situation; a care provider's interpretations; and the formation of new identities as a result. Research on language and science focuses on the linguistic analysis of scientific writing and scientific genres. A second line of

research involves the rhetorical analysis of scientific writing.

### **Corpus Linguistics**

Corpus linguistics has emerged as an important area in applied linguistics over the past decade. A major direction for corpus linguistics has been the use of corpora in writing grammars and dictionaries, in exploring genre and register differences, and in language teaching resources (Conrad and Biber, 2001). Corpus linguistics has been used for a variety of specific purposes: the role of discourse markers, the nature of textbook language, the role of power and status in language, the study of lexis in texts, and the selection of text segments in teaching materials and assessment tasks. These activities can be carried out through the use of large corpora or of smaller corpora collected for specific purposes. Hinkel (2002) provided one excellent example of an analysis of L2 student writing development from a smaller corpus of student texts.

### **Critical Perspectives in Applied Linguistics**

Over the past decade, the movement toward critical theories has migrated strongly from cultural studies, literacy criticism, and philosophy into applied linguistics. At present, one can find discussion of critical discourse analysis, critical pedagogy, critical language assessment, and critical policy and planning. These trends are also closely tied to issues of identity and language learning with respect to activism for the learner perspective. Over all, there is somewhat less activity in critical perspectives in North America than in Europe, but it is, nonetheless, growing in importance. Critical discourse analysis (CDA), the earliest of the critical approaches within applied linguistics, has not gained widespread recognition in North America. Its critical orientation and political activism has not influenced the strongly functional orientation to North American applied linguistics, and its stress on scientific methods by North American applied linguists does not resonate with critical theorists coming from cultural studies and composition backgrounds.

Two lines of critical orientations have been more influential in the United States: L2 writing instruction and L2 immigrant-education teaching methods. Kumaravadivelu (1999, 2001) was one of the few North American applied linguists to draw directly on CDA to interpret and then influence teaching methods and teacher actions directly. In the area of L2 writing instruction, a number of L2 writing

theorists have drawn on postmodernist theory to assert the rights of students in the classroom to their own cultural, social, and political identity. Thus, there is a movement away from more pragmatic needs analysis to a critical-pragmatic view of the teaching and learning of writing, along with activism to change what are seen as oppressive institutional structures (Benesch, 2001; Canagarajah, 2002). A major criticism of critical orientations is that they cannot generally point to better learning outcomes and more effective outcomes with respect to real world language problems. However, in the area of ESL instruction, Benesch (2001) explained a number of course curricula that engaged and challenged student learners while promoting critical agendas (see also Canagarajah, 2002).

### **New Trends in Applied Linguistics in North America**

The field of applied linguistics is constantly evolving. Space does not permit a full exploration of these emerging trends, but they should be noted in this conclusion. Sign languages are emerging as an important area in which major language problems deserve greater attention and this trend will grow. There is now a more general recognition for fairness and ethical responses to language issues, whether the issues involve instruction, assessment, policy, or appropriate access, and this recognition will grow in the coming decade.

Additional trends in applied linguistics include the growing recognition that linguistic theories may be important for some issues, but that descriptive linguistics (including the use of corpus linguistics) contributes more widely to addressing real-world language problems. Similarly, there is a growing recognition of the importance of language assessment as a means not only to measure student development in fair and responsible ways, but also as a resource for appropriate measurement in research studies and in the development of effective tasks that influence teaching and learning.

The interdisciplinary nature of applied linguistics continually brings in further research perspectives and methodologies from related fields. The interdisciplinarity of the field, the emerging trends in the field, and the increasing specializations in the major subfields of applied linguistics, raise important questions about the training of future applied linguists. It is inevitable that applied linguists, if they are to address real-world language problems in an increasingly complex world, will need more complex and specialized training. It may perhaps be a requirement that major applied linguistics research and application efforts

involve teams of applied linguists in order to marshal the necessary resources and expertise. How the training of future applied linguists will evolve to work in these more complex environments is a significant issue that will require greater attention in the coming decade.

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## Relevant Website

<http://www.cal.org> – Center for Applied Linguistics.

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To write about what happens in a field of knowledge like applied linguistics in South America proves to be difficult, not so much because of the geographical distance among the countries but mainly because there does not seem to exist a tradition of intensive academic interchange in this part of the world. Geographical distance itself should not be a problem in this era of Internet communication. However, within a postcolonial perspective (Hall, 1996; Venn, 2000), this lack of interchange may be seen as part of our (i.e., South American's) naturalized colonial memory in postcolonial times. Otherwise, how could one explain that whenever considering going abroad to complement one's studies, taking such a journey meant (and to a certain extent still means) going North? Or how could one explain that many a time, it may be easier to find out about research being developed in the countries which constitute South America in conferences either in the United States or in Europe rather than in South America itself? In other words, each country seems to look 'North' instead of looking 'South' where our nearest and farthest neighbors are. This distinction between North and South (the ideological vision of the northern and southern hemispheres) is used here, as suggested by Santos (2004), the South being a metaphor for the consequences of capitalism and globalization to mankind.

To gather information about South American Applied Linguistics, to get a glimpse of the area on the continent, the first move was to go through an Internet search of universities and/or research institutes that listed Applied Linguistics as keywords. The second move was to look for journals in South America.

The first move resulted in a few references to university courses in Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela, Uruguay, and Brazil and to one research institute in Argentina. (Quite a few language schools also came out in the search but were discarded, as the focus here is on research studies.) As it can be observed, the search left out countries such as Paraguay, Guyana, Surinam, and French Guyana. Another observation is that apart from Brazil, there was no mention of the theses and dissertations produced. Considering that the information available through the Internet depends on continuous feeding, no expectations were built that the search would be

exhaustive or that it would reflect the state of the art in Applied Linguistics in South America. In any case, the first impression developed from this search was that Applied Linguistics is strongly taken in relation to the teaching of foreign languages. However, it should be recorded that there are also some applied linguistics links to translation studies, the teaching of Spanish as mother tongue, and bilingual studies, including language planning and language policy.

The second move resulted in only one potentially relevant URL (see the Relevant Websites section of this article). Having as a title *Latin America: subject resource*, the site describes itself as a 'Latin American-based resource interesting and useful as a Reference Librarian.' It has a link to the Association of Research Libraries Project, whose first item is the 'Latin American Periodical Table of Contents (LAPTOC).' However, closer scrutiny showed very general information about journals in South American countries. For example, there was no mention of specialized journals in Applied Linguistics in any country, not even in Brazil. Elsewhere (Cavalcanti, 2004), there is reference to seven Brazilian Applied Linguistics journals, four with AL as part of their titles. A more general list of journals, including Linguistics, Applied Linguistics, and Literature, can be found at the website of the Commission for the Upgrading of University Graduate Level Personnel (CAPES), Brazil.

Previous to the Internet search, a few publications on or related to Applied Linguistics had already been gathered and examined. These publications, which either have Applied Linguistics as part of their titles or which have chapters that can be placed in this field of knowledge, are examined below under two subtitles chosen to indicate whether they were published in or out of South America. As to be expected, they are also a very relevant source of other references to be pursued.

### Some Publications in South America

This section includes publications originating in isolated countries in South America as well as publications which, although from single countries, have some micro or macro representation of countries in the continent. The micro representations refer to the ones that gather scholars within geographical delimited regions, as Jung *et al.* (1989) and López (1988) both in the Andes, and the macro representations indicate the attempts to put together scholars from different regions on the continent.

Three books published in Peru in the late 1980s, i.e., Jung, Urban, and Serrano (1989), López, Pozzi-Escot,



and Zuñiga (1989), and López (1988), focus on issues relevant to two related subareas of Applied Linguistics, namely indigenous bilingual education and language policy/planning for bilingual and monolingual contexts. The first and the second include Applied Linguistics in their titles: *Aprendiendo a mirar: una investigación de lingüística aplicada y educación* and *Temas de lingüística aplicada – primer congreso nacional de investigaciones lingüístico-filológicas*. In the first, Jung, Urban, and Serrano (1989), reported on the educational aspect and on research work developed in the well-known Puno Project, a bilingual education program in Peru. The second, López, Pozzi-Escot, and Zuñiga (1989), focused on monolingual and bilingual contexts in Peru with sections on language planning and policy. The third, Lopez (1988), collected papers on bilingualism and bilingual education. As Lopez (1988: 8) emphasized: “Pocas son las instituciones que aceptan y asumen la pluralidad lingüística y cultural del país. Resulta significativo la desatención secular de la población indígena...” [Few institutions accept and assume the linguistic and cultural plurality of the country. The result is the century long lack of attention towards the indigenous population...]. (Ten years later the same can be said about Brazil, as put forward by Cavalcanti, (1999: 387): “. . . there is a myth of monolingualism in the country... [which is] efficient to invisibilize minorities, for example, the indigenous groups, the immigrant communities...”)

Also with a focus on bilingual education but covering a wider scope (see also Cavalcanti, 1999) ranging from elite bilingualism through deaf people’s schooling to minority bilingualism, Mejía and Tovar (1999) edited a publication in Colombia. Curiously, there is no mention of Applied Linguistics in the chapters written by Colombian scholars. (Two chapters only are from non-Colombians, one of them by a South American.) In other words, many of the chapters in the publication could belong to an Applied Linguistics collection, and this state of affairs brings in an argument that people do AL after all but do not call themselves applied linguists.

It is important to emphasize that the publications above are portraits of specific locations in Spanish-speaking South America. It would be no different if some Brazilian publications were to be listed (see for example, Bohn and Vandresen, 1988; Paschoal and Celani, 1992; Signorini and Cavalcanti, 1998; Leffa, 2000). These books contain mainly reports of research undertaken in Brazil. It should be added that if they do have chapters from foreign scholars, they are ones from ‘the North.’ Some of the chapters in these books address epistemological issues in Applied Linguistics.

Besides local publications, there are ones that originated in one country but contain works by representatives from other countries, as for example, Trindade, Behares, and Fonseca (1995), Seki (1993), Zuñiga *et al.* (1987), *Trabalhos em lingüística aplicada* [Works in Applied Linguistics] (1989), *Anais da IX ALFAL* [Proceedings of the IX Congress of the Association of Linguistics and Philology of Latin America] (1992). All of these, with the exception of Trindade *et al.* (1995) are proceedings of (inter) national conferences. It should also be observed that only one of these publications is within the area of Applied Linguistics. The others come from Linguistics and Education (Trindade *et al.*, 1995), from Linguistics with some papers in Applied Linguistics (Seki, 1993), from Linguistics and Philology with a section in Applied Linguistics (*Anais da IX ALFAL*, 1992), from Education (Zuñiga *et al.*, 1987). These publications have chapters focusing on literacy, language education, language planning, language policy, mother tongue education, foreign language learning – that is, in subareas commonly found in Applied Linguistics publications.

It should be pointed out that in all of the publications above, (with the exception to the first one (Trindade *et al.*, 1995), which focuses on joint research developed by scholars from Uruguay and Brazil), the preferred reference seems to be Latin America and not South America. Actually, it is difficult to limit one’s eye to South America when it is the adjective Latin that appears to have been the point of convergence in Latin America as seen below.

#### Four Publications outside South America

In the publications selected for this section, three focus on Latin America and one on the Americas. They all either have a special section on South America or include South American contributors.

The first publication presented, the fourth volume of *Current trends in linguistics*, published in the late 1960s, has a historical value regarding Applied Linguistics in its initial stages in the continent. The volume, which has a survey report on ‘Foreign language teaching in Latin America,’ was written by Gomes de Matos and Wigdorsky (1968). The survey is very comprehensive regarding South American (and also Latin American countries) and is in line with the equation Applied Linguistics equals foreign language teaching, which was current at the time.

With a gap in the 1980s, the reader is invited to land on the 1991 special issue on *Políticas del lenguaje en América Latina* [Language policies in Latin America] of *Iztapalapa*, a journal from the area of social sciences published in Mexico. The issue puts



together linguists, applied linguists, and social scientists from Argentina, Brazil, Peru, and Uruguay, and also from Mexico and Canada.

Then, there is a jump to the 21st century with two publications, one from North America about the Americas, i.e., Hornberger (1997), and the other from Latin America (Mexico), i.e., Curc6, Col6n, Groult, and Herrera (2002).

The focus of Hornberger (2000) was the indigenous literacies in the Americas, with a specific section on South America. The South American countries represented are Peru, Ecuador, Bol6via, i.e., Andean countries. The emphasis in this case is on indigenous contexts, as in some books already mentioned (Lopez, 1988; Jung *et al.*, 1989). Actually, it should be noted that studies on indigenous contexts seem to be a strong point of convergence among South American (and also Latin American) scholars, as it can be seen in publications such as Seki, (1993) Zu6niga *et al.*, (1987), *Trabalhos em lingüística aplicada* (1989: 14), and *Iztapalapa* (1993: 29).

The second publication from the 21st century came out in Mexico, a Latin American country that was originally set out of my scope of South America. However, the country seems to be the focus of interaction between South American countries like Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, and Colombia, to mention a few. Brazil and Mexico, for instance, have had a long time partnership in matters of Applied Linguistics, which includes exchange of scholars and students and conference participation. Actually, conferences in Mexico seem to have been a place of academic encounter for South American scholars.

It should be emphasized that Mexico has thus pioneered getting together Latin American scholars, out of a conference context, in an assumedly Applied Linguistics publication: Curc6, Col6n, Groult, and Herrera (2002): *Contribuciones a la lingüística aplicada en América Latina* [Contributions to Applied Linguistics in Latin America]. When comparing the contents of this book, with its South American bias, with the results from the initial Internet search, two things are of note: a) that the list of countries represented, be they the contributor's place of work or place of origin, was very close to what came out of the Internet search (see above): Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Peru, Venezuela, and Uruguay; and b) that the coverage of Applied Linguistics subareas was more pervasive than in the Internet search, i.e., beyond the strong focus on foreign language learning, there were contributions from South American authors under the following headings: mother tongue learning; teacher education; bilingualism, minority languages and language policy;

contrastive analysis; interaction and discourse analysis in the Anglo-Saxon tradition. It should be highlighted that in this collection of papers, there is an addition of the subarea of minority languages in bilingual contexts, for example, indigenous communities (Brazil) on the one hand and deaf people (Colombia) on the other hand. Furthermore, Psycholinguistics and Sociolinguistics are also presented as Applied Linguistics (within the view of application of Theoretical Linguistics). However, this same book has chapters whose authors (Moita Lopes, 2002; Kleiman, 2002; Gabbiani, 2002) hold other views of Applied Linguistics, i.e., including that of another area of knowledge (Cavalcanti, 1999, 2004).

### The Path of Applied Linguistics in South America: The Shadow Metaphor

A chapter by Gabbiani (2002), in the above mentioned Curc6, Col6n, Groult and Herrera (2002), is the departure point for this section. In the chapter with a thought provoking title: 'Linguística aplicada en Uruguay: trayectoria de una existencia an6nima' [Applied Linguistics in Uruguay: The journey of an anonymous existence], the author (2002: 431) states:

... the lack of a team of researchers who exchanged ideas about the theme and a strong positioning against the term applied linguistics resulted in the option of not using it. This way the investigation in this area remained concealed (one could say 'anonimized' ...). I insist that this does not mean that this investigation does not exist. [Article author's translation of Spanish quotation. As an example of research developed in Uruguay, see Behares, 1982 and Gabbiani, 1994]

The journey of Applied Linguistics in Uruguay raises the question that perhaps the field has an anonymous existence not only there but also in the other South American countries. Nevertheless, to be fair to the diversity of approaches that may describe Applied Linguistics in South America, I would extend Gabbiani's metaphor of anonymity to a shadow metaphor. This extension would mean that to work in the shadow would encompass other situations besides the one pointed out by Gabbiani. In other words, the anonymity in Uruguay is related to doing AL within other disciplines when AL is not a preferred term. However, in other countries in South America, the work in AL may also be done in the shadow when researchers do not assume themselves as applied linguists and when they do AL under the label of other disciplines that they see as more prestigious. It should also be noted that even when we researchers position ourselves as applied linguists, we may also comply with working in the shadow when we take time to publish our

research work within a very inefficient system of circulation and distribution of publications outside (and sometimes inside) our own countries, when we all comply with little academic interaction among AL postgraduate programs, when the university websites are not updated to include new theses and dissertations immediately after they are approved, when there is lack of financial support for research and circulation of research results. In other words, what I mean by working in the shadow is related to the invisibility of the area of Applied Linguistics and therefore to the difficulty in getting information about the research work carried out.

About Brazil, an observation has to be made about the route of Applied Linguistics where the shadow metaphor would only be partially applicable. As I mention elsewhere (Cavalcanti, 2004: 27; Gabbiani, 2002), Applied Linguistics is a consolidated field of knowledge in the country:

... the late nineties indicate a consolidation of applied linguistics as an area of knowledge of its own [in Brazil]. This is reflected in the growth of research (see Leffa, 2000), publications and in the presentation of results in national conferences, in the recognition of the area by funding bodies, and in the evaluation from within the area which came out in papers (Celani, 1992; Kleiman, 1992; Moita Lopes, 1994; Signorini and Cavalcanti, 1998). Undoubtedly a consequence of the growth of human resources formed in the postgraduate programmes in the area, the growth of research was also shown in the submission of proposals to the national funding bodies and in the participation of scholars in academic forums.

The partial application of the shadow metaphor in the case of Brazil is related to some researchers carrying out AL research in other more prestigious areas like theoretical linguistics studies, thus not assuming themselves to be applied linguists, which may be an indicator of the importance given to Linguistics, Applied Linguistics thus occupying a subordinate position. The partial application may also be related to researchers complying with an inefficient system of distribution of publications and to the small interaction among postgraduate programs, which results in a poor circulation of information about theses and dissertations produced.

One last point in this section is illustrative of the point made about theses and dissertations written in Brazil. Both could be seen as additions to Trindade *et al.* (1995), the only case of crossborder publication in the references cited in the previous section. One, Orlando (2001) led to an M.A. thesis and the other, Pires Santos (2004), to a Ph.D. dissertation. Orlando focused on Brazilian university students learning Spanish as a foreign language in Uruguay, and Pires

Santos looked at a minority context in Brazil, i.e., the *brasiguaios*, Brazilians who go to Paraguay in search of a better life and end up returning to Brazil. Other works like these are in the shadow, and sometimes may take a long time to surface.

## Final Remarks

Although there is an AL movement in South America, the surface is hidden away by lack of academic interchange, be it in conferences, be it in the spreading of local publications, be it in the access to theses and dissertations. AL studies in the different countries in South America, Brazil excepted, are developed in other fields of research, for example, in education and in anthropology (See, for example, *Lenguas aborígenes de Colombia – memorias* [Aboriginal languages in Colombia: Proceedings 3, VII Anthropology Conference], 1995); or other departments such as Linguistics or Languages, by researchers who do not necessarily see themselves as applied linguists. Hence again the shadow metaphor represents Applied Linguistics in South America.

The field in this location seems to have found more room to consolidation (Cavalcanti, 2004) in Brazil (and in Latin America, Mexico would have to be included) within at least two views of AL, a field of knowledge in its own right and a locus for applying linguistic theories. The other countries in South America, as of today, apparently favor theoretical linguistic studies. Nevertheless, within publications in the area of theoretical linguistics, for example, it is possible to identify chapters reporting studies that could be placed within these different views of Applied Linguistics.

What theme or themes may be convergent in attempts to establish academic interchange? The answer to this question may be given from at least two different standpoints.

One of these views is within the Mercosul/Mercosur, the South American Common Market, which only includes Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay, and has shown that job opportunities signal that people should know Spanish/Portuguese. In that case, research on language teaching and learning regarding Spanish and Portuguese are on the agenda. Actually, Spanish and Portuguese as foreign languages have been one point of convergence among teachers and researchers mainly in the countries that are part of the South American Common Market. However, publications that gather researchers from these different countries and record efforts made towards, for instance, reporting research in the area in South America, seem to be rare. Two publications should be mentioned here, Gabbiani (1995) and

Almeida Filho (1995). Gabbiani (1995), is an article in a conference proceedings and focuses on the teaching of Spanish and Portuguese as foreign languages in Uruguay. The other is a publication edited by Almeida Filho (1995) that puts together research on the teaching of Portuguese for Spanish speakers. The latter only has contributions from Brazilian scholars except for one chapter from a Mexican researcher.

The other view is related to the social problems the countries share in the 'South.' Among these problems, there are certainly many convergent issues that are potentially relevant for applied research. These issues range from literacy in urban and non-urban (rural and indigenous) contexts, for example. Within these contexts, there are a number of subcontexts. Just to name two: deaf people and schooling; and indigenous peoples and teacher education. Therefore, the publications' references to the indigenous populations may not have been gratuitous. Looking at the field of AL from within South America, there is an urgent need to establish partnerships in this South, to learn from and to exchange experience with one another.

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### Relevant Websites

- <http://www.personal.si.umich.edu/~rlwls/andes.html> – Latin America: Subject Resource.
- <http://www.periodicos.capes.gov.br/> – Commission for the Upgrading of University Graduate Level Personnel (CAPES), Brazil.



## South Asia

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### Introduction

In the context of South Asia, applied linguistics can be defined as an area of activity pertaining to language-related concerns that go beyond the study of the forms and functions of language for their own sake. The discipline has developed new perspectives and frames of reference for various areas of language-related concerns, including language teaching, stylistics, literacy, translation, lexicography, language policy, and computational linguistics. Applied linguistics provides help to those who are in need of such new knowledge in their language-related practices. Although it is true that applied linguistics presupposes a knowledge of linguistics, it is also true that applied linguistics helps in developing linguistic theory. It does this not only by providing insights from other disciplines, but by also providing new and challenging data. The increasing scope of applied linguistics can be recognized from the presidential address delivered by Dwight Bolinger to the Linguistic Society of America on December 28, 1972 in which he stressed the fact that while subjects and verbs agree, linguists should also deal with the questions of whether statements and facts agree. Once we move in this direction, the ‘big lie’ becomes the proper object of study for linguistics – and a necessary one, especially when lying is cultivated as an art by governments, politicians, journalists, writers, and even linguists (Bolinger, 1973). In a similar context, Srivastava (1990: 11) in his ‘Address to the Indian Linguists’ viewed applied linguistics as a “socially meaningful academic activity, since here linguists are called to utilize their knowledge and skill to reveal the implicit assumptions made by speakers for the benefit of common users.” This brings applied linguistics right into the center of language-related social concerns. The scientific perspective of linguistics, it is believed, will help in solving language-related social concerns.

### Applied Linguistics in the Subcontinent

The term ‘applied linguistics’ came into use in the late 1940s and in the 1950s in both Britain and the United States, where it initially referred to the teaching and learning of second or foreign languages. However, it got prominence in India through the Linguistic Society of India (formed at the Fifth

Oriental Conference held at Lahore in 1928 with its first journal, *Indian Linguistics (IL)*, which commenced publication in 1931). In pre-independence and undivided India, the activities of the Society were mainly centered on descriptive and historical linguistics. Major activity in the growth of linguistics as an independent discipline began in 1951 after the meeting of the Society at Deccan College in Pune. Since the English language was supposed to cease functioning as the official language of India in January 1965, the meeting identified the fundamental need to apply knowledge of linguistics for the solution of the related problems of communication and for the development of regional languages. Subsequent political developments led to the amendment of the Constitution in 1967, whereby English was declared the “associate official language,” which it continues to be until today. The Summer Institutes in linguistics came into existence in 1954, and departments of linguistics began to be set up in Indian universities (the department at Calcutta University was established in 1920). Linguistics as a major discipline was taught in 14 universities by 1982; the number rose to 20 in 1992, and today it is around 32. Applied linguistics is a major component of these programs.

Major publishing of works about applied linguistics began with *Some aspects of applied linguistics* by D. P. Pattanayak (1969) and *Aspects of applied linguistics* by A. M. Ghatage (1970). The Dravidian Linguistics Association was formed in 1971, and the first issue of *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics (IJDL)* appeared in January 1972. With a high demand for publications in applied linguistics, Ujjal Singh Bahri founded the *Indian Journal of Applied Linguistics (IJOAL)* and the *Language Forum (LF)* in 1975. The biannual *South Asian Language Review (SALR)* under the editorship of O. N. Koul began publication in January 1991. While *IL*, *IJDL*, and *SALR* publish papers on theoretical as well as applied linguistics, the *IJOAL* caters only to applied linguistics, and *LF* publishes papers on applied linguistics and on literary studies. At present, there are a number of other significant publications, including *CIEFL Bulletin*, *Osmania Papers in Linguistics*, *The Yearbook of South Asian Languages and Linguistics*, *Psycholinguia*, and *Applied Linguistics*. The creation of the Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages (CIEFL) in 1958, the Central Hindi Directorate (CHD) in 1960, the Central Hindi Institute (CHI) in 1961, and the Central Institute of Indian Languages (CIIL) in 1969 have further strengthened the work on applied linguistics through research and



publications. The robustness of the field can also be seen in the numerous publications of Sage Publications, Bahri Publications, Creative Publications, Oxford University Press, and the CIIL. The range of publications on applied linguistics shows that the discipline initially equated with language teaching and language learning has expanded in scope to include other issues as well as issues related to multilingualism, language planning, language contact studies, second language acquisition, stylistics, translation studies, language disorders, and computational linguistics.

### **Multilingualism and Language-Related Concerns**

South Asia provides a unique instance of the fusion and diffusion of linguistic traits across genetic boundaries between speakers of various Aryan, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic, and Tibeto-Burman languages. As such, it leads to what Emeneau (1956) describes as the genesis of India, or even the whole of South Asia, as a 'linguistic area.' This linguistic area not only has common linguistic traits but also common sociolinguistic traits (Pandit, 1977). The sociolinguistic facts of South Asia can be different from those of countries in the west, e.g., Pandit (1977: 9) observes that second-generation speakers in the west give up their native language in favor of the dominant language of the region, showing thereby that "language shift is the norm and language maintenance an exception," while in South Asia, "language maintenance is the norm and shift an exception." Scholars like Pandit, Kachru, Srivastava, Pattanayak, and Khubchandani have tried to understand the multilingual and pluricultural nature of the subcontinent, with its mosaic of linguistic heterogeneity and cultural complexity. They found bilingualism and multilingualism to be the natural state of verbal behavior and reacted sharply to earlier Western interpretation of bilingualism as a symbol of poverty and discrimination (see Pattanayak, 2004: 44–54). It may be appropriate to say that speakers in South Asia are endowed with a 'multilingual communicative competence.' Scholars have pointed out that the language ecology of the subcontinent consists of grassroots bilingualism. In this language situation, each major language acts merely as a link language; the linguistic reorganization of states converted the link languages into dominant official languages, i.e., languages of political power and prestige. As dominant languages, they begin to block upward social mobility of the members of other speech communities. This blocking sometimes creates major intergroup rivalries and language movements such as the one that led to the breakup of Pakistan in 1971 into

Pakistan and Bangladesh. Other examples include the division of the Indian state of Punjab into Punjab and Haryana or the ongoing Tamil-Sinhala conflict in Sri Lanka. The linguists of the subcontinent, through application of their knowledge, have been able to understand the language-related problems of the subcontinent. Linguists have examined issues related to language policies and language in education, language teaching, language in contact situations, stylistics, translation studies, psycholinguistic issues related to language disorders, and so forth.

### **Language Policies: Scheduled and Nonscheduled Languages**

The South Asia region, with minor variations, shows the hierarchical relationship between languages as established by language policies. This asymmetrical relationship leads to the empowerment of some languages at the expense of others. The cases of India and Pakistan can be taken as instances.

The Indian Constitution, adopted in 1950, recognized the multilingual nature of the nation and listed 14 languages with distinct literary traditions in its Eighth Schedule. These are termed 'scheduled languages.' The number of languages was increased to 15 in 1967, to 18 in 1992, and to 22 in 2004. Other languages are actively seeking to be listed as well, because of the political and economic benefits that accrue to speakers of scheduled languages.

The 1991 census lists 96 nonscheduled languages. Aside from Arabic, English, and Tibetan, there are 90 tribal languages that are distributed in the four language families of Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic, and Sino-Tibetan (for details, see Khubchandani, 2001: 1–47). There is a fear that due to lack of support and due to apathy of the users, some of these may face extinction like Gutob and Bonda appear to have (Pattanayak, 2001: 48–49).

Tariq Rahman's (2003) paper reveals a similar situation in Pakistan. Pakistan has six major languages and over 59 minor languages in its multilingual profile. The policy of the state favors two languages, Urdu and English. Urdu is claimed by only 7.57% of the population as mother tongue, and it is projected as a symbol of ethnic identity. English is made to represent modernization and efficiency. These factors are leading to language shift, and languages like Aer (200 speakers reported in 1998), Gowro (200 speakers reported in 1990), Kundal Shahi (500 speakers reported in 2003), and others appear to be on the verge of extinction. Linguistics can help focus on the state of linguistic human rights in the region and suggest means of empowerment of minority languages.

## Language and Education

The domain of education poses the greatest challenge for applied linguistics in the post-colonial phase of multilingual South Asia because of the role of English in affecting education and education policies.

### Language and Educational Policy

Post-colonial South Asia had initially wanted the dominant regional languages to take over the function of education from the English language. Due to language confrontations and lack of political will, English has continued to be an increasingly potent medium of instruction in the countries of the region. For example, in India there have been numerous deliberations regarding the study of language at the school level as well as at the higher levels of education. Keeping in mind the multilingual profile of the country, the Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) proposed the ‘three language formula’ for the Indian education system in 1957. It was formalized by the (Kothari) Education Commission (1964–6) (for extracts and recommendations, see Aggarwal, 1993: 175–193). Under this formula for school education:

- The first language to be studied must be the mother tongue or the regional standard.
- The second language:
  - (i) In Hindi-speaking states, will be some other modern Indian language (MIL) or English
  - (ii) In non-Hindi-speaking states, will be Hindi or English.
- The third language in Hindi-speaking states will be English or an MIL and in non-Hindi-speaking states English or Hindi, i.e., a language not studied as the second language earlier.

The implication of this formula has been that while the teaching of the first language commenced from Class I, the teaching of the second language was recommended from Class VI or a bit earlier, from Class III, or at a convenient stage depending upon the resources of a state. The third language was also recommended to be taught from Class VI (for details, see Gargesh, 2002: 191–203). Since education is a subject under the state governments and not under the central government, the actual implementations have varied from state to state. However, presently there is an increasing trend toward beginning the teaching of English as a subject from the earliest possible class in schools.

Further, the three-language formula has created a situation where a child belonging to a linguistic minority may have to forgo instruction in the mother

tongue due to lack of resources or infrastructure. The formula does not do justice to thinly spread out minorities. Further, as one goes higher on the educational ladder, only major languages are studied, while finally at the top (for science and technology) there is only English. Although there is space for English in present-day India, Agnihotri (2001: 187) rightly bemoans that “this space has largely been used to create a divide in society. The acquisition of English by a small elite and rich minority helps it to consolidate its power and perpetuate injustice and exploitation in society.” The situation in Pakistan (Rahman, 2003: 4) and in Bangladesh (Shahed, 2001: 8–9) is similar. However, given the fact that the demand for education delivered in English is increasing, scholars have reviewed its role as well as the state of its teaching. What can be said of India is more or less representative of the whole of South Asia.

### Role of English in Multilingual South Asia

Various conferences and committees have grappled with the question of English as a foreign language, library language, link language, second language, Indianized language, and so forth. The role assigned to a language reflects several implicit assumptions about the kind of bilingualism and the kind of language teaching that is required. Srivastava (1994: 94) identifies four distinct functional roles for the Other Tongue (OT):

- a. Auxiliary Function: The OT is used for the sake of gaining knowledge rather than for communication. The learning of classical languages serves such an end, which produces ‘passive’ bilinguals.
- b. Supplementary Function: The OT is used occasionally and sporadically for fulfilling the restricted needs of tourists, diplomats, and so forth. This creates ‘partial’ bilinguals with partial competence in the target language.
- c. Complementary Function: The OT complements the first language when it is habitually used in restricted but well-defined sociological environments. This creates ‘stable’ bilinguals with partial competence in the target language.
- d. Equative Function: The OT can be said to be equative when it is employed as an alternate language in all domains in which the first language is used. Such a situation creates ‘ambilinguals.’

Elsewhere, Srivastava (1994: 297) looks at these functions in relation to the variables ‘language type,’ ‘bilingualism,’ ‘bilingual,’ and the ‘teaching method’ required as shown in Table 1.

English, due to its widespread use in the media and education, is largely a second language in South Asia.

**Table 1** Functional roles of the Other Tongue (OT) – a slightly modified version

Function	Auxiliary	Supplementary	Complementary	Equative
Language	Library language	Vehicular language	Link language	Alternant language
Bilingualism	Cultural	Isolated	Societal	Equative
Bilingual	Passive	Unstable	Stable	Ambilingual
Teaching method	Classical language	Foreign language	Second language	Bilingual education

However, the teaching of English is not effective and lacks direction. Nonetheless, significant steps have been taken toward changing that.

### Language Teaching in South Asia

Within South Asia, some changes in the teaching of English have emerged from the disciplines of linguistics and applied linguistics. The initial changes at an all-India level and their failure are reported in three documents: (1) *The Teaching of English in India* brought out by the National Council for Educational Research and Training (NCERT), Delhi, in 1963, (2) *The Study of English in India* brought out by the Ministry of Education, Government of India, in 1967, and (3) CBSE-ELT Project (1989–97), a report prepared by the *Central Board of Secondary Education* (CBSE), Delhi.

The first two reports inform us that initially in post-independent India, there was a shift from the grammar-translation method to the ‘direct method.’ This change resulted in an anomalous situation in which grammar ceased to be taught in the classroom. Oral drills, which were devised to replace the teaching of formal grammar and to habituate the learner to correct usage through actual practice, were not widely adopted. What remained of the teaching method was only the reading and translation of the prescribed literature-oriented textbook. To both meet the long-standing demand for making classrooms significant learning sites and reorient pre-service and in-service teacher training, the CBSE (in the third report) engaged in a major curriculum renewal project, CBSE-ELT Project (1989–97). The Project received British assistance through the British Council in India. The result was a new syllabus for Classes IX and X. The syllabus had a focus on the development of language skills in communicative situations and became a model for other boards of education in other parts of India. The problem generally confronted today is that students score well in exams but are not able to write a high-quality, lengthy discourse in English. Since the pedagogy employed in the teaching of English has also been a model for the teaching of other Indian languages, the future role of the applied linguist will always remain highly significant.

### Research Related to Language Learning and Acquisition

Much research in the areas of applied linguistics in the 1960s and 1970s in South Asia focused on contrastive analysis and error analysis, which invariably involved English and a South Asian language. With the increase in focus on the Chomskyan paradigm, work also began to shift into the area of second language acquisition, where the role of applied linguistics was restricted to the validation of linguistic theory or (at best) helping to extend the database against which linguistic theory could be tested (Singh, 1991: 5–15). This led to an interest in the study of interlanguage and in identifying strategies that second language learners use in their communication (Singh, 1991: 17–38). The emphasis on theoretical aspects can be seen in a number of doctoral dissertations at the CIEFL Hyderabad that focus on the differences between a South Asian language like Hindi (or Malayalam, Telugu, Kannada, Oriya, Nepali, and so forth) and English, in terms of syntactic or phonological structures with “the larger vision of universal grammar, which renders all languages (past, present and future) equally possible” (Amritavalli, 2001: 245).

Another area of research has been the attitudes towards second language acquisition. The South Asian experience reveals that a second language like English is learned and is considered significant in the region not because of an ‘integrative’ function but largely due to the ‘instrumental’ function. It is a means for enhancing social mobility and individual personality (Agnihotri and Khanna, 1997: 85), and for providing better education and more information (Abbi *et al.*, 2000: 20, 22). The findings are similar for Pakistan (Mansoor, 2004: 355) and Bangladesh (Shahed, 2001: 131, 135).

### Languages in Contact

The area of languages in contact in South Asia has also emerged as an important area of applied linguistics. This is because it is here that we find linguistic implications relating to economic, socio-historical, and political factors. The study by Gumperz

and Wilson (1971) of language use in Kupwar, a small Indian village on the border of Kannada (Dravidian language) and Marathi (Indo-Aryan language), reveals that the communicative needs of the people have led to a merging of the grammars of three languages: Kannada (used by Jains), Urdu (used by Muslims) and Marathi (used by the lowest strata). Some more recent work in the area covers languages used on the tea plantations of Assam and other contact languages like Silchar Bengali, Nagamese, and Sadri. Indian English and any other New World English could also be situated in similar circumstances. An interesting case is that of Nagamese, a variety that has come up as a code for interlingual communication among different linguistic groups of the Nagas in Eastern India. While Satyanath (1999) examines the Pidgin/Creole characteristics of the language, Kapfo (2001: 155–169) identifies the variety largely as a language of wider communication among the uneducated, with the educated using it mostly in ordinary domains like the marketplace. The work on contact languages addresses the questions of the sources of the lexicon and grammar, and the role of the processes of second- and first-language learning. The work also raises linguistic questions about the stripping of inflectional morphology and other complexities, which results in simple grammars, or about understanding how linguistic variation in such contact languages generates polylectal grammars.

A related area of great interest within the domain of contact languages has been South Asian English, a variety of English that takes into account Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, Bangladeshi, Nepali, and Bhutanese Englishes. In the context of India, Kachru calls the convergence process ‘Indianization’ (Kachru, 1983). While most work has been on the phonology and lexicon of these varieties, work on the presence of syntactic forms, such as on the use of the progressive verb for the nonprogressives used elsewhere, the use of reduplicative forms, the frequent use of the *isn't it?* in tag questions, and the peculiar use of negations and so forth, have been enumerated by Kachru (1965), Verma (1978), and Aitchison and Agnihotri (1994), and others. Kachru (1994) looks at the varieties of language in terms of configurations of discourse strategies in larger pragmatic and cultural contexts, e.g., a discourse strategy of South Asian writing is the ‘mixing of styles’ such as the ‘ornamental’ with ‘impersonal’ in expository prose.

### **Stylistics and the Teaching of Literature**

Another significant area of research in applied linguistics on the subcontinent has been the domain of stylistics, which is largely viewed in terms of

a linguistic approach to the study of literary texts. Its popularity can be gauged from the fact that the inaugural issue of the *Indian Journal Of Applied Linguistics (IJOAL)* (1975) was devoted to it. This was in tune with the major concern at that time: making literary studies more objective, scientifically rigorous, and language-oriented. This was necessary because the field was full of subjective and arbitrary studies. The application of linguistics to literary texts was seen as a challenge to the discipline of linguistics which had by and large shied away from literary data. Because all literature is manifested in and through language, it was felt that there was no need to draw a dividing line between the literary and the linguistic functions. From the first issue of *IJOAL* until now, much work has been done in the area of stylistics.

The work on stylistics, though varied, has largely been semiotically oriented. Some scholars, under the influence of Bloomfield, Hockett, and others, studied linguistic structures at the different levels of language organization (Kumar, 1977), while others linked linguistic structures to the aesthetic function (Prakasam, 1982). The work of Prakasam and his research students is largely within the Hallidayan ‘systemic’ model. However, a broad semiotic perspective emerged during this time that looked through language and concentrated more on the matrix of the sign, adopting both verbal and nonverbal sign systems as the axis of text production. Under the influence of Propp, Levi-Strauss, Barthes, Derrida, Benveniste, and so forth, three distinct semiotically oriented approaches were formulated on the subcontinent: Gill’s ‘anthropological semiotic’ approach, Kelkar’s ‘semiosis’ approach, and Srivastava’s ‘semi-linguistic’ approach.

Gill’s ‘anthropological semiotic’ model is motivated by the writings of the French structuralist school. He has applied his model to the analysis of legends, folk-tales, and literary works. In his *A phulkari from Bhatinda* (1981), Gill has attempted to explore the symbolic structure of Punjabi consciousness by integrating the symbolism of ritual life and the oral tradition of Punjabi folklore. He posits three distinct levels in the structuration of literary discourse: semiotics, semiology, and mediation. His first level follows the normal grammatical organization of a text, and syntactic devices of signifiers control the literary significance at this level. It is only at the plane of content that semiological significances emerge. At the second level of literary discourse, the semiological patterns are discerned through the analysis of the interplay of the psychic components of each human situation centering on a fundamental problematic or tension. The third level, mediation, emerges from the field of pragmatics, with significance coming into being from the associated field of ideology. Gill’s approach is quite



productive and provides fresh impetus to the study of enunciation and semantics of folklore and literary works.

Kelkar's 'semiosis' approach offers a very complex frame of reference. In his paper, 'The being of a poem' (1969), he examines, in relation to the concept of being, the capacity of a literary work to make its existence felt. In another paper, 'Some notes on language and literature' (1970), he puts forward his concept of literary style in verbal art, which for him "is the transformation of the material object (e.g., linguistic text) into the total work of art" (1970: 75). Kelkar is essentially motivated to promote the integration of linguistics, stylistics, and cultural anthropology into an overall framework of communication. In his monograph, *Prolegomena to an understanding of semiotics and culture* (published by CIIL, Mysore, in 1980), his main concern was to define, describe, and delineate semiotic events and bioethnic events by applying the formal universal approach and offering a phenomenological analysis of the forms of culture as prolegomena. In the process of evolving his complex overall framework, he has tried to integrate the world of gnosis (work, play), poesis (production, creation), and cathexis (love, loyalty).

Srivastava and his research students at the University of Delhi developed the 'semiolinguistic' approach. The semiolinguistic approach envisaged a broadening of linguistics, and at the same time a narrowing of other semiotic systems, to the pattern of linguistic signs. This approach analyzed stylistic facts in terms of linguistic semiology by defining the nature and function of the sign, signifier, signified, and the signification process at different levels of language organization. The view promoted is that language used in literary or nonliterary discourse is a reflection on signs, and further, that language, specifically its grammars, serve as sense-making systems for all other sign systems. The semiolinguistic approach tries to show how a verbal construct with hierarchical, interlocking levels expresses the multileveled nature of a poem's signification. This is supposed to involve the principle of poetic construction as a process of semiosis that involves the transformation of one linguistic level into another, namely, the transformation of the first material level of the 'sentence symbol' into the second level of the 'symbols in art,' and further into the third level of the 'art symbol' and the 'aesthetic symbol' (see Gargesh, 1990: 57–58). The fact stressed is that all the levels and their corresponding sign-units are inherently verbal in nature. This model accepts literary communication as a social contract of the order *I – Thou* (rather than *I-It*) in its orientation. Hence, it rejects the sentence-level perspective for the study of literary texts and the

formal linguistic approach that appears to suggest that there is some linguistic constant that can significantly characterize literary texts as distinct from nonliterary ones. This model has also been found practical and useful by over half a dozen research students between 1994 and 2004 through their study of style, figurative language, drama, poetry, and narrative.

It needs to be mentioned that many other scholars have also worked on the structuralist-semiotic approach in the study of various languages of India, including Marathi, Punjabi, Hindi, and so forth. Dhongde and Kelkar (1985) can be taken as a representative example. Further, efforts at establishing linkages between stylistics and the ancient Indian grammatical and critical tradition have been made by and Kapoor and Ratnam (1999).

### Computational Linguistics

South Asia, particularly India, is one of the world's major software and information technology (IT) centers. A couple of decades ago, IT-related initiatives were taken in many technological institutes and universities, with funding coming from the Technology Development for Indian Languages (TDIL) program of the Ministry of Information and Technology of the Government of India. The University Grants Commission also funded many major and minor research projects. Significant achievements in the field were made by the Indian Institutes of Technology (IIT), the Indian Institute of Information Technology (IIIT), the Center for Development of Advanced Computing (C-DAC), the Indian Institute of Science, the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research (TIFR), and other universities and institutes. Researchers at the IIT at Kanpur have long been working on a project to design a machine translation system for inter-translation among major Indian languages using Sanskrit as an interlingua. They have developed a device called *Anusaaraka* that renders text from one Indian language into another in near-comprehensible form. The lexical resources being collected for Indian languages are used for the *Anusaaraka* multilingual transfer tool. Work on machine translation is also under way at the IIIT at Hyderabad. Work on Sanskrit and Hindi Corpora is going on at the Jawaharlal Nehru University and at the Mahatma Gandhi International Hindi University (MGIHU). The major thrust in this applied field can be said to be in the areas of machine translation and creating lexical resources.

### Machine Translation

Major efforts in machine translation focus on translating either from one Indian language to another or on translating from English to Hindi; in Pakistan,



the focus is on English and Urdu. In two *Anusaaraka* systems (Bharati *et al.*, 1995) developed in India, the load between the human readers and the machine is divided, i.e., language-based analysis of the text is carried out by the machine, and knowledge-based analysis or interpretation is left to the reader. The machine uses a dictionary and grammar rules to produce the output. *Anusaaraka* output follows the grammar of the source language. Among Indian languages, which share substantially vocabulary, grammar, pragmatics, and so forth, the task of rendering one language into another is relatively easy. However, if the two languages differ in grammatical constructions, either an existing construction in the target language that expresses the same meaning is used or a new construction is invented. *Anusaarakas* are available for use as e-mail servers.

The *Anusaaraka* system from English to Hindi follows the basic principle of information preservation. It uses the XTAG-based (Extensible Tree Adjoining Grammar) super-tagger and light dependency analyzer developed at the University of Pennsylvania for the analysis of a given English text. The system produces several outputs corresponding to the given input. The simplest possible output is based on the machine taking the load of lexicon and leaving the load of syntax to man.

Two additional systems – the *Mantra* System and the *MaTra* system – deal with machine translation from English to Hindi. The *Mantra* system translates ‘officialese’ (office-related correspondence) from English to Hindi. It is based on the synchronous Tree Adjoining Grammar and uses tree transfer for translating from English to Hindi. Here, the lexicon is suitably restricted to deal with the meanings of English words as used in their subject domains. The *MaTra* system, on the other hand, is a tool for human-aided machine translation from English to Hindi for news stories. It has a text categorization component that determines the type of news (political, social, economic, and so forth) before operating on it. Depending on the type of news, the system uses the appropriate dictionary, e.g., the word ‘party’ is usually a ‘political entity’ and not a ‘social event’ in political news.

### Lexical Resources

A number of bilingual dictionaries for Indian languages have been developed for the purpose of machine translation and are available under the GPL (General Public License). Creation of a very large English-to-Hindi lexical resource for the *Anusaaraka* system is currently under way. In Pakistan, lexical resource work is going on at the Center for

Research and Urdu Language Processing at Lahore University.

Lexicon-related work in linguistics has been done by the Commission for Scientific and Technical Terminology, which is under the Ministry of Human Resource Development of the Government of India. This work is in the form of the revised Glossary of Linguistic Terms (1994) and the two-volume Definitional Dictionary of Linguistics [Vol. I (1990) deals with concepts of phonetics and phonology and Vol. II (1998) deals with concepts of morphology, syntax, and semantics]. Scholars from Delhi University, in collaboration with Iran Culture House, have created a Persian-Hindi dictionary on CD in which lexical equivalents and their grammatical forms can easily be accessed.

### Language Disorders

Recent awareness of the widespread occurrence of learning disabilities (LD) in the subcontinent, both in urban and rural settings, has created another challenging area for applied linguistics in the 21st century. With the increase in data from South Asian multilingual contexts, the prevailing Western methods and materials may have to be significantly modified.

Fresh challenges lie in the area of language disorders, both developmental as well as acquired. The role of applied linguistics becomes crucial, because these disorders can be characterized at all levels of language structure and function, i.e., from articulatory and auditory speech signal-processing to problems of meaning, including all modalities of language use in production and comprehension as represented in speech and writing. The field also includes, after initial screening and diagnosis, assessment and intervention, which includes remedial teaching. Due to the large number of children going to school in South Asia, the focus at present is largely on learning disabilities rather than language disorders. This is the case for children who fail to develop age-appropriate syntax, phonology, lexicon, or pragmatics. Cross-linguistic studies related to acquired disorders (Karanth, 2003) have begun to focus on bilingualism/biscriptalism with regard to reading and with a focus on the nature of writing systems and their implications for understanding reading models. This has implications for language acquisition and language teaching as well as for the remediation of reading. Karanth has provided single case studies from the field of acquired dyslexias. All of the subjects reported were bilinguals or multilinguals who knew English and one or more Indian writing systems. The alphabetic writing system of English contrasts with the syllabic writing system of Indian languages,

including the scripts of Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and Pakistan. Hence, the patterns of reading errors of the subjects in English, if contrasted with their reading errors in an Indian writing system, could lead to significant generalizations. The discussions of the three case studies of ‘pure alexia,’ ‘surface dyslexia,’ and ‘deep dyslexia’ lead to the conclusion that “in a bilingual individual a lesion that produces a particular type of dyslexia in one script need not necessarily produce a similar type of dyslexia in a different script” (Karanth, 2003: 149). The reasons include several factors related to acquisition and to the use of each language as well as the interplay between them at different stages in a bilingual’s life.

It has been observed that the grapheme-phoneme correspondences that children, or even adult illiterates, make between phonology and orthography “depend on the orthography of the language being learned and the phonological units that this orthography makes salient rather than the other way round” (Karanth, 2003: 151). Further, the teaching of reading involves script-specific strategies, e.g., Indian languages are largely taught by exposure to graphemes as syllables, not as consonant and vowel components. Future studies can help create advanced remedial strategies to help children overcome their specific difficulties in spoken and written language or to help them with their attention spans in the context of traditional schools or even outside them, in literacy drives in developing countries.

In the field of learning disorders, much more work needs to be done on dyslexia, dysgraphia, and dyscalculia. Other areas that require attention from applied linguists, and are also under investigation by R C Sharma and his students at the Department of Linguistics, University of Delhi, include developmental language disorders such as those related to the communicative behavior of developmentally disabled children, language disorders in adults with aphasia and dysarthria, and dementia in the elderly.

### Problems in Translation

The field of translation in the multilingual/pluricultural region of South Asia is another area of vital importance for the applied linguist. One of the cultural wings of the Government of India, the *Sahitya Akademi* (launched in 1954) has constantly promoted translation among Indian languages (and English). The *Akademi* has published over 2000 translations in 24 languages that cover the best of poetry, fiction, and drama written in the languages of India. The *Akademi* also awards each year 22 eminent translators for translating from and into an Indian language. Its journal, *Indian Literature*, now a bimonthly, has

been in publication since 1957. The *Akademi* has also established four centers for translation-related activities at Bangalore, Ahmedabad, Delhi, and Shantiniketan. The center at Bangalore plans to produce translations of premodern classics in different languages of India under the series called *Prāāçya*. The *Sahitya Akademi* holds a number of workshops for translators from different parts of the country, e.g., it has organized 19 workshops between 1999 and 2004. The aim of these workshops was to provide the translators a grounding in theoretical and practical aspects of translation so that they can meet the challenges posed by the act of translation in the context of the multilingual Indian reality. One of the dominant features of these workshops was the bringing into focus of linguistic equivalencies – lexical, syntactic, pragmatic, and cultural. Although translation is characterized as an activity whereby source language (SL) text is changed into text of the target language (TL) – while attempting to keep the meanings of the two texts equal – the fact that no two verbal systems are totally similar in representing the same sociocultural reality creates many disturbing problems for the translator in his or her efforts to maintain equivalence.

The problems of translation equivalence are varied – they may consist of untranslatable entities such as culture-specific lexicon, peculiar syntax, idioms, figurative language, and social style (see Gargesh, 1989: 63–73 for Hindi-English examples). These problems, when seen through the perspective of applied linguistics, could be resolved in the following way (Gargesh, 1989: 72):

- i. Instead of performing a word-to-word translation, an attempt should be made to translate the encoded sense.
- ii. In the case of poetic figures, it is advisable that an idiom for an idiom and a metaphor for a metaphor should be used, keeping in mind the socio-cultural reality of the TL.
- iii. Intention for intention in translation should be preferred.
- iv. Transcreation is suggested, provided it doesn’t embellish.

### Conclusion

Language systems are central to all human behavior, and linguistics enjoys a privileged position among the sciences. Thus, it is imperative for the applied domain of linguistics to deal with issues concerning social responsibility. Applied linguistics is an interdisciplinary field where, apart from inputs from linguistics, language-related knowledge is developed and applied to language-specific practices and where

language-related problems are solved in the sites of language use. Applied linguistics thus sits at the interface between linguistics and other areas of study, such as education, literary studies, literacy campaigns, media and communication studies, sociology, psychology, planning, and so forth. Issues concerning social responsibility and other related issues are frequently manifested in the areas of applied linguistics. Some of these issues have been dealt with in this article – language and education problems in a multilingual setting, problems of stylistic analysis, translation and computational linguistics, problems of linguistic changes arising out of languages in contact, psycholinguistic concerns, and so forth. Most of these issues in South Asia fall within the context of the multilingual situation. Therefore, there is a need to find out ways to make multilingualism work better so as to prevent violation of linguistic human rights and marginalization of minority languages. This effort also necessarily involves taking a critical look at the implementation and outcome of language planning and education planning so that educational structures have a firm multilingual base and output. There is also an urgent need to find effective ways of teaching languages to very large numbers of learners, which calls for harnessing and developing media-based programs via satellite. Further, fresh developments in the field need to be continuously integrated in order to make language-related applications more realistic and intellectually stimulating.

See also: Applied Linguistics; Second and Foreign Language Learning and Teaching.

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## South East Asia

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### Applied Linguistics and the Region of Southeast Asia: Definitions

For the purpose of this article, applied linguistics is defined as an interdisciplinary, practice-driven field that addresses language-related issues and problems arising in a range of real-world settings, such as the community as a whole, different educational institutions, and the workplace. To identify those relevant issues and topics in applied linguistics of significance to Southeast Asia, we examined the professional activities and the literature published in this region, not only in English but also in the local languages of the region. Much of this work has been abstracted in an extensive annotated bibliography (Ho and Wong, 2003).

Mainland Southeast Asia is taken to refer to the 10 countries that currently form a nonpolitical grouping called the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). They are Brunei Darussalam (henceforth Brunei), Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam. Except for Thailand, all these countries experienced some form of Western colonial rule some time in the past. For example, Indonesia received its independence after four centuries of partial colonization by the Portuguese and full colonization by the Dutch. The Philippines experienced nearly as long a period of rule by Spain and then the United States. Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam, the three states in Indochina, at one time firmly aligned with the Soviet Union, were originally French colonies. All the remaining countries, Brunei, Malaysia, Myanmar, and Singapore, were at one time colonies of the British Empire. In addition, during the Second World War, all of these countries experienced 3 years of occupation by Japan (1942–1945).

Examined closely, the countries covered in this article are vastly different in many ways – in size, for instance, with Singapore being the smallest, on the one hand, and Indonesia, on the other hand, covering thousands of islands and a total land area of approximately one quarter of the United States. Other factors making them different are, for example, their Gross Domestic Product and literacy rate. Most of the countries are heterogeneous in terms of ethnicity, culture, and language.

### South East Asia as a Linguistic Region

The language ecology of the region comprises four ‘families’ of related languages, with which the national or official languages of the countries are associated. The four families, according to Comrie (1987: 12), are Austro-Asiatic (with Vietnamese and Khmer (Central Khmer) or Cambodian as its members), Tai (which includes Thai and Lao), Sino-Tibetan (which includes Chinese and Myanmar or Burmese), and Austronesian (to which Malay and Tagalog or Filipino belong). Over time, in each family, a kind of language continuum was interrupted by political boundaries.

The language mix found in Southeast Asia provides fascinating material for sociolinguistic studies. The policy of the colonial masters to impose their own languages on the colonized, together with migration of indigenous peoples across the region in search of a livelihood, has added to the complexity of Southeast Asia’s linguistic profile. English remains one of two languages of instruction in the education systems of Brunei, Singapore, the Philippines, and more recently Malaysia, whereas French is taught as a second language in the Indochinese states. A good example of the diaspora of the Indian population from the early days of the British Empire is the fact that Indian languages such as Tamil, Hindi, Urdu, and Bengali are formally studied as mother tongues by some children in the Singapore education system.

Through their official language policies, in all the Southeast Asian countries, one indigenous language is accorded the status of a national language: Malay (in Brunei and Singapore), Bahasa Indonesia (in Indonesia), Bahasa Malaysia (in Malaysia), Khmer (in Cambodia), Laotian (in Laos), Filipino (in the Philippines), Thai (in Thailand), Myanmar or Burmese (in Myanmar), and Vietnamese (in Vietnam). Since Malay or a variety of it is the national or official language of Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore, it is practically a *lingua franca* in the area known as the Malay Archipelago. However, at official meetings of the 10 countries as a group (ASEAN), only English is used. As will be explained, English, spoken at different levels of ability cross-nationally, is clearly the language of wider communication for the region. As a result, several countries have adopted a model of education and literacy to promote a higher level of proficiency in the English language. In the Philippines, the Bilingual Education Policy is one model, and Brunei’s *Dwibahasa* (the two-language system) is another. In Singapore’s bilingual education system, the medium of instruction is English. Students learn English as a first school language and the



language of their ethnic group (e.g., Chinese, Malay, or Tamil) as their second school language for their cultural values.

### From Nationalism to Nationism: The Adoption of National Languages

Whereas the study of language policies in this region has been a growing field of interest, the language policy literature in Southeast Asia had been rather scattered until the publication of Ho and Wong (2004a). Language policy-making involves [as Halliday (1990: 9) puts it] “formulating policies, getting them adopted and making provision – primarily educational provision – for ensuring they are carried out.” It is commonly accepted that the national language is the main medium for the expression of a national identity. In all 10 Southeast Asian countries, the national and official languages are also the languages of instruction in schools. In the case of Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines, there has been an institutional framework for the development and teaching of what was chosen as the national language. For most of the other countries, the agency that engages in this process is usually a department of the government or the Ministry of Education since much of language policy-making has to do with language acquisition planning. Table 1 provides a

summary of the national or official and second or foreign languages of each of the 10 countries.

It is to be noted in Table 1 that each of the four countries – Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore – adopted a variety of Malay as the national language. Whereas Brunei Malay predominates in that country, other varieties used in Brunei include Kampong Ayer, Royal Malay (with a social register showing respect to royalty), and Bazaar Malay (a pidginized variety). In its dual-language education system, implemented in 1984, English is used to teach some subjects in school.

In Indonesia in the early 1900s, nationalistic feelings favored the development of Malay to unite the Indonesian population, although it was not the mother tongue of the majority. Specifically, in 1928 (at the second meeting of the All-Indonesia Youth Congress), Malay was adopted as the national language (renamed Bahasa Indonesia). After the Japanese occupation (1942–1945), when independence was declared, Bahasa Indonesia was institutionalized as the official language. It has served as the medium of instruction in formal education ever since.

Among the multiethnic population of Malaysia (covering the Malay Peninsula and the states of Sarawak and Sabah in Borneo) of 19.4 million (approximately divided into 59% Malays, 32% Chinese, 8% Indians, and 1% Others), many languages and related dialects are spoken, but Malay (or Bahasa Malaysia) is the most important language, being both the national and official language, and serves as a *lingua franca*. Malaysia’s language policy has moved the country from the postindependence era of establishing nationalism to one of pragmatism, in which English has been selectively used, since 2003, as one of the principal languages of instruction in schools.

In Singapore, there are four official languages: Malay, Chinese, Tamil, and English. Malay is also the national language. The composition of the Singapore population of 4 million (made up of approximately 78% Chinese, 14% Malays, 7% Indians, and 1% Others) does not reflect the actual complexity of the linguistic situation in Singapore because, in reality, the Chinese, Malays, and Indians speak a variety of languages and/or dialects. For example, among the ethnic Indians, Tamil (a major Indian language) is not necessarily the only mother tongue; there are others such as Hindi, Urdu, Gujarati, Malayalam, and Punjabi, attesting to the existence of a number of subgroups within the Indian community itself. The Chinese majority speak a mixture of Chinese dialects and, increasingly now, Mandarin. For interethnic communication, Malay (or Bazaar Malay) and English are used.

**Table 1** National languages and languages in education in Southeast Asia

Country	National language	Other major languages or English as L2 or FL	Foreign language(s)
Brunei	Malay	English	Arabic
Cambodia	Khmer	English	French, Chinese
Indonesia	Bahasa Indonesia	English	Arabic, Japanese, French, Dutch, German
Laos	Lao	English	French, Russian
Malaysia	Bahasa Malaysia	English, Chinese, Tamil	Arabic, Japanese, French
Myanmar	Myanmar	English	
Philippines	Filipino	English	Chinese, Spanish
Singapore	Malay	English, Chinese, Malay, Tamil	Japanese, French, German
Thailand	Thai	English	French, German, Arabic, Japanese, Chinese
Vietnam	Vietnamese	English	Russian, French, Chinese

Although each of the three Indochinese states, Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam, has its own national language, all three countries were strongly influenced by French and later Russian. In Cambodia, for instance, French was studied in public schools until the late 1960s, long after Cambodia had achieved independence.

In the remaining three countries, the national language of the Philippines is Filipino, which bears a remarkable resemblance to Tagalog. Tagalog is not the mother tongue of the largest linguistic group in the country but it met all the criteria for a national language. In the 1972 Philippine constitution, schools were charged with the responsibility of developing a “bilingual nation fully competent in the use of English and Filipino [sic]” (cited in Castillo, 2004: 268). Then, in the 1987 revision of the constitution, English and Filipino remained the official languages, but regional languages were considered official auxiliary languages in particular regions and could also serve as languages of instruction. In Myanmar with its many minority languages, Myanmar (the language) is used in administration and education. Thailand, with a population of 63.4 million and 80 languages, is not usually known as a linguistically heterogeneous society when it is so. The language that unifies Thailand is Standard Thai, which is accepted as the national and official language although, according to Brudhiprabha (1993: 16), there is no official declaration to this effect. It is the language of education, administration, and the media and it is a symbol of identification for the Thai nation.

Given the linguistic diversity and the complexity of the language situation in Southeast Asia, any attempt at generalization must be performed with caution. What comes across very strongly is the fact that different cultural systems and historical experiences determine different linguistic profiles. In the transition from traditionalism to independence and a modern state, some countries have their own way of recognizing the legitimacy of ethnic group interests in preserving their language identity and so have made some provision for them in the school curriculum. This is a type of what Stewart (1968: 532) has called ‘national multilingualism,’ which exists in several countries in Southeast Asia.

The teaching of a country’s national or official language(s) to eliminate illiteracy and to forge social cohesion is the most legitimate function of a country’s education system. In today’s fast-changing world setting, it is also expedient for the school-going population to learn another foreign or auxiliary language, such as English, if the country is to maintain contacts with the rest of the world. In the Southeast Asian setting, the fact that the national

language can exist side by side with English is best seen in terms of what Fishman (1968) has called ‘nationalism’ and ‘nationism.’ In the case of nationism, English has been adopted for reasons of national efficiency.

### **Language Acquisition Planning in Multilingual Societies**

Examples of very effective language acquisition planning through education can be observed in the region. In Malaysia, for instance, non-Malay-ethnic groups learned to master Standard Malay in a relatively short period of time. In Indonesia, Bahasa Indonesia was successfully acquired by groups who have other Indonesian languages as their mother tongues.

Perhaps the most recent success story of language acquisition planning (or language status planning) is Singapore’s ‘Speak Mandarin Campaign’ initiated nationally for the Chinese community in 1979, in which a whole population of Chinese Singaporeans of some three generations was weaned away in approximately 10 years from dependence on Chinese dialects (technically their mother tongues) to using Mandarin (a learned language) in social interactions with family members and others. This is a major language acquisition exercise that has had no close parallel in Southeast Asia in recent times.

The success of the Speak Mandarin Campaign has put to the test notions traditionally held that language habits are slow to change. The goal of *deliberate* language change was to reduce the linguistic burden on Chinese ‘dialect’-speaking children who, on introduction to formal schooling, had to learn English and Mandarin, official languages that they did not use at home. Since 1979, Mandarin has largely become an identifying characteristic of the ethnic-Chinese population instead of specific dialects. Today, the linguistically heterogeneous Chinese population in Singapore has been made more linguistically homogeneous, speaking Mandarin in intra-ethnic communication.

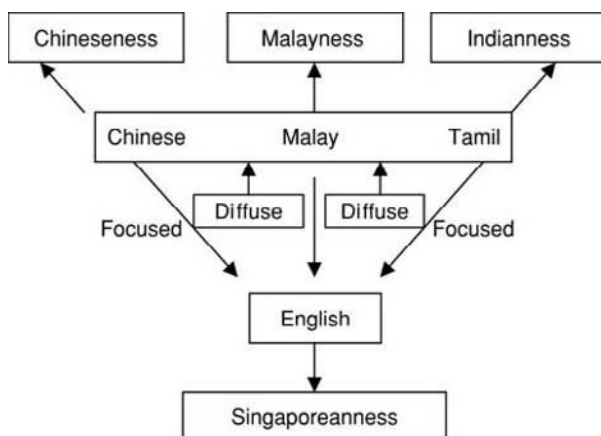
### **Language use in Multilingual Settings and the Question of Social Identity**

In real-life settings, the use of many languages in different domains (workplace, home, places of worship, market-places, etc.) is now extensively documented (in particular, in Brunei, Malaysia, and Singapore) using different quantitative and qualitative methods of research. With many of these countries becoming bilingual, the question of language and identity remains a matter of concern.

How this issue of language and identity gets into public awareness has recently been demonstrated in Singapore by the study of Chinese as a school subject. To the Chinese in Singapore, the question was whether a deep knowledge of Chinese (or Mandarin) necessarily forms part of cultural identity. Although English is currently the language of interethnic communication in the social and business domains, some groups hope that English will not be cast as having value only in economic terms but also in the cultural sphere as well.

In multilingual Singapore, English probably serves as a ‘focusing factor,’ if we use Le Page and Tabouret-Keller’s (1985: 181) concept of ‘speech acts,’ which are acts of projection – in which ‘through language individuals project their identity, their inner universe and shape it according to the behavioral patterns of the groups with which they wish to identify.’ Individuals may have several social identities. To illustrate this point, Kamwangamalu (1992), in a small-scale study, arrived at a conclusion about the relationship between language and identity in his sample, as shown in Figure 1.

Kamwangamalu’s conclusion is framed by Le Page and Tabouret-Keller’s (1985) ideas of ‘diffusion’ and ‘focusing’. Under diffusion, speakers cluster based on the language that they consider their mother tongue or own language, a language that projects their own ethnic Chinese, Malay, or Indian identity, although they may not be proficient in that ethnic language. In other words, this diffusion, which separates the ethnic groups at one level, is seen in terms of language loyalty rather than language competence. Under focusing, English plays a supraethnic role reflecting a Singaporean identity. In other words, it is through



**Figure 1** Language and identity in Singapore. Adapted from Kamwangamalu, N. (1992). ‘Multilingualism and social identity in Singapore.’ *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication* 3, 32–47. With kind permission from John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam/Philadelphia. <http://www.benjamins.com>.

English that speakers of it, at whatever level of competence, identify themselves as Singaporeans. As a broker language, English brings about a convergence of the different ethnic groups, hence focusing.

In Singapore and elsewhere in Southeast Asia, critics of the excessive dependence on exonormative English have expressed concern about how it may harm national identity (e.g., Tickoo, 1996: 44). Others (e.g., Denham, 1992; Samuel, 1997; Toh, 2003) note that the language pedagogy of the English textbooks shows the inappropriateness of relying too heavily on native-speaker models. With reference to the sale of English teaching materials in Vietnam, Denham (1992: 67) notes that “the USA is the top of the league in this respect, and Standard American English could eventually become the preferred model. It will be clear from these comments that Vietnam, like other Expanding Circle centres, is norm-dependent.”

### English: Its Expanding Role and Varieties

The expanding role of English and the varieties of English that have emerged are two issues that have often been researched and discussed in the applied linguistics literature. Held in turn in Singapore, Brunei, and Malaysia, over the past 5 years, a series of seminars under the title of *English in Southeast Asia* has been organized to discuss common concerns about emerging English varieties and the teaching of English. In Malaysia, Thailand, and the Philippines, in turn, a series of workshops provocatively entitled *English Is an Asian Language* has attempted to develop an understanding of standards in English by obtaining local responses to the acceptability of local words (in English) that grew out of their sociolinguistic and cultural environments.

In particular, policy makers and educationists in Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Brunei, as gatekeepers of language use in schools, are increasingly anxious to find out how teachers in English classrooms will be able to handle the varieties of English that have emerged in these four countries, although there is little agreement over what standard English is. Generally, as in Singapore, standard English is defined as the variety that is acceptable internationally, with reference to grammatical rules and pronunciation found in standard English (British or American) dictionaries and grammars. As one educationist in Malaysia puts it,

If we recognize that there are varieties of Malaysian English at work in society, then we must ensure that teachers are able to handle not just the varieties of Malaysian English, but also be able to handle an

internationally acceptable variety of English, too. Any teacher who has no command of a knowledge of standard English is short-changing his or her students (Gaudart, 1997: 55).

In Thailand, although a Thai variety of English exists, educationists (e.g., Prasithrathsint, 1996) accept that any discrepancy between what is standard English and the Thai variety should be attributed to the fact that English is only a foreign language in the country.

Currently, in the Southeast Asian countries where English is spoken quite extensively, a kind of diglossic situation exists, in which at least two (sub)varieties of English occur, each with a distinct range of social functions, corresponding broadly to the formal and informal/colloquial. Given this situation, a communicative strategy that is often observed in conversations in nonformal contexts in the urban areas is code-switching and/or code-mixing. In Brunei, for example, even among competent speakers of English, “when both speaker and interlocutor can also speak Brunei Malay, a great deal of code-mixing and code-switching occurs,” according to Martin and Poedjosoedarmo (1996: 17). In a bilingual speech community, this happens irrespective of whether the host language is Malay, Chinese Mandarin, or Tamil, as long as the speaker and interlocutor share a common language such as English or Bazaar Malay. According to another report (Lau, 2004: 1), Malay language experts in Malaysia are upset over the increasing number of English words entering the Malay lexicon, with popular culture “taking the cue from the government’s emphasis on the importance of English.”

### English Language Teaching and Learning

Quite understandably, the topic of English language teaching (ELT) is the most dominant in the applied linguistics literature in this region, with a new ELT curriculum introduced in each of the 10 countries over the past 5 years. Although these countries have advocated the teaching of English from the early grades in primary school, this policy has not been fully implemented largely because of an inadequate supply of primary English teachers, in terms of both raw numbers and skill levels. To say the least, the conditions for learning English in several of the Southeast Asian countries are less than ideal, owing to underfunding, overcrowding of classrooms, a shortage or even lack of textbooks, and ill-equipped teaching areas.

Nonetheless, in most of the countries, there has been an attempt in the past 10 years to strengthen and improve the teaching of English through curriculum

revision and development and other large-scale initiatives. In some of the countries, these initiatives include projects directed and funded by bilateral aid agencies such as the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). **Table 2** below summarizes the more recent ELT developments in this region.

As expected, ELT objectives and targets and conditions of learning English vary among the 10 education systems. **Table 3** shows that, on average, classes in Southeast Asia are large, with little opportunity for students to interact or ‘communicate’ in the language being learned. In most systems, the opportunity to learn and use the language is restricted by the amount of time allocated to it in the curriculum. The amount of assigned time varies from system to system, as **Table 3** shows. The estimated time is distributed over a week with class duration varying from 30 to 40 minutes per class in primary schools and from 40 to 50 minutes in secondary classes. It is not possible to predict learning outcomes from the amount of time allocated alone because there are confounding variables (students’ level of motivation to learn English and quality of instruction being the obvious ones).

In the past 10 years, the ELT curriculum in Southeast Asian countries appears to be driven, at least in intent, by the two concepts of ‘communicative language teaching’ (CLT) and ‘skills integration.’ CLT has become a dominant theoretical model since the 1980s in this part of the world. Translated into practical terms, the approach is usually taken to mean providing the teachers with communicative activities in their repertoire of teaching skills and giving learners the opportunity in class to practice the language skills taught. This is obviously an oversimplification but that is how CLT is generally interpreted. Most syllabuses would like to move toward CLT if conditions permit. Thailand, Indonesia, and Vietnam, to name a few countries, have set up CLT as their target for ELT. However, there is now much skepticism as to whether the kind of strategy advocated in CLT actually works in most Southeast Asian classrooms. This can be explained by a number of factors, such as teachers’ inadequate command of English, poorly designed teaching materials, and the size of the typical classroom in Southeast Asian schools, which favors a particular type of teacher–pupil communication, in which the teacher asks a question and pupils respond (probably in chorus), followed by, inevitably, a comment from the teacher.

The other concept commonly adopted in the ELT curriculum is ‘integration’, which is linked to the idea of authenticity in CLT. The term as used in the ELT literature has several meanings but most often in ELT syllabuses, the word is used to mean integration of the four language skills. In the Singapore English



**Table 2** Summary of recent developments in ELT in Southeast Asia

Country	Recent developments
Brunei	There has been a large-scale English language project [RELA (Reading and Language Acquisition)] to improve EL teaching and learning. Started in 1989 for lower primary, it continued in the 1990s into upper primary as Upper RELA. A new English Language Syllabus for Primary Schools was implemented in 1997 and a new series of Primary English textbooks was used in 1998. Both sets of materials incorporated features of ELT tried out and found useful in the RELA Project.
Cambodia	Since 1990, English has been officially recognized as a subject in the school curriculum. New textbooks have been developed and intensive training and retraining of English teachers provided. One such textbook was the <i>Cambodian English Course</i> , first used in 1994. It was replaced in 1997 by <i>English for Cambodia</i> .
Indonesia	English remains the most popular foreign language in Indonesian schools. Since 1995, ELT has been introduced from the fourth grade in public schools. With a reorientation of ELT objectives in the 1994 curriculum, the emphasis has been on listening and speaking skills in elementary schools and on speaking and reading skills in secondary schools.
Lao PDR	More recently, English has become the most popular foreign language in schools and at university. The emphasis of ELT is on reading, designed to help students keep abreast of developments in science and technology.
Malaysia	The English language curriculum was revised in 1993, giving emphasis to the integration of the language skills and to oracy. Further revisions were made in 2000 (for secondary schools) and 2001 (for primary schools). In the new secondary school syllabus, the emphasis is on the use of English in three areas: the interpersonal, the informational, and the aesthetic. Literature has been incorporated into the English curriculum for schools. In a dramatic change of language policy, since 2003 English has returned as a medium of instruction in schools for the teaching of science and mathematics for certain grade levels.
Myanmar	Since 1981, ELT has been introduced into all primary schools, and since 1986–1987, English has been used as a medium of instruction for science subjects and economics in schools and universities.
Philippines	ELT has moved toward the communicative, but teaching approaches remain largely eclectic. There have been several initiatives to improve the teaching of English [e.g., PELT (Philippines English Language Teaching)].
Singapore	A new English language curriculum came into effect in January 2001, the content of which is based on a model of language use, comprising language for information, language for social interaction, and language for literary response and expression. English grammar is taught more explicitly than it was in the 1991 curriculum as it is believed that students with a good knowledge of grammar should be able to use the language well in speaking and writing.
Thailand	With the National Education Act having come into force in 1997, ELT has been taught from primary one onward. There has also been a concerted effort to move away from teacher-centeredness to pupil-centeredness in ELT, and the principles of the communicative approach, although difficult to implement in Thai classes, still underpin the official thinking in ELT.
Vietnam	English language textbooks appropriate for Vietnamese learners, jointly co-authored by Vietnamese and native English speakers, have been produced. There has also been intensive training and retraining of English teachers.

**Table 3** Estimates of time in school for ELT

Country	Class size (range)	Time (hours)	
		Primary	Secondary
Brunei <sup>a</sup>	40–50	3	3
Cambodia	45–60	3	4–5
Indonesia	40–50	2	3–4
Lao PDR	40–60	3–4	3–4
Malaysia <sup>a</sup>	38–45	4–6	3–4
Myanmar	40–60	3–5	3–5
Philippines <sup>a</sup>	40–60	3–4	3
Singapore <sup>b</sup>	35–45	4–6	4–9
Thailand	35–45	2–4	4
Vietnam	40–60	2–4	3–4

<sup>a</sup>English is also a medium of instruction for some school subjects.

<sup>b</sup>English is the medium of instruction for all subjects except the mother tongues and the subject of citizenship in primary schools.

Language curriculum and also in the Malaysian English syllabuses, integration of the four skills is to be carried out through a thematic approach; i.e., classroom teaching is structured across a series of language

tasks in which the skills of listening, reading, speaking, and writing are used in turn. Carried out by a good teacher, the skills are not practiced in isolation, but in the hands of a poor teacher, one skill may still be taught quite independently of the others.

The issues of ELT in a number of the Southeast Asian countries may be summed up in terms of two dilemmas. On the question of supply and demand of English teachers in, for example, countries such as Thailand, Indonesia, and the Indochinese states of Cambodia, Lao PDR, and Vietnam, there is the quantitative versus qualitative dilemma. On the one hand, these countries face a dire shortage of teachers of English and, on the other, those currently teaching the language would need to improve qualitatively. So, limited resources must be distributed between recruiting and training more teachers of English and providing in-service training for those already teaching English in schools. In the area of teaching methodology in some countries, partly because of the lack of training for teachers of English, traditional practices such as text-centered grammar translation



seem to remain. This is the traditional versus modern dilemma. So, although in all Southeast Asian countries there are strong aspirations for change and for making good progress in the teaching of English, many of the traditional conditions of teaching remain in some countries. In this sense, then, there is this unfortunate continuity between the past and the present.

The role of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO) Regional Language Centre (RELC) in Singapore, in disseminating new ideas about ELT, must be acknowledged. Established in Singapore in 1968, RELC was the direct outcome of decisions made at the first meeting of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Council to train 'key personnel' in language education and to organize seminars on various issues of concern in the region on linguistic, psycholinguistic, sociolinguistic, and language education topics. RELC's regional (now international) seminars are widely known as important occasions, designed, among other objectives, "to exploit the results and to synthesize the efforts of an international community of scholars in related disciplines in an attempt to search for solutions to present-day language teaching and language learning problems in Southeast Asia" (SEAMEO RELC, 1977–1978).

### Bilingualism in Multilingual Societies

Societal bilingualism in Southeast Asia is extremely complex even without considering the multilingual versatility of tribal minorities in the border areas of Thailand, Myanmar, and the three Indochinese states. Only two main types of societal bilingualism are outlined here. According to Tay (1985: 191), societal bilingualism may be classified according to the status of the languages, whether they are major, minor, regional, or international (or languages of wider communication). The two examples are as follows:

- (a) a major language + language of wider communication (e.g., Tagalog–English; Bahasa Indonesia–English; Malay–English; and Thai–English);
- (b) major language + national language + international language (e.g., Javanese/Madurese + Bahasa Indonesia + English; Mandarin + Malay + English).

The choice of an individual bilingual's repertoire in any one situation is governed by a variety of different factors: (1) the geographical area in which a language or dialect predominates, e.g., a bilingual Chinese speaker can expect to use Cantonese rather than Hokkien (two Chinese dialects) in certain towns in Malaysia because a particular town (e.g., Kuala Lumpur or Ipoh) is predominantly Cantonese-speaking; (2) domains, such as family, friendship,

business transactions, employment, religion, and education. Domains may be classified along a range of formality or informality. Certain codes are typically used in certain domains; e.g., in Malaysia, Standard Malay is generally used in the more public and formal domains, whereas Bazaar Malay is used in interactions with the non-Malays in the market place. Similarly, the official languages are used in the educational domain in Singapore, but Chinese dialects continue to be used, to a lesser extent now, in family and friendship domains, especially in interactions with the elderly.

A few countries in Southeast Asia describe their education systems as bilingual, but the models of bilingual education in Singapore, Malaysia, Brunei, and the Philippines differ in many ways. Nonetheless, it is possible to argue that they are all bilingual to the extent that there are clear societal roles for the languages taught at school. Whereas Singapore and Brunei have a declared bilingual policy, the policy of Malaysia is not explicitly stated as being bilingual, although it now is for certain grade levels in schools. English has a special place in each of the four models, with the instruction time allocated to English varying from model to model. Probably, as a result of time provision and the different linguistic environments in the four countries, the outcomes of the different models have been different – Malay-dominant bilingualism for Malaysia and Brunei in the rural sector and English-dominated bilingualism in the urban areas among the non-Malay-ethnic speakers, whereas that of the Philippines may be described as Filipino-dominant bilingualism. Singapore's situation was described by Pakir (1992) as English-dominant bilingualism, although with the success of the Speak Mandarin Campaign in the past 25 years (1979–2004), there is now a greater proportion of Mandarin-dominated bilingualism. These terms for different patterns of bilingualism do not adequately recognize that the language situations in these four countries are diglossic in the sense that each major language serves different social functions.

### Publications on Applied Linguistics in Southeast Asia

The field of applied linguistics in Southeast Asia is particularly active in Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei, and the Philippines. Each year, there are many conferences and seminars in the region, including an annual international seminar held at the RELC in Singapore, as mentioned above. There are numerous journals and reviews, such as the *RELC Journal*, *TEFLIN*, an EFL journal published in Indonesia, *ESP Malaysia*, a national journal in English for

Specific Purposes, *Jurnal Persatuan Linguistik Malaysia* (Journal of the Linguistic Association of Malaysia, published in Malay), *Jurnal Bahasa Moden: Jurnal Fakulti Bahasa dan Linguistik Universiti Malaya* (also published in Malay), *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*, and *STETS Language and Communication Review*, published in Singapore. Journals on applied linguistics published in Chinese include *Journal of Chinese Studies*, *Contemporary Linguistics*, and *Linguistics and Philology*. New monographs appear on a regular basis on diverse aspects of applied linguistics, with many on different aspects of the teaching of English. Much of the substance of this article was drawn from what had been reported in these publications.

See also: Languages of Wider Communication; Lingua Francas as Second Languages; Multilingual Societies and Language Education; World Englishes.

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### **III. LANGUAGE, LEARNERS AND LEARNING**

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# Acquisition of Second Language Phonology, Morphology, and Syntax

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## Introduction

Four questions have dominated recent research in second language (L2) acquisition: (i) What role does a speaker's first language (L1) play? (ii) Does L2 acquisition display developmental patterns that are similar across learners? (iii) Is an innately determined human language faculty involved? (iv) Why is knowledge of an L2 sometimes underdetermined by the input? This article reviews some of the empirical findings bearing on these questions in the domains of L2 phonology, morphology and syntax, and considers how answers might contribute to the construction of a theory of L2 acquisition.

## L2 Acquisition of Phonology

Casual observation tells us that most speakers of an L2, where acquisition has occurred beyond childhood, have foreign accents. Is this the consequence of the pervasive influence of a speaker's L1? With some properties of L2 phonology there is early, but temporary, L1 influence, with others L1 influence is persistent, and with yet other properties the influence comes from universal principles of phonological organization.

Broselow (1983, 1988) offers a clear case of L1 influence. Native speakers of Egyptian and Iraqi Arabic, in their production of syllable-initial English consonant clusters, may insert an epenthetic vowel; i.e., a vowel that creates an extra syllable. Interestingly, Egyptian Arabic speakers insert it in a different position from Iraqi Arabic speakers (Table 1) as a result of their L1 Arabic syllable structure.

The maximal allowable syllable in Arabic is C(onsonant)V(owel)C(onsonant) (with some exceptions, irrelevant to the point here). When morphosyntactic operations in Arabic are in danger of producing

consonant clusters, an epenthetic vowel is inserted. Compare (1) and (2) cited by Broselow.

- (1) Egyptian katab + l + u → katablu  
 wrote-he to-him  
 Iraqi kitab + l + a → kitabla  
 wrote-he to-him  
 'He wrote to him'
- (2) Egyptian katab + t + l + u → \*katabtlu → katabtilu  
 wrote I to-him  
 Iraqi kitab + t + l + a → \*kitabtla → kitabitla  
 wrote I to-him  
 'I wrote to him'

In (1), morphosyntactic operations combining the verb and affixes generate strings that do not violate Arabic syllable structure: *ka-tab-lu*, *ki-tab-la*. However, in (2), strings are generated with a non-syllabified consonant /t/: *ka-tab-t-lu*, *ki-tab-t-la*. Because adjunction either to the preceding or following syllable would violate Arabic syllable structure, an epenthetic vowel is inserted. But it gives rise to different syllabification in the two varieties. The Arabic speakers appear to transfer this L1 constraint into their L2 phonological representations for English.

L1 influence can also be found in the representation of segments. An interesting case of this is known as differential substitution (Weinberger, 1996: 269), where an L2 segment does not exist in the learner's L1 and the learner substitutes an L1 segment for it. But the substituting segment varies depending on the L1 in question. None of Russian, French, or Japanese have the English phonemes /θ/ or /ð/ found in the words *think* and *this*. Russian speakers substitute /t/ and /d/ for these segments, producing *tink/dis*. Speakers of French and Japanese, however, substitute /s/ and /z/, producing *sink/zis*. All of /t-d-s-z/ contrast phonemically in Russian, French, and Japanese. This is not, then, a case of simple surface substitution of one segment for another, nor random substitution of /θ-ð/ by segments in the same articulatory area. What could give rise to the observed behavior?

Weinberger suggests it is a combination of a universal property of phonological representation in human language, together with language-specific differences in implementation of this universal. The universal is the underspecification of features in the underlying representations of phonemes. Features that are entirely predictable are absent from the underlying representation of a phoneme and are filled in during the course of deriving a sentence by redundancy rules, e.g., in the five-vowel system

**Table 1** Insertion of an epenthetic vowel by speakers of Arabic (based on Broselow, 1983, 1988)

English target form	Egyptian	Iraqi
floor	filoor	lfloor
plastic	bilastic	lblastic
children	chilidren	childiren
translate	tiransilate	itransilate

/i, e, a, o, u/, if /i/ and /u/ are high vowels and their underlying representation is specified as [+high], the others need not be specified [−high] since this is entirely predictable. Language-specific differences arise where the inventory of phonemes in each language differs in which features are specified in underlying representations and which features are not.

Weinberger claims that the underlying representations of /s-z/ and /t-d/ in Japanese are all specified as [−sonorant] (distinguishing them from vowels, glides, liquids, and nasals), and for [+/−voice], but differ in that /t-d/ are specified [−continuant], while /s-z/ are not; the value [+continuant] is supplied for /s-z/ by a redundancy rule during the course of the derivation. In Russian, his claim is that the underlying representations for /s-z/ are specified [+continuant] while /t-d/ are not.

When speakers of Japanese and Russian encounter /θ-ð/ in an L2, they cannot initially represent this contrast (because it does not exist in their L1 phonology). Instead, they assimilate these segments to the closest minimally specified phonemes with matching features in their underlying representations in the L1: ones specified only as [−sonorant] and [+/−voice]. In Japanese the matching phonemes with the fewest features are /s-z/, but in Russian they are /t-d/. Thus differential substitution results from the interaction between a proposed universal of phonological representation (feature underspecification), a universal of L2 development (assimilation of a new segment to a minimally specified segment that matches in features in the L1), an L1-specific difference in the implementation of feature underspecification, and a phonemic contrast in the L2 that is new to the learners in question.

Is L1 influence temporary or persistent? The substitution of /s/ for /θ/ discussed by Weinberger is known to be a persistent feature of Japanese speakers. In Japanese, Mandarin Chinese, and Korean certain phonemic contrasts are not present: /s-θ/, /l-r/, /f-v/ and /p-f/. Brown (2000) investigated how speakers of these L1s treat the contrasts in L2 English. All three languages have the phonemes /s-p/, yet they lack /θ-f-v/. Furthermore, on Brown's analysis, Mandarin Chinese and Korean have the phoneme /l/ but lack /r/, whereas Japanese has a flapped phoneme //, which is traditionally equated with English /r/ but lacks the phoneme /l/ (although one of the allophonic realizations of // is an [l]-like sound).

In an auditory discrimination task participants heard two pairs of invented one-syllable words. In one pair the same phoneme occurred in syllable-initial position, while in the other there was a contrast, for example:

ra-la	ra-ra
fa-fa	va-fa

Informants were required to indicate, for each stimulus, which of the pairs was different. The participants were university students in Japan with 8 to 10 years of instruction in English, probably of high intermediate to advanced proficiency (n = 15 with L1 Japanese, 15 with L1 Mandarin Chinese, 11 with L1 Korean). Ten native speakers of English acted as controls. Results revealed that all groups, nonnative and native, correctly distinguished /p-f/ and /f-v/ on over 90% of items. However, the three nonnative groups' performance dropped below 80% accuracy with /s-θ/, whereas the natives performed at over 90% correct. This is a statistically significant difference. In the /l-r/ contrast, the Japanese and Korean speakers' (below 70%) were significantly less accurate than those of the Chinese and the native speakers (around 90%). There was no difference between the Chinese and the natives in this case.

These are surprising results. None of the tested contrasts exist in the informants' L1s. The /p-f/ and /f-v/ contrasts pose no difficulties for acquisition for any of the learners: /f/ and /v/ are acquirable, it seems, yet all learners had ongoing problems distinguishing /s-θ/, and only the Mandarin Chinese speakers acquired the /l-r/ contrast.

What could explain this selective influence of the L1 on the acquisition of new phonemes in an L2? Brown argues that the human language faculty in its initial state at birth provides a set of distinctive phonological features like [voice], [aspiration], [continuant], [coronal] etc. which would allow the child potentially to represent any phonemic contrast found in human language. When the child is exposed to a particular language or languages, only a subset of this universal inventory is required to establish a phonological representation. Unused features cease to be available to the learner at some point in development. When a learner comes to acquire an L2 later, only the range of features selected in L1 acquisition can be used for representing the phonology of the L2. New phonemes are acquirable providing that their feature composition involves features present in the L1, even if the phonemes are not present in the L2. To illustrate, Brown claims that the phonemic inventory of Mandarin Chinese includes the feature [coronal], which is required to distinguish alveolar /s/ from retroflex /ʂ/. This feature is also crucial for distinguishing /l/ and /r/ in English (on Brown's analysis). So when Mandarin Chinese speakers encounter English, they are able to set up a contrast between /l/ and /r/ involving the feature [coronal], even though /r/ is not a phoneme in Mandarin. By contrast,

Japanese and Korean do not have the feature [coronal]. The /l-r/ contrast therefore remains persistently problematic for them. As for the /f-v/ contrast, it involves the features [continuant], [labial], [voice]. Although neither of these phonemes is present in Japanese, Chinese or Korean, the relevant features are present. Hence, /f-v/ poses no difficulty in L2 acquisition. Finally, none of Japanese, Chinese and Korean has the feature [distributed] that, according to Brown, distinguishes /θ/ from /f/ and /s/ in English. Hence, none of the groups is able to establish a phonological representation for /θ/.

A follow-up study by Brown comparing two Japanese native groups with L2 English (low proficiency vs. high proficiency) suggests that contrasts that are different between the L1 and the L2 are initially not represented, with L2 speakers assimilating new phonemes to existing L1 phonemic categories. If, however, features required to make an L2 contrast are present in the L1, restructuring occurs with continued exposure to L2 input.

In summary, L2 syllabic structure is initially determined by syllabic structure in the L1. Segments that are not phonemes in the L1 are initially assigned to phonemes with minimally matching sets of features. With continued experience of the L2 speakers restructure their phonological system and new phonemes are acquirable, but only if the L1 system has encoded the distinctive features required for establishing such new phonemes.

**L2 Acquisition of Inflectional Morphology**

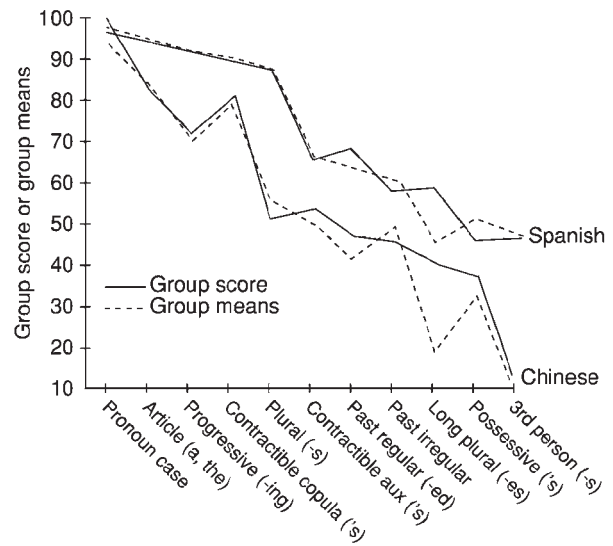
Inflectional morphemes are the surface manifestation of features that are represented underlyingly in functional categories such as Inflection, Determiner, and Complementizer (Table 2).

Empirical studies have found quite similar developmental patterns in the L2 acquisition of inflectional morphology, with apparently little L1 influence. Dulay and Burt (1973, 1974) and Bailey, Madden, and Krashen (1974), using oral data, found that child and adult native speakers of Spanish, Cantonese, and other languages supplied some morphemes more frequently than others. Dulay and Burt (1974) compared Spanish and Cantonese child learners (Figure 1). Although the Spanish speakers supplied more morphemes in absolute terms than the Cantonese speakers, the relative ratio of suppliance between different morphemes was highly similar. This pattern of suppliance in oral production has been repeated in many other studies of L2 learners of English.

How can such non-L1-influenced patterns of behavior be explained? Dulay and Burt and Bailey, Madden, and Krashen assumed that frequency of

**Table 2** Some English inflectional morphemes and the Realization of their underlying features

Inflectional morpheme	Realization of underlying features
Copula and auxiliary <i>be</i>	Tense, subject-verb agreement
<i>-ing</i>	Progressive aspect
Regular past (walk- <i>ed</i> ), irregular past ( <i>ran</i> )	Tense
Plural (dog- <i>s</i> )	Number



**Figure 1** Acquisition of eleven morphemes by Spanish-speaking and Cantonese-speaking children in L2 English (Dulay and Burt, 1974: 49). Note: Group score is based on adding together the total score for each individual and dividing by the number of informants in each group; group mean is based on calculating the mean score for each individual, adding the means together for each group, and dividing by the number of informants in the group.

suppliance reflected order of acquisition. That is, that progressive *-ing* is acquired earlier in L2 English than past tense, and copula *be* before the marking of subject-verb agreement by third-person singular *-s*. However, a recent interpretation postulates a separation between the development of syntactic knowledge and the development of inflectional morphology. Syntactic knowledge is more developed than the use of inflectional morphology would suggest. For example, Ionin and Wexler (2002) found that a group of Russian-speaking child learners of L2 English supplied past tense forms in obligatory past tense contexts 42% of the time, yet there were no errors of misuse of the past tense forms; and whereas third-person *-s* was only supplied in 22% of required cases, it was misused in just 5% of cases. Speakers appear to

know the range of meanings of inflectional morphemes even if they fail to produce them in every context in which they are required. If this view is correct, then the syntactic properties underlying the distribution of inflectional morphemes in Dulay and Burt's (1974) study have been acquired. The reason why some forms are supplied more frequently than others must then be the result of something other than lack of acquisition of the underlying syntactic property.

The two views just described correspond to two different lines of theoretical enquiry in modern L2 research. One is known as Minimal Trees (MT) (Vainikka and Young-Scholten, 1994, 1996). This proposes that L2 learners' initial interlanguage grammars (ILGs) (i.e., their mental L2 grammars) consist only of projections (phrases) built from lexical heads such as Noun, Verb, and Adjective. Learners identify forms in the input belonging to these categories, and generate linguistic expressions from them. Functional projections such as Inflection, Determiner, and Complementizer are acquired later on the basis of evidence in the L2 input. Importantly, functional categories develop incrementally with those emerging first that immediately dominate the lexical heads, e.g., Inflection, which dominates the verb phrase, emerges before Complementizer, which dominates Inflection. Furthermore, when functional categories first emerge they are minimally specified, e.g., Inflection might be specified for tense before it is specified for subject-verb agreement. Because MT predicts the sequential emergence of categories, different frequencies in suppliance of morphemes realizing functional categories (like those observed by Dulay and Burt and Bailey, Madden, and Krashen) reflect the acquisition of the corresponding underlying syntactic properties. Typically, 60% (or above) suppliance of a form implies acquisition of its syntactic properties (Vainikka and Young-Scholten, 1998).

The second line of theoretical enquiry assumes that both lexical and functional categories are present in early ILGs, either because the language faculty provides them directly as part of its architecture, or because they are transferred from the L1. If learners supply the morphological reflexes of a functional category, whatever their frequency, then the functional category and its relevant syntactic features have been acquired. But why do learners sometimes fail to supply the morphological reflexes of functional categories? According to the Missing Surface Inflection Hypothesis (MSIH) (Haznedar and Schwartz, 1997; Prévost and White, 2000), L2 learners may select less specified 'exponents' for the output of morphosyntactic operations than would be required in the grammar of a native speaker.

To illustrate, *walked* and *walks* are the forms of WALK required when the Inflection category is specified as [finite], and either [past] for *walked* or [nonpast, third-person, singular] for *walks*; *walk* is the exponent inserted elsewhere in finite clauses – it is an underspecified default form. L2 speakers sometimes map the default form *walk* onto [past] or [nonpast, third-person, singular] because L2 speakers are perhaps slower than natives at matching exponents to underlying syntactic representations, especially when speakers are under 'communication pressure' (Prévost and White, 2000) and when nondefault exponents have more complex final consonant clusters (*walked*: /kt/, *walks*: /ks/) than default exponents (*walk*). Nondefault forms may just be too costly in processing terms to select if a speaker's L1 disallows syllable-final consonant clusters (Lardiere, 2000). By contrast, Ionin and Wexler (2002) propose, following Guasti and Rizzi (2002), that if a syntactic operation involves overt movement, this should have a surface morphological reflex. Because copula and auxiliary *be* in English are usually assumed to be verbs that raise to Inflection, they must be morphologically marked on the surface. By contrast, main verbs like *walk* do not raise overtly to Inflection. Instead, tense and subject-verb agreement are associated with main verbs via a covert agreement operation. In such cases, there is no universal requirement to mark covert operations on the surface. Languages differ in whether they do or do not, and language learners have to acquire this on the basis of exposure: "... L2 learners know that morphological expression is obligatory for *be* forms ... but have not mastered the English-specific rules requiring agreement morphology on unraised lexical verbs in certain contexts" (Ionin and Wexler, 2002: 118). Until this rule has been acquired, L2 speakers may treat *-s* and *-ed* as optional. Like MSIH, this account assumes that underlying syntactic representations are more highly developed than oral suppliance of morphological forms.

## L2 Acquisition of Derivational Morphology

Although evidence suggests little L1 influence on the development of inflectional morphology, this appears not to be true of derivational morphology. Derivational morphology is typically the surface manifestation of an operation that changes the grammatical class membership of a lexical item, e.g., *-er* signals the change of an item from a verb like *sing* to an agentive noun: *singer*.

Lardiere (1995) tested Spanish and Chinese native speakers' knowledge of derivational morphology in L2 English. English deverbal compound nouns like *dishwasher* are formed from verb-object



constructions: *washes dishes*. They show O(bject)-V(erb) order (in contrast to the VO order of the verb construction), and the Object, if a regular plural, loses its *-s*. Spanish deverbal compounds continue to display VO word order and retain the plural *-s*, e.g. *un lavaplatos* (lit. a wash.3sg-dishes) ‘a dishwasher.’ In Chinese, there is no plural marking and deverbal compounds are either realized by relative clauses or by non-deverbal N-N compounds (Lardiere, 1995: 39, note 18). If properties of the L1 play a role in the development of knowledge of these compounds, we might expect to see a difference in the suppliance of *-s* (Spanish has plural marking, whereas Chinese does not), and in the rate of production of V-N (*washes-dishes*), with the Spanish speakers producing such cases more than the Chinese.

Learners of intermediate to high-intermediate proficiency (L1 Spanish,  $n = 15$ ; L1 Chinese,  $n = 11$ ) were presented with questions of the type: “What could you call a person who cleans shoes?,” where the expected response is “a shoe cleaner.” Results show that there was a significant difference in the production of targetlike English deverbal compounds by Spanish speakers (only 32%) vs. Chinese speakers (62%). Nontarget-like forms consisted of (i) word order errors like V-N, made almost exclusively by the Spanish speakers, and (ii) plural marking of the N, e.g., “a shoes-cleaner” (58% for the Spanish group vs. only 31% for the Chinese group). It appears that morphological properties of the L1 affect development. In particular, Spanish speakers expect deverbal nouns in English to have V-N order and the N to be marked for plural significantly more than the Chinese.

In a further study, Lardiere and Schwartz (1997) found that V-N word order errors decrease over time in Spanish-speaking learners of L2 English (42% for low intermediates, 23% for intermediates and 0.5% for advanced intermediates).

To summarize, L1 influences the representation of derivational morphology in early L2 development, but this influence disappears with proficiency.

## L2 Acquisition of Syntax

One potentially impressive kind of evidence that interlanguage grammars develop within limits defined by an innately determined faculty for language comes from cases where syntactic properties are underdetermined both by L2 input and by properties of a learner’s L1. One such property is the Overt Pronoun Constraint, OPC (Montalbetti, 1986). It holds that in languages where an overt pronoun and a null pronoun can alternate freely, only the null pronoun can take a quantified expression as an antecedent, e.g., in Spanish null pronominal subjects ( $\emptyset$ )

can alternate with overt pronominal subjects like *él* ‘he.’ Given a relevant preceding context, (3a), in (3b) both *él* ‘he’ and  $\emptyset$  in the embedded clause can refer to the referential expression *Juan* ‘John’ in the matrix clause, as indicated by the coindexing *i*. It also would be possible for both *él* and  $\emptyset$  to refer to an extrasentential antecedent like *Pedro* ‘Peter.’ In (3b’), the null pronoun  $\emptyset$  can refer to either the quantified expression *nadie* ‘nobody,’ or even to an extrasentential referent like *Pedro*. The overt pronoun *él* could also refer to an extrasentential antecedent but, crucially, the OPC prohibits the overt pronoun from referring to the quantifier *nadie* ‘nobody.’

(3a) *Pedro<sub>i</sub> y Juan<sub>i</sub> están participando en un concurso.*  
Peter and John are participating in a contest.

(3b) *Juan<sub>i</sub> cree [que él<sub>i</sub>/ $\emptyset$ <sub>i</sub> ganará el premio]*  
John thinks [that he /  $\emptyset$  will-win the prize]

(3b’) *Nadie<sub>i</sub> cree [que él<sub>i</sub>/ $\emptyset$ <sub>i</sub> ganará el premio]*  
Nobody thinks [that he /  $\emptyset$  will-win the prize]

Pérez-Leroux and Glass (1997) tested OPC knowledge with English speakers learning L2 Spanish ( $n = 16$ ) at a very advanced level of proficiency with a minimum of 7 years of experience in Spanish. Eighteen Spanish natives acted as a control group. In a contextualized translation task, natives categorically produced more null pronouns (75%) than overt pronouns (15%) with quantified antecedents. Learners behaved similarly (null pronouns 87% vs overt pronouns 0%), as predicted by the OPC (Table 3). With referential antecedents both groups produced significantly more overt subject pronouns (74% natives, 34% learners) than with quantified antecedents (15% natives, 0% learners), although learners overused null subjects with referential antecedents. Pérez-Leroux and Glass (1997: 159) conclude: “These results indicate a sensitivity to OPC effects in the grammar of highly fluent L2 speakers of Spanish.”

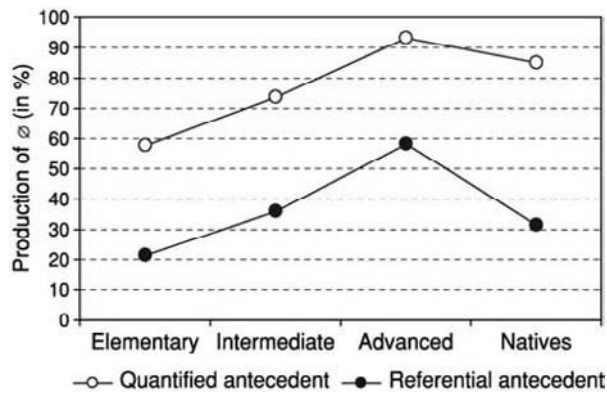
Is the OPC operative at very advanced levels of proficiency only or rather at all levels of proficiency?

**Table 3** Proportion of acceptance (%) of antecedents for overt and null pronouns (based on Table 1 by Pérez-Leroux and Glass, 1997)

Antecedent	Pronoun	L2-ers ( $n = 16$ )	Native Spanish ( $n = 18$ )
Quantified	<i>él</i>	0%	15%
	$\emptyset$	88%	75%
Referential	<i>él</i>	34%	74%
	$\emptyset$	58%	24%

Note: The sum of the two conditions (*él* and  $\emptyset$ ) in each antecedent context does not always amount to 100% since some of the participants’ responses were categorized as ‘other,’ i.e., a pronominal subject was not produced.





**Figure 2** Percentage of production of null pronominal subjects with quantified and referential antecedents (based on Table 1 in Pérez-Leroux and Glass, 1999).

Pérez-Leroux and Glass (1999) used the same method with three proficiency groups of English speaking learners of L2 Spanish (elementary,  $n=39$ ; intermediate,  $n=21$ ; advanced,  $n=18$ ) and a control group of Spanish natives ( $n=20$ ). The production of null subjects across groups (Figure 2) was significantly higher with quantified antecedents (as predicted by the OPC) than with referential antecedents. This suggests that “OPC is operative at all stages in the acquisition of Spanish” (Pérez-Leroux and Glass, 1999: 235).

Crucially, could knowledge of the OPC derive from the Spanish input alone? This seems unlikely. Learners will hear Spanish speakers using: (i) null pronouns with both quantified and referential antecedents; and (ii) *él* with referential antecedents, so nothing in the input prevents them from using *él* with quantified antecedents. Furthermore, if they transferred properties of English, they would allow overt pronouns to refer to a quantified antecedent, because English allows this possibility.

Recent research has uncovered other cases in which L2 knowledge is underdetermined by input, suggesting that innately determined principles of grammar construction are active in the development of L2 grammars, even when acquisition occurs in older learners (White, 2003: Chap. 2).

As for language-specific properties, some appear to be influenced by L1 and some do not. An interesting case of ‘differential L1 influence’ in syntax is provided by the acquisition of expletive *it* in English, which is obligatory: *She says it/\*∅ seems hot today*. Spanish, Greek, Japanese, and Chinese have no expletive pronouns in equivalent cases. However, Japanese and Chinese speakers establish obligatory English expletives more quickly than Spanish and Greek speakers. Zobl (1990) found that Japanese speakers of English at a range of proficiency levels

produced hardly any null expletives (ranging from 0% to 18%) in written compositions. A comparison by Zobl between his results and those of Phinney (1987), who tested Spanish speakers at comparable proficiency levels, revealed that Spanish speakers produced null expletives between 50% and 70%. Similar patterns have been widely observed for Spanish/Greek speakers vs. Japanese/Chinese speakers.

Why might this difference occur? It seems to be linked to the fact that null subjects are licensed differently in the two types of languages. Null subjects are licensed via rich person/number verbal morphology in Spanish/Greek (Rizzi, 1997), but via lack of verbal morphology in Japanese/Chinese (Huang, 1984). When speakers of Japanese/Chinese encounter impoverished English verbal morphology to mark person/number (only third-person singular *-s* vs.  $\emptyset$ ), their innate language faculty tells them that English does not license null subjects (Yuan, 1997). It would appear that speakers of Spanish/Greek-type languages find it more difficult to determine that person and number morphology on verbs in English is impoverished.

Is L1 syntactic influence on the L2 temporary or persistent? Problems for speakers of Spanish/Greek with obligatory subjects in English appear to be temporary. But in cases in which L1 influence is more persistent, do L2 learners have full access to the resources of the language faculty? To illustrate, consider a case of considerable debate in recent L2 research. Lardiere (1998a, 1998b, 2000) reports a case study of an L1 Chinese speaker with long immersion in English. She found that this speaker in ordinary conversation was fully target-like in supplying pronouns of the right case, Nominative vs Accusative (e.g. *she* vs. *her*), but supplied past tense where it was required in only around one-third of contexts, and third-person singular *-s* on main verbs in less than 5% of cases. Chinese lacks all three of these properties: pronouns do not inflect for case, and verbs do not inflect for tense or subject-verb agreement. Has this speaker then failed to establish an underlying syntactic representation for the features of tense and subject-verb agreement? One answer could be ‘yes, she has.’ Tense and agreement features may be present in the inventory of syntactic features in the language faculty at birth, but, if they are not selected during L1 acquisition, they become inaccessible at some point during a person’s maturation, as in Brown’s (2000) finding of persistent failure of L2 speakers to acquire certain phonemes which are not present in the L1. However, Lardiere argues that her informant may just be having a problem mapping past tense and third-person singular present tense forms onto fully-specified syntactic representations, as discussed in the section on inflectional morphology.

It is clear from the evidence presented that L1 influence is considerable but not total in the development of L2 grammars. L2 knowledge is also driven by innate properties of the language faculty, especially when the L2 input underdetermines such knowledge. The picture of SLA that emerges is one of a complex interaction among innate knowledge, previous knowledge from the L1, and input from the L2.

See also: Interlanguage.

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## Assessment of First Language Proficiency

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One of the earliest instances of high stakes first language (L1) assessment is reported in the biblical book of Judges, chapter 12. A civil war of sorts is being waged between two contingents of Israelites, the Gileadites and the Ephraimites. The Gileadites prevail, and seek to decimate the retreating troops who, not many years earlier, had been their compatriots. But how to discriminate foe from friend, since the Ephraimites are not marked by any obvious physical distinction? Indeed, both camps are comprised of speakers of the same language. Thus it is easy, when accosted, for members of the vanquished forces to simply deny their out-group membership. As it happens, however, a language proficiency criterion is advanced to discriminate losers from winners.

And it was so, that when an Ephraimite who had escaped said, "Let me go over" that the men of Gilead said to him, "Are you an Ephraimite?" If he said, "No", they then said to him, "Say the word Shibboleth". If he said "Sibboleth", for he could not frame to pronounce it right, they took him and slew him at the passages of Jordan.

The Bible records that 42 000 individuals receive failing grades on that particular L1 proficiency exam.

### Sociopolitical Issues in First Language Proficiency Testing

Language lies at the heart of national identity. It is key to attributing in-group status to individuals who share mutual values and loyalties (McGroarty, 2002). Standard varieties of languages evolve as ways of marking those to whom prestigious status will be accorded. To the degree that L1 proficiency is equated with facility at producing those standard varieties – as opposed to those who 'could not frame to pronounce it right' – L1 tests demand attention to far more considerations than mere psychometric adequacy. Rather, L1 testing is fraught with sociopolitical considerations (Ruth, 2003) about who is to be included among the anointed of a society, and who may be left to fear for their lives on the banks of the Jordan.

It might mistakenly appear tautological to remark that L1 testing is intended for native speakers. But as the prevalence and ambiguities of multilingualism become ever more evident, the very construct of 'native speaker' is called into question (A. Davies, 2001). A sampling of national census questions over several

years and countries reveals that the 'mother tongue' of which one is a native speaker might be officially defined variously as 'the language spoken by the individual from the cradle,' 'parent tongue,' 'thinking language,' 'language of their homes,' 'language of everyday use,' and so on (Pattanayak, 1998: 125). One may thus qualify as a native speaker of more than one language, achieve native proficiency in several languages, fail to achieve native-like proficiency in the language that is chronologically one's first while attaining native speaker status in a L2 or L3, or possess one native language for some communicative purposes and another native language for others. Perhaps the only indisputable fact about native language status is that everyone is a native speaker of at least some language some of the time (Muysken, 1998).

The inherent complexity of native speaker status is highly problematic for the L1 testing enterprise. First, it complicates the issue of exactly who should be eligible for L1 testing, and who will test instead as a speaker of an additional language. Recent studies show that third generation immigrants to the United States are overwhelmingly English dominant (Alba, 2004), yet many such students with Latino surnames are surprised to find themselves tested as English language learners and 'placed' into bilingual programs, often for years (Ravitch and Vitteriti, 1997; see also Nero, 1999 for the case of native speakers of Caribbean English assigned to ESL classes). Second, the lack of an unambiguous definition of L1 speaker status calls into question exactly what language variety test makers should adopt as criterial to language proficiency. Thus, for example, a governmental agency in Jamaica, West Indies, that requires prospective employees to demonstrate 'good English' might impose a standard that favors speakers of British English over those who speak the dominant native Jamaican acrolect (Irvine, 2004). Third, test makers cannot ignore the ethical consequences of measurement tools that inevitably perpetuate elitist class distinctions when proficiency is equated to approximation to a prestige language variety (Shohamy, 2001).

One strategy for overcoming these sociopolitical conundrums is to simply abolish artificial boundaries that distinguish tests of L1 proficiency from tests for speakers of additional languages. Proposals for simply arraying all speakers – native speakers along with speakers of additional languages – along a single continuum of assessment have some cogency, but do not really avoid the inevitable sociopolitical stratification between more native-like and less native-like that would nonetheless result (A. Davies, 2001).

## Functional and Processural Criteria for Assessing L1 Speaking, Listening, Writing, and Reading

Another way to mitigate adverse sociopolitical effects of L1 testing is to adopt proficiency criteria focusing more on communicative, expressive, or information seeking *functions* of language (Programme for International Student Assessment, 2003; National Communication Association, 1998), or on literacy and oracy *processes* (Simons, 1971) rather than on degree of language accuracy as adjudicated by some standard or prestige variety. Emphasizing communicative and processural assessment criteria is consistent with views of language proficiency as **performed communicative competence**, rather than as decontextualized mastery of discrete formal features of language (e.g., National Council of Teachers of English and International Reading Association, 1994).

It is easiest to envision functional rather than formal criteria for L1 proficiency within the domains of speaking and listening. Thus, for example, students might engage in referential communication accuracy activities, in which quality points are assigned for the number of target pictures or items successfully encoded or decoded (Patterson, 1981), or raters might evaluate student presentations using rubrics that point to key rhetorical traits of specific oral genres, such as 'show and tell' (Michaels, 1986). Notwithstanding the relative ease of generating principled criteria for evaluating speaking and listening, oral language remains the least likely aspect of L1 to be the object of systematic evaluation. Several factors contribute to its neglect, including the costliness of real-time evaluation of speech performance, the difficulty in achieving inter-rater reliability, and the attitude that since oral L1 develops naturally, it need not receive much investment in the school curriculum (Pinnell and Jaggar, 2003; Rubin and Schramm, 1997). Often programs that are advertised as assessing oral language, especially among young children, are merely prereading inventories employing such criteria as memory of text and story sequencing (e.g., D. Davies, 2001). (Reviews of methods for assessing L1 oral can be found in Morreale and Backlund, 1996; Bostrom, 1997; Rubin and Schramm, 1997.)

With respect to L1 writing proficiency, the most widely known communicatively oriented mode of evaluation is primary trait rating (Lloyd-Jones, 1977), originally developed for use by the U.S. National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP; Persky *et al.*, 2002). Beyond its first decade, NAEP diluted the intended rhetorical specificity of primary trait scales (Freedman, 1991), but the spirit of primary trait scoring – that is, to identify a small number of

primary rhetorical demands of a particular writing prompt and to construct a scoring rubric that carefully delineates levels of fulfilling those demands – persists in many writing assessment scoring rubrics. (For a review of assessment procedures and types of scales, see Wolcott and Legg, 2001. For a review of mainly psychometric issues pertaining to L1 writing assessment – including the feasibility of computer scoring of writing samples – see Breland *et al.*, 1999.)

The problem with applying a primary trait scale to any writing sample – indeed, the problem with basing any high stakes decision on only a one-shot sample of language assessment performance – is that a single sample of written language collected under controlled testing circumstances and constrained by unnatural time limits cannot represent the full panoply of writing skills any literate individual possesses. Even the syntactic complexity exhibited in an individual's writing is hardly a stable stylistic trait. Rather, syntactic complexity in writing manifests low test-retest reliability (Fitzgerald and Shanahan, 2000). To enable assessment of a broad and representative sample of writing, a number of educators have advocated assembling and rating entire portfolios of writing (Freedman, 1991; Yancey, 1992). In a typical portfolio assessment, students themselves select work they wish to showcase from among several months of schoolwork. They might include multiple draft compositions and brief explanations about their evolution. Some of the work collected in the portfolio might have benefited from teacher input. Other work might very well have been the product of collaborative authorship. Often students write cover letters telling evaluators what they value in their portfolios. While the washback effect of this assessment technique to teaching language arts might be salubrious indeed, the utility of these kinds of unstandardized writing portfolios for discerning with any precision levels of competence in written language appears limited (Despain and Hilgers, 1992).

For the same reason that single-point tests of writing performance are seen as limited, some educators have likewise advocated use of portfolios for more broad-based assessments of reading (Tierney *et al.*, 1998). Indeed, earlier focus on comprehension as the main criterion for reading ability has made way for more holistic measures, including measures of metacognition and strategy, as well as reading attitudes and quality of literary experience (Farr and Beck, 2003). The measures developed by the 43-nation Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA; 2003) comprise a prime example of such a broad approach to L1 reading. PISA tasks for assessing the reading proficiency of 15-year-olds in school presume decoding and comprehension.



Instead of evaluating these, they test abilities to (1) retrieve information, (2) interpret texts, and (3) reflect and evaluate. Thus, a high-difficulty item that tests information retrieval might ask test takers to use information in a footnote to locate information in a diagram. A mid-level interpretation item requires test takers to explain a character's motivation in light of sequenced events presented in a long narrative. A low-level reflection and evaluation item asks readers to justify a personal point of view based on evidence in a long narrative. Like many contemporary reading examinations (see, for example, Hill, 2004), the PISA items include both multiple choice and supplied-response formats. (For an overview of L1 reading assessment practices, see McKenna & Stahl, 2003.)

### **Beyond the Four Modalities of Language**

The PISA test is noteworthy also because it includes among its reading passages, texts consisting not only of connected prose, but also of a variety of graphs, charts, and visual organizers. The PISA test blurs boundaries between traditional notions of reading and visual literacy. Indeed, an age of post-typographic 'new literacies' and hybrid modes of communication mediated by digital technologies demands an expanded notion of what it means to be proficient in one's L1 (Kinzer and Leander, 2003). As just one example, a December 2004 release of the U.S. government's *9/11 Commission Report* has been published by AV books on an MP3 CD. It contains video, audio, and searchable text. One may listen/view/read it on a number of electronic devices ranging from personal computers to Apple iPods. As writers learn to compose vertically as well as horizontally in hypertext, the illusion of linearity in text processing is forever put to rest (Bolter, 1998). As users select links to follow, or pass their pointing devices over one hot link or another, the distinction between reader and author passes into anachronism. As a new generation of students sits at their school desks surreptitiously 'chatting' via cell phone text messaging with students across the aisle – augmented by synchronous nonverbal gestures – speaking and writing merge into an as yet unnamed telegraphic yet expressive language modality. Despite the rapid diffusion of new literacies, at least among industrialized nations, methods for proficiency assessment in this domain have yet to be invented (Kinzer and Leander, 2003).

### **Integrated, Standard-Based Performance Assessment of L1 Proficiency**

The hybrid quality of new literacies is an especially dramatic reminder that users rarely deploy just one

language modality – listening, speaking, writing, reading – at a time, except perhaps in the artificial contexts of testing. Progressive L1 curricula move toward unifying language modalities in authentic inquiry-based learning (Peters and Wixson, 2003). At the same time, the movement for authentic assessment enjoins testers to assess student skills in meaningful contexts that permit a variety of performance modalities, rather than employing decontextualized test prompts that reveal only students' abilities to produce reductionistic responses on demand (Wiggins, 1989). Carefully articulated performance standards – including fully annotated exemplars of work products and behaviors at each level of quality – are necessary to implement meaningful, systematic assessment in the context of integrated language arts and authentic testing (Claggett, 1999).

L1 testers might look to the New Standards performance assessment project as a paradigm of just such an enterprise (Pearson *et al.*, 1998; Rubin and Hampton, 1998). Additional New Standards materials provide annotated work-products and even videotapes of oral language performances to be used for benchmarking rater judgments (e.g., New Standards, 1998, 2002). Publicly available benchmarked performance standards also render proficiency criteria transparent for test takers and for the teachers who prepare them. Moreover, New Standards performance objectives are integrated both within the language arts and across other learning domains. Integration within the language arts is represented, for example, by a task that asks a secondary school student to write a critique of a functional document, such as an assembly manual, for its use of graphics and layout conventions. Integration between language arts and other subjects is represented, for example, by a task that asks postsecondary students to give an oral presentation interpreting a series of line graphs that show interdependencies in shifting bird populations.

### **Implementation and Washback of L1 Proficiency Testing**

It has become commonplace to remark that the validity and consequences of any testing process may vary depending on the users (students, teachers, education agencies, policy makers) and the uses (formative learner evaluation, individual classification, certification, selection decisions, program evaluation) of the resulting data. The landscape of L1 testing is littered with instances of psychometrically viable and even conceptually well-intended language proficiency assessments that ultimately limited or undermined the quality of instruction learners received (e.g., Hill, 2004; Ruth, 2003). When an assessment process, to



the contrary, enhances instruction by reinforcing the teaching of proper proficiency criteria, it is said to have positive washback or consequential validity. It seems apparent that L1 assessments such as NAEP that emphasize writing performance and rhetorical criteria for proficiency have exerted positive washback on the teaching of writing (Moss, 1994). It is likewise anticipated that integrated L1 performance standard based assessment procedures such as New Standards may bring about substantial reform in L1 instruction (Pearson *et al.*, 1998).

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# Assessment of Second Language Proficiency

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## Introduction

Language testing in the past decade has seen the rethinking of fundamental positions and attitudes. There have been important developments in the area of validity theory (how we understand the process by which tests yield meaningful information about test takers) as well as changes in our understanding of the socially constructed character of language test performance, new thinking about research methods (quantitative and qualitative) in language testing validation research, and an increasing realization of the political character of tests, including their role within social and educational policy. This article briefly discusses these developments and their implications for language testing research and practice in the context of current developments in validity theory.

## Developments in Validity Theory

Language testing researchers (Bachman, 1990, 2005; Chapelle, 1998; Chapelle *et al.*, 2004; McNamara, 2000), drawing on work in educational measurement by (in particular) Messick, Mislevy, and Kane (e.g., Messick, 1989; Mislevy *et al.*, 2002, 2003; Kane, 1992, 2001), understand scores on language tests not simply as reports of performance in the test situation but as having meaning only as the basis for inferences beyond that situation. The real target of the assessment, the candidate's performance under nontest conditions, cannot be observed directly but is inferred from observations of test performance. Language tests resemble those experimental procedures

in science that use hypotheses and reasoning from observable data to draw inferences about things that cannot be observed directly.

Given this, central to assessment is the chain of reasoning from the observations to the claims we wish to make about students. Mislevy *et al.* (2003) call this the 'assessment argument' (Figure 1); Kane uses the term 'validity argument' (Kane, 1992, 2001). Such an argument is needed to establish the relevance of assessment data to test score inferences – that is, the value of the test data as evidence. Articulation of the assessment argument is a requirement of any assessment system.

According to Mislevy *et al.* (2003),

An assessment is a machine for reasoning about what students know, can do, or have accomplished, based on a handful of things they say, do, or make in particular settings. (p. 4)

The key element in this procedure is 'reasoning' – both about how adequately the target knowledge, skills, and performance abilities (the test domain or test criterion) are understood or represented theoretically in the test construct and about the relationship of the assessment procedures to the construct. (Obviously, the term 'machine' is used metaphorically, meaning a 'systematic procedure' or 'mechanism.')

Furthermore, the goal of assessment is to establish a basis for assertions about what students 'know, can do, or have accomplished.' Mislevy *et al.* (2003) refer to these assertions as 'claims.' This term is important because assessments often appear to yield definitive, authoritative, factual statements about test-takers; instead, we should recognize the assertions of tests as claims based on evidence and necessarily open to dispute.

Finally, the evidence for these claims, their basis in observations, is usually, for reasons of time and

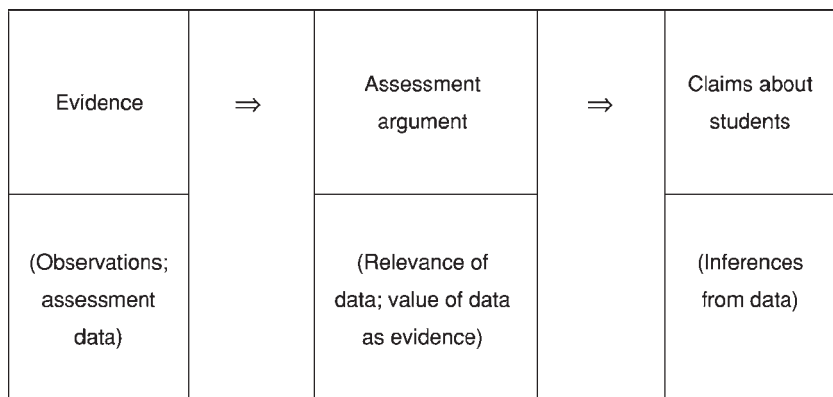


Figure 1 The assessment argument.

resource constraints, rather scant – ‘a handful’ of performances collected in the time available for an assessment, often no more than 1 or 2 hours. These will include essays, diagrams, marks on answer sheets, oral presentations, utterances in a conversation, and so on. They are thus vulnerable because the evidence is necessarily incomplete.

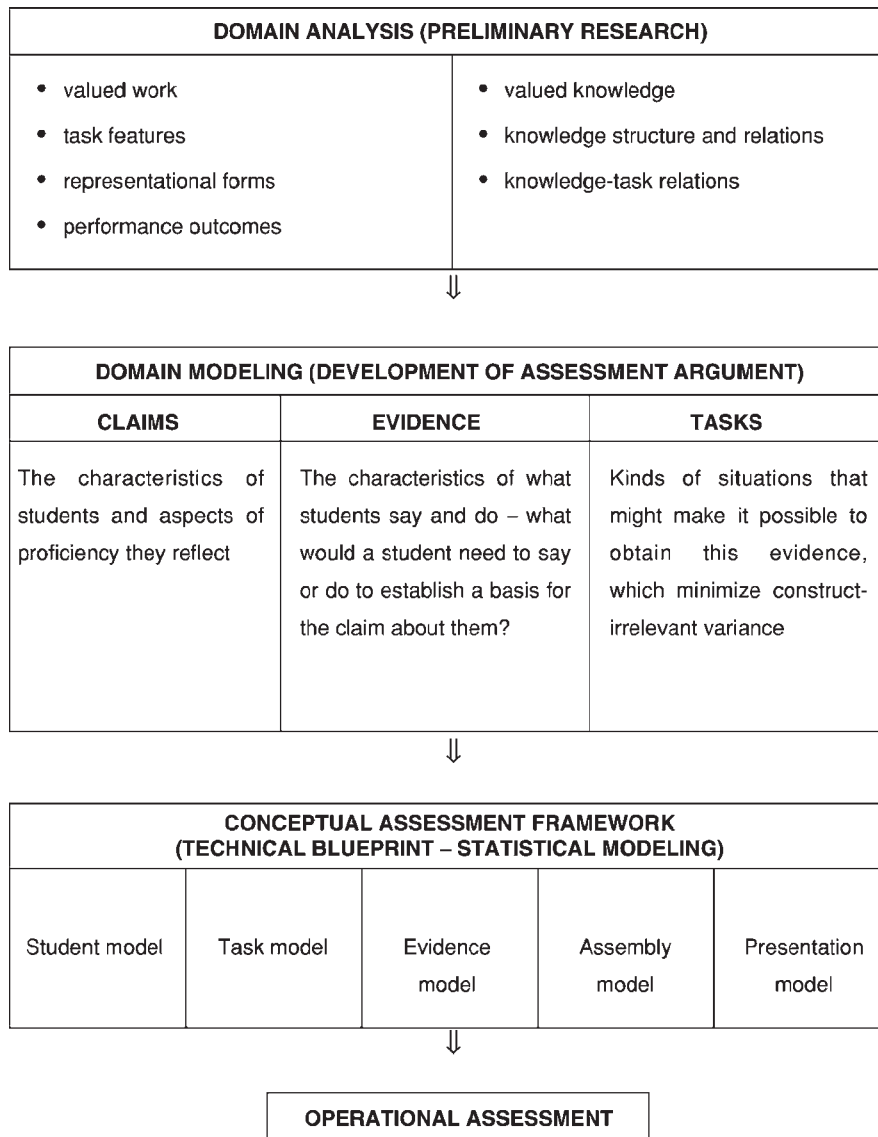
**Evidence-Centered Design**

Assessment, then, is an act of interpretation; it yields only claims, never certainty. Any assessment system will need to embrace this fact and explicitly justify how the evidence provided by systematic observation of learner behavior forms an adequate basis for claims about the language capacities and language

development of learners. Mislevy and colleagues (Mislevy *et al.*, 2002, 2003) recommend a principled procedure for relating the evidence available in test performance to the inferences we wish to make about the individual who has provided that evidence. This approach to building an assessment argument is known as Evidence-Centered design. The procedure involves a number of stages (Figure 2).

I focus only on the first two stages of this complex approach: domain analysis and domain modeling. The other stages will be discussed more briefly. An example will then be given of how this approach was used to inform a recent school-based language assessment development project.

Domain analysis is a preliminary research stage prior to the actual development of the test. It involves



**Figure 2** Evidence-centered design. Adapted from Mislevy *et al.* (2003, p. 6).

drawing on multiple sources of information to derive a definition of the test domain – what knowledge, what performance tasks define it? For example, Tests of English for Academic Purposes, such as the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) or the new internet-based Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL – iBT), are based in part on research identifying the communicative tasks facing international students studying in English-medium universities. In school settings, where assessment is related to the curriculum, the curriculum constitutes one such domain definition – a clear advantage of curriculum-related assessment because domain definition is already done.

The second and most important of the stages of Evidence-Centered design, domain modeling, has three substages: claims, evidence, and tasks. Together, the modeling of claims and evidence constitute the test construct.

In the first substage, the claims we wish to be able to make about students are formulated. These claims may lie along a continuum of specificity, from the general ('has advanced proficiency for his/her age/grade level') to the more specific ('a student can read to integrate information and arguments across multiple sources by generating an organizing frame that is not contained in any of those sources'). The choice of granularity of claims bears on the functions that the claims serve: certification for admission to work or study, the enhancement of curriculum-related learning, and so on. Frequently, a set of claims is presented as an ordered series, thus forming an assessment framework or statement of standards, the most important way in which assessment of language development is currently constructed. Examples include the standards that currently dominate thinking in U.S. school education, the Common European Framework of Reference for languages, and the descriptive bands of achievement in English for Academic Purposes that form the basis for reporting performance on tests such as IELTS.

The second substage of domain modeling is to consider the evidence – the things that we would like to observe a student doing – that will form the basis for claims. Engagement in what kinds of tasks would provide evidence to determine claims about the abilities of the person so engaged? Here, the results of the domain analysis will obviously be relevant. Also, what standard of performance is required? It is important to realize at this stage that the tasks here are not the tasks that appear in the test but, rather, the kinds of things we would like to be able to observe or capture in some way in the test; exactly how is the subject of the following substage. This second substage also involves articulating the

aspects of the student's performance that we consider important: in other words, we need to determine the criteria by which it will be assessed. This is especially important for performance assessments, in which the student produces a whole spoken or written text, which is then judged subjectively against certain criteria. Ironically, or perversely, the test construct of an assessment scheme is often most clearly present, albeit implicitly, in the assessment criteria, yet centrality of criteria is neglected in many accounts of assessment theory.

The third and final substage involves determining how evidence will be collected – in other words, what tasks we will require students to engage in to enable us to observe them profitably. This raises the issue of the context and conditions of performance, which if not attended to properly can jeopardize the validity of the claims because of the introduction of construct irrelevant factors.

In the following stage of Evidence-Centered design, Mislevy *et al.* discuss the psychometric or measurement input into the process of test development. The discussion here is highly technical, and space precludes us from considering it further. In general, the hypothesized relationships of the domain modeling stage are now modeled statistically. This means that empirical evidence in the form of data from student test responses can be analyzed statistically to confirm the domain modeling. The data must also be analyzed to satisfy basic psychometric requirements of reliability (consistency of measurement), in both discrete-item and judge-mediated tests. Addressing these and other evidence-related issues involves increasingly sophisticated statistical methods; a helpful review of these developments is available in Bachman (2000). They include generalizability theory, item response modeling including Rasch modeling, and structural equation modeling. In addition, qualitative research methods (Lumley and Brown, 2005) are an increasing feature of language test validation, and include, in particular, the use of introspective methods in research on listening (including multimedia listening and viewing), the rating of writing, and many other topics. A survey of discourse-based studies of oral language assessment (McNamara *et al.*, 2002) identified a number of topics dealt with in such research and indicated the extensive range of qualitative research techniques used. In addition, significant studies of the validity of oral language tests have used a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. For example, O'Loughlin (2001) combines Rasch analysis, lexical density counts of candidate discourse, and case studies of individual candidates to establish his claim about the lack of comparability of two supposedly equivalent instruments, direct



and semidirect measure of oral proficiency. Iwashita *et al.* (2001) use a combination of Rasch analysis and careful study of candidate discourse to reach important conclusions about the applicability of Skehan's model of task performance conditions to the definition of dimensions of task difficulty in a speaking test. Brown (2003) combines conversation analysis and Rasch analysis of scores to illuminate the character of interlocutor behavior in speaking tests and its impact on scores.

Emerging from these design processes is what we might call a technical blueprint for the assessment, including both for the design and administration of tasks and for collecting empirical data that can be used to check aspects of the validity of the modeling and other features of the assessment. (Confusingly, Mislevy calls the technical implementation blueprint a 'conceptual assessment framework,' but this term seems more suited to the earlier phase of domain modeling.) The final stage, then, is an actual operational assessment, which will include quality assurance mechanisms based on data from the assessment.

### Developing a Language Assessment System: An Example

This section provides an illustration of how Mislevy's framework of claims, evidence, and tasks provides a useful context for the development of assessment systems in schools. A brief outline is given of how the framework was used in a project on the measurement of outcomes in the learning of Asian languages in Australian schools (Hill *et al.*, 2004).

Given its geographical location, Australian government policy in recent years has promoted the study of Asian languages in Australian schools, to the point where Japanese and Indonesian for a number of years have rivaled traditional European languages such as French and German as the most popular languages learned in school; the demand for Chinese is increasing rapidly. In some areas of the country, the study of these languages is commenced at primary school level (covering the first 7 years of education, from

kindergarten to year 6). As part of the evaluation of its policy promoting the study of Asian languages in schools, the Australian government wanted to establish whether the considerable expenditure in support of the policy had yielded measurable achievements in terms of learner proficiency. A complicating factor is that educational provision is the responsibility not of the federal government but of the eight states and territories of Australia, each of which has three distinct educational systems (government, Catholic, and independent non-Catholic). There was a need for coordination between these many different educational systems to agree on a single national set of measures to evaluate the outcomes of student learning. The project therefore aimed to develop nationally agreed key performance measures (KPMs) for two Asian languages, Indonesian and Japanese, at two transition points – the end of primary schooling (years 6/7) and the end of compulsory foreign language learning (year 10).

Given the diversity of provision (three different education systems in each of eight states and territories), each with its own curriculum and assessment frameworks, it was decided to use Mislevy's framework to organize the discussion of existing commonalities and possibilities for agreement across systems (Table 1).

Through an intensive series of consultations and workshops, administrators and teachers were engaged in discussions of how to formulate the claims, the kinds of evidence that would support these claims, and the way that evidence would be captured in task design. The KPMs represent the agreed claims that would be the target of assessment. The project went beyond claims, however, to evidence and broad task design, and in the discussions of these latter, opportunities for this evaluation project to serve the needs of teachers and learners were built in. It was agreed that there would be a mix of external standardized test measures for the skills of listening, reading, and writing, but that these would be supplemented by further writing and speaking tasks that would be more locally relevant and delivered by teachers but assessed externally using an agreed common set of scoring criteria. In addition, student

**Table 1** Key performance measures for Asian languages project

<i>Claims (+ reporting)</i>	<i>Evidence</i>	<i>Tasks (design for data gathering)</i>	<i>Data collection</i>
What claims do we want to make about learners? In what terms will these claims be made? How will these be reported? [Scales]	What evidence will we seek to support these claims?  [Student performances; task design]	How will we go about gathering this evidence?	<i>Writing, trialing, and administering assessment tasks</i>

training in self-assessment would be a feature of any data gathering because aggregated self-assessments have been shown to be sufficiently reliable to constitute further evidence of system-level (not individual-level) achievement. In this way, in addition to this assessment serving external management purposes, it had the potential to be of lasting benefit to teachers and learners. It was found that those participating in the project related easily to this broad framework, and the project was completed successfully. The project did not require the development, trialing, and administration of actual tests (Table 1), but the blueprint for their development now exists.

I have discussed one approach to the development of an assessment argument, that of Mislevy, because it has not been widely discussed in the language testing literature despite the fact that it is playing an increasingly important role in the development of language assessments, such as TOEFL – iBT. An alternative and somewhat better known approach is that of Kane (Kane, 1992, 2001), who similarly proposes a number of logical steps in the development of any assessment scheme in order to tie test performance to valid inference about test-takers beyond the testing situation. He terms this process the development of an ‘assessment argument.’ Distinctively, he proposes that we consciously envisage threats to the validity of test score inferences and empirically investigate those as part of the test validation process. Kane’s thinking is increasingly important in language testing: Useful introductions to it can be found in Chapelle *et al.* (2004) and Bachman (2005).

**Messick on Test Validation: The Social Dimension**

The work on validation by Mislevy, Kane, and others is heavily influenced by the thinking of Messick, who defines validity (Messick, 1989) as

the degree to which empirical evidence and theoretical rationales support the adequacy and appropriateness of inferences and actions based on test scores or other modes of assessment. (p. 13)

Messick’s thinking contains within it a concern for the social and political function of language tests that is addressed far less explicitly in the work of Mislevy

and Kane – not at all, in the case of Mislevy, and imperfectly in the case of Kane. Bachman (2005) attempts to develop Kane’s work in this regard by using Kane’s approach to the development of a validity argument to consider the social consequences of test use, but the discussion only partly deals with the kinds of issues that have been raised to date in the discussion of the social and political functions of language tests.

Messick distinguishes a number of facets within his unified theory of validity (Table 2). The first cell in the matrix refers to ‘empirical evidence and theoretical rationales’ for the inferences we make in assessments. Mislevy and Kane can be read as elaborating and systematizing this requirement. The second cell on the top line stresses the need for test constructs to be relevant and useful in the context in which they are used: Not any test can be used for any purpose, no matter how sound the test may be. There is a tendency for people to believe (mistakenly) in the ‘one best test’ or to think that ‘one test fits all.’ For example, in the case of the assessment of the language and literacy development of children, ‘off-the-shelf’ tests may not be appropriate to the educational context, particularly if their relationship to the curriculum is unclear. The convenience of using such commercially available tests does not in itself form an adequate justification for their use. If a test developed in one context (e.g., IELTS, targeted at adult students intending to study at university or in training courses) is to be used in another (e.g., to assess the English language skills of non-native-speaking 15-year-olds in the transition from middle school in the home country to high school in an English-speaking country), then a new validation effort is required to support test score inference in the new context.

In the two lower cells in Table 2, Messick stresses, in a way that the work of Mislevy and Kane does not, the social and political values embodied in assessment constructs and the consequences of assessment practice.

The bottom left cell of Messick’s matrix suggests that all test constructs, and hence all interpretations of test scores, involve questions of value. This means that educational assessment can never be ‘objective’ or ‘scientific,’ despite the fact that its daunting psychometric trappings and appeal to scientific rigor, and

**Table 2** Facets of validity

	<i>Test interpretation</i>	<i>Test use</i>
Evidential basis	Construct validity	Construct validity + relevance/utility
Consequential basis	Value implications	Social consequences

(From Messick (1989, p. 20).

the authority that tests seem to possess, suggest otherwise. Messick sees all test constructs and practices as located in the arena of contestable values. This requires test developers to reveal and to defend the value implications of their test constructs. For example, in the case of literacy assessment, conflicting definitions of literacy involve differences in values, epistemologies, and ideologies, even where these are relatively 'naturalized,' as arguably in the case of the cognitive-psychological models of literacy that have been criticized by those taking a more social view. The adoption of a particular definition of literacy as the basis for a test will need to be defended in terms of the values and ideologies it implies. Recent work has drawn attention to the potential of poststructuralist thought in understanding how apparently neutral language proficiency constructs are inevitably socially constructed and thus embody values and ideologies (McNamara, 2001). It is worth noting that the deconstruction of such test constructs applies no less to constructs in other fields of applied linguistics, notably second language acquisition.

Similarly, traditional cognitively based constructs of individual proficiency that do not adequately theorize the contribution of interlocutors to the performance of individuals on speaking tasks may be questioned. This is obviously an issue in school-based assessments of young children, in which guidance from the teacher is fundamental in eliciting performance from the child, but it relates to a larger theoretical issue. During the past decade, there has been a growing critique of individualistic models of proficiency. A strong influence has been work on discourse analysis that stresses the coconstruction of performance (Jacoby and Ochs, 1995):

One of the important implications for taking the position that everything is coconstructed through interaction is that it follows that there is a distributed responsibility among interlocutors for the creation of sequential coherence, identities, meaning, and events. This means that language, discourse, and their effects cannot be considered deterministically preordained ... by assumed constructs of individual competence. (p. 177)

Research exploring the implications of this position for language testing has been most advanced in the area of oral language proficiency testing in face-to-face contexts, such as in the oral proficiency interview (Brown, 2003). This research demonstrates that the performance of the interlocutor is implicated in the performance of the candidate; this poses difficult questions for assessment schemes that are framed in terms of reports on individual competence.

Returning to Messick, in the final cell of the matrix (Table 2), he raises the issue of the impact of tests,

particularly the wanted and unwanted consequences of test score interpretations (cell 4). The educational measurement field has responded strongly to the idea that exploration of the consequences of the use of language test scores be seen as part of test score validation. Although many theorists support this view (Kane, 2001), pointing out that validation of the use of test scores has been a central theme of the discussion of validity theory for more than 40 years, others (Popham, 1997) wish to restrict validation research to investigation of the accuracy of test score interpretation. In fact, Popham agrees that the consequences of test use are a subject requiring investigation, and he actively contributes to public discussions on what he views as the damaging consequences of school and college testing in the United States; he simply does not want to call it 'validation' research.

Within language testing, a concern to understand test consequences is increasingly evident. The educational impact of assessment schemes is the subject matter of studies of 'washback' (Cheng *et al.*, 2004). Of particular interest is the way in which teachers work with curriculum and assessment standards frameworks (Rea-Dickins, 2004).

A particularly difficult aspect of the impact of assessment schemes on educational outcomes has been a growing realization that many language test constructs are explicitly political in character and hence, when their influence is seen as negative, not amenable to influences that are not themselves political (Brindley, 2001). The most compelling examples include the way in which the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe, 2001), a scheme that has been used to rationalize assessments across languages within Europe for the purposes of administrative and educational reform, has been widely criticized, among other things, for its view of language (Fulcher, 2004); however, critics face the realization that the mechanisms for modifying the constructs, or indeed of challenging the scheme in its entirety, are exclusively political. The political imposition of language testing constructs means that language test validation research will have an impact only to the extent that it is itself politicized; academic researchers have usually had limited success in such roles. A further example is the implementation of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 in the United States, which requires all states to introduce literacy assessments (among others) for grades 3–8. The impact of this policy on assessment, the way assessments are driving the curriculum, is being felt throughout school systems in the United States, but concern to resist the negative impacts of the assessments faces the hurdle of the political nature

of the mandate requiring that such assessments be carried out, and carried out in particular ways.

Outside the educational sphere, the political character of language assessments is nowhere clearer than in the increasing use of language tests for control of refugee flows. The widespread use of language tests in processes to support the claims of asylum seekers to be from areas in which they have a justified fear of persecution is resulting in practices that have drawn increasing criticism regarding the validity of the sociolinguistic and sociophonetic constructs that underlie them and of the processes through which they are being implemented (Eades *et al.*, 2003). Again, vigorous criticism from academic researchers has fallen on deaf ears politically. An attempt has been made to draw up guidelines for responsible professional practice in the conduct of such assessments, and they are being used in cases before the courts to evaluate the adequacy of assessments submitted as evidence.

These explicitly political considerations can also be understood in terms of test consequences. In the previous example of the asylum seekers, even if the procedure currently used was carried out on the basis of more adequate and defensible sociolinguistic constructs, and conducted more professionally, the entire procedure necessarily has serious consequences for those concerned and raises complex issues of the ethics of engagement in such work. The ethical responsibilities of language testers as an aspect of their professionalism is a major topic of debate within the field (Davies, 1997; Kunnan, 2000).

A more radical response to the issue of the consequences of test use involves direct political critique of the institutional character of assessment. Most significant is the work of Elana Shohamy (2001), who introduced the term 'critical language testing' to describe a research orientation committed to exposing undemocratic practices in assessment. This important work is still in its early stages. An example of the potential for critical archival research on language tests is the account in Spolsky (1995) of the political and institutional forces surrounding the initial development and struggle for control of TOEFL. Much more work is needed, for example, on critical responses to the use of language tests for immigration and citizenship within the context of inflamed intergroup relations in Europe and elsewhere. If language testers are to make an appropriate professional contribution to these debates, their training must prepare them not only to engage productively with the technicist orientation to validity of thinkers such as Mislavy and Kane but also to provide them with the conceptual skills necessary to make sense of the social and political context of their work so that they may act responsibly within it.

*See also:* Assessment of First Language Proficiency; Australasia and the Pacific; Critical Applied Linguistics; Immigrant Languages; Languages for Specific Purposes; Languages in Tertiary Education; Listening in a Second Language; Reading in a Second Language; Second and Foreign Language Learning and Teaching; Speaking in a Second Language.

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# Bilingual Lexicography

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## Introduction

A bilingual dictionary is a dictionary that presents the lexicon and phraseology of one language (called the **source language**) and translates these components into a second language (the **target language**). This element of translation is essential. By way of contrast, a dictionary that uses a foreign language to describe the features (e.g., etymology) of another language is not a bilingual dictionary because it does not directly help the user to translate.

There are many different sorts of bilingual dictionaries. Arrangement is either alphabetical or thematic. In the case of languages such as Chinese that have an ideographic rather than alphabetical writing system, the arrangement is in brush-stroke order. The most common type, **general bilingual dictionaries**, are aimed at a broad user group that ranges from language students to translators, business people, travelers, and others. Since a bilingual dictionary is above all a practical tool, it almost invariably consists of a single volume and is often (but not always) divided into two parts – the source language of the first part becomes the target language of the second part, and vice versa. Bilingual dictionaries vary greatly in size and content. The smallest pocket bilingual dictionaries give little more than undifferentiated one-word equivalents or short lists of possible one-word translations; the largest give a great deal of information for both source and target languages about phraseology and the contextual appropriateness of possible translations. For a large number of language-specific and general articles on the subject of bilingual dictionaries, see Hausmann *et al.* (1989–1991). Also, to complement the present article's survey of bilingual dictionaries' general aspects, see articles in this encyclopedia for detailed comments on lexicography in particular languages.

With bilingual dictionaries now having been developed in electronic format, the distinctions between alphabetical and thematic arrangements are not so relevant: full-search text and thematic searches are now possible at the click of a mouse.

## A Brief History of Bilingual Lexicography

The history of bilingual dictionaries is intimately linked to the history of translation and to the creation of vocabulary lists that give equivalents in a different language. Berkov (1973) even regards bilingual

lexicography as integral to the theory of translation. The history of translation, in turn, is intimately interwoven with the spread of trade and religion.

There is some debate among historians of lexicography as to what came first, monolingual or bilingual dictionaries. In ancient Mesopotamia, bilingual dictionaries (or their ancestors, i.e., lists of words with foreign-language equivalents) came after the first monolingual protodictionaries (i.e., monolingual word lists with added information). The most ancient traces of anything resembling a bilingual dictionary are found in fragments of Sumerian–Eblaite tablets dating back to the 24th century B.C., discovered in Ebla in 1975. Words from the two source languages were mixed together in a single column. Presumably, it was assumed that users would need no assistance in distinguishing between Sumerian and Eblaite.

Other bilingual, and sometimes trilingual and even quadrilingual, lists with combinations such as Sumerian/Akkadian, Sumerian/Ugaritic, etc., were found by archaeologists in Mesopotamia. Of great importance is the medium on which the lexicographic data are stored. For example, no bilingual Egyptian/Aramaic word lists have been found to date, perhaps because they were written on a more perishable medium than clay tablets, e.g., papyrus, not because no word lists were created. The earliest dictionary-like document found in ancient Egypt was a Greek > Coptic glossary dating back to the second half of the 3rd century A.D. Also found were Latin > Coptic glossaries and Coptic > Arabic glossaries.

Ancient Greek lexicography – entirely monolingual – started in the 5th century B.C. with glossaries explaining already rare or obsolete archaic words in Homer. The Greeks evinced very little interest in the language and culture of other peoples. In fact, the impetus to the influence of Greek culture on Roman civilization came from the Roman conquest of Greece (143 B.C.) Learning the Greek language and reading the classics in Greek became a central part of every civilized Roman's education and, naturally, dictionaries played their part. Thus, the western tradition of bilingual dictionaries can be traced to the desire of the Romans to read Greek. Classical Greek–Latin and Latin–Greek dictionaries were plentiful, though unfortunately all are lost except for a few fragments, surviving mostly in Egyptian papyri (Kramer, 2001).

In China, monolingual lexicography – in the form of inventories of Chinese characters dating from the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) – also came first, preceding bilingual lexicography by nearly two millennia. The earliest bilingual dictionary with Chinese

as a source language is Robert Morrison's Chinese–English dictionary of 1815. In recent decades, the growth in international trade with China plus the presence of many Chinese-speaking communities outside China have led to unparalleled growth in bilingual dictionaries in which Chinese is both a source and a target language. Since the 1980s, bilingual lexicography in China has been booming, largely as a result of the 'open-door policy,' that has led to the rapid growth both of literacy and the number of foreign language learners.

In Japan, the rise of lexicography was closely associated with the importation of Buddhism from China via Korea in the 7th century A.D. Buddhist monks learned to use Chinese monolingual dictionaries for religious purposes. Chinese characters were adapted to represent the Japanese language, which at that time had no indigenous writing system. In the 10th and 11th centuries a number of Chinese–Japanese character dictionaries were compiled, some of them very large indeed (30 volumes). The earliest bilingual dictionaries offering translations of Japanese into a Western language (Portuguese) were compiled by Jesuit missionaries at the end of the 16th century. During the Edo Period (1600–1868), Japan was closed to the outside world, with one exception: trade with the Netherlands was permitted. As a result, in 1796 Inamura Sanpaku compiled a Dutch–Japanese dictionary on the basis of Halma's 1708 Dutch–French dictionary. In the 20th century, bilingual lexicography began to flourish in Japan, with the production of many Japanese–English dictionaries. Other languages were not neglected. Currently, one of the most imaginative projects is the Saipam Japanese–Thai dictionary project, an online cooperative effort of Thai professionals working in Japan, to which the dictionary users themselves are invited to contribute.

In the Arab world, too, bilingual dictionaries did not appear until long after monolingual dictionaries. They were compiled mostly by nonnative speakers of Arabic from societies that were in contact with Arabic speakers, for example, speakers of Persian requiring access to Arabic as the language of the Koran.

As for Hebrew, the situation was different. The first dictionary of Hebrew, by Saadia Gaon (Babylonia, 902), was written with Arabic as the target language, so it can be considered as a bilingual dictionary. The first monolingual Hebrew dictionary is that of Menahem ben-Sarouq (Spain, mid-10th century).

During the Middle Ages, bilingual dictionaries developed in western Europe in connection with Latin, the language of the Christian Church. The Roman Catholic scriptures were in Latin, and clerics would gloss Latin words, adding vernacular translations

between the lines, and later grouping these translations in glossaries, which can be considered as the ancestors of European bilingual dictionaries. The *Abrogans*, the first alphabetical Latin–German dictionary (so named after its first entry), was commissioned by Bishop Arbeo around 765–770. It was used as a basis for subsequent spinoffs, in which German, the target language, was replaced by translations in other languages.

Until the invention of the printing press in 1436 by Johannes Gutenberg, books, including dictionaries, were either manuscripts or were printed from hand-carved wood blocks. These objects were rare and costly. With the invention of printing, books suddenly became more accessible to a much larger audience, and this had a profound effect on the spread of knowledge and culture during the Renaissance. Without the printing press, dictionaries could not have been widely available; without dictionaries, the effortless spread of Renaissance culture and scholarship across linguistic boundaries would have been greatly inhibited.

Bilingual dictionaries in Renaissance Europe were based mainly on Latin, at a time when Latin was the common language of all learned people, whatever their native tongue. Inevitably, therefore, Latin was both the source and target language of many dictionaries. A major milestone was Robert Estienne's *Dictionnaire Françoislatin* of 1534, in which French words are described in French and a Latin translation is given. New types of dictionaries free of Latin also appeared at that time. The first non-Latin-based bilingual dictionary in Europe was probably Adam von Rottweil's Italian > German thematic dictionary *Introito e porta*, dating from 1477, followed closely by a French–English vocabulary printed by Caxton in 1480.

In the 17th century in Europe, the main core of bilingual dictionaries contained French or English, but new combinations also appeared, for example, those including Dutch or Spanish.

The age of Enlightenment that followed was also the age of encyclopedias, ambitious projects with the stated aim of collecting the entire sum of existing knowledge. One aspect of this quest had a considerable influence on bilingual lexicography, namely the ambition to collect and classify the entire vocabulary of all the languages spoken in the world. This ambition is still unfulfilled – as the postings on the *lexicographylist* website show very clearly. This discussion group contains frequent references to examples of a race against time to record the vocabulary of endangered languages before it is too late. This record is generally done in the form of a bilingual dictionary, with detailed information about the vocabulary and syntagmatics of the source language, with English

(or occasionally Spanish, Brazilian Portuguese, or Russian) as the target language. Bilingual lexicographers working with rare and endangered languages often find themselves devoting a great deal of attention to establishing written norms for a language that has no written tradition. The motivation is very often the facilitation of missionary work (usually Christian). In other cases, the aim is more practical, namely to create access for speakers of a rare language to English or to some other international language of trade and technology.

In 19th-century Europe, the production of bilingual dictionaries increased greatly with all sorts of combinations, including dictionaries of newly discovered 'dead' languages, e.g., several Sanskrit–English dictionaries [in particular those of Wilson (1819) and Monier-Williams (1872)] and other combinations such as the *Hebräisch-chaldäisches Wörterbuch* of Wilhelm Gesenius (1810). As did colonial expansion and evangelization, political events created conditions that required new publications. The latest in Europe was the creation of the European Union, which now includes 25 countries and 21 languages. In principle, all the documents and transactions of any of these countries must be translated into the languages of all the others.

## The Techniques of Modern Bilingual Lexicography

### The Three Steps to Making a Dictionary

Recent advances in technology have had a profound influence on not only monolingual lexicography but also bilingual lexicography. The use of electronic corpora has affected, in particular, both the analysis of the source language and the choice of translation equivalents. Bilingual dictionaries are normally synchronic dictionaries, representations of a language in its present state rather than its historical record. In order to make access to the information easier, meanings are generally ordered by frequency, starting with the most frequent sense in current use.

According to Atkins (1990), the production of a bilingual dictionary can be divided into three main stages:

1. **Analysis of the source language:** This stage is performed by lexicographers who analyze their native language and produce a detailed, structured account of each lexical item (word, phrase, or morpheme). This account of the source language is called the **framework**. It is more than a monolingual dictionary: it is designed to help in the subsequent stages of work, notably translation.

It must be reasonably succinct, but nevertheless contain enough information to ensure that translators will have the right connotational contexts, without which their work could be inaccurate or misleading. The framework must also contain many examples of phraseology typical of the way the word is normally used, as well as any other information that will facilitate the next stage, called the **transfer**.

2. **Transfer:** This stage is the translation stage: the meanings of words and their contexts are translated into the target-language system. At a glance, it looks simple, particularly because the lexical units or phraseological items tend to be short. In fact, however, it is an extremely complex task, not least because different translation equivalents of a given word need to be chosen in different contexts, and in some cases there is no direct translation equivalent, so a circumlocution must be found. Only the best of translators (working in their native languages) satisfactorily produce results comprehensive enough to cover the needs of the wide variety of dictionary users. Part of the difficulty lies in achieving the right level of generalization: ideally, the translations should accurately reflect the source-language item, making it safely usable in many contexts. The final product of this stage is the **translated framework**. This framework is an extremely rich bilingual resource, but much too rich for a dictionary. For one thing, much of the information is specific only to certain contexts, so it needs careful trimming and generalizing. Consequently, only 30–40% of the material in the translated framework actually appears in the published version – the 'synthesized' version – of the *Oxford-Hachette French Dictionary on CD-ROM*, 3rd edn. (edited by Marie-Hélène Corréard and Valerie Grundy, 1994).
3. **Synthesis:** During synthesis, the translated framework is cut to size and reorganized into manageable, readable dictionary entries. Editors work in pairs: an editor whose mother tongue is the source language works with a target-language speaker. Editors use all sorts of conventional resources (other dictionaries, encyclopedias, reference books, and glossaries) and, in some cases, draw upon the skills and knowledge of specialist consultants in technical areas such as the terminology of medicine, law, business, or science. Of course, they also have access to corpus data.

### Using Corpus Data in Bilingual Lexicography

Since about 1990, lexicographers have been able to use evidence from electronic corpora (collections

of millions, indeed hundreds of millions, of words in the texts available in machine-readable form). Some have pointed out that the World Wide Web itself can be regarded and (up to a point) processed as a vast electronic corpus (Grefenstette, 2002; Kilgariff and Grefenstette, 2003). The effects have been dramatic. Using a simple concordancing program, lexicographers can inspect 'at the press of a button' all the occurrences in a corpus of a particular word or phrase, together with the contexts in which it occurs. At last, lexicographers have easy access to enough evidence about words, thus allowing them to describe the normal meaning and use of words with reasonable confidence and without relying on introspection. This makes the job both easier and more rigorous.

Bilingual lexicographers can approach corpora in two different ways: either as parallel corpora or comparable corpora. Each approach has its advantages and disadvantages. Parallel corpora consist of original texts alongside target-language translations, aligned as far as possible sentence by sentence. These allow instant access to translations and instant comparisons to the original texts. However, a translation is inevitably a text written under the influence of another language, and a translated text is only as good as its translator. The danger of interference from the idiom and syntax of the source language is ever present. Comparable corpora, on the other hand, are collections of texts with similar contents in both languages; though related more loosely, these texts were produced for their own sakes, i.e., independently, not in relation to a source text in a foreign language. However, comparable corpora also require extra work of lexicographers; without a ready-to-use solution, they must search around similar themes in their hunt for translation equivalents.

Corpus data can be used at all stages of bilingual lexicography. It is particularly useful for finding complementation patterns and typical collocations and for ordering meanings during the analysis of the source language. As for transfer, a source-language corpus can be used to find a variety of occurrences against which the translator can test potential translations in order to decide which is the most appropriate, because concordances and statistical tools show very clearly the differences between frequent and rare expressions, and between conventional and rare-but-possible phraseology. A source-language corpus also allows the translator to check connotations. If a comparable corpus is available, the translator can also check possible translations in the target-language corpus (which is composed of texts produced in the target language) and look at the best possible fit between the source-language lexical item and equivalents in the target language.

During synthesis, the final editing stage, corpora help lexicographers to select and keep what is most useful, both in source and target languages. As a result, users will be more likely to find a correct and useful translation, rather than one with fewer relevant possibilities that are based in lexicographical introspection.

### **Working with Frameworks**

Theoretically, frameworks created by source-language lexicographers are independent of a target language. In real life a framework is often created for a given bilingual pair and the word list is devised accordingly. Once a framework is ready for translation, it can be reused with a different target language. Obviously, it will need to be translated again, and also edited (trimmed) again, because the fit of one language with another differs. An English framework used for an English > French dictionary can be used for an English > Polish dictionary, for instance, but some editing will be needed to ensure that the translations are useful in the new configuration and that enough translations are supplied.

### **Structure of a Bilingual Entry**

The structure of a bilingual entry ranges from very simple (e.g., a monosemous regular word in the source language is translated by a monosemous word in the target language, with no irregularities) to very complex. In the pages explaining the structure of entries, taken from the second edition of the electronic version of the *Oxford-Hachette French Dictionary* on CD-ROM, 3rd edn. (published in 2003 by Oxford University Press), the various elements of a bilingual entry are shown.

The first element is the headword. This has to be a recognizable form of the lemma that users will search for (the **citation form**). Conventions regarding citation forms vary from language to language. For instance, for most European languages verb headwords are given in the infinitive, but in Hungarian they are stored under their 'simplest form,' i.e., the 3rd person singular of the present indicative, while in Greek the citation form for a verb is the 1st person singular of the present indicative.

Other facts about the headword are also recorded, aimed especially at nonspeakers of the language. A headword may have a register that is not neutral: i.e., it may be informal, very informal or vulgar, or it may be particularly formal. In the *Oxford-Hachette French Dictionary* (OHD) register is shown by a symbol denoting nonstandard language or by an abbreviation, for example *fml*, denoting formal



language. Other dictionaries use other devices to give information about register. Guidance is also given on pronunciation. In OHD, the standard pronunciation of a word is transcribed in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), using a broad transcription. There are many variant pronunciations of words within languages, of course, and the lexicographers have to decide how many of these should be represented. For example, should a dictionary reflect only standard British English pronunciations (so-called Received Pronunciation – RP) or should it also give U.S. variants, and if so, how many? The decision to include pronunciation variations depends on the scope and aims of a dictionary. Many bilingual dictionaries nowadays record both British and American pronunciations, but it is not normal for, say, Canadian French pronunciations to be recorded alongside metropolitan European French. Such decisions are made on the basis of an estimation of user needs.

Information is also given about inflected forms of a lemma, either explicitly within the entry or in the form of a reference to a table of verb inflections in an appendix to the main dictionary.

Dictionary entries are split into grammatical and semantic subdivisions (or categories). The main subdivisions separate one part of speech from another, if these are homographs. Within each part-of-speech bloc, different subdivisions record the different translations that are relevant in different contexts. These divisions are signposted systematically to help navigation through entries. In many dictionaries each subdivision is marked with a letter or number, which stands out on the page. Grammatical information such as part of speech is usually indicated, although some dictionaries mention it only when it is relevant for navigation or comprehension. There is also usually a direct translation of the headword in each category. There may be grammatical information about the translation such as gender or the fact that a word deviates from the norm by being invariable. There may also be register information about the translation.

If there is more than one translation equivalent and if the two translations are freely interchangeable, then they are given without discriminators. However, if they are not interchangeable, which is normally the case, then markers are added to help users select the most appropriate translation. Various kinds of discriminators are used: for example, a close synonym of the headword in the relevant context, or a pointer to some aspect of the difference, sufficient to help users in their selection of a translation. A typical collocate may also be used as a discriminator; in a verb entry, for example a typical direct object may be given (e.g., ‘firing a gun’ vs. ‘firing a person’), while in an

adjective entry, it may be the head noun that the adjective typically modifies (e.g., ‘fair hair’ vs. ‘a fair person’). Discriminators are also used to differentiate semantic categories within an entry.

Another sort of indicator is a label showing the domain to which a particular sense of a word belongs, for example *Computer Science* or *Medicine*.

Special phraseological elements such as idioms or phrasal verbs in English are sometimes grouped together as subentries, usually at the end of an article. For nonspeakers of a language, it is important to show how the phraseology works, for example, where the direct object of a phrasal verb in English should be placed – before or after the particle.

Bilingual dictionaries are also careful to label register, in particular warning that a given item is pejorative, offensive, or taboo.

## Main Issues of Bilingual Lexicography

The problems in bilingual lexicography mostly arise because any two languages are differently structured systems, which coincide only occasionally. Moreover, the structure of a dictionary encourages the belief that there are one-to-one equivalences between words in languages, which is not true in many cases. Editors of bilingual dictionaries attempt to get around this problem by translating many phrases that typically use these words. Here a tension arises between the need for economy and regularity of organization in a dictionary and the need to give as much information as possible to help users produce idiomatic translations. Bilingual lexicographers are more reliant than many would care to admit on the ability of users to perceive analogies between the examples of typical phraseology offered by the dictionary and the particular context the user is trying to generate or interpret.

## Directionality

The problems just mentioned are compounded because bilingual dictionaries are aimed at a heterogeneous target audience. For example, typical users of a French–English dictionary include native speakers of French trying to understand English texts, native speakers of French trying to communicate in English, native speakers of English trying to understand French, and native speakers of English trying to communicate in French. The needs of these groups are very different.

This brings us to another dimension of bilingual dictionaries, namely their directionality. A bilingual dictionary caters to source- and target-language speakers whose needs are not identical and neither are their activities in looking up a word’s translation.



Native speakers of the source language are trying to write or speak the target language. They start from something they know and want to encode it into a foreign language; so, they want detailed information about the correct use of words in the target language and some help with the choice of translations. Native speakers of the target language who are trying to understand the source language, i.e., to decode it, will be satisfied with translation equivalents that explain the meaning of a word or phrase; they will be able to use the translations, build on them, and paraphrase them freely. They do not need phraseological information to help them write idiomatically. Despite this, usually for commercial reasons, large bilingual dictionaries are bidirectional, i.e., designed to serve both source and target native speakers with their conflicting interests. Bilingual lexicographers have the impossible task of finding the right balance between giving too little information and giving too much. For this reason, some dictionary publishers now publish works catering to more narrowly specified user groups, e.g., native speakers of Dutch who are writing in English.

Typically, a large general bilingual dictionary has two sections in one volume, the source language of the first section being the target language of the second section. The presence of two sections does not make a dictionary bidirectional. It is the information given in each section that will show whether the dictionary was designed principally for speakers of either the source or target language or for speakers of both languages.

When a dictionary is designed to be bidirectional, the metalanguage chosen must best serve the needs of different users. To take a very simple example (from the *Oxford-Hachette French dictionary*), the word *abstrus* in French is formal in register. French speakers know this intuitively – they don't need to be told – so the label *fml* is aimed at the English-speaking user. However, the English translation, *abstruse*, is no less formal, but now the register information must be stated in French, for French users (*sout.*, for 'soutenu'). The resultant entry is as follows:

**abstrus, abstruse** /apstry/, /yz/ **adj** fml abstruse *sout.*

This entry assures the user that the target-language translation is the best possible semantic equivalent and that the register is right. This basic structure can become quite complex when, for example, the target language does not have an equivalent in the same register as the source language.

### **Issues Concerning the Source Language**

General information about inflections is usually given in appendices. In a bilingual dictionary, individual

words often need extra information, for example, the conjugation pattern number for French verbs or the stress pattern for nouns and verbs in Russian. For practical reasons, this translation information typically appears in the 'wrong' section of the dictionary, i.e., under the source language, whereas most users would ideally prefer to see it given as part of the target language. Although this arrangement saves space and streamlines the entry (because the information is given only once), it means that the user, having found a particular translation in the target language, must then go to the other half of the dictionary to find out about gender, declension, pronunciation, etc.

Some of these issues – regarding the inclusion of headwords and information about headwords – are very similar to those of monolingual dictionaries. But even the issue of the headword list is more complex in bilingual lexicography. It is connected, in a very practical fashion, with how the dictionary is intended to be used. What sort of tool will it be? A decoding (passive) tool, an encoding (active) tool, or both, with speakers of both languages dipping into it? Inclusion decisions have to be made about such matters as proper nouns (names), morphological variations, specialized vocabulary, archaic words, dialect variations.

To convey the conventions of a language to non-speakers, many bilingual dictionaries contain not only general vocabulary words, but also proper names. For example, *William the Conqueror* is *Guillaume le Conquérant* in French; the German town of *Aachen*, known as *Aachen* in English, is *Aix-la-Chapelle* in French; the Russian composer known as *Shostakovich* in English is written *Chostakovitch* in French.

Other inclusion questions are strictly about the source language, still seen through the eyes of a non-speaker. How should multiword expressions be dealt with? Should they be treated as separate entries, or nested under one of the elements and, if so, which? How should regular morphological derivation be represented? In Slavic languages diminutives are morphologically regular and are common in spoken language. Should diminutives be included even if their translations are identical to those of the standard word from which they are derived? Should archaic or rare words be included in the headword list? Should dialect variations? Where should phrases and idioms be entered? Should they be entered in a canonical form, or in the form of an example of actual usage? Should there be crossreferences to the actual location of a phrase from its components? It is impossible to predict where nonspeakers of a language will search for a phrase, and there is always the problem that they may not recognize a phrase as a

lexicalized item at all. Even with the technological support and unrestricted space that an electronic dictionary can provide, these are issues that need to be addressed in a principled way. Often, there is no one right answer. Different dictionary editors make different decisions, depending on how they see their users' needs.

### Issues Concerning the Translation Process

Along with coverage and presentation of information, it is the quality of the translations that determines the value of a bilingual dictionary. Depending on the activity of the user (encoding or decoding), the translations must be easily usable and preferably innocuous, that is to say, supplied with sufficient information/signposting to ensure that a nonspeaker of a language will be able to make correct translation choices.

Just as the analysis of the source language is performed at word level, a dictionary translation is expected to reflect the normal behavior of words. Unlike the translator, the bilingual lexicographer must work with very little context given and must select a large array of potential real contexts. The strategies used for the translation of continuous text (or speech) are not applicable for dictionaries. It is impossible to work at sentence level, let alone paragraph. Selecting the right translation in a context is a complex task. In a dictionary it is even more complex, because of the element of generalization. The foreign-language equivalent must be valid in as many contexts as possible, and the lexicographer cannot possibly predict all the contexts in which any given word will be used.

Several situations are possible, as summed up by Bo Svensén (1993).

The first case is when the source word is monosemous and has a monosemous equivalent in the target language, e.g., *squirrel* = *écureuil*. However, even in this simple case, some information is necessarily omitted. A person living in France, for instance, will have a mental representation of a red squirrel, whereas someone living in the U.K. or the U.S.A. will most likely visualize a grey squirrel. This does not matter as long as the same word applies in both cases.

The second case is when the source word is polysemous and has a polysemous equivalent with the same structure of meaning in the target language, e.g., *column* = *colonne*.

The third case is when the source word is polysemous and each meaning has a different translation equivalent. It is then necessary to signpost the translations for source-language speakers who need to select the appropriate one for their context, as

shown in a simple entry from the *Oxford-Hachette French Dictionary* below:

**blaireau**, pl **blaireaux** /blɛʁo/ nm  
 ① (animal) badger;  
 ② (pour rasage) shaving brush;  
 ③ (pinceau) badger-hair brush.

Things get more complicated when the relationship between the words in a source language and the translation equivalents in the target language are not in a one-to-one relationship – e.g., the French word *gâteau* corresponds to *cake*, *gateau*, or *biscuit* in English – or where the concept of the source language does not exist in the target language, e.g., the terms *Miranda warning* and *Miranda rights* in American English, which do not have an equivalent in French and other languages.

Other situations can arise: a word in the source language may need several translation equivalents because the target language does not have a term at an equivalent level of generalization; it requires more specific categorization. For example, the English phrasal verb *go away* cannot be translated into Russian with a single one-for-one equivalent. The appropriate Russian translation differs from case to case, because a verb denoting a specific manner of motion must be selected: on foot, on horseback, by transport, by plane, by swimming, or whatever.

Technical terms are also a source of difficulty, particularly in areas where cultures/systems are very different, e.g., law terms, even simple ones, like French *avocat*, which (according to context) may be equivalent to English *lawyer*, *barrister*, *solicitor*, or *attorney*, or indeed to some other term. Often a specialist will be needed to help find correct solutions and to include a paraphrase in the target language. LSP (language for special purposes) dictionaries, devoted to a particular domain, will usually be better than general purpose dictionaries in such instances.

When selecting a translation, lexicographical translators have to consider how usable it will be to a nonspeaker of the language. A translation may be perfect, but only within a restricted context, while another one may be more general. In such a case, the dictionary translator/lexicographer will tend to select the more general one. Ideally, both will be given, signposted to help the user select the right one for the right context. However, space constraints do not always allow for the inclusion of multiple translations, and even if those do, there is always the danger of overloading the user with too much information and making the dictionary too cumbersome to be used effectively. For these reasons, it is often necessary to keep only one translation, the most 'all-purpose' one, which is why translations in

dictionaries often seem very bland. What might be seen as a fault in a translated text is a virtue in a dictionary!

### **Issues Concerning the Third Phase: Synthesis**

The final stage of work on a dictionary is dictated by the projected size and editorial policy of the work. What should be kept and in what form? Selecting what will remain in each dictionary article and how to organize it are activities geared towards making the user's task easier. For some language pairs it is easy to group senses together because both languages function in a similar way; for other language pairs, however, senses must be split to a finer grain, because the target language has a different sense structure. What should be kept and in what form also depends on the directionality of the dictionary. Lexicographers try to use the available space to cram in as much information as possible, insofar as this is compatible with usability.

### **Other Issues of Bilingual Lexicography**

**Typography** Design and typography are extremely important for dictionaries and even more so for bilingual dictionaries because the risk of confusion between the source language and the target language is high, particularly when the two languages have similarities. Bilingual dictionaries also contain a great deal of metalanguage that must be clearly distinguished from the text so that inexperienced users do not confuse metalanguage and translation. In the case of bidirectional dictionaries, the design must also take into account the conventions of both cultures the dictionary is designed for. Sometimes a compromise between conflicting traditions must be found. The objective of good dictionary design is always to enhance accessibility and readability.

In paper dictionaries, improvements in typography in recent years have improved the clarity of the text in many ways. As for electronic dictionaries (handheld, online, and CD-ROMs), much is still to be done. The technology of electronic presentation is primitive compared with that of the printed dictionary page. Handheld dictionaries have a minuscule screen, usually no color, and very few fonts. Larger electronic dictionaries are still very much influenced by paper products (in particular, paper products with a much simpler structure than dictionaries), so they do not make full use of the computer screen's potential. Either the dictionary information is grossly oversimplified – for example with few or no discriminators – or the entries are too large to fit on a screen, so that users

may get lost within entries or forget to look at many more senses not immediately visible, i.e., 'down the page.' These problems will no doubt eventually be solved by computer typographical designers. They will find ways of making the information more accessible, for example by using hypertext menus to show the size and shape of an article.

### **Symmetry in Bilingual Dictionaries: Nonreversibility**

The issue of symmetry and reversibility has been explored. Every publisher's dream of producing a cheap bilingual dictionary by reversing language A > language B is in fact unworkable, except for very simple technical glossaries in restricted domains. Why? Because a bilingual dictionary is the description of a source language (language A) using only some of the resources of the target language (language B). A compilation of those resources used for the target language does not itself constitute a framework for language B as a source language. There is no reason to believe that all the expressions of language B that need translation will be present in the terms used to translate language A. Another temptation is to use two dictionaries with the same source language A > B and A > C to create a B > C or C > B dictionaries. Again, this tends to result in an inadequate (and distorted) word list.

### **The Limitations of Bilingual Lexicography**

The limitations of bilingual dictionaries are quickly reached for such items as jokes, puns, and palindromes. Translators working within the context of a novel or a story will work hard to find solutions, but a general bilingual dictionary cannot begin to deal with these things. Another area where bilingual dictionaries cannot provide all the help that is necessary or desirable for translators or foreign readers lies in cultural differences and connotations. A translation may be completely correct at the word level, but the background will remain unexplained. Worse still, there will be no usable equivalent terms, because of cultural differences. In order to compensate for these gaps, some bilingual dictionary publishers now add little cultural notes to supply extra-linguistic information. This still leaves translators to their own devices to find a suitable solution.

### **Bilingual Dictionaries Today and Tomorrow**

The world of dictionaries is evolving at great speed with free online dictionaries, scientific project dictionaries, and all sorts of other independent enterprises, as well as commercial projects. Commercial

dictionaries are classified either by the media in which they are presented (paper, CD-ROM, online, or handheld devices) or, more traditionally, according to their size or their macrostructure (or arrangement of headwords). They can also be distinguished by the way information is presented: alphabetically or thematically. The main subdivisions of alphabetical dictionaries are: general dictionaries, specialized (or LSP) dictionaries, and learners' dictionaries. The name 'general dictionaries' is self-explanatory; these dictionaries vary in size, according to the audience they are aimed at: travelers, businesspeople, translators, etc. Specialized or LSP dictionaries are aimed at users who are working within a subject field and only need access to a restricted, yet relevant, set of words or terms. These are sometimes called technical dictionaries. Learners' dictionaries are the subject of a separate article (*see* **Learners' Dictionaries**). A fourth kind of alphabetical dictionary – halfway between a monolingual and a bilingual dictionary – is called semi-bilingual by its publishers or bilingualized by the academic world. It combines the definitions of a monolingual learners' dictionary, adapted to the learner's level of competence, with the sort of headword translation equivalents supplied in a bilingual dictionary, thus helping the user understand the definition. However, it is not a translation dictionary in the traditional sense of the term. The translation complements the information about the source language; it is not usually given as a piece of directly usable information.

In the European tradition, thematic bilingual dictionaries are uncommon; they are usually designed for learners and are useful for learning words about a subject. Two types are worth mentioning. The first one is the series called *Word Routes*, published by Cambridge University Press, and several language pairs such as English–French, English–Greek, English–Italian, etc., are available. All the explanations are supplied in the language of the foreign (non-English) speaker. The foreign language to English section is very restricted; it is an index at the end of the book that references those pages where the word is used as a translation of an English headword.

The second category of thematic bilingual dictionaries is pictorial or visual. In these dictionaries, illustrations replacing headwords are grouped by theme and numbered. Numbers give access to words in two languages on the same page as the picture. At the end of the book, an index in each language crossreferences the page and item number of the pictures, the translation of each word, and the subject's vocabulary. Oxford University Press has published the original *Duden pictorial dictionary*

in a variety of languages including the *Oxford Arabic-Duden pictorial English dictionary with Arabic index*, the *Oxford-Duden Thai and English dictionary*, and two other pictorial dictionaries – the English and Chinese and the Portuguese and English.

Currently available bilingual electronic dictionaries, whether on CD-ROM or handheld, tend to be based on the electronic files of an existing paper dictionary, usually alphabetical, with a few added functionalities for searches. These functionalities may include subject-based searches, making the dictionaries more versatile and giving them a thematic flavor.

Handheld dictionaries, which usually have a small screen showing only a few lines of text, are difficult to use for more complex entries. Electronic dictionaries on CD-ROM have a few more functionalities (notably full-text search and hypertext navigation), but at this time few, if any, have been designed only in electronic format. It is impossible to name all the projects currently being developed: commercial ones for obvious reasons of confidentiality, others simply because of their numbers. Searches on the Web give many site addresses of projects, some bilingual, some multilingual, which involve contributors all over the world. Their reliability varies and so does their user-friendliness. New projects are being devised such as a Dutch > English dictionary "conceived as an electronic device that will contain one central database including all relevant information for receptive and productive use of the L2" (Bogaards and Hannay, 2004).

Finally, another direction of bilingual lexicography should be mentioned, namely dictionary projects for endangered languages, in particular the work and electronic tools of organizations such as SIL (the Summer Institute of Linguistics), "a faith-based organization that studies, documents, and assists in developing the world's lesser-known languages," and SULTRY (Sydney University Language Technology Research Laboratory), which focuses on Australian Aboriginal languages.

So long as dictionaries are published as books, their evolutionary scope is very limited. As dictionaries, particularly bilingual ones, move into the electronic era, however, their shape and contents will evolve until they are so different from those today that they may no longer even be called dictionaries. They will be called translation aids, translation tools, lexical databases ... and many other things, some difficult to imagine today as we stand on the threshold of these developments.

*See also:* Learners' Dictionaries.



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# Endangered Languages

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As local communities become more aware of the potentially imminent loss of their languages, they have begun to undertake measures to foster education in them. There is currently a wide range of programs which have been adopted to arrest language loss and to help children and adults take control of learning their language. These can loosely be divided into school-based and community-based programs.

## School-Based Programs

When people think of education, they naturally think of school programs, and perhaps the majority of programs for endangered languages are based in schools. In many communities the school is seen as the primary vehicle for language education. Note that this is a radical shift from the way that children first learn their primary language, within the home and within a community of speakers. It is more reminiscent of the way that children typically learn foreign languages.

### Total-Immersion Programs

Total-immersion programs work well when there is a sufficient speaker base to help insure their success. These programs tend to be multifaceted, with total-immersion language instruction in the schools reinforced by the sole use of the language in the home. Thus they are often most successful when fluent speakers can be found in all generations, as the source not only of teachers in the school, but also of parents who can speak the language in the home. A common goal of total-immersion programs is complete and fluent use of the target language in all domains. In a true total-immersion program, all of the school curriculum is taught in the endangered language and the language of wider communication is often taught as a secondary subject. Bi- or multilingualism is an ultimate goal, as in general, children enrolled in such programs ultimately need full use of both the endangered language and the language of wider communication.

### The Language Nest Model

The language nest model is a particular type of immersion program. It was first used in the 1980s in New Zealand for the revitalization of the Maori language and is often referred to by its Maori name, Te Kōhanga Reo. It has subsequently also become

closely associated with Hawaiian language revitalization, which built its program on the Te Kōhanga Reo model but uses the Hawaiian name, Pūnana Leo. The language nests were initially created in regions where the only group of people speaking the language was, by and large, the grandparent generation; the parents and children tend to be monolingual in the language of wider communication. The language nest model takes preschool children and places them in 'nests' where the endangered language is spoken. Parents are generally expected to make the commitment to learning the language and using it in the home to reinforce what is learned at school. Historically, as each lead class graduated and went on to a higher level, first in preschool, then elementary and secondary school, new nesting classes were created so that children ultimately received all of their education in the target language.

The creation of domains of language use outside of the schools has proven to be a challenge for language nest programs, in large part because the speaker base is primarily second-language speakers who do not attain full fluency in the endangered language.

### Partial-Immersion Programs

For languages with relatively few remaining speakers or with a lower level of community commitment, it is often not realistic to implement a full-fledged immersion program. Partial-immersion programs exist in many schools, where the curriculum is taught primarily in the language of wider communication and the endangered language is taught in specially focused classes. There are two basic types of partial-immersion programs. In the one, the less common, some subjects are taught in the endangered language. Such subjects are typically the culture and/or history of the people. The benefits here are that learners acquire the language in culturally appropriate settings using the specific lexicon. Thus a Native American class on oral traditions or crafts could be conducted in the indigenous language. In the other, the endangered language is taught as a secondary subject. The advantages to this model are obvious: it requires a smaller commitment of time and resources. Moreover, children coming to these programs often do not know the endangered language, and so need to learn it from the beginning. The primary disadvantage is that the endangered language is allotted secondary status within the schools and is taught more as a foreign language than as a primary language. Thus it does not achieve the full range of uses of the language of wider communication and cannot supplant it. Although such programs may be designed with

the ultimate goal of stable bilingualism, they rarely achieve it, since they do not achieve full fluency in the endangered language.

### **Outside of the Schools**

The dichotomy between school-based programs and others is somewhat artificial, as often two different types of programs are used in conjunction with each other. For example, many of the total-immersion school programs require the parents to learn the language and use it in the home to reinforce the work that is done in the schools. While school-based programs are almost exclusively built on Western models which require literacy in the endangered language, programs outside of the schools often dispense with literacy as too time-consuming and cumbersome for learning to communicate orally.

### **Community-Based Programs**

Community-based programs are grassroots movements, stemming from and sustained by community leadership and commitment to language education. Such programs vary greatly in nature, but often have in common that they bring together a variety of community members for language practice. Maori communities in New Zealand organize weeklong or weekendlong immersion events for community members of all ages; people come together with the commitment to speak nothing but Maori for the time of the event. Other communities have established similar immersion events, or schedule regular meetings for language practice. These group meetings often link the practice of native crafts and traditions with language use. They have the advantage of offering options to adult learners who may not be able to attend regular classes. Beyond creating opportunities for language use and immersion, such programs organize language festivals, feature plays, songs, and poems, and actively promote the use of language in conjunction with traditional activities.

Some programs have made the decision to start teaching the endangered language to adults, not children. The rationale behind the decision is that it is the adults who will then use the language and teach it to the children, as is the norm for first-language acquisition. UNESCO, for example, advocates adult literacy first, with an emphasis on the acquisition of the practical skills needed for functioning in the modern workplace.

**Master–Apprentice Program** One very successful program for language groups with few remaining speakers is the master–apprentice program. Initiated in California in 1992 for teaching languages on the verge of extinction, its basic principles can be adopted

to the teaching of endangered languages anywhere. The program matches an ‘apprentice’ learner with a ‘master’ of the language whose job is to teach the language by using it in everyday life. The program is based on the following principles: (1) the use of English is not permitted in interactions between master and apprentice; (2) the apprentice needs to be a full participant in determining the content of the program and assuring use of the target language; (3) oral, not written, language use is always primary in learning and communicating; (4) learning occurs not in the classroom, but in real-life situations, engaging in real-life activities (e.g., cooking, gardening, etc.); and (5) comprehension will come to the beginning language learner through the activity, in conjunction with nonverbal communication. These principles are designed to insure that language learning and instruction take place in an immersion setting that nearly replicates the ‘natural’ language-learning environment of children (as opposed to artificial classroom settings, for example).

Beyond the inherent incentive to learn and to teach one’s language, in the Californian program a modest stipend is provided for up to 3 years of work between the master and the apprentice. After this period the graduate apprentices should be prepared to continue their education with the masters, but also to serve as teachers themselves.

Training before beginning the team work is critical. The language masters are primarily tribal elders who may not have actively used their language for many years, due to the very factors which have led to language attrition. In addition, they are not trained language teachers and many have never taught their language. Thus initial training sessions are designed to provide the opportunity for masters to become accustomed to speaking their languages again and to introduce the basic principles of language immersion instruction, such as building and practicing vocabulary, and enforcing the importance of repetition, review, and patience in language learning. Important components of the training include getting the participants used to nonverbal communication, teaching apprentices key phrases and questions in the target language, and some cross-cultural comparison of the different ways language is used in different cultures. Despite the many linguistic and cultural differences, there is a commonality of experience which makes it very useful for all teams, from beginning to advanced, to come together for this training.

By the end of the first year, apprentices should be able to ask and answer simple questions about themselves, describe pictures, use some culture-specific language (prayers, stories, etc.), and recite a short speech prepared with the help of the master. This

basic repertoire is expanded in the second year, with the goals of being able to speak in simple grammatical sentences, being able to carry on extended conversations, having increased comprehension, being able to converse on most topics, and being able to give short speeches. Finally, by the end of the third year of the program, the apprentices should be able to converse at length, use long (and presumably complicated) sentences, and develop plans for teaching the language. These goals are at once realistic and ambitious: language learning is a slow process, and the apprentice meets with the teacher only for 10 hours per week. One can predict that the learner's motivation will be very high in this program and will have a positive impact on learning. The results of the program vary among individual students depending on a range of factors, such as the overall time commitment, how much the apprentice is truly immersed in the language, and so on.

### Potential Difficulties

Despite the many differences between these various educational models and the particularities of individual endangerment situations, they similarly face a number of potential difficulties. These include a lack of qualified teachers, as often speakers are elderly and untrained as teachers, while younger, trained teachers lack proficiency in the language. Lack of pedagogical materials and other basic resources (such as dictionaries) often hamper programs. At a more profound level, a lack of consensus about how the language is to be spoken and how it is to be written, with disagreements frequently centering around issues of orthography and codification, who has the right to teach it, have put an end to many potential programs.

Access to the media is often difficult to impossible for endangered languages.

Legislation at local and national levels can either aid or impede endangered-language education. Policies which promote multilingualism and allocate resources to support educational programs can have favorable effects, while more monolingual policies which require testing or use of a single national language can have a negative impact which is difficult for a local community to overcome.

*See also:* Minority Language Education; Second Language Attrition; Second Language Identity; Traditions in Second Language Teaching.

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## Grammar

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### History

The earliest known evidence for grammar teaching dates to the early second millennium B.C. in Babylon, where scribes learned to write Sumerian and Akkadian, and to translate between the two, with the help of tablets that systematized the word-formation rules (Gragg, 1994). There is a great deal more evidence for grammar teaching from the end of the first millennium B.C. in classical Greece and in the world influenced by it, including Rome (Howatt, 1994). This is when the term *grammatiké* came into use, first for the understanding of letters (Greek *grammata*), and only later for what we call *grammar* (Robins, 1967: 13); the terminology reveals the intimate connection between the study of grammar and the teaching of writing. This was the start of the tradition of grammar teaching that persisted in Europe and the Near East through the next two millennia, and which was exported to much of the rest of the world.

In contrast, the grammatical tradition that started at about the same time (350 B.C.) in India was linked to religion rather than to the teaching of writing (Kiparsky, 1994). Here we focus on the European tradition of grammar teaching at school.

Grammar teaching was a central part of the school curriculum through the Middle Ages and beyond. At first, grammar supported the learning of Latin (as a second language), but later it was applied to the national languages such as English. In many countries, this tradition has continued uninterrupted to the present; this seems to be true, in general, of Eastern Europe and the Romance-speaking world. Like any other school subject, grammar needs renewal from the academic world, even if only through higher-level teaching of Latin or other ancient languages (including Old English); indeed, in at least some countries academic grammarians have seen schools as important users of their ideas. For example, the theoretical doyen of dependency grammar, Lucien Tesnière, arranged for his ideas to be trialed with schoolchildren (Tesnière, 1959: 4). In contrast, grammatical theorizing never had a serious place in the universities of England, and even in language learning it was in serious decline by the early 20th century, so there was no renewal, and teachers could only repeat what they themselves had learned at school. This is almost certainly one of the main reasons why grammar teaching disappeared from

most schools in England from about 1930 to 1980, though it has now returned thanks to the National Literacy Strategy (Hudson and Walmsley, unpublished). School-level grammar teaching died at about the same time in other parts of the English-speaking world, and it is hard to predict future developments.

### The Scope of Grammar Teaching

Grammar teaching at school always deals with the major word classes (the traditional parts of speech), but (at least in the English-speaking world) all too often it stops there. In principle, it can cover the full range of concerns that linguists call grammar; and indeed, in the absence of any other name for language structure, it can be taken even more broadly to include all aspects of language structure. In this very broad sense, therefore, school-level grammar teaching could include all the following topics:

- word classes, feeding all the other kinds of analysis
- syntax (including sentence and clause analysis)
- morphology (particularly important for English spelling)
- phonology, graphology, and spelling
- punctuation
- lexical relations (semantic and morphological relations)
- semantics (lexical and syntactic)
- pragmatics and discourse structure
- sociolinguistics, style, and dialectology
- language change

However, syntax has always had a central place in language teaching, especially in the debate about whether grammar teaching improves writing.

Another variable in grammar teaching concerns the language to which it is applied: the pupils' mother tongue (L1) or a second or foreign language (L2). In principle, of course, it can be applied to either or both, and in an ideal world both languages will be treated in terms of the same framework of concepts and terminology. Cross-language teaching can work well or badly, according to how sophisticated the teacher's and pupils' grasp of grammar is. The recent history of the English-speaking world has seen much the same rejection of grammar teaching in L2 teaching as in L1 teaching, but the pendulum has now swung back in its favor as a result of a large body of supportive research (Norris and Ortega, 2000). However, this article will focus on L1 teaching.

A third variable in L1 teaching is whether the teaching is descriptive or prescriptive. It almost



always involves teaching a standard language to learners who do not yet know it, but this can be presented descriptively as a complement to the local non-standard language – an additional language variety for use on public occasions. The reasons why linguists prefer descriptive teaching to prescriptive are not only social but also intellectual and pedagogical – prescriptive teaching is inherently dogmatic and stuffed with pseudological arguments which are a poor model for any growing intellect.

Grammar teaching could, in principle, be embedded in a much broader framework of work on language, including psycholinguistic questions about child language, speech processing, animal communication and sociological questions about how language perpetuates prejudices, power structures, and so on. This broad program would be a course in general linguistics in all but name, and it is being actively pursued under the name of Language Awareness (Hawkins, 1994).

### The Aims and Methods of Grammar Teaching

Since its origins in classical Greece, the main aim of grammar teaching has been to support the learning of literacy skills – hence the etymological link with *gramma* ‘written letter’ and *graphein* ‘to write’. However, it is important to remember that the grammar of any language is itself a complex system rather than a disconnected list of categories or facts, so even if the ultimate aim is to improve writing, the immediate aim has to be an understanding of the system of grammar itself. Merely teaching the names and definitions of the word classes by rote is unlikely to have any benefit for writing.

How is grammar supposed to improve writing? At its weakest, grammar teaching targets a prescriptive list of errors, but healthy grammar teaching encourages growth, even though this typically leads to temporary errors at growth points. Grammar teaching helps young writers to develop richer grammatical repertoires:

- by providing a metalanguage for discussion of new constructions and weaknesses in the children’s writing.
- by providing a deeper understanding of how language works, including a more or less conscious awareness of the resources available for particular functions.
- by directing learners’ attention to the form of what they read, in the hope that they will notice new patterns and remember them.

We shall consider below whether grammar can in fact produce these benefits.

However, the improvement of writing (and reading) is only one of the possible aims of grammar teaching. Here are some others:

- Providing a metalanguage for L2 learning, and perhaps even for explicit comparisons between L1 and L2 structures (Hawkins and Towell, 1996). This kind of cross-language comparison is one of the pillars of the Language Awareness movement mentioned earlier, but it also underlies the old idea that learning Latin was a good way to teach an English speaker to write better English.
- Teaching children, as part of a liberal education, about an important part of themselves. In this approach, grammar is taught, alongside other areas of language, on much the same basis as, say, history – something every citizen ought to know something about. This is another application of Language Awareness, mentioned above.
- Using grammar as a vehicle for teaching scientific method. A number of small-scale experiments have shown that children can learn to formulate and test hypotheses about grammar, and that even small amounts (e.g., two weeks) of this activity can produce measurable improvements in general scientific reasoning (Honda, 1994; Honda and O’Neil, 1993).

Similarly, a wide range of methods have been used for teaching grammar, ranging from didactic teaching by rote, with a question-and-answer dialogue that included ‘parsing’, to discovery-based learning in which children induce grammatical generalizations from their own data. The methods used obviously depend heavily on the aims of the teaching, but even when the aim is to improve writing, there is a major choice about the timing of the grammar teaching in relation to writing activity. There are three options:

1. **Separate** teaching teaches grammar separately from writing so that topics in grammar are not related to topics in writing.
2. **Reactive** teaching teaches grammar as and when needed, an approach strongly favored under the title ‘grammar in context’ (Weaver, 1996). When taken literally, this approach generally means in fact that grammar is never taught because of the time needed to teach most grammatical concepts (Bullock, 1975).
3. **Proactive** teaching anticipates the needs of a class and teaches a particular point of grammar with immediate links to those needs. This has probably been the basis for all successful grammar teaching, such as the National Literacy Strategy in England



(Anon, 2000). The advantage of this approach is to allow grammar teaching to have its own systematic structure (e.g., teaching about verbs before teaching about tenses) while still being closely integrated with writing.

These choices lead to further choices about methods – e.g., the choice of whether or not to teach and use sentence diagramming, and, if so, what kind of diagrams to use. These questions lead in one direction into pedagogy and in the another direction into linguistic theory.

### Evaluating the Success of Grammar Teaching

Does grammar teaching work? In particular, does it improve writing and reading skills? Until recently, the received wisdom was that research had shown convincingly that it did not. The following summary is typical: “Formal grammar instruction appears to contribute nothing to the development of writing and reading skills” (Elley, 1994). It is certainly easy to find examples of grammar teaching that were unsuccessful (by any criteria), but this merely shows that grammar can be taught unsuccessfully. In contrast, there is also a great deal of solid research evidence that grammar teaching does in fact work if teachers are sufficiently well-informed about grammar and if the teaching is proactive (in the sense explained above in 3.), i.e., closely integrated with activity to which the grammatical instruction is relevant. The following examples are representative:

- The exercise known as “sentence combining” has been shown to improve writing (Mellon, 1969; O’Hare, 1973; Hillocks and Mavrognes, 1986). In this method, students combine a list of simple sentences into a single sentence, with or without explicit comment on the structures concerned. This activity combines focus on a specific aspect of grammatical form with an immediate writing activity. Its effectiveness is an important demonstration that grammar teaching does not, in fact, have to be ‘in context,’ in the sense of reacting to children’s own writing.
- Instruction about specific aspects of spelling such as the possessive apostrophe and irregular past-tense forms produced immediate improvements in these areas, as measured by tests before and after the instruction (Bryant *et al.*, 2002, 2004; Nunes *et al.*, 1997a, 1997b). The areas of grammar chosen for these experiments are known to cause serious problems for English learners because the underlying rules are not easy to infer from

examples, so it is important to know that explicit instruction can in fact help.

- Teaching about complex noun phrases helped 18-year olds to understand such phrases in reading (Chipere, 2003). The experiment was specifically designed to separate the effects of grammatical knowledge from those of working-memory differences, and showed that explicit instruction in grammar improved comprehension (as well as recall); in fact, it brought a ‘low-academic-ability’ group up to the same level of comprehension as a high-ability group who received no instruction.

However, it has to be admitted that the research basis for such work is disappointingly thin, and it is still not clear exactly what distinguishes successful and unsuccessful grammar teaching.

*See also:* Correctness and Purism; Language Awareness; Nonstandard Language; Second and Foreign Language Learning and Teaching; Standard Language; Teacher Preparation.

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## Immigrant Languages

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In a democracy, educational policy objectives and priorities mainly derive from what majority public opinion, as a government's main guide, desires or tolerates (Wright, 1994). This holds also – and in view of the powerless position of minority groups probably even more so – for the objectives of language education policies regarding immigrant minorities. A main characteristic of public opinion is its changeability. Its dynamics are affected and constituted not only by sociocultural, political, and economic circumstances and developments, but also by sporadic incidents, such as 9/11. Moreover, public opinion is substantially influenced by ideas, perceptions, and comments disseminated by mass media, politicians, scholars, and public opinion leaders. Despite their inclination to continuous change, these opinions are nevertheless generally situated within clearly defined domains, containing a limited array of possibilities. With respect to the field of immigrant language education, it can be observed that public, political, and scholarly opinions have been oscillating on a continuum that is marked at the extremes by unconditional assimilation and by unconditional pluralism (Kroon and Vallen, 1997).

### Assimilation versus Pluralism

In immigrant language education, the distinction between assimilation and pluralism basically reflects the fundamental dilemma or tension between desirability and feasibility, i.e., the extent to which desirable educational innovations are feasible within a specific societal context, including competing agencies and actors, competing means and goals, competing strategies and procedures, and unending financial and time constraints (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997).

*Assimilation* means that immigrant minorities are expected to adapt to mainstream characteristics of the host society and to give up their own identity, language, and culture. In theory, only those immigrants whom one can no longer notice to have once been 'different' from the dominant group are considered to be completely assimilated. Assimilation as a result of an immigrant minority language policy, whether explicitly formulated or functioning implicitly, seems to be an ideal goal for many nation states. As a consequence of recent sociopolitical developments, as well as changing attitudes toward the ongoing processes

of immigration, this propensity toward assimilation is gaining more political and practical importance and support. This, of course, has serious consequences for immigrant language education, as will be demonstrated.

*Pluralism* means that the people in a society function alongside each other without having to give up their ethnic, cultural, and linguistic identity. In an ideal pluralist society, all groups have an inalienable right recognized to retain their culture, language, and traditions, according to their own level of desire. The main reason that no state-sanctioned, completely pluralist society exists is probably that consistently implemented and consequently practiced pluralism – which of course runs the risk of developing into voluntary separatism or involuntary segregation – is unacceptable to the powerful majority. The existence and survival of any society apparently needs a limited degree of social, cultural, and linguistic cohesion and homogeneity, which is in part brought about by a certain level of assimilation or integration of immigrant minority groups (Kroon and Vallen, 1994).

### Language as a Right, a Resource, or a Problem

The position taken on the continuum of assimilation and pluralism has important consequences for the perception of immigrant minority languages. Baker (2001) distinguishes three (conscious or subconscious) basic orientations or dispositions regarding multilingualism: language as a problem, language as a right, and language as a resource. In the language as a *problem* orientation, cognitive, personal, social, and political problems can be involved. Multilingualism, i.e., the existence of immigrant minority languages in a given society, is perceived as a handicap that can only be solved by submersion, assimilation, or transition into the majority language. In this view, immigrant minority languages are at both the societal and personal level predominantly connected with problems of poverty, deficits, and underachievement in school, and insufficient social and vocational mobility and integration into the majority culture. The underlying belief is that immigrant minorities could solve most of these problems by learning and speaking the language of the majority. In contrast, the language as a *right* orientation looks upon multilingualism and the individual's right to choose a language as a basic and fundamental human right. This position, realizable at both the individual and group level and at the territorial (both national and international) and domain level, is taken by several writers, such as Skutnabb-Kangas *et al.* (1995)

and May (2001); see Blommaert (2001), however, for a fundamental criticism. Third, in the language as a *resource* orientation, multilingualism is considered a form of capital, both at national and individual levels. This position combines second and foreign language teaching arrangements with immigrant minority language education. Its assumption is that linguistic variation will not lead to separation or disintegration, but that coexistence of national unity and language diversity is possible and desirable.

According to Baker (2001: 375), each of these orientations recognizes

“that language is not simply a means of communication but is also connected with socialization into the local and wider society, as well as a powerful symbol of heritage and identity. The differences between the three orientations lie in the socialization and identity to be fostered: assimilation or pluralism, integration or separatism, monoculturalism or multiculturalism.”

Baker's (2001) distinction can easily be connected to the four types of state ideologies that, according to Bourhis (2001), generally shape the integration and language policies of immigration societies. The ideological position of a state concerning the integration of immigrants has important consequences for their possibilities to preserve their first language (L1) and culture in the host society and to acquire the society's dominant language (L2). In a *pluralist* ideology, the state provides support for language classes and facilitates cultural activities in order to promote L1 maintenance alongside L2 proficiency. A *civic* ideology expects immigrants to adopt the values, norms, and language of the mainstream society. The state does not, however, interfere with the private values of its citizens regarding language and culture, nor does it provide any facilities for the maintenance of immigrant minority languages or culture. An *assimilationist* ideology expects a general adaptation to the mainstream society, especially aimed at accelerating linguistic and cultural shift. An *ethnicist* ideology, finally, has much in common with an assimilation ideology, but on top of it, it explicitly counteracts linguistic and cultural diversity and makes it difficult for immigrant minorities to be accepted legally and/or socially as full and equal members of the mainstream society. In a democratic society, one or a combination of these ideologies – reflecting the possible variety of a society's members' opinions – via elections can become the guiding principle for dealing with immigrant language policies. It goes without saying that majority opinions in this respect have a much better chance of becoming dominant than immigrant or minority perspectives. It also goes without saying that majority opinions are primarily located at the

more assimilationist side of the continuum. It must be noted, however, that many members of minority and immigrant groups are persuaded by social and economic pressure to accept assimilationist beliefs.

## Minority and Majority Languages in Education

The 1997 *Encyclopedia of Language and Education* had a separate volume on *Bilingual Education* (Cummins and Corson, 1997). In the introduction to this volume, Cummins (1997: xi) states that although a “large majority of countries throughout the world offer some form of bilingual education,” bilingual education for minority groups is

“highly controversial” because it “is accurately seen by both advocates and opponents as at least potentially a challenge and form of resistance to dominant group hegemony which is perceived to be weakened by the ‘infiltration’ of diverse languages into ‘mainstream’ societal institutions such as schools.”

In Cummins and Corson (1997), bilingual education, generally speaking, is presented as a successful and still developing contribution to improving educational opportunities of immigrants and other minorities and/or creating a culturally and linguistically diverse pluralist society.

What is referred to as bilingual education, through the years actually consisted of quite a number of different approaches that in the course of time have undergone considerable changes and used a host of different designations to refer to the languages that were the focus of attention. Anthologies such as Extra and Gorter (2001) and Extra and Yağmur (2004) contain terms such as ‘native language,’ ‘mother tongue,’ ‘own language,’ ‘vernacular language,’ ‘community language,’ ‘ancestral language,’ ‘heritage language,’ ‘language of origin,’ ‘nonindigenous minority language,’ ‘allochthonous (minority) language,’ ‘immigrant (minority) language,’ ‘ethnic minority/group language,’ or ‘language other than English’ – all referring to different policy visions of the languages involved and at the same time “all euphemisms intended to recognize that they are not the majority language” (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997: 21; see also Kroon, 2003).

A main distinction to be made here is between approaches in which the immigrant minority language is used in a maintenance or transitional program or any other approach as a language of instruction in a variety of school subjects on the one hand, and approaches in which the immigrant minority language is a teaching subject in its own right, within, connected to, or outside the curriculum on the other



hand. Experience shows that minority language used for instruction, although not widespread, has a much greater impact on educational arrangements than minority languages taught as a subject. Whereas teaching immigrant minority languages as a subject to immigrant minority pupils does not necessarily influence a school's regular curriculum and might even go unnoticed by the majority, using immigrant minority languages as a language of instruction clearly affects and changes the school's image and as such more easily becomes a controversial issue in public and scholarly debate.

Almost a decade after Corson and Cummins' (1997) critical but basically positive evaluation of ongoing developments in bilingual education all over the world, a negative shift in public and scholarly appreciation of including immigrant minority languages in education seems to be imminent – if it has not already happened. The main reason for this shift – often triggered by opinion leaders giving voice to assumed general feelings and fears regarding the increasingly multicultural character of society, and soon adopted by politicians and governmental authorities, formally representing these concerned citizens – seems to lie in changing evaluations and opinions regarding the long-term viability of multicultural societies (Cuperus *et al.*, 2003). The rhetoric and practice of bilingual education in the last three decades or so of the 20th century can be characterized as mainly based on pluralist or civic ideologies that favored or accepted multiculturalism and as a consequence considered multilingualism as a right or at least as a resource, and argued in favor of including immigrant and other minority languages in education. In the first decade of the 21st century, however, mainly assimilationist and sometimes ethnicist ideologies have come to the fore that reject or oppose multiculturalism and as a consequence consider multilingualism first of all as a problem and as a threat to society, and so argue in favor of reducing or abolishing immigrant minority language teaching in schools altogether. This negative shift in the appreciation of including immigrant minority languages in education more often than not has gone hand in hand with a shift in national immigration and integration policies, leading to strict, defensive, restrictive, and daunting immigration laws and regulations, and accompanying integration measures for those immigrants, refugees, and/or asylum seekers who succeed in being admitted to their country of choice. Such measures generally include the compulsory acquisition of a certain level of proficiency in the dominant language of the host country and of some knowledge of the country's history and aspects of its contemporary organization of society. Depending on the strictness

of a country's immigration and integration policies, language courses and tests for so-called 'newcomers' are sometimes organized, in the country of origin or in the immigration country, e.g., before or after entry, and they can also be made compulsory for those immigrants who have already lived and worked much of their lives in the immigration country.

In such policies, the authorities' central focus is on promoting or requiring the acquisition of the dominant language of the country of immigration, which for the majority of immigrants is a second language, via an extensive and diversified offer of second language teaching methodologies. These can vary from second language courses for newly arrived immigrants giving access to regular forms of education or work, to integrated, content-based second language courses for second-generation immigrants in mainstream classrooms (see Baker, 2001 and Van den Branden, 2006). But hard-core, L2-immersion without any special provisions for the first and second generation immigrant pupils involved is still widespread. In such cases, the authorities do not attach any official value to immigrant minority languages and do not include them in regular state-funded education arrangements, and may even oppose their use and preservation. As a consequence, as a first step, maintenance and transitional forms of bilingual education are abolished, then immigrant minority language teaching as a subject is moved outside the regular curriculum and the school, and there is no effort to use immigrant minority languages as support languages for immigrant minority pupils within the regular curriculum. In this view, knowledge of the dominant majority language is perceived as decisive for being a citizen, whereas knowledge of immigrant minority languages simply does not count and is totally left to the initiative of the immigrant minorities involved.

It is remarkable to observe how easily the 'monolingual habitus' (Gogolin, 1994) that is reflected by this restrictive policy position regarding multilingualism and language teaching in the context of immigration can be turned into a 'multilingual habitus' when it comes to formulating policies concerning foreign language proficiency of the so-called European citizen, who as consequence of internationalization and globalization is expected to know, besides his or her own national language, at least two other national languages of the European Union (Block and Cameron, 2002). The same politicians who downplay the position of immigrant minority languages in forms of bilingual education, at the same time plea for establishing bilingual schools that use English as a language of instruction instead of or alongside the national language (De Bot *et al.*, 2001). The mantra



of multilingualism is permanent, only the ingredients can change.

*See also:* Bilingualism and Second Language Learning; Language Policy in Multilingual Educational Contexts; Minority Language Education; Multilingual Societies and Language Education; Politics of Teaching; Teaching of Minority Languages.

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## Interlanguage

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### Interlanguage

The notion of ‘interlanguage’ has been central to the development of the field of research on second-language acquisition (SLA) and continues to exert a strong influence on both the development of SLA theory and the nature of the central issues in that field.

The term interlanguage (IL) was introduced by the American linguist Larry Selinker to refer to the linguistic system evidenced when an adult second-language learner attempts to express meanings in the language being learned. The interlanguage is viewed as a separate linguistic system, clearly different from both the learner’s ‘native language’ (NL) and the ‘target language’ (TL) being learned, but linked to both NL and TL by interlingual identifications in the perception of the learner. A central characteristic of any interlanguage is that it fossilizes – that is, it ceases to develop at some point short of full identity with the target language. Thus, the adult second-language learner never achieves a level of facility in the use of the target comparable to that achievable by any child acquiring the target as a native language. There is thus a crucial and central psycholinguistic difference between child NL acquisition and adult second-language (L2) acquisition: children always succeed in completely acquiring their native language, but adults only very rarely succeed in completely acquiring a second language. The central object of interlanguage research is to explain this difference – essentially, to describe and explain the development of interlanguages and also to explain the ultimate failure of interlanguages to reach a state of identity with the target language. Thus, some central research questions are: What are the psycholinguistic processes that shape and constrain the development of interlanguages? How are these different from those processes that shape and constrain the development of native languages? How might these differences account for the phenomenon of fossilization?

### The Interlanguage Hypothesis

#### Origins of the Concept of Interlanguage

The notion that the language of second-language learners is in some sense autonomous and crucially distinct from both NL and TL was developed

independently at about the same time in the work of several different researchers (see Selinker, 1992, for a detailed account of the historical development of this notion). Slightly different conceptualizations of learner language were referred to as ‘approximative system’ by Nemser and as ‘transitional competence’ by Corder. However, the notion of interlanguage seemed to be the one that caught on and which was used in the literature on second-language acquisition in the 1990s.

Prior to the development of the idea of interlanguage, contrastive analysts had asserted that the second-language learner’s language was shaped solely by transfer from the native language. Because this was assumed to be so, a good contrastive analysis of the NL and the TL could accurately predict all the difficulties that learner would encounter in trying to learn the TL. These claims were made on logical grounds and almost always supported only by reference to anecdotal evidence. It is important to note that these claims were not supported by reference to data obtained from the systematic study of learner language itself, but usually only to utterances that analysts happened to have noticed and remembered. Unfortunately, it is all too likely that analysts tend to notice data that their theories predict and not to notice data that do not fit their theories. Learner utterances that were clear evidence of transfer were noticed and quoted, but learner utterances that did not provide evidence of transfer apparently went unnoticed or were classified as ‘residue.’ Thus, in the late 1950s and the 1960s, there were virtually no systematic attempts to observe learner language and to document scientifically the way in which learner language developed, or to independently and objectively verify the strong claims of the contrastive analysis hypothesis that language transfer was the sole process shaping learner language.

Lado (1957: 72), in an influential statement, explicitly characterized the predictions of contrastive analysts as statements that should be viewed as hypothetical until they could be validated by reference to ‘the actual speech of students.’

Error analysis was an enterprise born of the attempt to validate the predictions of contrastive analysis by systematically gathering and analyzing the speech and writing of second-language learners. For perhaps the first time in history, the focus moved from teaching materials and hypotheses about second-language learning problems, to the systematic observation of learner language. The focus was what scientific study could reveal about the real problems of second-language learners. Preliminary evidence from early

studies began to come in, the results of which showed an increasingly large ‘residue’ of errors that did not in fact seem to be caused by transfer as contrastive analysts had predicted. These errors became an increasingly major source of difficulty for the contrastive analysis hypothesis, a hypothesis that had posed the interesting question of what shapes learner language, but which, increasingly clearly, could not answer that question satisfactorily.

Corder (1967, 1981) was the first and most persuasive scholar to develop an alternative framework: the idea that second-language learners do not begin with their native language, but rather with a universal ‘built-in syllabus’ that guides them in the systematic development of their own linguistic system, or ‘transitional competence.’ Thus, the second-language learner’s transitional competence is different from either the NL or the TL or even some combination of the two, since it begins with an essential, simple, probably universal grammar. Corder also pointed out that the native language often serves as a positive resource for second-language acquisition, facilitating the learning of TL features that resemble features of the NL. Corder argued that second-language learners’ errors were evidence of the idiosyncratic linguistic system that they were building and so were valuable data for research into the nature of the ‘built-in syllabus.’ Corder called for research involving the analysis of learner errors gathered longitudinally, proposed a framework for eliciting and analyzing those errors, and posed the goal as one of characterizing the built-in syllabus and the transitional competence of second-language learners. His students and colleagues set about pursuing that enterprise.

The term ‘interlanguage’ was most persuasively introduced and developed into a set of testable hypotheses by Selinker (1972), after long conversations with Corder and other scholars in the field. The interlanguage hypothesis was intended to, and did, stimulate systematic research into the development of the language produced by adult second-language learners, with a view to objectively identifying psycholinguistic processes (transfer included) that shaped learner language, explaining how learners set up interlingual identifications across linguistic systems, and accounting for the troubling tendency of adult learners to stop learning, or to fossilize.

### Defining Interlanguage

The term interlanguage was defined by Selinker (1972) as the separate linguistic system evidenced when adult second-language learners attempt to express meaning in a language they are in the process of learning. This linguistic system encompasses not just phonology, morphology, and syntax, but also the

lexical, pragmatic, and discourse levels of the interlanguage. The interlanguage system is clearly not simply the native language morphological and syntactic system relexified with target language vocabulary; that is, it is not the morphological and syntactic system that would have been evidenced had the learner tried to express those meanings in his or her native language. Just as clearly, it is not the target language system that would have been evidenced had native speakers of the target language tried to express those same meanings. Rather, the interlanguage differs systematically from both the native language and the target language.

Interlanguage is usually thought of as characteristic only of adult second-language learners (but see ‘Revised Interlanguage Hypothesis’ below), that is, learners who have passed puberty and thus cannot be expected to be able to employ the language acquisition device (LAD) – that innate language learning structure that was instrumental in their acquisition of their native language. Children acquiring second languages are thought to have the ability to re-engage the LAD and thus to avoid the error pattern and ultimate fossilization that characterize the interlanguages of adult second-language learners.

Central to the notion of interlanguage is the phenomenon of fossilization – that process in which the learner’s interlanguage stops developing, apparently permanently. Second-language learners who begin their study of the second language after puberty do not succeed in developing a linguistic system that approaches that developed by children acquiring that language natively. This observation led Selinker to hypothesize that adults use a latent psychological structure (instead of a LAD) to acquire second languages.

The five psycholinguistic processes of this latent psychological structure that shape interlanguage were hypothesized (Selinker, 1972) to be (a) native language transfer, (b) overgeneralization of target language rules, (c) transfer of training, (d) strategies of communication, and (e) strategies of learning. Native language transfer, the process that contrastive analysts had proposed as the *sole* shaper of learner language, still has a major role to play in the interlanguage hypothesis; though it is not the *only* process involved, there is ample research evidence that it does play an important role in shaping learners’ interlanguage systems. Selinker (1972, 1992; following Weinreich, 1968: 7) suggested that the way in which this happens is that learners make ‘interlingual identifications’ in approaching the task of learning a second language: they perceive certain units as *the same* in their NL, IL, and TL. So, for example, they may perceive NL ‘table’ as exactly the same as TL ‘mesa,’ and develop an interlanguage in which *mesa* can (erroneously in terms of the TL) be used in

expressions like ‘table of contents,’ ‘table the motion,’ and so on. Selinker followed Weinreich in pointing out an interesting paradox in second-language acquisition: in traditional structural linguistics, units are defined in relation to the linguistic system in which they occur and have no meaning outside that system. However, in making interlingual identifications, second-language learners typically ‘stretch’ linguistic units by perceiving them as the same in meaning across three systems. An interesting research issue is how they do this and what sorts of units are used in this way; for example, they could be linguistic units like the taxonomic phoneme or the allophone, or syllables. Selinker raised questions about the ability of traditional linguistics frameworks, based as they are on assumptions of monolingualism, to handle interlanguage data in which transfer across three linguistic systems plays a central role.

A second psycholinguistic process is that of overgeneralization of target language rules. This is a process that is also widely observed in child language acquisition: the learner shows evidence of having mastered a general rule, but does not yet know all the exceptions to that rule. So, for example, the learner may use the past tense marker *-ed* for all verbs, regular and irregular alike: *walked, wanted, hugged, laughed, \*drinked, \*hitted, \*goed*. The overgeneralization error shows clear evidence of progress, in that it shows that the learner has mastered a target language rule, but it also shows what the learner has yet to learn. To the extent that second-language learners make overgeneralization errors, one might argue that they are using the same process as that employed by first-language learners.

Transfer of training occurs when the second-language learner applies rules learned from instructors or textbooks. Sometimes this learning is successful; that is, the resulting interlanguage rule is indistinguishable from the target language rule. But sometimes errors result. For example, a lesson plan or textbook that describes the past perfect tense as the ‘past past’ can lead the learner to erroneously use the past perfect for the absolute distant past – for all events that occurred long ago, whether or not the speaker is relating these to any more recent or foregrounded event, as in the isolated statement, ‘\*My relatives had come from Italy in the 1700s.’ These have also been called ‘induced errors.’

Strategies of communication are used by the learner to resolve communication problems when the interlanguage system seems unequal to the task. When, in the attempt to communicate meaning, the learner feels that the linguistic item needed is not available to him, he can resort to a variety of strategies of communication in getting that meaning across. So,

for example, if the learner wants to refer to an electrical cord in English and does not know the exact lexical item to use in referring to it, he can call it ‘a tube,’ ‘a kind of corder that you use for electric thing I don’t exactly the name,’ or ‘a wire with eh two plugs in each side.’ The linguistic forms and patterns used in such attempts may become more or less permanent parts of the learner’s interlanguage (*see Communicative Language Teaching*).

Strategies of learning are used by the learner in a conscious attempt to master the target language. One such strategy of learning is learners’ conscious comparison of what they produce in IL with the NL and a perceived target, setting up interlingual identifications (see the example given above for transfer). Other examples of learning strategies are the use of mnemonics to remember target vocabulary, the memorizing of verb declensions or textbook dialogues, the use of flash cards, and so on. Clearly, such strategies are often successful, but they can also result in error. Memorized lists can get confused with one another, for example, or the mnemonic mediator word may become confused with the TL word. An example of the latter might be that an English-speaking learner of Spanish might use a mediator word *pot* in order to remember that the Spanish word for *duck* is *pato* – but might end up using *pot* in interlanguage references to a duck.

Research evidence was provided to show that all five of these psycholinguistic processes could affect the construction of interlanguages, and a call for more research went out. Many research projects were undertaken in response to this call to investigate each of these hypothesized processes, and the result was a flurry of papers, conferences, and publications, and ultimately something that was referred to as a field of research on second-language acquisition.

### The Relevant Data for the Study of Interlanguage

In his 1972 paper, Selinker stated clearly that the relevant data to be used in the study of interlanguage consisted of utterances produced by second-language learners when they were trying to communicate meaning in the target language. The relevant data were clearly *not* learner utterances produced in response to classroom drills and exercises where the learner was focusing attention on grammar rules or target language form. Just as clearly, the relevant data were *not* the learner’s introspections and intuitions about what was grammatical in the target language; such data, according to Selinker, would not provide information about the interlanguage system, but only about the learner’s perception of the target language system – and these were different things.



It is important to note that although Selinker was clear about what *he* thought the relevant data of interlanguage study were, there was disagreement on this point from the beginning. Corder, for example, argued early on and strongly that researchers ought to draw on a whole range of data sources in exploring learners' language, and learner intuitions of grammaticality were clearly a valuable data source. Others, particularly those investigating the role of universal grammar in SLA, have shared Corder's perspective.

A serious question, however, is this: when one uses different data elicitation techniques in the study of interlanguage, do all those data pools provide information about the same linguistic system? There are, after all, three linguistic systems involved: NL, IL, and TL. If one asks a second-language learner whether a given sentence is grammatical, one cannot be sure whether that learner's response is based on the NL norm, the IL norm, or the learner's perception of the TL norm; all of these may differ strikingly from the IL norm revealed when one analyzes that same learner's utterances produced in the attempt to communicate meaning. In essence, the most basic research design question involved in the study of interlanguages – what data shall one use to study interlanguage? – raises very complex issues concerning the relationship between intuitions of grammaticality, language production, and language perception, very similar to issues raised by Labov (1970) in sociolinguistic work. This issue is unresolved in SLA research and in fact is complicated by evidence that interlanguage seems to vary by discourse domain (see 'Revised Interlanguage Hypothesis' below).

### Development of the Interlanguage Hypothesis to the Early 1990s

Soon after Selinker set out the Interlanguage Hypothesis, Steve Krashen (1981) proposed the Monitor Model. The Monitor Model initially relied heavily on the work of a group of researchers (the creative constructionists) who claimed that there was *no* evidence at all of native language transfer in the morpheme accuracy rates of child second-language learners; thus, the contrastive analysts had got it all wrong, at least as far as children were concerned. Where the Interlanguage Hypothesis accords a central role to native language transfer, the Monitor Model does not. The Monitor Model suggests that when second-language learners, adult or children, acquire a second language unconsciously, there will be no evidence of native language transfer; it is only when they consciously learn a second language that transfer effects appear. The study of the role of universal grammar in the process of second-language

acquisition similarly has tended to downplay the role of native language transfer in that process. One of the contributions of the Interlanguage Hypothesis to the field of second-language acquisition in the early 1990s is, thus, a historically rooted, research-based, and theoretically motivated framework for the study of second-language acquisition, which can easily account for both the role of native-language transfer and of universal grammar in shaping interlanguage.

### The Revised Interlanguage Hypothesis

In 1993, the central claims of the Interlanguage Hypothesis remained essentially unchanged, and the intervening years have provided substantial support for them. However, there have been some modifications and expansions since its first detailed proposal in print in 1972. Some of these have been hinted at and will be expanded on below.

The original interlanguage hypothesis was restricted to apply only to adults acquiring second languages. However, evidence emerged subsequently that children in language immersion programs, such as the French immersion programs in Canada, also produce interlanguages, in that they evidence apparently fossilized linguistic systems with substantial influence from native language transfer. There appear to be sociolinguistic reasons for this phenomenon; the children receive native-speaker input only from their teacher, and give one another substantial nonnative input. They have not usually been given enough opportunity and incentive to produce what Swain calls 'comprehensible output' – attempts to use the interlanguage to communicate meaningfully with significant others. To the extent that these children produce interlanguages in these contexts, there is some question whether they are using their LADs to internalize the target language or whether they are using those psycholinguistic processes described as more characteristic of adults learning second languages. A great deal more research is needed with this population in order to find out how, if at all, they differ from adult learners.

A second expansion of the IL hypothesis has occurred in response to the growing interest in the influence of universal grammar on the development of interlanguage. The crucial question here, early on, was this: universal grammar is assumed to be central to the development of natural languages, but is interlanguage a natural language? There have been two positions taken in response to this question. Selinker's initial hypothesis takes the first position: that it is not, at least as the notion 'natural language' has been defined in linguistics. This early position argues: (a) natural languages are produced by LADs;



(b) language universals exist in human languages by virtue of the way in which the language acquisition device is structured; (c) but interlanguages, unlike native languages, fossilize and evidence native language transfer; (d) interlanguages therefore are a product of latent psychological structures, not LADs; (e) so interlanguages do not have to obey language universals. Adjémian (1976), and following him others, took the opposing position that interlanguages *are* natural languages (although, unlike other natural languages, IL rule systems are 'permeable'). As natural languages, interlanguages do have to obey language universals; central to this position is the view that interlanguages are products of the same language acquisition device that produces native languages. In this view, interlanguages fossilize because of complex changes in cases where parameters have already been set for one language and a second language must be learned. Debate on this issue is certainly ongoing and lively.

A third modification has been a growing emphasis on something barely hinted at in 1972: the way in which interlanguage development seems to vary in different social contexts, or discourse domains. Increasing evidence seems to show that learners can produce a significantly more fluent, grammatical, and transfer-free interlanguage in some social contexts than in others. International teaching assistants, for example, may be more fluent and grammatical in lecturing on their academic field than when talking about an everyday topic like favorite foods or bicycling. Key processes such as fossilization may be more prominent for a given learner in one context than in another. This variation in interlanguage production, documented in dozens of studies reviewed in Tarone (1988), is probably related to the problem of data elicitation discussed above and certainly has profound implications for data elicitation in research. As suggested above, SLA researchers have argued for the use of a range of elicitation devices in investigating interlanguage. However, if learners do vary at a single point in time in the fluency and grammaticality of the language they produce, depending on variables such as topic, focus on form, interlocutor, and so on, then how are researchers to handle the data they elicit when they do use a variety of tasks? Minimally, when researchers interpret their data, they need to keep the data from each elicitation technique separate and to keep track of the contextual variables that were in play in each elicitation. Conceptually, this chameleon-like character of ILS raises serious questions about whether and how traditional linguistic notions developed to account only for monolinguals can apply to interlanguages. This is a complex problem for SLA researchers to resolve.

A fourth issue that has occasioned substantial discussion in the literature centers on the phenomenon of fossilization itself and whether it is inevitable. Selinker argued essentially, that no adult learner can hope to ever speak a second language in such a way that he or she is indistinguishable from native speakers of that language. There are inevitable forces that lead to the cessation of learning. In Selinker's view, there are neurolinguistic reasons for this inevitability. Scovel proposed the Joseph Conrad Phenomenon, in order to draw attention to the very common case where an adult learner's phonological system may fossilize, but the morphology, syntax, and lexicon may not, continuing to develop until reaching full identity with the target language. Scovel (1988), like Selinker, argued that the causes of phonological fossilization are neurolinguistic in nature and related to the process of cerebral lateralization, which is completed at puberty. But there is certainly disagreement among interlanguage researchers as to both the inevitability of fossilization and (relatedly) the causes of fossilization. Typically, those who argue that fossilization is caused by sociolinguistic forces (such as the NL group pressure to conform, or one's need to identify with the NL social group rather than the TL social group) also argue that fossilization is not an inevitable process. Such researchers suggest that if learners can identify with the TL social group, or if their need is great enough, they will be able to continue learning the second language until their production/perception is indistinguishable from that of native speakers. This issue also is far from settled, since it relates to matters of human potential rather than humans' actual behavior.

There has been some change in the way in which some of the psycholinguistic processes shaping interlanguage are viewed. For example, native language transfer is viewed as operating selectively; some things transfer from the NL to influence IL, and some things do not. A crucial question in the 1990s, therefore, is: What gets transferred? Can we predict in advance what NL characteristics will influence an IL and which ones will not? One promising notion is that of multiple effects: when NL transfer combines with other influences, such as markedness factors, learning strategies, or transfer of training, then there will be greater likelihood of fossilization. So, for example, an early stage of verbal negation common among all second-language learners involves putting a negator (like *no*) before the verb. Learners whose native languages (like Spanish) do negate verbs this way (as in *Juan no habla* for *John does not talk*) will be more likely to fossilize at this stage (producing *John no talk*). Thus, negative NL transfer has the effect of amplifying the possibilities for

fossilization when it interacts with other negative influences. Another psycholinguistic process shaping interlanguage is the learning strategy. A great deal of research has been done (e.g., Cohen, 1990), using elicitation techniques such as verbal report, in order to gain insight into the ways in which learners may consciously set about trying to internalize aspects of the target language. Some interlanguage researchers have drawn heavily on the work of cognitive psychologists who have studied the influence of the use of mnemonics on memory. The result of this research has lent itself easily to educational applications, such as the establishment of workshops and even centers to train students in the use of language-learning strategies.

Finally, research on interlanguage has expanded far beyond its original focus on phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexis, to include the sociolinguistic component of communicative competence. Research on interlanguage includes comparative work on the way in which learners execute speech acts across three linguistic systems; Cohen and Olshtain (1981), for example, have studied the way learners attempt to apologize, using their interlanguage, in target language social contexts, and compared this to the way native speakers of both the NL and the TL apologize in the same contexts. Learners' politeness strategies in NL, IL, and TL have been examined on a number of levels by researchers such as Beebe, who have explored miscommunications that have arisen when learners have transferred NL politeness strategies into IL–TL communications.

The Interlanguage Hypothesis provided the initial spark that ignited a field of research on second-language acquisition/learning, and it continues to provide what some feel to be the most productive

framework for research. The research questions it originally raised continue to be among the most central and interesting research questions in the field.

*See also:* Acquisition of Second Language Phonology, Morphology, and Syntax; Communicative Language Teaching.

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## Language Assessment Standards

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Accountability has become a watchword in public sector enterprises. It is one of several themes . . . that are symptomatic of the late 20th century loss of confidence in the state as a provider of services. Nowhere have demands for accountability become more strident than in education (Moore, 2001: 177).

The current drive for accountability may explain the pervasiveness and ubiquity of standards and therefore delude us into the naïve view that the standards concept is new and original. It is not. The concept of and the concern for standards have a long tradition, sometimes under different names, the most common probably being norms, but there are other familiar terms, too, such as *rules* and *conventions*. What they all indicate is that there are social goals and that there are agreed-upon ways of reaching toward those goals.

In language studies, one of the most common uses of a standard is bracketed with a language, thus Standard Language (Standard English, Standard French, and so on). What is meant here is that one (or more) dialect(s) of a language is attached to social prestige and therefore accorded official status in education, publishing, teaching foreigners, and so on. Because of its official uses, descriptions of the standard written language are likely to be readily available in published grammars, books of usage, dictionaries, and style and punctuation manuals. What are unlikely to be so readily available are manuals on how to speak the standard language.

Standards, then, are ways of behaving, like conventions, but within institutions they have more authority because they can be used as nonnegotiable goals (Elder, 2000a). Brindley places standards under the broad heading of outcome statements: these, he considers, can refer to standards themselves and to benchmarks, attainment targets, bandscales, profiles, and competencies, all of which are “broadly speaking, standards of performance against which learners’ progress and achievement can be compared” (Brindley, 1998: 48).

In language assessment, standards have three senses. I list them here and then discuss each in turn:

1. the skills and/or knowledge required to achieve mastery and the proficiency levels leading to mastery, along with the measures that operationalize these skills and/or knowledge and the grades indicative of mastery at each level.

2. the full set of procedures followed by test constructors which provide evidence to stakeholders that the test/assessment/examination/evaluation is serious and can be trusted, demonstrating, often through a code of ethics, that the test constructors are operating professionally.
3. a shorthand way of combining (1) and (2).

### Standards as the Goal

Standards as the goal, the level of performance required or explained, thus “the standard required for entry to the university is an A in English”; “English standards are rising” (Davies *et al.*, 1999: 185). Stakeholders, of course, rightly wish to know what is meant by such statements, how they are arrived at, and what the evidence is for making them. For this understanding, there are three requirements: description, measurement, and reporting. The first is that the levels of performance (the ‘standards’) need to be made explicit. Such description is not easy (McNamara, 1997) and in second language learning becomes less and less easy as the learner progresses. In the initial stages, we might say: you must master these 50 vocabulary items. At later stages, we say, for example: you must demonstrate understanding of texts taken from given newspapers, facility to initiate and maintain a conversation with a native-speaking peer, the capacity to write a letter of complaint, and so on. These types of achievement are more difficult to delineate and to circumscribe. And even the initial level (50 vocabulary items) may, depending on our view of language learning, be absorbed into more complex uses of those items. But the three-stage process remains: there needs to be a description of the standard or level, an explicit provision of the measure that will indicate that the level has or has not been reached, and a means of reporting that decision, through grades, scores, impressions, profiles, and so on. Description, measure, and report; these three stages are essential, although there may be blurring of stages 2 and 3, such that the report is included within the measure. Where classical objective tests such as the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) and the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) differ from the scale approaches of the Inter-Agency Round Table (IAR), the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL), and the International Second Language Proficiency Ratings (ISLPR) is in their unequal implementation of the three stages. The tests offer measures and reports, but may be light on the first stage, description. The scales provide description

and reports but may lack a measuring instrument. Proponents of the two methods (tests and scales) do not readily accept such criticism, maintaining that, in the case of the testing approach, the description is incorporated into the test and its supporting manuals; and in the case of the scaling approach, that the scale itself (which we consider to be a description) incorporates its own measuring instrument. *Quot homines, tot sententiae*. Ideally, scales require the support of a test instrument to provide reliable assignment to a level (or band) on a scale, in other words to offer an objective cutoff rather than leave the designation of a level to the subjective judgments of the interviewer/judge/rater (Davies, 1995). However, it is not only scalar systems that are open to such claims of unreliability (Leung and Teasdale, 1997): tests such as IELTS incorporate components of scalar judgments in their Speaking and Writing subtests where performance is judged by only one rater, effectively offering a scalar outcome (and lending themselves open to questions about reliability).

The move away from the objective test to the subjective scale is no doubt part of the widespread rejection in the social sciences of positivism, fueled by the sociocultural turn and concern for critical language testing. But it also has a more practical explanation. In large scale operations, common standards may be more readily acceptable if they are imposed by a scale which is open to local interpretations (much the same may be said of an international code of practice). A contemporary example of this is found in the Council of Europe's Common European Framework (CEF) of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment (CEF, 2003). The CEF claims to be the "basis for a coherent and transparent structure for effective teaching/learning and assessment relevant to the needs of learners as well as society, and that can facilitate personal mobility" (CEF, 2003: ix). Building on the earlier Threshold level and the Common Reference Levels (A1-C2), "the CEF is now . . . inspiring a new generation of sets of objectives for curriculum developers . . . . This current Manual, with its emphasis on relating assessments to one another through the mediation of the CEF, is a logical complement to the developments on levels and objectives" (CEF, 2003: ix). The CEF, then, is not a measure. For measuring purposes, the CEF operates as a common reference to which local and national assessment instruments can relate (Taylor, 2004). This makes good sense, but there is undoubtedly the danger of the tail wagging the dog: that, to enable mediation through the CEF, local systems will massage their own measures so as to secure accord with the CEF. In other words, the apparent freedom offered by the CEF to local systems could be an illusion, and, as

Fulcher (2004) insists, established without proper research.

Large-scale operations such as the CEF may be manipulated unthinkingly (rather than, as we have suggested, deviously) by juggernaut-like centralizing institutions. Mitchell describes the misconceived imposition of the Attainment Targets and Level Descriptors of the United Kingdom's National Curriculum for Modern Foreign Languages, asserting that the longer-term impact of these standards "will certainly be to reduce diversity and experimentation . . . we are likely to lose the more ambitious and more experiential interpretations of communicative language teaching, which has . . . historically been found at [the] local level" (Mitchell, 2001: 174). Elder reports a similar case of inappropriate standards for LOTE (Languages other than English in Australia (Elder, 2000b). Bailey and Butler, discussing the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) program in the United States, complain that, because of recent changes to the federal law, no distinction is made between English learners and native speakers. The law now requires "the inclusion of English Language Learner students in future mandated assessment systems. The NCLB Act of 2001 increases school accountability . . ." (Bailey and Butler, 2004). Such mismatches are not wholly unlike what we have suggested as the possible CEF massaging of local measures, because in all cases what is in train is the imposition of one overall set of standards nationally, regionally, or even universally, the McDonald'sization of language standards. However, our skepticism may be misjudged and out of place, because by their very nature standards are ambitious for wider and wider acceptance. There really is little point, after all, in establishing standards just for me if they have no meaning or application to you or anyone else: similarly with standards for a class, school, city, and so on. What then is wrong about the Mitchell, the Elder, and the Bailey and Butler cases is not that they were attempts at expanding the range and distribution of standards, but that they were the wrong standards for the populations discussed.

## Setting Standards

If standards, in our first sense, refer to a level of performance required or experienced, the emphasis being on the language user or test-taker, a second sense refers to a set of principles which can be used as a basis for evaluating what language testers do, such as carrying out the appropriate procedures. When a school principal maintains that his/her school is 'maintaining standards,' the implication is that achievement levels over time are constant. When an



examination body such as Educational Testing Service (ETS) or the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (UCLES) claims that they are ‘maintaining standards,’ what they seem to mean is that they are carrying out the appropriate procedures, such as standard-setting (Griffin, 2001). Standard-setting is a technical exercise, involving, as it does, the determining of cut-scores for a test, either for pass/fail or for each level in a band system. But it is worth remembering, as Lumley *et al.* (1994) conclude, that standard setting remains a substantially political and ethical issue: “there can be no purely technical solution to the problem of standard setting in this context” (of an English test for ESL health professionals), the decision “remains intrinsically ethical and political; no amount of technical sophistication will remove the necessity for such decisions” (Lumley *et al.*, 1994: 39). Seeking to be ethical, behaving as responsible professionals, means that examination bodies must ensure that their products are reliable and valid, that they are properly maintained and renewed over time, that appropriate research is in place, and that the needs of all stakeholders are being addressed. It seems also necessary to demonstrate publicly that their claimed standards are being maintained. Hence, the professional statements embodied in a Code of Ethics (ILTA, 2000; ALTE, 2001). Skeptics may object that language testing was professional before testers felt the need to claim a professional status in a Code of Ethics, but there is another interpretation, that just as the reach of grammar expands into the area of discourse, so we are seeing in the professionalizing and ethicalizing of language testing a wider and wider understanding of validity.

### Measuring and Reporting Standards

To an extent, this is where Messick’s theorizing (1989) has taken us in his attempt to provide one overall coherent framework for the description, the measurement, and the reporting of standards, and the systematic effects they have on all stakeholders. The term that has come to be associated with his conceptualization is that of *consequential validity*, but it does seem that *impact* may be an alternative name for it. Impact studies the effects that a test has when put to use: this is more than the more frequently used term *washback*, precisely because it is concerned not with just how a test works in one situation but with its systemic influences. As such, impact can investigate fundamental issues about standards: are they the right ones for the purposes intended, are they fully and openly described, are they attached to reliable and valid measures, and is the reporting

clear and precise, and does the test produce desirable outcomes in the form of more appropriate and useful teaching. What impact studies, then, can do is to enable us to reevaluate and make explicit not just the standards we promote but the very view of language that we take for granted.

*See also:* Correctness and Purism; Foreign Language Teaching Policy; Native Speaker; Nonstandard Language; Second and Foreign Language Learning and Teaching.

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## Languages for Specific Purposes

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### Defining the Object

The object of study for the branch of applied linguistics that is covered by the heading 'Languages for Specific Purposes' is multi-faceted. The many facets are a consequence of the fact that this discipline looks at (in principle all) aspects of actual communication in specialized discursive domains. To say that discursive domains are specialized means that it is possible to become a specialist in the domain, through education, training, or experience. This definition covers primarily professional areas, but also nonprofessional areas like hobbies. The fact that not a focused part of the human linguistic competence, but the totality of aspects involved in communication in the described settings is the potential object of study, gives studies into the field a very wide range. However, two main poles may be isolated in the landscape of LSP research, around and between which different approaches and projects are located:

- One pole sees LSP as supplementary language skills that are applied when producing texts in specialized situational settings in order to realize specific purposes. The basic assumption is that language is generally used in the texts according to the ordinary rules known to all language users (Language for General Purposes, LGP), but the ways words are connected and the words are specialized. This approach is generally meant by the English term used to designate the object of study, viz., 'Language for Specific Purposes.' The concept centrally behind this term is closely connected to language teaching for professional purposes, where speakers of, e.g., English as a foreign or second language have to learn (additionally) how to use language in areas where they are going to work. In other words, scholars tending to this pole concentrate upon the specific linguistic differences between language used in different settings.
- The other pole is more closely connected to the concept of specialized meaning. The center of this pole is the concept meant by the German term *Fachsprache*, i.e., domain or subject specific language. This concept lays more weight upon the specialized meanings constituting a domain and upon the relations between these meanings and the linguistic choices conventionally made by the

agents of the domain. In other words, the view of the scholars tending to this pole is more global, they are rather looking at the language of a domain as a general reflex of the domain and the specialized meanings constituting the domain. This latter view is more discourse oriented in its approach to its object.

The two poles describe two original, fairly different approaches to this object: the first mentioned approach, concentrating upon text production in specialized situational settings, is connected to language teaching, especially to teaching a foreign or second language in connection with vocational training, university studies, etc. A major interest in this approach is to create knowledge about the specific needs to be covered in such specialized language classrooms, in order to make this kind of language teaching as efficient as possible. The study of domain specific language use comes in handy as a linguistic basis for such specialized courses. This kind of language teaching is mostly connected to learning English. For one thing, this occurrence is due to the fact that a number of countries with multiple national languages (often former British colonies like India or Malaysia) use or have until recently used English as a common language, for example, in administrative and judicial settings. Here, there is a strong need for specialized teaching. Secondly, the position English has especially in the scientific world as *the* lingua franca of international contacts and publications means that there is a strong everyday need among students and scholars from all over the world to acquire specific and specialized English language skills. Consequently, this approach has been followed mainly by scholars working in the field of teaching English to adults with specialized professional or academic needs. Due to the distribution of English in the world described above, the approach is not limited to Britain or the United States, but is widely spread in all parts of the world, although predominantly connected to the teaching of English.

The second mentioned approach, the one focusing more on the specialized meanings, has a different root. It grew out of a general interest in sociology and dialectology and was an extension of former studies of different population groups' ways of living through studies of their discourse. Thus, the original interest was wider in its scope. This study lead to an early interest in global models of communication in specialized settings, combining text internal and text external factors in the descriptions and focusing upon global explanations including and

combining discursual features, relevant knowledge, and social backgrounds rather than just finding specialized elements of the discourse. Germany and Austria were the two countries where this kind of study of specialized discourse was first developed, but also the Scandinavian countries have a tradition for investigating specialized discourse from this perspective.

It is important to say that modern LSP research is normally not placed at any one of the two poles, but rather at some place on the continuum between them. And furthermore there is no 1:1 relation between countries and approaches. Just as an example, recent work by Bazerman (1995) and by Swales (1998) is highly discourse analytic in its approach and thus more broadly interested in global features of the specialized discourse.

### Basic Distinctions: Relations between Communicators

In their essence, all approaches to the study of domain related discourse are sociological in their basic assumptions. This tenet is reflected in the fact that degree of specialization of a text and, connected to that, the relation between senders and receivers in a communicative situation concerning their respective levels of expertise is traditionally seen as a crucial factor when setting up models for describing specialized communication. The basic assumption lying behind such models is that the characteristics of the participants in the communication and the purposes pursued by them are main determiners of the way texts are written. Many different stratified classifications of the relevant communicative settings have been proposed. The following tripartite stratification gives a fairly good overall picture of the factors underlying the different proposals:

- Scientific discourse: This kind of specialized discourse is characterized by the fact that both senders and receivers are experts (expert-to-expert-communication). Texts show a high degree of abstraction and a considerable amount of often standardized terminology. These characteristics are seen as consequences of the purpose of communication in such settings, viz., to develop and refine the general knowledge of a domain. Furthermore, the high prestige connected to such discourse and its highly public character means that, apart from aspects of necessary precision, stylistic features play a very important role.

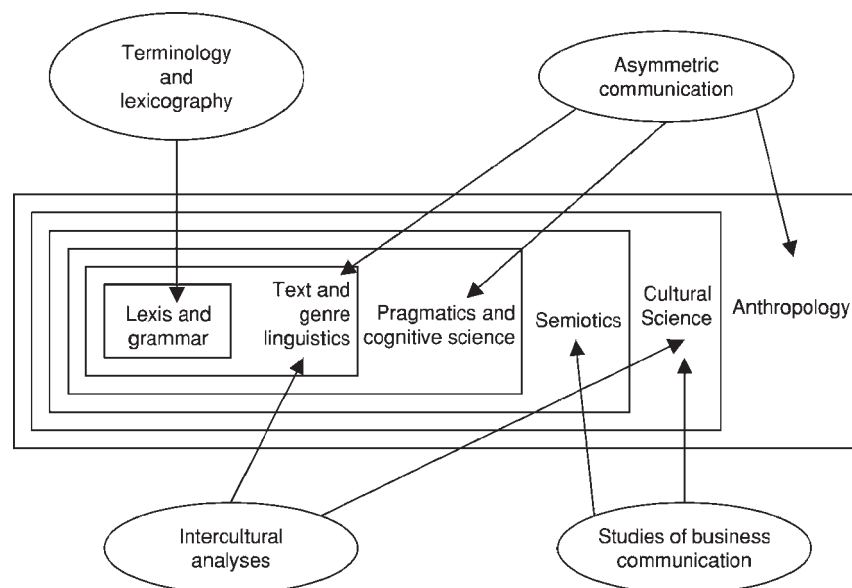
- Practically oriented discourse: Here, too, we find communication where both senders and receivers are experts (expert-to-expert-communication). But

in this type of discourse, the experts are not working on developing or refining the general scientific knowledge of a domain. Instead, they are solving practical problems in their daily work and use communicative devices relevant for these purposes. As an example, the difference between the two levels in the stratification is the difference between chemical scientists writing learned articles for scientific journals and chemical scientists working in the laboratory, running their experiments and collecting the data. In the first setting, the purpose is to textually present and develop new knowledge in the field in a public environment (scientific discourse); in the second setting, the purpose of the communication is to solve practical problems occurring in the daily work (practically oriented discourse). The second setting tends to be more informal and to show only the degree of, e.g., terminological specialization in its oral or written texts that is necessary for coping. Aspects of necessary precision play a major role here, although also in this stratum the sociological aspect of showing by way of the applied language that the communicative party belongs to the relevant peer group should not be neglected.

- Discourse of popular science and domain-oriented didactics: The sender-receiver relations are here always asymmetric (i.e., sender has a higher degree of relevant knowledge than the receiver(s)). Two prototypical cases are communication between experts and consumers (e.g., in manuals) and between experts and novices (e.g., in textbooks). The purpose of this kind of communication is to convey structured knowledge of the domain to receivers who lack this knowledge, but need it for (often) practical purposes. A third prototypical case is the communication of domain-specific knowledge in magazines for popular science. This kind of communication is slightly different from the two cases first mentioned, as it is characterized by a very important element of entertainment, whereas, e.g., manuals and textbooks are more directed toward actually enhancing the receivers' knowledge in practically relevant areas. Although texts of all three prototypical kinds show lots of similarities due to the fact that sender-receiver relations are always asymmetric, they also show important differences, mainly due to the last-mentioned difference.

### Traditional Approaches

In order to describe the very complex object of study, that is text from specialized domains in all their aspects, LSP linguistics has included a wide variety of disciplines and approaches from the general toolbox of linguists, see **Figure 1**.



**Figure 1** Linguistic disciplines with special importance for LSP linguistics.

In the following list, we outline some of the central approaches of LSP linguistics and relate them to the above model.

- **Terminology and lexicography:** A very central area of LSP linguistics and historically the first area of studies of special domain language to be developed in large scale is terminology. Traditionally, terminology has concentrated upon standardizing the use of words (lexis) and the denomination of concepts, in order to shape languages for specific purposes, so that they are optimal for scientific or professional communication. Recently, terminology has expanded toward other areas like organization, representation and handling of information and knowledge, thus contributing to the development of systems and databases for storing knowledge. Consequently, the interface between knowledge stored in words and knowledge stored in other semiotic systems is of major importance for modern terminological research. Especially technical domains have been the object of terminological studies. Another area connected to lexis and to the manageable representation of words and meanings from specialized discourse is lexicography. The main purpose of this branch of LSP linguistics is to create a sound basis for the production of specialist dictionaries that are highly functional for dictionary users. Consequently, research in this area concentrates on the user and his/her needs and the functions of dictionaries that may be deduced from such studies. Studies from this perspective have been performed in many domains, among them especially the areas of science, law, and administration, where there is a substantial need for translational tools.

Finally, it is relevant to mention that research in these fields have treated in some detail the question of the importance of cultural context for the term systems of a domain. A general distinction is made between culture-dependent and culture-independent domains. A prototypical example of a culture-dependent domain is the domain of law. Term systems in this kind of domain are basically different across national cultures, as each nation has developed their own legal system. Consequently, legal terms from different cultures in principle do not mean the same (at least as long as no standardization has taken place). A prototypical example of a culture-independent domain is the field of electricity. In this domain, the degree of overlap between term systems from different national cultures is very much higher than in the culture-dependent domains.

- **Intercultural analyses (genre analysis, register analysis, conversational analysis):** The wish to develop LSP linguistics toward a more global description of discourse in specialized settings led directly to a focusing on the text as the central object of study. And in this connection, the concepts of genre and of registers have acquired paramount importance. This emphasis is due to the fact that both concepts as descriptive tools are highly oriented toward describing the influence of communicative purposes (genre) and situational settings (genre, register) on texts. Thus, to a large extent, the development of genre and register linguistics has been driven by the interest in developing descriptive tools for LSP research. Concrete studies have concentrated upon conventional characteristics of domain specific genres like research articles, legal judgments, statutes, company

brochures, or scientific journals. Especially in a continental European context such studies have been performed as contrastive text and genre analyses across different cultures, thus generating results with special relevance for translators of these specialized genres. Domains with special interest have been the areas of law, medicine, and areas of (technical) science. An area where much work was produced especially in the 1990s was the area of scientific communication, and the applied perspective was the intercultural. This stress was, to a large degree, due to the fact that in these years the development toward English as lingua franca in scientific contexts was speeded up decisively. This development made it especially interesting to investigate whether in scientific contexts the national culture or the (international) discipline is the most influential concerning textual and stylistic choices in text production. An intermediary position was defended by scholars, claiming that academic writing is not influenced by national styles as such, but that it is possible to isolate four different styles, connected to different scientific cultures. No decisive evidence has been found for any of the positions, but the discussion showed different influences at different textual levels. And recently the instruments developed for this type of intercultural pragmatic studies of texts are used also in projects investigating the influence of English textual conventions on texts from different domains (like business communication) originally written in other languages. The intercultural perspective is also relevant for oral communication and has especially been investigated using conversational analysis in a number of cases. The question of differences in ways of negotiating, of showing disagreement, or in solving problems in professional settings has attracted special interest. Finally, it is important to state, that the criterion 'culture-dependent vs. culture-independent domain' is hardly relevant in this perspective, as opposed to what we saw when looking at the perspectives of terminology and lexicography: Also genres from culture-independent domains may differ considerably across national cultures.

- **Asymmetric communication:** As mentioned above, asymmetric discourse (i.e., communicative situations in which sender and receiver have different levels of knowledge concerning the domain of the communication) is an important part of the object of study of LSP linguistics. And this part of the object has been intensely investigated over the last 20–30 years, applying especially research instruments from text and genre linguistics, pragmatics and cognitive science, but also some instruments from anthropology, like conversational analysis. Studies are geographically concentrated around Europe and

North America. The reason could be that the problem of asymmetry in knowledge relations and consequently in (abusable) power relations has been a central issue in the general discussion in these Western societies. Frequent objects of study have been doctor-patient communication, and communication in court and in other administrative settings, but also the area of technical writing (writing efficient technical documents). Research in this area has had a strong element of prescription, of not just registering characteristics of the object of study, but explicitly of contributing to better and more equal communication also in asymmetric settings.

- **Studies of Business Communication:** The way we have described the object of study of LSP linguistics until now, focus has been on communicative settings that are characterized mainly by their topic, by the object of communication. However, a specific branch of LSP linguistics defines its object of study more on the basis of situational elements and on the basis of the actions performed in specific texts, viz., the study of Business Communication. What makes this discourse domain specific is the fact that it is always tightly connected to the professional purposes of companies or organizations, including such areas as marketing and public relations. Typical objects of study are the internal and the external business communication within and between companies and the management of these communicative processes. In this connection, instruments from cultural science are often applied in order to describe differences and similarities between senders and receivers from different national or international cultures. And as multi-modality plays a major role in texts from these areas of communication, also the instruments from semiotics have been included and used for analyses within this sub discipline of LSP linguistics.

### **Recent Trends for the Development of the Discipline**

In these years the recent trend in the discipline is that three areas are gradually coming into focus, thus supplementing or strengthening (some of) the perspectives and approaches already described above: cognition, semiotics, and the area of document design. The latter areas are already represented in the discipline as it looks today (cf. above), but it is likely that they will receive more attention in the future. Multi-modality is becoming a characteristic feature not only of texts from business communication, but also of texts from many other fields of specialized communication, as the importance of different media and the requirements concerning layout and entertainment are growing. So semiotics will



become a necessary perspective when investigating such texts, too. And document design (connected, among other things, to the area of technical writing) has also a good future in a world, in which the amount of information is immense and the time to be allocated for reading limited. The prescriptive tradition of technical writing, intending to judge the efficiency of texts and not just collect data about the text and its coming to life, will gradually gain more importance also in fields where it has not yet been introduced, like in the areas of legal and administrative communication. And finally, there is a growing interest within the field of terminology as well as within other subfields of the discipline to focus not only upon textual or linguistic issues, but to pay more attention to the cognitive activities underlying communication in specialized settings. The expansion requires the inclusion of more instruments from the area of empirical cognitive linguistics, but is just a consequential next step in a development already running. An interesting consequence of paying more attention to this subject is that it may shift focus from superindividual aspects of communication like conventions, group language, etc. (i.e., more sociologically oriented aspects) to individual aspects like personal knowledge resources, mental processes, and learning styles. Thus, where the two prospective trends mentioned first constitute merely a profiling of the discipline within the directions in which it has been developing for the last 20 years, this last mentioned shift of attention may lead to a major paradigm shift in the discipline.

*See also:* Education in a Former Colonial Language; Foreign Language Teaching Policy; Languages in Tertiary Education; Multilingual Societies and Language Education.

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## Learning Sign Language as a Second Language

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Sign languages are natural languages. This means that sign languages are often learned as second languages, just like spoken languages. Unlike spoken languages, however, sign languages are expressed with the hands, arms, and face and understood through the eyes. This means there are two kinds of second sign language learning: unimodal second language learning, where a person knows two or more sign languages, and bimodal second language learning, where a person knows one or more sign languages and one or more spoken languages. An important question, then, is whether the sensory-modality of the first and second languages changes what we know about second language learning over the life span. Another important question is whether and how the age of first language learning affects the ultimate outcome of second language learning. Clearly several factors in the second language must be considered in any account of second language learning of sign languages, sensorimotor modality, the temporal order of the first and second language learning, and the ages when the first and second languages are learned. Here we focus first on second language (L2) learning when the first language (L1) learning begins in early childhood. We consider both simultaneous and sequential L1 and L2 learning. Next we consider L2 learning in the case where L1 learning begins after early childhood.

### Learning Two Languages in Infancy

Babies whose parents use a sign language with them in infancy often learn two languages simultaneously. One kind of L2 learning is by hearing babies whose deaf parents use a sign language with them. They typically acquire both a sign language and a spoken language. This is an example of bimodal bilingualism. The ages when these babies reach their early language milestones – such as the appearance of the first word, the first 50 words, and the first word combinations – are similar to those of babies learning two spoken languages and babies learning only one language, signed or spoken (Petitto *et al.*, 2001). The early vocabularies of babies acquiring both a signed and a spoken language are semantically similar across the two languages, although the specific vocabulary items are not identical. Fewer than a third of the vocabulary items the child knows in

each language are translation equivalents, similar to children acquiring two spoken languages. The vocabulary sizes of babies learning a signed and a spoken language simultaneously are similar to those of babies learning only one spoken language, especially when the lexical items of the two languages are considered together, as is the case for babies learning two spoken languages (Holowka *et al.*, 2002; Pearson *et al.*, 1993).

Babies who are deaf and whose parents use a sign language with them from birth often learn an L2 at the same time. The L2 may be another sign language, but unfortunately little is known about bilingualism in the visual modality. More is known about bimodal bilingualism. For example, when learning both SLN (Sign Language of the Netherlands) and Dutch, one deaf baby was observed to begin learning vocabulary in SLN. The child then used the sign vocabulary to help learn Dutch vocabulary items up to 36 months. In an intermediate stage, the child both signed and spoke vocabulary items. The child eventually separated the vocabularies of the two languages and either expressed signs without speaking or spoke words without signing. Around the same age, the child showed an awareness that the word order patterns of SLN and Dutch are not the same (Hoiting, 1998).

### Learning Two Languages Sequentially

Adults and adolescents frequently learn sign languages as second languages. Hearing adults may learn sign languages for professional reasons. Teachers, interpreters, therapists, and researchers working with children and adults who are deaf often learn sign language in university courses designed for them. The first stage of adult L2 learning of sign languages is characterized by a marked reliance on the perceived iconic features of signs. Beginning signers use iconicity as a mnemonic aid to remember new vocabulary items for both sign expression and recognition (Campbell *et al.*, 1992). Beginning sign learners often want to know the mimetic ‘reason’ for every sign form. Although sign languages are rooted in manual gesture, they are not iconic by nature. To the contrary, all sign languages have phonological structure, that is, meaningless articulatory units that combine to make the words of the language. Research shows that signers manipulate the phonological structure of sign languages during language comprehension and expression, just as phonological structure is a basic part of listening to and speaking a spoken language.

A key difference between adult L2 learning and infant learning of sign languages is that iconicity plays no role in infants' vocabulary learning. Moreover, iconicity plays no role in the human mind's comprehension of sign language for both L2 and L1 signers who are highly proficient. Beginning signers may recruit what they already know that is close in nature to sign language, namely in gesture and pantomime. This may help beginning signers learn how to position their fingers, hands, and arms in making signs and serve as a means to remember the meanings of the signs they are seeing for the first time. The strategy may be analogous to beginning speakers of a second language using the sound patterns of their native language to help themselves remember the sound patterns of a new spoken L2 they are learning. Clearly L2 learners abandon this strategy once they learn the phonological structure of the sign language.

Beyond vocabulary learning, L2 learners of sign languages must also master morphology and syntax. One problem for L2 learners is that the syntax and morphology of natural sign languages are not always taught in sign language courses. Many courses primarily teach the frozen lexicon of sign languages, excluding classifier constructions, along with finger spelling. This teaching method inadvertently encourages beginning L2 learners to express sign language vocabulary using the word order patterns of their spoken L1. The result is a kind of pidgin where L2 content words (vocabulary for people, actions, internal states, and objects) are signed according to the word order of the L1 and devoid of the morphology and syntax of any language.

Adults and adolescents who are deaf and who acquired an L1 in early childhood often learn sign languages as second languages. For example, L1 learners of a sign language may later learn some other sign language as an L2, an example of bilingualism in the visual modality. This is common where sign languages are in close geographical proximity, as is the case for LSQ (Langue des signes québécoise) and ASL (American Sign Language) in Canada. Another possible example of bilingualism in the visual modality is the L2 sign language learning by deaf adults and adolescents who are proficient in a spoken L1, which is often in a read and lip-read form. These L2 learners are more likely to immerse themselves in Deaf communities than hearing L2 learners of sign languages and for this reason are more likely to achieve higher levels of ultimate proficiency than their hearing L2 peers.

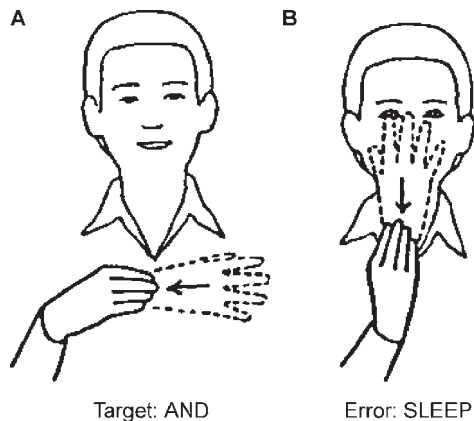
Another type of sequential L2 learning of sign languages is found in educational projects that teach BSL (British Sign Language) or ASL (American Sign Language) to kindergarten and elementary school

children as a second language (Daniels, 2003). Other programs teach sign languages to hearing elementary school children to enhance their reading and spatial cognitive skills. Yet other programs use signs with hearing children who are delayed in their spoken language development, such as children with autism or Down syndrome. The sign learning in the latter instances is more properly considered L1 rather than L2 learning, however.

### Delayed L1 Learning and L2 Learning

The common definition of L2 learning is the learning of a second language simultaneously with, or subsequent to, learning a first language. Although L1 learning in early childhood is the norm for babies born with normal hearing, because they are immersed in spoken language, it is not the norm for babies born deaf. A minority learn sign language from birth because their parents use a sign language with them, as discussed earlier in this article. However, the majority of babies born deaf are isolated not only from the languages spoken around them but also from sign languages if their parents do not sign with them. Even after the initial diagnosis of hearing loss and onset of intervention services for the deaf child, sign languages are often withheld from them in the belief that doing so encourages deaf babies to learn to speak. Note that this is contrary to the popular trend in North America of teaching signs to hearing toddlers because it reduces frustration for the parent and child (Goodwyn *et al.*, 2000), and to the clinical case reports of deaf babies making faster progress learning spoken words after they have learned a sign lexicon. The important point to remember is that sign language learning for many deaf children and adolescents is not L2 learning but is in reality L1 learning begun at an abnormally late age, i.e., after early childhood.

Learning an L1 for the first time after early childhood has a plethora of negative effects on adult language comprehension. For example, the ability to comprehend and remember sign language sentences and stories declines as the age of L1 sign language learning increases. This is apparent in the kinds of lexical mistakes that delayed L1 learners make when engaged in sign language comprehension and production tasks. They often make phonological errors, producing lexical items that are real signs but with forms that violate the semantic and syntactic framework of the sentence they are reproducing (see **Figure 1**). By contrast, L1 learners who learned sign language from birth, or shortly thereafter, make few lexical errors, and the ones they do make maintain the syntactic and semantic frame of the sentence they are reproducing.



**Figure 1** Panel A shows the sign AND in the ASL sentence 'I ate too much turkey AND potato,' which was the target sentence. Panel B shows the phonologically based substitution error, which resulted in the sentence 'I ate too much turkey SLEEP potato.' Note that the target and error differ in only one phonological parameter: place of articulation. (From Mayberry R 1996. 'The importance of childhood to language acquisition.' In Goodman J C & Nusbaum J C (eds.) *The development of speech perception*, p. 68. Cambridge: MIT Press. Illustration by Betty Raskin © R. Mayberry, with permission.)

Delayed L1 learners also show a reduced ability to comprehend sign language.

The effects of delayed L1 learning are also apparent on grammatical knowledge of sign language. For example, delayed L1 learners are more likely to delete grammatical inflections from signs when producing sign language sentences, whereas early L1 learners either inflect signs or express the same meanings in separate lexical units. Highly delayed L1 learners have been observed to perform at near chance levels on grammatical tasks in sign language. By contrast, early L1 learners of sign languages tend to be grammatically accurate.

Delayed L1 learning not only affects the ultimate proficiency with which the L1 can be understood and expressed but also affects the ultimate outcome of L2 learning crossmodally. Early L1 learners of sign languages often show near-native levels of L2 proficiency. For example, people who were born deaf and acquired a sign language early in life often show high levels of L2 learning of spoken languages in read and lip-read forms. By contrast, people who were born deaf and did not experience a fully perceptible language until after early childhood, i.e., delayed L1 learners, typically show low levels of L2 spoken language proficiency in read and lip-read forms. In other words, there is a strong relationship between the age when the L1 is learned and the L2 outcome, independent of the sensorimotor modalities of the languages. Although the linguistic, cognitive, or neural reasons that early L1 learning is necessary for L2 learning to be successful are not understood at present, it is clear

that any discussion of L2 learning of sign languages requires consideration of the age when the L1 learning begins.

We return now to the two questions posed at the beginning of this article. First, does the sensorimotor modality of the first and second languages change what we know about how second languages are learned over the life span? The second question is how the age of first language learning affects the ultimate outcome of second language learning. Much of what we know about second language learning of sign languages suggests that there are few differences between second language learning of sign languages and of spoken languages, as has been previously found for infant L1 learning of sign languages compared with spoken languages. One exception appears to be the initial iconic strategy that adult second language learners of sign languages use to begin to parse and remember the phonological forms of signs. The second crucial difference is the age when individuals born deaf first experience a fully perceptible language. It appears that the timing of first language learning during the life span sets the course for all subsequent language learning regardless of the sensorimotor modality of the language learning.

*See also:* Language Education of the Deaf; Sign Language Acquisition.

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## Learners' Dictionaries

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The monolingual learners' dictionary (MLD) – a type of dictionary designed specifically to meet the needs of non-native language learners – is above all an English phenomenon or, even more specifically, a British one. This is not to deny that there have been significant contributions in other languages and traditions. For example, Larousse's *Dictionnaire du français langue étrangère* (1987) was an interesting and in many ways innovative addition to the MLD canon. But it failed to establish a durable parallel thread to complement developments in English pedagogical lexicography. More recently, new learners' dictionaries have appeared for a number of European languages, including: Langenscheidt's *Großwörterbuch Deutsch als Fremdsprache* (1993), the *Vox Diccionario para la Enseñanza de la Lengua Española* (1997), Van Dale's *Pocketwoordenboek nederlands als tweede taal* (2003), and Nathan's *Dictionnaire de didactique du français langue étrangère et seconde* (2003). To a significant degree, however, these have tended to adopt the main features of the dominant British model. In the Anglophone world, meanwhile, several American publishers have entered the fray – with books such as *The American Heritage English as a Second Language Dictionary* (Houghton Mifflin, 1998) and *Random House Webster's dictionary of American English* (1997) – but their efforts have for the most part been highly conservative and have contributed little of interest to the field. On the theoretical front, our understanding of the lexicon has been greatly advanced by work in French, notably in the elaboration of lexicon grammars by Maurice Gross and his colleagues. Nevertheless, the most powerful impetus in the development of MLDs has been – and remains – the practical challenge of providing language learners with the resources to meet their twin communicative needs: 'receptive' understanding and 'productive' use of a second language.

The foundations of the MLD were laid down in the 1920s and 1930s by a handful of British academics, including Harold Palmer, Michael West, and A. S. Hornby, whose theoretical interests in syntax, phraseology, and what would later be called collocation were motivated above all by their work in English language teaching. The story of the modern English learners' dictionary begins in 1935, with the publication of West's *New Method English Dictionary* (NMED), a fairly slim volume covering around 18 000 headwords. But it was Hornby's

larger *Idiomatic and Syntactic English dictionary* of 1942 that was to prove the more enduring model – evolving as it did into the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (OALD, now in its seventh edition), which formed the template for most subsequent, major English dictionaries for advanced learners. Over 60 years on – despite a highly competitive market that has delivered an impressive series of innovations – Hornby's blueprint survives substantially intact. Numerous publishers have entered the field (and with over a billion people learning English worldwide, this is hardly surprising), and have experimented with a wide range of general and specialized learners' dictionaries for all levels of proficiency. The advanced-level MLD, however, remains the dominant format. Since the 1970s, Hornby's dictionary has been joined by several other U.K.-based contenders: the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (LDOCE, 1978), the *Collins COBUILD English Language Dictionary* (COBUILD, 1987), the *Cambridge International Dictionary of English* (CIDE, 1995), and the *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* (MED, 2002). Yet amid all this diversification, the trend is toward ever closer convergence in both form and content. Quite major upheavals (notably the publication by Collins of the first COBUILD dictionary in 1987) have been assimilated into an increasingly homogeneous model, as last year's innovation becomes this year's standard feature. Though experts will perceive numerous differences among the main players, what the average user sees is a set of very similar dictionaries that share a great many core features. To give a single (and fairly superficial) example of this convergent trend, the fourth edition of the large COBUILD dictionary (2003) has added the term 'advanced learner's dictionary' to its title (along with the MLDs produced by Oxford and Cambridge), has shrunk its (originally larger) format to 'standard MLD' size, and has, for the first time, included illustrations – thus bringing itself more closely into line with the other main dictionaries of this type.

### Main Features of the MLD: A Summary

The features that have become a standard part of the MLD are summarized here, and the most important of these will be elaborated in the next section.

In terms of the dictionary's receptive function (helping users understand vocabulary items they have encountered):

- definitions are written in simple language, typically using a controlled 'defining vocabulary' of basic words;

- phraseology gets special attention: the MLD generally goes further than other types of dictionary in explaining the meanings not only of individual words but also of multiword expressions of every type;
- aids to navigation are provided (in the form of reduced definitions, appearing as 'signposts' or in menus) in order to minimize the known problems involved in locating the 'right' information.

In terms of the dictionary's productive function (helping users to make appropriate lexical choices and then use the chosen item 'correctly' and idiomatically):

- syntactic information provides users with a full account of the valence patterns that a given word or meaning enters into;
- example sentences are used extensively to show typical contexts of use and provide reliable models for production;
- considerable attention is paid to sociolinguistic features such as register, regional variety, and speaker attitude;
- usage notes provide supplementary guidance, e.g., facilitating lexical choices by disambiguating sets of close synonyms or warning against known sources of grammatical error.

## In More Detail

### Definitions

Here, three features distinguish the MLD from other dictionaries:

1. The use of a controlled 'defining vocabulary' (DV), enabling (perhaps a better word would be 'forcing') lexicographers to explain meanings through a limited list of basic, high-frequency words. From the beginning, a simplified defining language was one of the central features of the learners' dictionary. Three of the early pioneers in this field, Harold Palmer, A. S. Hornby, and Michael West, had a special interest in the notion of 'vocabulary control,' which arose – as Cowie (1999: 15) points out – “from a simple pedagogical need: to reduce the effort required to learn a foreign language by identifying those (relatively few) words which carried the main burden of communication.” The process became more formalized when Longman – drawing on West (1953) – introduced a 2000-word DV in the first edition of the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (*LDOCE*) (1978). This approach was gradually emulated, so that at the time of writing four of the five major advanced MLDs employ a DV limited to 2000–3000 common words.

2. A preference for natural language: the past 15 years or so have seen a marked shift away from the formal, compressed, and often idiomatic language of traditional lexicography, toward a user-friendly style that conforms more closely to 'normal' prose (see esp. Rundell, 1998: 332–334). The following comparisons make the point:

<i>NMED</i> , 1935	<b>pain:</b> suffering of body or mind
<i>OALD6</i> , 2000	<b>pain:</b> 1. the feelings that you have in your body when you have been hurt or when you are ill 2. mental or emotional suffering
<i>OALD3</i> , 1974	<b>aggressive:</b> quarrelsome; disposed to attack
<i>LDOCE4</i> , 2003	<b>aggressive:</b> behaving in an angry or threatening way, as if you want to attack someone

3. 'Full-sentence' defining: one of the major innovations in *COBUILD* (1987) was to abandon the 'substitutable' definition of traditional lexicography in favor of a defining sentence which includes the headword itself in its typical lexico-syntactic context. (The genesis and rationale of this approach is explained in Hanks, 1987, and discussed further in Sinclair, 2004.) To illustrate the difference this can make, a conventional definition might explain the phrasal verb *lay up* as 'to cause sb to stay in bed, not be able to work etc.' (*OALD4*, 1989). But in the *COBUILD* version ('If someone is **laid up** with an illness, the illness makes it necessary for them to stay in bed': *COBUILD4*, 2003), the structure of the definition matches the passive form in which this verb usually appears, while the prepositional phrase that typically accompanies it is fully integrated into the explanation. Though the *COBUILD* dictionaries are unique in employing this defining style in all cases, the full-sentence definition has an established place in the repertoire of definition types available to compilers in most of the English MLDs.

### Syntax

Since Harold Palmer introduced his system of 'verb patterns' in 1938, descriptions of syntactic behavior have been a core feature of the MLD. Earlier MLDs were characterized by the use of elaborate coding schemas which, though descriptively powerful, were difficult to learn and mutually incompatible. Palmer's system was taken up and refined in *OALD*, while *LDOCE* (1978) introduced an entirely different (but equally complex) approach based on alphanumeric codes. More recently, the emphasis has shifted toward a simpler, surface-grammar model which – while sacrificing some of

the delicacy of earlier systems – assumes very little grammatical knowledge on the part of users. Compare the following accounts of the syntactic properties of the verb *recall*:

- OALD3, [VP6A, C, 8,9,10, 19C] bring back to  
1974 the mind; recollect: *I don't recall his name/face/meeting him/where I met him.*
- LDOCE, [Wv6; T1,4,5,6a,b] to remember:  
1978 *I can't recall his face/seeing him/that he came/where he lives/how to do it.*
- MED, [VT] to remember something: *Twenty  
2002 years later, he could still recall the event.* ♦ +(that) *I seem to recall that you said you would do that yesterday.* ♦ +who/where/why etc. *Stephen frowned, trying to recall what had happened.* ♦ recall doing sth *I don't recall seeing the document.*

The economy of the older systems allows them to encode every *possible* pattern for a given meaning, regardless of its frequency: thus, the OALD3 code VP19C indicates the construction V+noun/pronoun/possessive+gerund (*I don't recall you saying that*), but – tellingly – the pattern is not exemplified. And in fact, corpus data shows it to be extremely rare, with just five occurrences in the 5500 or so instances of the verb *recall* on the British National Corpus (BNC). (Conversely, the simple V+gerund pattern – encoded as VP6C in OALD3 – appears over 150 times in the BNC.) The current approach – exemplified here by MED but equally likely to be found in other MLDs – emphasizes what is typical over what is possible, and uses corpus-derived examples to complement the user-friendly patterning information. And as with most other features of these dictionaries, there is now a fairly high degree of convergence among the various MLDs in their approach to describing syntax.

### Examples

Dictionaries for native speakers (especially historical dictionaries) have generally used citations for purposes of illustration and attestation. By contrast, the examples in learners' dictionaries have always had a consciously pedagogical function. In the earlier MLDs, there was little emphasis on replicating actual performance: rather, examples tended toward the formulaic, often taking the form of short noun phrases or infinitive statements (*'inordinate desire,' 'a football fixture,' 'to instil knowledge'*: all NMED, 1935), or merging several patterns into a single 'sentence' (see examples above, under 'Syntax'). The current range of MLDs, however, favor fuller and more natural examples taken from a corpus (or at least closely reflecting what the corpus shows). For a while

(following the publication of COBUILD in 1987 and the advent of corpus data), there appeared to be a philosophical split between those who used 'made-up' examples and those who advocated the use of unmodified corpus lines (see e.g., Laufer, 1992; Potter, 1998). This debate had some mileage at a time when the use and availability of corpora was still limited, but it is no longer really relevant. (It also, very misleadingly, encouraged the perception that the main value of a corpus was as a source of dictionary examples.) Now that all serious MLDs use corpus data as their primary source of linguistic evidence, methodological differences among the various editorial units, in terms of how examples are chosen for the dictionary, have become fairly minimal.

### The Impact of Corpora

Learners' dictionaries have introduced many innovations which have subsequently influenced other areas of lexicography. By far the most important of these, it goes without saying, is the systematic use of corpus data as the primary basis of dictionary text. Pioneered by John Sinclair and his colleagues in Birmingham, corpus lexicography burst upon the world in the form of the first COBUILD dictionary (1987), and the methodology was quickly taken up by other dictionary developers of all types. For those working at the coal face, the change in working practices has been almost total. As far as dictionary content goes, improvements in quality (above all in the area of semantic analysis) have been very significant. Corpus data has also enabled lexicographers to provide categories of information which were simply not available before. Notable examples are the explicit indicators of word frequency which now appear in most advanced MLDs (see e.g., Kilgarriff, 1997), and the lists of typical collocates shown first in MED (2002) and already becoming a standard feature (Kilgarriff and Rundell, 2002). These are enormous changes by any standards, and the longer-term impact of the corpus revolution (in terms of its challenges to existing linguistic assumptions and categories) is still far from clear. Yet despite all this, the MLD remains recognizably the same object as it was before the arrival of corpora.

### Signs of Change

We are now, however, seeing signs that this durable paradigm is beginning to break down. New technology – supplying vastly improved linguistic data, and at the same opening up new media for delivering reference materials to users – has created conditions which threaten the well-established MLD model but at the same time present extraordinary opportunities for producing better dictionaries and for customizing them to more effectively meet the needs of users.

The advanced MLD has always been a global product: a general-purpose dictionary intended for learners from widely different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. It now seems unlikely that this format will survive indefinitely. Already we see some erosion of this position with the publication of country-specific editions, which offer anything from minor levels of customization – such as a Chinese or Japanese introduction with user guides in the ‘local’ language – to full-scale ‘bilingualization,’ with L1 equivalents supplied for each sense and translations of the example sentences. This trend looks set to intensify, given the possibilities offered by electronic media, and the global MLD might in future become just one among many types of learners’ dictionary.

For most of its lifetime, the MLD appeared only in the form of a printed book, but learners’ dictionaries are now routinely available on CD-ROM and handheld devices, and many also have an online presence. This is a rapidly changing scenario, and exactly how it will play out is anybody’s guess. There will probably always be a demand – in some parts of the world at least – for printed dictionaries, but it is safe to assume that some form of electronic platform will become the primary delivery medium for the MLD in its most important markets. The possibilities here are only just beginning to be exploited. Most electronic dictionaries have replicated the content and structure of their printed originals, simply adding friendly interfaces and increasingly smart search functionality. But the next generation is now emerging – a good example being the CD-ROM version of *LDOCE4* (2003), which gives users access to a ‘hinterland’ of additional examples and corpus citations for almost every word and phrase. Links between dictionary and corpus are just one of the possible ways in which the MLD will develop from here, and we may look back on the first decade of the new millennium as the point at which the one-size-fits-all MLD began to diversify into a range of more specialized reference resources.

*See also:* Hornby, Albert Sidney (1898–1978); Palmer, Harold Edward (1877–1949); Second and Foreign Language Learning and Teaching.

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## Listening in a Second Language

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### Introduction

It was not until well into the second half of the 20th century that second language listening was widely recognized as a skill that could and should be systematically developed and assessed by those teaching a second language. Whereas earlier scholars such as Henry Sweet and Harold Palmer had stressed the importance of teaching the spoken language, in their view such teaching was to be based on “the science of phonetics,” which effectively meant that the aspect of the spoken language actually taught was its pronunciation. It seems that these scholars supposed that, if you could pronounce the target language reasonably well, it must follow that you would be able to understand it when you heard it spoken. So, in early work on listening comprehension based on the structuralist tradition, it was assumed that the main problems in second language listening would be a mirror image of problems with pronunciation. Students were systematically taught to identify differences between those sets of vowels or consonants in the target language that a contrastive analysis of the phonological systems of the L1 and L2 predicted would be difficult for the L1 speakers to distinguish in L2 speech. Students listened to triplets of words, such as *bit bit beat* or *try dry try*, and were required to identify which of the three words was different from the other two. They listened to sets of words with similar consonantal and vocalic structure but different stress patterns and identified those with different stress patterns. And they listened to phrases like *the pink one* uttered with either falling or rising intonation and identified the one with rising intonation as a question.

With the advent of mass tourism in the 1960s, the gulf became glaringly apparent between being able to identify a sequence of words spoken slowly and carefully in the foreign language and being able to identify words in the acoustic blur of normal conversational speech. As Wilga Rivers (1968: 135) remarked, emphasis in language teaching had hitherto been placed on students’ production of the language, disregarding the fact that communication takes place between (at least) two people. She suggested that the primary difficulty for a traveler in a foreign country was not the problem of making himself understood but of being unable to “understand what is being said to him and around him”.

On the rare occasions when students were invited to listen to a tape to understand the content of what

was said, they typically listened to a text that consisted of a narrative or discursive text read aloud slowly and distinctly by a native speaker. After listening to the tape, they were asked questions on the content. The questions, often as many as 10 or more, concerned information spaced at roughly equal intervals through the text, following the format widely used in ‘teaching’ the comprehension of the written language. Consider what these second language learners were being required to do: “treat all spoken language as primarily intended for transference of facts ... listen with a sustained level of attention, over several minutes to spoken language ... interpret *all of it* ... commit that interpretation to memory ... answer random, unmotivated questions on any of it” (Brown and Yule, 1983: 60). Sophisticated adult native speakers often had difficulty in recalling some of the trivial detail that such ‘comprehension questions’ addressed. For most second language learners, the experience was negative and demotivating.

The challenge since the 1960s has been to help students identify words in the stream of speech and to equip them with strategies to enable them to interpret the content of utterances in the relevant context of utterance and to work out what speakers mean by what they say.

### Bottom-up Interpretation

It seems clear that structuralists were correct in claiming that being able to identify words in the stream of speech is fundamental to understanding what a speaker is saying. In some genres of speech, notably in relaxed conversation, where the focus is on the establishment or maintenance of social relationships, it may not be necessary to identify all the words that are spoken but, to participate meaningfully in the conversation, it is essential to identify at least those expressions that indicate the topic of the utterance and what is said about that topic. In primarily transactional genres, on the other hand, where the transfer of information will have some effect in the world, it may be essential to identify even the detail of those unstressed grammatical words that you can often afford to leave only vaguely guessed at in social conversation. When you are listening in your first language, you tend to be quite relaxed about how much you can afford not to fully interpret. In a second language, particularly in the testing situation of a classroom, it is hard not to panic if you realize that a series of unidentified words is rushing past your ears.

It is sometimes suggested that, in order to identify words in the stream of speech, it is necessary to be



able to identify all the consonantal and vocalic oppositions that occur in the accent of the target language that students are being exposed to. This is a counsel of perfection. We should remember that in any accent of English, some of the oppositions found in other accents will not occur. Thus, standard American English does not distinguish between the words *balm* and *bomb*; young speakers of southern British English ('RP') do not distinguish between the words *paw*, *pore*, and *poor*; Scottish English does not distinguish between the words *cot* and *caught*, *cam* and *calm*, or *pull* and *pool*; Yorkshire English does not distinguish between the words *put* and *putt*; and London Cockney English does not distinguish between the words *sin* and *sing*, *thin* and *fin*, or *that* and *vat*. Yet, on the whole, speakers of different accents of English understand one another's speech well enough, even though in their own accent they do not make exactly the same set of phonological distinctions that their interlocutor makes. Second language learners are likely to encounter speakers from a range of different English accents and need to learn to identify the basic distinctions that are maintained in stressed syllables in all English accents, rather than spending much time on rare sets of oppositions that do not occur in most accents and which, even there, may carry only a low functional load. Whereas courses in pronunciation will normally be based on only a single native accent, courses in second language listening need to be much less constrained and to be relevant to a variety of major English accents.

There is obviously a significant difference between encountering words in the written and spoken forms of the language. In the written form, spaces between words unambiguously demarcate individual words. A major difficulty in interpreting the spoken form of a second language lies in determining where word boundaries occur. It is not always appreciated that crucial information needed in the task of segmenting the acoustic blur of the stream of speech lies not only in discriminating between phonological oppositions but also in identifying the phonologically conditioned variables that characterize particular consonants when they occur initially or finally in a word or stressed syllable. For historical reasons, much has been made in teaching English as a second language of the 'aspiration' (delayed voice onset time) that follows the articulation of a voiceless stop when it is initial in a stressed syllable. On the other hand, the glottalization that precedes the articulation of the same set of phonemes in the coda of a syllable in most accents is typically ignored. Yet each feature is equally informative in identifying relevant parts of word structure (Brown, 1990: Chap. 2). Similarly much has been made in British ELT of the distinction

between palatalized ('light') and velarized ('dark') /l/, without noting the generalization that the structure of the syllable in the RP accent is always more palatalized in the onset and more velarized in the coda of the syllable, a fact that affects the articulation of all consonants in these positions. The effect is most easily heard in sonorants and continuants where syllable-initial (onset) consonants will be heard as more palatalized, and hence higher in pitch, than syllable-final (coda) consonants. There are, of course, accents whose syllables are differently structured: the English of Glasgow has velarized consonants initially as well as finally, and Welsh English has palatalized consonants finally as well as initially.

Much more generalizable across accents than these palatal/velar subtleties is information about those phonotactic constraints that are helpful in identifying syllable and word boundaries, information that is sadly underexploited in the teaching of second language listening. For example, if an ESL listener hears a sequence /ml/ in the stream of speech, it is relevant to know that, since this cannot form an onset cluster in a syllable of English, it cannot mark the beginning of a word. The /l/ must be syllable initial, which means that the /m/ must be final in the preceding syllable; the significance of this fact is that where there are syllable boundaries, there are potential word boundaries (Cutler and Norris, 1988). An essential requirement is to learn to identify and to pay attention to the stressed syllable of words, since this is the syllable that is most reliably clearly articulated. In the stream of speech, a great deal of the phonological information that is available when words are pronounced slowly and clearly in citation form is routinely lost, particularly in unstressed syllables. Unstressed syllables are frequently elided, particularly when they occur as one of an unstressed sequence (for instance, in words such as *library*, *governor*, *extraordinary*). Processes of elision and assimilation take place across syllable boundaries and radically alter the familiar features of the citation form. Such processes occur densely in normal, informal speech whose relevance for learners is much greater now than it was pre-1970 since this type of speech is used in a much wider range of situations than it used to be. It is not only found in informal conversational contexts but is regularly heard on radio and television (even in news broadcasts, once models of slow, carefully articulated speech) and is standardly used in academic lectures and in public speaking more generally. (Harris (1994) and Shockey (2003) gave detailed accounts of these processes.)

I have suggested that a crucial component of second language listening is identifying words correctly. More to the point may be identifying the

larger, prefabricated structures of which so much spoken language is constructed. Wray (2002) reviewed an array of studies that demonstrated the crucial significance of such structures, particularly in the early stages of learning a second language. It seems likely that many expressions are, initially at least, learned as unanalyzed chunks. Other expressions may be incorrectly analyzed (as in the case of the L2 learner of French who analyzed the spoken version of *chocolat* as *chaud cola*). In many cases, it may be that such expressions are stored and used quite effectively until eventually confrontation between spoken and written forms (or the utterance and the world) leads to a reanalysis. The acquisition of lexis, and of formulaic expressions in particular, is still the subject of extensive research.

Having identified (some of) the expressions in an utterance, the listener needs to order them into chunks that can be understood as syntactically structured and co-interpretable semantically. Just as the written language uses punctuation and layout to indicate the organization of discourse, there are various signals in speech, for instance, intonation, slowing down, and pausing, that indicate the boundaries of chunks of speech that need to be co-interpreted. In most accents of English, the beginning of a new sentential structure is typically indicated by being placed relatively high in the speaker's pitch range, and the rest of the structure is included within the overall contour that follows. The end of the structure is usually marked by being uttered at a lower level in the pitch range than the onset and is often followed by a pause. Internal sentential boundaries may be marked by shorter pauses and sometimes by variation in pitch height or direction (cf., Ladd, 1996).

Where spoken language differs dramatically from written language is in the scale of interruptions, modifications, and use of interpersonal markers in its production and in its reliance on the present context of utterance to constrain possible interpretations by the listener. Most speakers have had the experience of interrupting themselves, pausing, reconsidering, planning again, beginning to express themselves in one way, and then immediately modifying what they have just said. Unlike writers, they cannot undertake such operations secretly, without the interlocutor knowing. Second language learners unused to listening to spontaneous speech that has not been previously at least partially planned are in danger of having their attention distracted from the message by material that is introduced as part of the planning process. Often the changes speakers make are marked by interpersonal and modal expressions such as *well, erm ... I mean, so ... you see ... , if you get my meaning ... , as far as I'm concerned ... , I think ... , I'm sure ... ,* phrases that disturb the smooth flow of a sentential

structure at both a syntactic and an intonational level. A feature of spontaneous conversational speech that second language learners need to become accustomed to is how such universal features of spoken language are managed in the second language.

As speech plays such an important role in interpersonal relationships, its production is often modified by paralinguistic features that express the attitude of the speaker toward the listener and/or toward what is being said. English speakers who are being particularly polite to the interlocutor often speak higher in their voice range, relatively softly, and with a 'breathy' voice, whereas those who are being aggressive typically speak lower in their pitch range, more loudly, and with a 'harsher' voice quality. Speakers who are being sympathetic or kind speak low in their voice range, slowly, and typically with a 'creaky' voice. Whereas it seems plausible that basic human emotions such as fear, anger, or timidity are expressed similarly in all languages, it seems probable that attitudes that are more culturally conditioned are more likely to be variable in their expression across languages. Second language learners, at quite an early stage in their exposure to tapes and videos of L2 speakers interacting, might profitably pay attention to paralinguistic features of speech in order to identify whether speakers are agreeing or disagreeing with each other, being polite or aggressive, or friendly or unfriendly, long before they can understand the linguistic details of what is being said (Brown (1990), summarized in Rost (2002)).

## Interpretation and Inference

Clark and Clark (1977: 45) drew a helpful distinction between 'constructing an interpretation' and 'utilizing an interpretation,' drawing attention to the fact that, in everyday life, we use language to get things done. In doing a crossword puzzle, we might construct an interpretation without putting the interpretation to further use but most speech is functional, either to interact with someone socially or to transfer or extract information. This implies that there is more to the interpretation of an utterance than simply identifying words, syntactic structures, and thin semantic meanings; we must infer what the speaker who produced the utterance intended to achieve by it. The term 'interpretation' reflects this process better than the term 'comprehension.' To have comprehended an utterance suggests a total, correct product now present in the listener's mind. For a listener who is trying to understand a decontextualized utterance in a language test, a translation equivalent of the thin semantic meaning may yield a judgment of 'correct' but, as Goffman (1981: 28) remarked, "the mental set

required to make sense of these little orphans is that of someone with linguistic interests” rather than someone who is using language purposefully. It might be supposed that a total, correct product could be achieved in understanding short, banal utterances such as *what is the time?* But even such a familiar utterance may have been produced by the speaker primarily to bring about an awareness of the passage of time on the part of the listener, an intention that the listener may remain unaware of even after having produced an apparently appropriate translation. ‘Interpretation’ gives a better impression of the riskiness of the listener’s effort to understand what the speaker means by producing the utterance and it gives no impression of finality – once constructed, an interpretation is not fixed and immutable but may subsequently be modified. It is because, in most genres, there can be no single ‘correct’ interpretation of what is said that some scholars question the possibility of measuring or assessing the degree of a student’s ‘spoken language comprehension’ (issues discussed in Shohamy (1996); Spolsky (1994)).

To arrive at an interpretation, the listener needs to make inferences at many levels. To begin with, the listener may need to infer the identity of words not clearly heard but which would make sense of the utterance. Then, the effect of the immediate verbal context on the sense (meaning) of words must be taken into account. For instance, the word *red* prototypically denotes a strong, saturated red hue and the word *face* prototypically denotes the configuration of eyes, nose, mouth, and chin that would be represented in a child’s drawing. However, once these words occur in the phrase *red face*, *red* must be interpreted as denoting a pinky, blotchy color, whereas *face* will draw attention particularly to the cheeks and perhaps the forehead but certainly not the eyes or mouth. The listener must infer which of a wide range of senses is appropriate in a given verbal context. For a second language listener, particularly one who has learned the foreign words in terms of one-word translation equivalents, extending the interpretation of a word well away from its central translational sense requires considerable confidence since it is obviously an operation fraught with risk (Færch and Kasper, 1986).

The issues of syntax, of combining words in one syntactic structure rather than another, and of the choice of syntactic structure having any effect on interpretation have been curiously neglected in cognitive models of comprehension. Most accounts of discourse meaning simply ignore the nature of the syntactic structures selected by the speaker and produce representations of discourse meaning consisting of a set of abstract semantic ‘propositions’ from

which all specifically syntactic information has been expunged. A few writers have insisted on the significance of syntactic structure in determining how the semantic content of an utterance is understood (e.g., Brown, (1994); Levinson (2000)). Halliday (1978) pointed out the disruptive effect on the listener’s presuppositional coherence of using inappropriate syntactic structures (consider which is the most appropriate radio commentary on a ceremony: *The sun’s shining. The day’s perfect.* versus *It’s the sun that’s shining and the day that’s perfect*). Davison (1980) noted the effect on interpretation of using passive rather than active constructions in some circumstances, and Sanford and Moxey (1995) have drawn attention to the inadequacies of any account of interpretation based solely on propositional representation. It is far from clear why a language should develop different ways of expressing the same propositional content if using a different syntactic structure has absolutely no effect on meaning. Rather little experimental work has been conducted on the effect on interpretation of varying syntactic form but at least we should note that a competent listener would need to draw inferences when an unexpected syntactic structure is employed: compare the effect of *He certainly spoke to her* with *She was certainly spoken to by him*.

## The Context of Utterance

It is a truism that spoken language typically relies heavily on context for its interpretation. There is a widespread view that speakers and listeners ‘share’ the context of utterance. Yet a moment’s thought reminds us that speaker and listener can usually see each other’s face and facial expression but not their own, and each of them has private interests, perceptions, judgments, and prejudices and brings to any interaction different hopes and expectations for its outcome. As Johnson-Laird (1983: 187), remarked, “the notion of the context overlooks the fact that an utterance generally has two contexts: one for the speaker and one for the listener. The differences between them are not merely contingent but . . . a crucial datum for communication”. I shall consider three aspects of context from the point of view of the listener: external context of situation, social context, and textual/discoursal context. Each of these aspects of context interacts and overlaps with the others, more or less obviously in different genres (Brown, 1998).

### The External Context

Utterances are produced in a particular place and at a particular time. Much of what is said will be assumed to be relevant to the place and time of utterance. If

someone comes into a room, shivers, and says *It's cold*, the listener will understand that the comment applies to the current place and time – if not to the temperature within the room, then to the local external temperature. If I, in a temperate country, say in winter *It's warm today*, I mean that it is relatively warm for this locality at this time of year, not that it is as warm as it might be in August or in Singapore. If the speaker says *She's coming on Monday*, the listener will assume that the relevant 'Monday' will be the next one after the day of utterance. If the conversation is about 'the president,' 'the doctor,' or 'the school,' the listener should assume that it is the participants' current, local president, doctor, or school, if no contrary information is given. Conversations will, by default and in the absence of contradictory information, be assumed to be relevant to 'local' conditions, where 'local' can be interpreted as widely as *here* can be interpreted in *here in my hand, here in this room, here on this street, here in this town, here in this country*, and so on.

A concept of 'appropriate behavior,' which may differ in different cultures, will set limits on what it is appropriate to say and how it is appropriate to say it in particular places and at particular times. There are appropriate greetings for different times of day, for meeting, and for parting. There are some places, places of worship, for instance, where some topics or manners of speaking would be judged inappropriate. If I have a trivial message for you about the postponement of some distant future event, it would be inappropriate for me to come to speak to you about it in your hotel room at midnight, invading your personal space and possibly awakening you from sleep. If, in defiance of convention, I were to insist on speaking to you in such circumstances, you might well infer that I meant more than I was overtly expressing. The subtleties of contraventions, deliberate or intentional, of conventions governing types of utterance appropriate to particular external contexts are peculiarly difficult for second language learners to interpret with any confidence without extensive experience of the culture where the second language is used.

### The Social Context

For the listener, the most significant figure in the social context is the speaker, and the significant relationship is that between speaker and listener. Whether the speaker is speaking to a group of listeners or shaping the utterance for just one listener, the speaker must make judgments about how far they will share what Clark called "communal lexicons" (1998: 60–87). Communal lexicons, Clark suggested, are built on such social features as shared nationality, education, occupation, hobbies, language, religion,

age cohort, and gender. The more social features that the speaker and listener share, the more the speaker can rely on the listener being able to understand specialist vocabulary. Where speaker and listener share an occupation, suppose both are ship's engineers, even where the listener is a second language learner, they are likely to be able to negotiate the senses of technical terms with some confidence that each understands what the other is speaking of as long as the listener feels relaxed and is able to think clearly. However, when the speaker is the dominant participant in an interview that is communicatively stressful for the second language learner, for instance, when the learner is a junior doctor being interviewed for a job by a senior member of the profession, the ability of the listener to negotiate a shared understanding of a term may be curtailed, which may result in a breakdown of communication. For nervous students in examination conditions who are exposed to tapes of speakers with whom they share few, if any, of Clark's social features, only the most self-confident of students are likely to arrive at an adequate interpretation in the lottery of a speaker, or speakers, talking on a quite unpredictable topic that may be distant from any of the student's own interests. It will always be the case that a second language learner will have least difficulty in understanding language that the speaker is sympathetically shaping for that particular individual, taking account of the learner's current state of control of the second language and anticipated knowledge of the topic.

When listening to speakers from their own speech community, listeners will often make stereotypical judgments about the speaker on the basis of the speaker's self-presentation in terms of dress, hair, posture, and what the listener knows about the speaker's occupation. Such stereotypical judgments may influence the listener's interpretation of what the speaker says. If asked in the street what the time is by a smartly turned-out passer-by as opposed to one who gives the general impression of having just stumbled out of bed, different listeners may respond with different degrees of helpfulness in each case. If the listener hears *This is yet another example of hard work by the left* said by a left-wing politician, the listener will infer that the expression is used positively and appreciatively, but if the very same remark is uttered by a right-wing politician, the listener will infer that it is used negatively and critically. Second language listeners may feel uneasy about importing stereotypical knowledge of the world from their own culture into interpreting what is said in another language.

They may also fail to notice when they have not properly understood what someone says, as



young L1 listeners have been shown to do in their own language (Markman, 1981) or blame themselves for not having understood when native speakers express the content of their message inadequately. Robinson (1981), working with native speakers of English, showed young children who hear elliptical or ambiguous messages from adults may be 'listener blamers,' who attribute their difficulties in understanding such messages to their own inadequacy, rather than 'speaker blamers,' who are capable of recognizing that the speaker has produced a confused and confusing utterance. If second language learners hear a native speaker assert something that the listeners cannot make sense of, like 'listener blamer' children they may believe that they have not interpreted what the speaker said correctly, simply because they are reluctant to question the authority of a native speaker.

### The Context of Discourse

The discourse context is created by whatever the conversational participants are currently paying attention to and by what has already been said on the topic. It is the structure of what has already been established in the discourse context that allows the listener to determine what anaphoric expressions refer to and what, within the discourse world, new expressions refer to (Gernsbacher, 1990; Smith, 2003). How much the listener must carry in memory from the previous discourse varies with the type of genre at issue. In genres such as instructions on how to complete a task, where each instruction is followed by a pause while the listener completes that step in the task, there is minimal burden on memory. Instruction tasks may be made easier by limiting the number of parts or participants and making them clearly distinct from one another. Narrative genres, where an understanding of what is happening now depends on your understanding of what has happened earlier, are likely to impose a greater burden on memory. Again, narratives can be simplified if events are narrated in the order of occurrence ('*ordo naturalis*'), if the number of participants is limited, and each participant is physically clearly distinguished from the other participants (Brown, 1995). The more complex the task, the more difficult it is to arrive at a secure interpretation, culminating in the problems of following abstract arguments in academic lectures (Chaudron, 1995).

### Listening as 'Input' to Second Language Learning

When we consider the complexity of the demands made on the learner listening to a second language,

it seems truly remarkable that such input can form the basis for learning the second language. Nevertheless, it is clear that to a greater or lesser extent, in different contexts of acquisition, some learners do successfully learn to control a second language to an impressive extent, largely from absorbing aspects of spoken input while simultaneously putting that input to use in constructing an interpretation of what a particular speaker intends to convey on a particular occasion of use. How this is achieved is the subject of extensive speculation in the second language acquisition literature (for a useful critical overview of the literature and an initial stab at a theoretical approach that distinguishes between the procedures of processing language for meaning and the processes of language learning, see Carroll (1999)). The most promising research thus far on this topic is that concerned with the acquisition of lexis, given spoken input (see, e.g., Ellis and Beaton (1993); Vidal (2003)).

*See also:* Acquisition of Second Language Phonology, Morphology, and Syntax.

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## Motivation and Attitudes in Second Language Learning

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The concepts of motivation and attitudes have been associated with individual differences in second language learning since at least the 1950s, and over the years numerous perspectives and issues have developed. The corresponding research has been intensive and varied, and today there exist many different constructs and theoretical models seeking to explain individual differences in second language learning and use. The intent of this article is to consider the area in general, to discuss some of the more dominant perspectives and theoretical models, and to review some of the issues that are of interest to researchers and educators in this field.

### Motivation Defined

The term motivation is used in the area of language learning with many definitions, processes, and measures proposed, and this variety is shared with the general area of psychology. In the early history of psychology, motivation was considered variously in terms of reinforcement, instincts, expectancy, valence, needs, and drive reduction. Recently, there has been more of a focus on process-oriented conceptualizations, including but not limited to curiosity, self-determination, causal attributions, and goal setting.

Some of the conceptualizations referred to above are represented in one form or another in the area of motivation in second language learning, and there have been calls for more attention to be given to others (see, for example, Crookes and Schmidt, 1991; Oxford and Shearin, 1994). Dörnyei and Ottó provided a formal definition of motivation as “the dynamically changing cumulative arousal in a person that initiates, directs, coordinates, amplifies, terminates, and evaluates the cognitive and motor processes whereby initial wishes and desires are selected, prioritised, operationalised, and (successfully or unsuccessfully) acted out” (1998: 65). This is a very comprehensive definition but it might not be accepted by all researchers. In fact, in his excellent book on motivation and second language acquisition, Dörnyei pointed out that most agreement would be obtained from researchers that motivation concerns the direction and magnitude of behavior, and that it is “responsible for *why* people decide to do something, *how long* they are willing to sustain the activity,

and *how hard* they are going to pursue it” (2001: 8; italics in the original). This latter characterization is closer to that proposed by Gardner, who defined motivation in second language acquisition as “the combination of effort plus desire to achieve the goal of learning the language plus favourable attitudes toward learning the language” (1985: 10).

### Attitudes Defined

The term attitude is also used quite extensively in the language-learning literature, and it too has a very large number of associated linkages. An early definition proposed by Allport in 1935 characterized attitude as “a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual’s response to all objects and situations with which it is related” (Allport, 1954: 45). Attitudes are considered to have cognitive, affective, and conative components and can be further characterized in terms of their direction, magnitude, intensity, ambivalence, cognitive complexity, embeddedness, flexibility, salience, and consciousness (cf., Scott, 1968). In terms of standard attitude measurement techniques, however, the assessment of attitudes tends to make use of questionnaires that focus on evaluative reactions to the attitude object. Thus, Gardner proposed that “an individual’s attitude is an evaluative reaction to some referent or attitude object, inferred on the basis of the individual’s beliefs or opinions about the referent” (1985: 9); reference to beliefs and opinions is made because of the way in which they are typically measured, though obviously attitudes also can be inferred on the basis of other aspects of behavior as well. Consideration of the two concepts, attitude and motivation, makes it very clear that they are closely interrelated. Motivation has attitudinal components, and attitudes have motivational implications, and the bulk of studies in the area of second language acquisition tend to recognize this interrelationship.

### Theoretical Conceptualizations of Motivation in Second Language Learning

The definition of motivation proposed by Dörnyei and Ottó (1998) is important because it highlights the many features of motivation in terms of its dynamic nature, its continuity over time, and its implications for the task at hand. Similarly, Allport’s (1954) definition of attitude provided a clear insight into its dynamic nature, notwithstanding its overall continuity as well. It is clear that both constructs are

complex, interrelated, and implicated in most behavioral activities, and this is reflected in the research on individual differences in second language acquisition. A close inspection of the literature will reveal that although many researchers are concerned with the role played by attitudes and motivation, there are a number of different trails that have been followed. That is, there are conceivably a very large number of possible attitudes (in terms of attitude objects) and motives (in terms of reasons for doing an activity) that might be investigated. Moreover, each of these can be considered in terms of at least three different and distinct levels of analysis and generalization. In the area of motivation to learn another language, these can be classified in terms of three perspectives, societal, activity-centered, and individual.

### Perspective I

The societal perspective of motivation focuses on community-level reasons for learning a second language. Because of different social and political exigencies or historical precedents, different cultures or national groups have different pressures on them to learn other languages or to attempt to revive or maintain their own language. In fact, the societal level was perhaps one of the first approaches to the concept of motivation in second language acquisition. In the lead article of the inaugural issue of *Language Learning*, Marckwardt identified five motives for learning another language, and at least four of them focus more on societal reasons than on individual ones. The primary one, and clearly the more individualistic, is for self-cultural development, viz., “a knowledge of modern languages is one of the accomplishments of a cultivated man” (1948: 3). The others refer to such societal reasons as maintaining the ethnic identity of a minority group, assimilation of an ethnic minority, promotion of trade and commerce, and scientific and technical usefulness. The actual descriptions of the motives clearly place emphasis on why individuals should learn other languages for the good of the community. In all five cases, these motives can be seen as pressures placed by society on individuals to learn another language.

Societal motives are sometimes mistaken for individual ones, either by the researcher or by the individual student. Thus, when students state that their reason for studying a language is to obtain a degree, or to meet an academic requirement, etc., they are not really reporting on a motive of their own, but rather are voicing pressures exerted by society. In some of the literature, these types are described as extrinsic motives, but they are really pressures imposed by society. They could be considered motives that have

been internalized by the individual if they are linked to other aspects of motivation; otherwise they are best characterized as reflecting external pressures. The important point is that motives are named on the basis of the reason for engaging in the particular activity, but motivation involves a series of related consequences such as effort, persistence, interest, and enjoyment. Without these, a reason is just a reason, not a motive.

### Perspective II

The second perspective treats motivation as a characteristic of the individual that is tied directly to the task at hand. Constructs associated with this type of model are state motivation, which refers specifically to the motivation to do well at a specific time (cf., Gardner *et al.*, 2004; Heckhausen, 1991), and “on-line motivation” (Boekaerts, 2002), which focuses on the task itself and includes emotions, appraisals, and intentions before the task begins and emotions, attributions, and effort reported at the end of the task. Elements of these constructs are represented in many models, but one model that focuses directly on the task of language learning is that proposed by Dörnyei and Ottó (1998). It consists of three phases: preactional, actional, and postactional. It is a model that treats motivation in very conscious terms. Individuals have objectives, set goals, perform acts, experience their outcomes, appraise their success, and behave accordingly. It is an informative analysis of what takes place at specific stages of learning and as such provides very useful perspectives for individuals concerned with explaining specific behaviors in language learning. It does not, however, deal with aspects of motivation of which the individual is unaware (unconscious features) or long-range motivation.

### Perspective III

The third perspective has been characterized by Dörnyei (2001) as comprising two different approaches. One focuses on social motivation that treats second language acquisition as a task closely linked with self-identity and ethnic relations. The other is described as “education-friendly” and focuses on the individual and classroom interactions. Both treat the motivation to learn the language in terms of relatively stable affective characteristics. That is, motivation to learn another language is seen as a general disposition of the individual that nonetheless may be influenced by a number of external factors.

One of the earliest studies based on the social motivation approach was conducted by Gardner and Lambert (1959), based on Lambert’s seminal research and theorizing on bilingualism (see, for example,

Lambert, 1955, 1967). In their study, Gardner and Lambert demonstrated that two factors, language aptitude and motivation, were associated with achievement in French among a sample of English-speaking high school students. The motivation factor was characterized by a high level of motivational intensity to learn French, favorable attitudes toward French Canadians, and a preference for integrative as opposed to instrumental reasons for learning the language – the so-called integrative–instrumental dichotomy, which subsequently became a topic of much discussion (see below).

There have been a number of models that have developed from this tradition. One of the earliest was the socioeducational model of second language acquisition (Gardner and Smythe, 1975; Gardner, 1985). The basic assumption underlying this model is that language is a significant part of one's self-identity and that learning another language is much more complex than learning another school subject because it involves "the acquisition of skills or behaviour patterns which are characteristic of another cultural community" (Gardner, 1985: 146). In the socioeducational model, second language learning is seen to take place in the context of a series of antecedent experiential and biological factors (such as the sociocultural milieu, and prior educational experiences, gender, etc.) which act on a host of individual variables. These individual difference variables in turn act in conjunction with formal and informal language acquisition contexts to yield linguistic and nonlinguistic outcomes.

Although a number of individual difference variables, such as language aptitude, intelligence, language anxiety, instrumental orientation, and language learning strategies, are considered in the socioeducational model, the major attention is directed toward the concept of integrative motivation. The model proposes that two attitudinal factors, integrativeness and attitudes toward the learning situation, serve as supports for and influences on the motivation to learn another language and that motivation and language aptitude are two primary variables influencing achievement. It also allows that other affective individual difference variables, such as language anxiety and an instrumental orientation, may influence second language learning. The constellation of integrativeness, attitudes toward the learning situation, and motivation has been described as reflecting an integrative motive to learn another language in that the integratively motivated individual is perceived as one who has an open interest in the other language community and other ethnic communities in general, perceives the language learning context positively, and expresses a high degree of motivation

to learn the language. Associated with this model is the Attitude Motivation Test Battery (AMTB), which is designed to measure various features of the integrative motive as well as instrumental orientation and language anxiety, and has been used in many investigations in this area (see, for example, Gardner, 1985, 2000).

Clément (1980) proposed an alternative model that considered many of the same variables, but focused more attention on the social context and the relative vitality of the first- and second-language communities. Integrativeness and fear of assimilation were seen to influence the motivation to learn a second language in unilingual communities but to be mediated by the frequency and quality of contact and the resulting self-confidence in the language in multicultural contexts. Individual differences in motivation resulted in competence in the language, which in turn could influence the individual's level of acculturation. In subsequent research, this model has been modified and extended to deal with acculturation of ethnic minority group members (cf., Clément, 1986; Noels *et al.*, 1996).

MacIntyre *et al.* (1998) proposed a Willingness to Communicate Model that is based on similar constructs as these models, but viewed the ultimate goal as willingness to communicate rather than achievement itself. This is an important development in this area in that it stresses that the ultimate goal is not to learn the language but to develop the competence and the confidence to use it in communication. Like the other models discussed in this section, it includes variables associated with integrative motivation. Also, like Noel's (2001) self-determination model (see below), it includes some personality characteristics, etc., but it places ultimate use of the language at the pinnacle of a pyramid and actual learning further down, whereas the other models treat ultimate communication more or less as a given of learning the language. As many language teachers will note, however, this is not a foregone conclusion.

Noels (2001) has proposed a model of second language acquisition based on Deci and Ryan's (1985) self-determination model. It considers both intergroup and individual motivational processes and links them to six classes of variables. These are immediate social contact, fundamental needs, orientations, intention and engagement, L2 use, and linguistic and nonlinguistic outcomes. In this model, proficiency in the other language is seen as a linguistic outcome resulting from the interplay of contact with the language with four fundamental needs, social identity, relatedness, autonomy, and competence leading to three orientations, integrative, intrinsic, and extrinsic. These in turn can influence the willingness to



communicate and the effort and persistence demonstrated in learning the language, which in turn leads to language use and ultimately proficiency and some possible changes in identity. As can be seen, this model is comparable to the others discussed above, although, as with the willingness to communicate model, it is perhaps more detailed in that it explicitly identifies many variables that might be implicated in language learning. The overlap is recognized by Noels, who claimed that “The primary contribution of this approach lies in that it figuratively takes a magnifying glass to look more closely at the nature of orientations, how they are affected by significant others in different contexts, and how they may be differentially related to L2 variables” (2001: 61).

These models vary in terms of parsimony, with the socioeducational and the social context models being the most parsimonious in that they involve fewer variables and processes than the others. They are all similar, however, in that each of them recognizes that second language acquisition involves the acquisition of features that are characteristic of a different culture. This in turn could have implications for feelings of self-identity for some individuals.

The education-friendly models place more of an emphasis on characteristics of the individual, and the implications this can have for learning, and focus on variables that could be appropriate to any learning situation. Dörnyei (2001) described a number of such models, some of which are drawn from other fields of psychology, including educational psychology. One example of such a model is Dörnyei’s (1994) “extended motivational framework.” This model considers motivation in terms of three levels, the language level, the learner level, and the learning situation level, and proposes that each of them can supplement or cancel the motivation generated at the other levels. The language level focuses on motivation associated with the language itself (i.e., the community, value of knowing the language, etc.); the learner level refers to characteristics of the student similar to the social motivation models; and the learning situation level focuses on motivation deriving from the curriculum, the teacher, and the classroom.

Another example of an education-friendly model is the social constructivist model proposed by Williams and Burden (1997). This model distinguishes between internal factors, such as the individual’s intrinsic interest, perceived value, feelings of competence, and attitudes about the language, and external factors, such as significant others, the learning environment, and the social context. This model includes a large number of variables that could be implicated in the language learning situation that would be of particular interest to teachers and

educators who wish to consider various aspects that could influence an individual’s level of achievement in the language.

Each of these models is useful in helping us understand the learning process, in making us aware of variables that can influence learning, and in suggesting perspectives that we might embrace. It is important to note, however, that the models are not contradictory. None makes a prediction that is not consistent with the others. The models do differ somewhat in the specificity of the processes involved, varying from statements about how variables in the model influence or effect others to largely a description of variables or classes of variables that can be involved. They also differ in terms of the amount of research that has been devoted to testing specific predictions deriving from them. Clearly, there are a number of different ways of conceptualizing motivation in second language acquisition and in the types of attitude variables that might be implicated. An interesting question, however, is whether or not they capture different sources of variation in second language achievement. That is, each of them postulates the importance of somewhat different constructs and processes, but to the extent that they all are concerned with explaining the role of motivation in second language learning, one might well ask whether any one model would contribute to prediction over another or whether the ultimate degree of prediction of achievement would be essentially the same regardless of the model followed. If this is the case, the value in the model rests not so much in accounting for variation in achievement but in the nature of the variables to be emphasized.

## Issues

There are many questions that have been raised by researchers and educators about the role of motivation and attitudes in second language acquisition, and at least five of these have become issues that are relatively central to this area of research.

One very basic question deals with the direction of causation between attitudes and motivation on the one hand and language achievement on the other. It is implied in many of the models that individual differences in motivation are responsible in part for differences in achievement, but it has been questioned whether this is the most meaningful cause–effect sequence. One could equally argue that achievement in the language promotes motivation and favorable attitudes (cf., Ellis, 1994). When dealing with the relationship between individual differences, however, it is not possible to demonstrate simple causation of the nature that A causes B. The



only way to demonstrate such causation is to randomly assign individuals to the various values of A and to assess whether this results in variation in B (cf., Gardner, 2000). The attempt to use procedures such as structural equation modeling to demonstrate the direction of causation is not a solution. Such 'causal models' are not tests of causation, but simply tests of one way of explaining relationships in terms of regression coefficients. This is a big difference! With characteristics that individuals bring with them to any situation, random assignment is not possible; hence, unequivocal conclusions about causation are not possible. Though this may seem like a major problem, in point of fact, the direction of causality is immaterial. To the extent that there is a correlation between motivation and achievement in the population, this means that there are conditional (Bayesian) probabilities linking the two variables. For example, a positive correlation demonstrates that there is an increased probability that an individual with high levels of motivation will be more successful in learning the language than an individual with low levels and there is also an increased probability that the individual who is successful in learning the language will be more motivated to learn the language than an individual who is less successful.

This can be demonstrated by an example from a study we recently conducted in Spain (Gardner and Bernaus, 2004). In that study, a correlation of 0.40 was obtained between motivation assessed in the autumn and the following spring grades in English among a sample of 166 Level 2 secondary school students. Further analysis revealed that the probability that individuals scoring above the median in motivation would be in the top 30% on achievement was 0.40, whereas the probability was 0.19 for those scoring below the median on motivation (i.e., twice as great). Similarly, those above the median on achievement were more likely to be in the top 30% of motivation with a probability of 0.37, whereas the probability of those below the median on achievement being in the top 30% on motivation was 0.23 (again close to twice (1.61) as great). These are not certainties, of course, and could vary from sample to sample, but they do indicate clearly that a correlation as low as 0.40 has clear implications about the conditional probabilities that operate when it is established that there is a correlation between two variables.

A second, but related, issue involves the degree of relationship between the two classes of variables. It is true that a correlation of 0.40 between motivation and achievement indicates that only 16% of the variation of one of the variables is explained by the other (cf., Ellis, 1994; Dörnyei, 2001), and as a

consequence, some researchers consider low correlations to be trivial. The first part of this statement is true; the last part is arguable. Cohen described a correlation of 0.30 as reflecting a medium effect and that such a relationship "would be perceptible to the naked eye of a reasonably sensitive observer" (1988: 80). He noted too that "many of the correlation coefficients encountered in behavioral science are of this magnitude" (1988: 80). Moreover, as indicated above, such a correlation still implies a level of conditional probabilities that are not trivial.

A third issue is long-standing and deals with the distinction between integrative and instrumental orientations. In their initial study, Gardner and Lambert (1959) classified students as integrative or instrumental in their orientation to studying French as a second language based on the reason they ranked as most applicable to themselves. The results demonstrated that individuals who were integratively orientated were more motivated, had more favorable attitudes toward French Canadians, and had higher levels of achievement in French than those who were instrumentally oriented. In subsequent research (e.g., Gardner and Lambert, 1972; Gardner and Smythe, 1975), this dichotomous measure was dropped in favor of separate measures of the applicability of each type of orientation to language learning. Although the results demonstrated that the two orientations were positively related to each other, many other researchers and educators tended to emphasize the relative superiority of one over the other (cf., Crookes and Schmidt, 1991; Oxford and Shearin, 1994). A meta-analysis conducted by Masgoret and Gardner (2003) demonstrated that achievement tended to be more highly related to individual differences in an integrative orientation than in an instrumental one but the differences were not large. In fact, the mean correlations were relatively low over all, though in the various samples, correlations with grades were as low as  $-0.21$  and as high as  $0.56$ . For three different types of achievement measure (grades, objective measures, and self-ratings), the mean correlations ranged from 0.15 to 0.20 for integrative orientation and 0.08 to 0.16 for instrumental orientation.

Some of the questions concerning the lack of importance of the role of attitudes and motivation in second language acquisition derive from individuals who focus only on the orientations (cf., Crookes and Schmidt, 1991) rather than considering the other attitudinal and motivational variables. All of the social motivation models include other attitude and motivation measures, however. In the socioeducational model, for example, Gardner (1985, 2000) stressed that motivation, not orientations, is the major affective variable implicated in second language

learning, but that it is supported and maintained by integrativeness (as distinct from simply an integrative orientation) and evaluation of the learning situation. He has proposed (Gardner, 2000) that many factors might contribute to motivation, even though integrativeness will always be important because of the link between language, ethnicity, and self-identity.

A fourth issue has to do with the distinction between second and foreign language learning. Inspection of the literature reveals that there are at least two reasons for making such a distinction, one based on the availability of the language in the community (cf., Oxford and Shearin, 1994) and the other on the sociopolitical importance of the other language (cf., Dörnyei, 2001). It has been proposed that motivational and attitudinal variables would play slightly different roles in the case of a second as opposed to a foreign language learning context, but to date there has been little evidence to support such a hypothesis. For example, a meta-analysis of research conducted by Gardner and associates failed to detect an effect of bilingual vs. monolingual settings on the relationship between motivation and language achievement (Masgoret and Gardner, 2003). Furthermore, research conducted in Hungary, in which English is clearly a foreign (as opposed to a second) language, found significant relationships between integrative motivational types of variables and achievement in English (Dörnyei and Clément, 2001).

Perhaps the most dominant issue currently is the distinction between motivation and motivating and the implications that the education-friendly vs. the social motivational models have for this distinction. Education-friendly models highlight features that educators might use to motivate students. Close inspection of these models will reveal, however, that many of the features discussed are common to virtually any subject from mathematics to history (i.e., interest, intrinsic motivation, teaching techniques, course content, causal attributions, feedback, arousal of curiosity, feelings of competence, age, and gender). These are important attributes to be sure, but it is important to determine whether these models contribute anything to the prediction of achievement or related behaviors such as the willingness to communicate that is not predicted by the social motivation models. Clearly, there is nothing in the education-friendly models that is inconsistent with predictions from the social motivation models, or vice versa, and the social motivation models could incorporate the other features without changing their basic assumptions or postulates.

The problem of motivating students is one that can be difficult in the context of second language learning if one accepts that such learning involves a construct such as integrativeness. In the socioeducational model

(Gardner, 1985), integrativeness involves more than just an integrative orientation. It refers to the individual's cultural openness and interest in other communities and languages and favorable attitudes toward the target language group as well as an integrative orientation. Integrativeness is a higher-order construct with many levels. At one level, it can mean simply a willingness or capacity to take on characteristics of another cultural community. At another, it can reflect a full desire to identify and integrate with the other community. Most language learners do not study languages in order to become members of another cultural community (though some might), but at a minimum they must be able to make features (i.e., language) of another community part of their own behavioral repertoire, and there are individual differences in the ability (or willingness) to do this.

Two examples from the literature illustrate possible extremes of an integrativeness dimension. One, described by Nida (1956), was the case of an individual, the son of immigrants, who identified strongly with the American way of life and hid his immigrant background while growing up. Despite a superior language program and a strong motivation to learn a foreign language to aid him in his life as a missionary, he was unsuccessful in learning the language. Nida proffered that his earlier rejection of his immigrant background made him incapable of learning a foreign language. At the other extreme, Lambert (1955) described an American graduate student majoring in French who measured dominant in French on measures of bilingualism. This student had an extreme attachment with France, read French newspapers, etc., and planned to move there when he graduated. Although these are extreme examples, they serve to define the potential extremes of integrativeness from high negative to high positive and also indicate that the effects of integrativeness on motivation might well be unconscious. That is, individuals might want to learn a language but because of emotional issues associated with ethnicity simply may not be capable of doing so.

The construct of integrativeness has implications for the issue of motivating students. Educators may use procedures to motivate students, but these techniques may well be ineffective for some students, and it is important to conduct research to evaluate their effectiveness in motivating students to actually learn and use the language. Recently, we investigated attitudinal and motivational changes over a year-long course, and the results were instructive. Two studies were conducted, one with Canadian university students of French as a second language (Gardner *et al.*, 2004) and the other with EFL secondary school students in Spain (Gardner and Bernaus, 2004). In both studies, significant interactions were obtained between

ultimate achievement in the course and time of testing for attitudes toward the learning situation but not for other attitudinal and motivational characteristics measured by the AMTB. In both studies, students who were ultimately successful in the course evidenced relative increases in attitudes toward the learning situation, whereas students who were least successful showed declines and the middle students showed virtually no change. That is, the degree of success in the course had an effect only on reactions to the course and/or the teacher. Admittedly, there was no attempt to investigate specific motivational techniques, but the teachers in the study, like most teachers, were quite likely doing their best to teach the students and to motivate them. In both studies, there was also a tendency for the measures of integrativeness and motivation to become less positive over the course of the year, but these changes generally were not moderated by ultimate success in the course. The implication is therefore that what goes on in the course can influence learning and reactions to the learning situation but not integrativeness or motivation. It is possible, therefore, that educators' attempts to motivate students could result in improved reactions to the course but not in more general attitudes, motivation, or the willingness to use the language outside the classroom environment. Clearly, much more research is required to investigate the issue of motivating students in language classes to determine whether or not it has the desired effect in terms of achievement and willingness to use the language. This is an important challenge for the future.

*See also:* Bilingualism and Second Language Learning; Interlanguage; Second and Foreign Language Learning and Teaching; Second Language Identity.

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## Pedagogical Grammars for Second Language Learning

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People learn languages for interactional purposes. Even a so-called library language involves interaction between a reader and texts that the reader reads. While experts agree that learning language in a natural setting, by interacting with speakers of the target language in their own community, is the best way of acquiring a language, it is not always possible to do so. Since time immemorial, people have felt the need to learn languages in classrooms, whether these were tailored to an individual or to a group. For instance, in medieval times the aristocracy employed tutors to give their wards individualized instruction, whereas religious institutions had language instruction for groups of monks or nuns or clergy. This was true of all civilizations throughout the world from what we know of instruction in, for example, classical Arabic, Chinese, Latin, and Sanskrit.

With universal education in modern times, classroom instruction has become more systematic and more varied across the world. In the context of language classrooms, a great debate has been raging on the topic of whether grammar teaching plays any role in language learning. Krashen's distinction (1981) between language acquisition and language learning has had a major impact on practices in language classrooms. The paradigm in second and foreign language instruction changed from direct and audiolingual methods to communicative language teaching (Berns, 1990; Savignon, 2002). For many language teaching professionals, communicative language teaching meant a benign neglect, if not a total boycott, of grammar instruction (see, e.g., Eskey, 1983; van Patten, 1988). However, this extreme position was not embraced wholeheartedly by the entire language-teaching profession (Celce-Murcia, 1995; McDonald, 1999; Nassaji and Fotos, 2004; Teng, 1997; to cite just a few). The reasons for this resistance to banishing grammar from second or foreign language instructional contexts are research findings in actual language classrooms. The first set of findings shows that conscious attention to form is a necessary condition for language learning (e.g., Schmidt, 2001). Another set provides evidence for the claim that just meaning-focused communicative tasks, with no method of creating awareness of the grammatical system, are inadequate; this exclusively meaning-focused method of teaching does not lead to accuracy in language use (see, e.g., Skehan, 1998). A third set

suggests that once learners have arrived at a certain level and seem ready to move to the next level of linguistic proficiency, it is possible to accelerate their learning through grammar teaching, even in the context of a communicative classroom (Lightbown, 2000). Both the second and the third sorts of research findings are discussed in Ellis (2002). A final set of findings relates to the positive outcome of deliberate grammar teaching in learning, especially in attaining accuracy that persists over time (see Norris and Ortega, 2000, 2001). As a result, there has been a great deal of discussion about the nature of grammar instruction suitable for language classrooms, and there are many publications, too numerous to be listed here, on the properties of pedagogical grammars.

The category of pedagogical grammar is defined by the specific purpose these grammars serve, namely, a source of information for teachers and learners on grammatical topics and appropriateness of use of linguistic structures in specific contexts of spoken or written interaction. Obviously, then, pedagogical grammars are different from other grammars in several respects.

### Types of Grammars

There are several types of grammars in existence: linguistic grammars (descriptions), reference grammars, pedagogical grammars, and language courses (the last with grammar components). Linguistic grammars or descriptions are primarily for testing linguistic theories; two examples of such grammars are Jolly (1991), which presents a 'role and reference' grammar of English, and Haegeman and Guéron (1999), which is a transformational, or generative, grammar of English. Since the purpose of such grammars is well defined in terms of theoretical goals, they are usually limited in scope (e.g., Ginzburg and Sag, 2000), or when they attempt to be comprehensive, they tend to propose modifications and extensions of theories they are based on. A grammar driven by linguistic theory may also illustrate how the theory works. A good example of a descriptive grammar driven by linguistic theory is Halliday (1985), which illustrates how the systemic model is effective in describing English.

Reference grammars are usually theory neutral, i.e., they derive insights from several theoretically oriented descriptions and present information in traditional grammatical terms or in terms that are explained explicitly so that a wide range of users may find the information useful. Two good examples of reference grammars of English are Quirk *et al.* (1985) and Huddleston and Pullum (2002).



Language courses present language material with a view to facilitating learning; the emphasis is on making the units interesting and useful for communication via plentiful, but not overwhelming, structural, lexical, and sociocultural content. Grammatical points are explained, but they are only one of the several concerns of the course writers. Since it is tied to the lessons, the grammatical information is fragmentary and not systematic as in a reference grammar. Examples of language courses with grammatical notes are Rutherford (1975) for English and Kachru and Pandharipande (1983) for Hindi.

One distinctive characteristic of pedagogical grammars is that they facilitate awareness of the relatedness of grammatical structures to speaker/writer meanings and intentions. The primary concern of linguistic grammatical descriptions is linguistic theory; that of reference grammars is presenting grammatical topics in a systematic way in order to focus on the grammaticality of structures. Issues of sociocultural appropriateness are not central to either type. However, appropriateness of what can be said is essential for the language-for-interaction goal of language learning and teaching, which is systematically handled only in pedagogical grammars. Language courses illustrate them but do not present them methodically. Furthermore, language courses are focused on teaching language; their aim is not to present grammatical topics systematically.

### Characteristics of Pedagogical Grammars

The following topics may be said to be the essential properties of pedagogical grammars; they are illustrated with material drawn from a number of Western and non-Western languages.

#### Relating Use (Function) and Usage (Grammatical Rules)

This may be illustrated by a partial description of a phenomenon in Hindi, an Indo-Aryan language spoken in northern India. As in most Indo-European languages, Hindi has a passive construction represented by the following examples:

- (1) *šilāā se khāānāā nahī*  
*Sheila by meal MASC NEG*  
*pakāāyāā jāēgāā.*  
*cook PERF go FUT MASC SG*  
 'Sheila will not be able to cook the meal'

- (2) *sab lar̥kiyō ko bulāāyāā*  
*all girls OBL DO invite PERF*  
*gayāā hai.*  
*go PERF PRES SG*  
 'all have been invited'

In the two examples above, the passive auxiliary is *jāā* 'go', the main verb is marked for the perfect aspect, and the agent, when it occurs, is followed by the instrumental postposition *se*, as in (1). Another interesting grammatical fact to note is that since the agent in (1) is marked with a postposition, the verb agrees with the patient, *khāānāā* 'meal', and so is in the masculine singular form. That the oblique noun does not control agreement can be seen in (2), where, since the patient, *lar̥kiyō* 'girls-OBL', is followed by the postposition *ko*, marking it as the direct object, the verb is not in the feminine form; it is in the default agreement form, i.e., masculine singular. The semantic fact worth noting is that the negative passive denotes a lack of capability on the part of the agent, as in (1); without the agent, the predicate expression is about the patient; the agent is either not known or irrelevant, as in (2). Grammatically, it is well motivated to describe both (1) and (2) under a discussion of passive; in terms of use, it is crucial to point out that the so-called passive with agent is used mostly for signaling the inability of the agent to perform a certain action. The one exception to this generalization is in the journalistic register, especially news reports, where, under the influence of English, the passive construction with agent is used in a way analogous to the English passive.

#### Capturing Regularities in Language by Grammatical Rules

The following data from African-American English (Labov, 1998: 120) seem ungrammatical and inappropriate to General American English (GAE) speakers:

- (3) when June come, I be outta school  
 (4) when my son was young, the women be givin'  
       him money  
 (5) so you know it all don't be on her, it be half

The nonfinite *be* in the above sentences, however, has a grammar of its own. According to Labov (1998) it has three grammatical properties: it requires *do*-support (*don't be* is grammatical; *\*ben't* is not); it cannot be used to make tag questions; and it does not undergo subject-auxiliary inversion in, e.g., question formation, as auxiliaries such as *do* and *have* in GAE do. It has two distinct semantic properties: it indicates habitual state or activity, as in 3 and 4, and it signals a durative and intensive sense, as in 5.

#### Functions of Rules and Exceptions to Rules in Use

The general rules for use of articles in English are described in Quirk *et al.* (1985: 265–287); they

are based on well-attested functions of the articles in English. However, English-watchers have recently reported on the case of ‘missing’ indefinite articles, discussed in more than one issue of *English Today*. Examples such as the following are from radio broadcasts and print media (McArthur, 1995: 43):

- (6) I prefer to work with people who do think I'm important artist. (BBC Radio, June 21, 1994)
- (7) Nirex are going to apply for underground laboratory. (BBC Radio, June 21, 1994)
- (8) He was decent, caring man who was disgusted by the vandalism and lawlessness around him. (*The Sunday Times*, London, June 13, 1993)
- (9) The point is that *it is platform* for good journalism with differing views. (*The Observer*, London, April 25, 1993)
- (10) “Anti-semitism is a hideous form of racial hatred and bigotry,” Mr. Chavis said in an address given at the National Museum of Natural History in Washington. “It is virulent strand of racism.” (New York Times Service in *International Herald Tribune*, January 26, 1994)
- (11) ... Mrs. Nasser, 40, said in telephone interview from her home in Ramallah north of Jerusalem. (Washington Post service in *International Herald Tribune*, August 23, 1994)

This phenomenon of the missing indefinite article was noted earlier by Algeo (1988: 4–8). It may be more of a feature of British English, as Ilson (1995) asserts; it may be more a feature of the spoken language; or it may be a language change in progress. Whatever it is, pedagogical grammars need to go beyond reference grammars to point out such features, which learners are bound to notice when they interact with speakers of different varieties of English, and depending on the context, pedagogical grammars should make specific recommendations about appropriate usage.

### Relating Structure and Meaning to Make Sense of Form-Function Correlation

To take another example involving articles in English, a pedagogical grammar has to point out the following two facts. First, there is no clear semantic basis for the use of the different articles in English; they overlap semantically. Secondly, there is no one-to-one correspondence between definiteness and specificity on the one hand and the definite article *the* on the other. The choice of an article is determined by grammatical, semantic, and pragmatic considerations; hence, a clear grammatical account of the use of

definite NPs is not possible. These two points are supported by the following types of description and data:

- Description: count nouns in the singular must be preceded by an article; the following are ungrammatical: \**girl is waiting for her mother*; \**he is reading book his friend gave him*.
- Semantics: articles signal whether the noun is definite or indefinite and specific, nonspecific, or generic in reference.
- Pedagogical grammatical note: There is no one-to-one correspondence between the articles *a(n)* and *the* and their meanings, as the following data show:

- |       |  |  |
|-------|--|--|
| (12a) | <i>A(n)</i> A cheetah is faster than a bear  | (indefinite article; nonspecific, generic)   |
| (12b) | I saw a girl jogging in the snow   | (indefinite article; specific, unidentified) |
| (13a) | <i>The</i> For the scientist, <i>the shark</i> is of interest because of its almost perfect streamlined form | (definite article, nonspecific, generic)     |
| (13b) | the man in front looks sick  | (definite article, specific, identified)     |

There are some purely grammatical functions that are associated with *a(n)* and *the*. For example, a count noun in the singular occurring as a complement to a linking verb must be preceded by *a(n)*. Thus, the following is ungrammatical: \**my brother is neurosurgeon*. Similarly, the definite article *the* must precede superlative adjectives, e.g., *the best book*, *the fastest car*. For a list of such grammatical functions of indefinite and definite articles, see Quirk *et al.* (1985: 273ff. and 269ff.).

### Difference between Grammatical, Referential, Utterance, and Speaker Meanings

Every utterance carries all four types of meanings. For instance, an utterance such as *I think it's getting late* has the grammatical meaning ‘statement’; the referential meaning consists of *I*, referring to a particular speaker, and the rest, referring to a particular situation; the utterance meaning signals that the speaker wants change in whatever activity is taking place; and the speaker meaning can signal any of the following, depending on the context: we should close this meeting, it is time to eat/go to bed/begin the game, when are we going to eat? why aren't the guests here? can't we do this some other time? etc.

### Role of Creativity versus Routines in Use

In spite of the property that human languages can generate infinitely large numbers of sentences, actual interactions depend on a large number of routine expressions (Coulmas, 1981). There is a finite set of options from which individuals select whatever seems appropriate to them when they greet, take leave, apologize, pay compliments, offer condolences, make requests, lodge complaints, etc. Pedagogical grammars, irrespective of their grammatical properties, must present such routines systematically in terms of their functions if they are to be helpful. For instance, all of the following Hindi sentences have the force of politely requesting or suggesting that the addressee act in a certain way; the literal meaning of all the sentences is the same, ‘please have your meal.’

- |      |             |            |             |             |
|------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------|
| (14) | khāānāā     | khāā       | lījīye      |             |
|      | <i>meal</i> | <i>eat</i> | <i>take</i> | HON IMP     |
| (15) | khāānāā     | khāā       | lījīyega    |             |
|      | <i>meal</i> | <i>eat</i> | <i>take</i> | HON IMP FUT |
| (16) | khāānāā     | khāā       | lē          |             |
|      | <i>meal</i> | <i>eat</i> | <i>take</i> | OPT         |
| (17) | khāānāā     | khāā       | liyāā       | jāāe        |
|      | <i>meal</i> | <i>eat</i> | <i>take</i> | PERF go OPT |

Hindi makes a distinction between intimate, familiar, and honorific forms of second person pronouns and imperative forms of verbs. The above are all honorific forms. As the glosses suggest, each one represents a different grammatical construction. In a pedagogical grammar, however, they belong together with explanations of contexts in which each one is appropriate: (14) is used for intimate or very familiar addressees one respects, e.g., one’s parents, older siblings, close relatives; (15) is used when the context demands that the addressee be given the impression that he or she has a choice not to eat immediately but whenever it is convenient – the distance in time suggests a higher degree of politeness; (16) is used in very formal situations since the verb is not marked with the imperative ending but rather the optative suffix, which signals a suggestion; and (17), a passive verb with an optative suffix, is used – especially in the eastern Hindi-speaking area – to suggest the highest degree of politeness.

### Interactional Norms of Speech Communities

Every speech community has its norms of interaction. All languages have interrogative structures; however, not all speech communities have the same rules of use of interrogative structures. For example, among the aborigines of southeast Queensland, Australia, direct questions are seldom used (Eades, 1982). The questioner must make assumptions and then ask questions

on the basis of these assumptions. In Japanese interactions, an elaborate system of honorifics is used to indicate politeness in referring to a third party or addressing someone. The honorific system consists of not only special particles but also lexical items and syntactic structures. According to Martin (1964: 411), “[h]onorific forms incorporating negatives analogous to our ‘Wouldn’t you like to’ are generally felt to be more polite than those without negatives.” He cites a 1957 study by the National Language Research Institute of Japan of the attitudes in nonstandard dialect areas for a number of such generalizations.

### Interface of Language and Culture

Language is universally used for social interaction. However, there are rules about who has the right to speak, when to speak or keep silent, what to say, and how to say something. For instance, greetings in GAE require a response that is also a greeting. In southern Asian languages, however, elders respond to a greeting from a younger person with a ‘blessing’ such as *may you live long, have good health, and prosper*. A compliment in GAE evokes a response such as *thank you*; in Asian languages such as Chinese, Hindi, and Japanese, a denial of being worthy of a compliment is considered polite because it shows humility; accepting a compliment by saying *thank you* is perceived to be conceited. Grammars are not concerned with such norms of interaction; pedagogical grammars, to be effective, have to describe the expected use of items such as *thank you* or constructions such as *may you live long* in the speech community.

### Pedagogical Grammar in Language Education

On the one hand, pedagogical grammars organize and systematize knowledge about language; on the other hand, they represent resources that both learners and teachers can access for clarification or for stimulating discussion about grammaticality versus appropriateness in use of structural patterns. This may be illustrated with an example from French. The following sentences are all characterized as attributive in French grammatical descriptions (from Ciliberti, 1984: 28):

- |      |  |
|------|--|
| (18) | il est professeur [more or less essential quality] |
|      | <i>he is professor</i>                             |
|      | ‘he is a professor’                                |
| (19) | il a les yeux bleus [an essential quality]         |
|      | <i>he has the eyes blue</i>                        |
|      | ‘he has blue eyes’                                 |

- (20) il aime le fromage [attribution of a disposition]  
*he loves GENERIC cheese*  
 ‘he loves cheese (i.e., all types of cheese)’

The grammatical generalization in terms of attribution does not help an English-speaking learner of French attempting to figure out where to use what seems like an article [*les, le*, in (18) and (19), respectively] and where not to use it [e.g., in (20)], especially if the learner wants to participate in interactions as a speaker, as opposed to decoding what has been said, as a listener. It also does not lead to the learner’s internalizing the nature of the attributive sentences in French. A contrastive account of English and French article use such as the following may be helpful: a predicate nominal complement of a linking verb in French typically does not take an indefinite article as in English; on the other hand, the name of a body part, denoting inalienable possession, does take a definite article, as does a generic nominal complement in a statement indicating habitual state.

Another example is relevant to reinforce this point. McDonald (1999) discusses a topic in Chinese (Mandarin) grammar, adopting an approach in which the text is the point of departure. Learners concentrate on what contribution vocabulary and grammar make to the meaning of texts and are thus to acquire the knowledge of grammar and lexicon they need based on their understanding of these levels as contextualized in texts (Halliday, 1985). The topic McDonald focuses on is the function of the aspect suffix *le*.

The Chinese language is very different from Indo-European languages in its grammar, as it is analytical, i.e., it has hardly any inflectional morphology and a rather small number of derivational affixes; most grammatical relations are indicated by compounds of two syllables, juxtaposition of lexical items, or variation in word order. Consequently, number, gender, tense, etc., are not overtly indicated and have to be computed from the syntax, or the context, or both. The few affixes that Chinese has include locatives; classifiers; a genitive morpheme; an adverbial morpheme; two nominalizing morphemes analogous to *-ology* (as in *sociology*) and *-ist* (as in *novelist*); and two aspect-marking suffixes, the durative *zhe* and the perfective *le*.

McDonald (1999) cites Li and Thompson (1981: 185–186), who describe the function of *le* as follows:

The verbal aspect suffix *-le* expresses perfectivity, that is, it indicates that an event is being viewed in its entirety or as a whole. An event is viewed in its entirety if it is *bounded* temporally, spatially or conceptually. There are essentially four ways in which an event can be bounded:

- A. By being a quantified event  
 B. By being a definite or specific event

- C. By being inherently bounded because of the meaning of the verb  
 D. By being the first event in the sequence.

Li and Thompson’s aim is to make sure that learners of Chinese do not equate *le* with tense in English.

Such descriptions, however, do not explain the distribution of *le* in the following text.

- (21) Zuótiān wò dào chénglǐ qù le.  
*yesterday I to city go ASP: COMPL*  
 ‘yesterday I went into town’ [compl = completed]
- (22) Zǎochén bā diǎn duō zhōng chūfā  
*morning eight point more clock set out*  
 ‘I set out after eight o’clock in the morning’
- (23) wǎnshàng shíyīdiǎn yíqè  
*evening 11 o’clock one quarter*  
 cái huí-lai,  
*only-then return come*  
 ‘(and) didn’t get back till quarter past eleven at night.’
- (24) zhěnzǎng máng le yìtiān.  
*fully busy ASP: COMPL. one day*  
 ‘I was occupied for the whole day’  
 (McDonald, 1999: 113–114; only the first four lines are reproduced here)

The text above tells the story of a person who has performed a series of actions in the recent past; only some of these actions are marked with *le* to signal completion. In (22) and (23), the narrator describes “actions in a series, [of which] the main emphasis is on the *time* they took place, [so] they are not presented as completed” (McDonald, 1999: 115). As regards (24), “[t]he going on in this clause is not even strictly speaking an action, but rather a state; however, it is presented as completed because it has filled up the whole day” (116). McDonald summarizes the function of *le* as signaling ‘completed action’ (105) and goes on to list when an action is considered completed in Chinese:

- a. when it is completed to a certain extent, as in ‘I ran to eight different places’, ‘I dealt with three important matters’, etc. in the description of what the narrator did during the day he spent in town;  
 b. if it has to happen before the following action or series of actions can take place, as in the following sentence in the text above: ‘I went into town yesterday’;  
 c. by the very nature of the verb, e.g., ‘I forgot I was tired’ in the same text;  
 d. by being extended to its ongoing result, as in ‘I ran into an old university classmate’ in the same text. (McDonald, 1999: 116–117)



It is clear that the morpheme *le* is functionally different from the simple past and any of the perfect tenses in English. McDonald recommends a methodology of language teaching consisting of contextualizing, consciousness-raising, and generalizing on the basis of analysis of particular texts. The recommendation is to teach grammar by first presenting a text; noting the use of grammatical items to signal meanings; generalizing on the basis of observed regularities; and systematizing the information thus gathered. The claim is that this indirect method of teaching grammar prepares learners to see the grammatical regularities and also note the correspondences or lack of correlations between grammar and textual use.

## Conclusion

In the teaching of languages and grammars, the emphasis has always been on the target language; some approaches prohibit use of learners' first languages in the classroom. Since pedagogical grammars are meant for serving specific purposes, comparison with first or any other familiar languages in context need not be avoided. In fact, contrasting the target language properties with the characteristics of other languages in the learners' repertoire may be a very effective tool in helping learners internalize the target language grammars.

See also: Communicative Competence; Communicative Language Teaching; Grammar; Interlanguage.

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## Reading in a Second Language

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### Introduction

Second language (L2) reading research is one of the older fields represented in the psychology literature (Bernhardt, 2003). In some sense, early L2 reading research might be characterized as something for curiosity seekers: a second language was used as a foil for a first. In other words, to examine one phenomenon (reading), scientists looked at a similar one from a different perspective (L2 reading) in order to verify universals in the process they were actually investigating. After this hothouse use of reading in second languages, the field of second language reading research lay dormant for many years. In reality, from World War I to the end of the Vietnam War, an interest in language (beyond grammar translation in the academic arena for literary use) was by and large focused on language for defense purposes or national interest (Moulton, 1963). An abrupt shift occurred in the mid-1970s, spurred by the massive global immigration brought about by war, economics, and technology. Language teaching became suddenly multipurposive, focused on preparing millions of nonnative speakers (of whatever language) to survive, work, and build lives in foreign cultures and countries in a manner in which previous generations could never have imagined. Efforts such as the European Unit Credit System (Trim, 1980), as well as the Oral Proficiency Movement in the United States (American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, 1986) and the massive growth of professional organizations such as Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) and the International Association of Applied Linguistics (AILA) are concrete reflections of the response to this global state of affairs. Most of the effort was expended on the development of oral skills with a survival-level reading and writing focus.

From the mid-1970s to 1995, reading in an L2 was by and large the domain of applied linguistics, and some significant work was conducted by applied linguists that led to both knowledge and theory development in the field. Volumes such as Alderson and Urquhart, 1984; Bernhardt, 1991; Carrell *et al.*, 1988; and Mackay *et al.*, 1979 populated the scene. The overwhelming portion of the work cited and collected in these volumes focused on adult readers, who more often than not came to the L2 reading process true to the concept of second. In other words, they had already acquired a native language and a native literacy.

The 1990s saw the awakening of education scholars to the concerns of second-generation immigrants. This second generation had frequently not been schooled in a home country (with, therefore, little or no native literacy) but rather needed to be schooled in a country where neither the language of schooling was spoken nor read in the home environment. This awakening brought about the widened expansion of interest in the field by literacy educators – i.e., scholars interested principally in mother-tongue literacy suddenly confronting the multilinguality that characterizes the overwhelming majority of classrooms as well as adult settings internationally. This expansion has brought welcome visibility to the area, as well as some communication difficulties across academic areas. Public and private efforts signifying an expanded interest in L2 literacy include *Teaching children to read*, the National Reading Panel Report (NICHD, 2000); the RAND Reading Study Group, *Reading for understanding*, RAND, 2002; National Literacy Panel for Language Minority Children and Youth Report, (forthcoming, 2005); as well as the *Handbook of reading research, volume II* (Barr *et al.*, 1991) and the *Handbook of reading research, volume 3* (Kamil, *et al.*, 2000). Scholars (Kern, 2000; Pennycook, 2001) also expanded their visions about L2 literacy, exploring the implications of a global technology that afforded immediate and essentially cost-free access to billions of written pages, as well as of the politics and social force of literacy.

This expanded interest and extended perspectives and objectives brought forth a set of academic and theoretical complexities surrounding L2 reading. These complexities can be characterized, first, by the search for a model of L2 reading that can accommodate a range of languages, developmental trajectories, and social/affective dimensions. Second, the expanded interest has brought forth a renewed perspective on the concept of transfer – what is transferred between languages when a literate or nonliterate first language (L1) reader attempts to understand in a second. Third, expanded views also pushed the field of L2 reading into a greater recognition of the import of the social context – whether that social context is the home background of a young reader, or that of an adult coping with abstract content material on the internet. These three areas form the organizational structure for the bulk of this article.

### Current State of Theory

Three formally stated models of the L2 reading process have appeared in the literature. The first model, Coady (1979), was deliberately psycholinguistic in

nature and isolates the variables of “conceptual abilities, background knowledge, and process strategies” (Coady, 1979: 6) with process strategies including word-level processes that are graphemic/morphemic in nature; lexical and syntactic knowledge; learning strategies; and affect. Coady plotted the processing strategies over time with higher-level processes such as the use of lexicon and context, becoming increasingly more important over time with word-level skills diminishing in importance. Within the statement of the model, no data were provided. Bernhardt (1991) influenced by Coady’s positing of the process put the model to test, citing data from comprehension protocol studies of readers of French, German (German, Standard), and Spanish. Protocol data were by and large consistent with Coady’s positing with the exception of the importance of syntax, which Coady posited as neutralizing throughout the L2 reading process, and which Bernhardt concluded became increasingly more significant in causing errors in comprehension before leveling off. A decade of research later, Bernhardt (2000) re-examined reading performances by examining studies that focused on readers comprehending equivalent texts in two languages. Such an examination – one that accounts for the impact of an L1 literacy on a second – provided a third installment of a model of L2 reading.

This third installment reviewed data across a number of languages and captured three specific areas in which there is consistency in research findings of readers of second languages: first, the impact of language (L2) knowledge on the L2 comprehension process; second, the contribution of literacy (L1) knowledge to understanding in a second language; and third, the acknowledgement that 50% of the L2 reading process remains uninterpreted. The first two elements call for a re-interpretation of the debate over the existence and criticality of a language and literacy threshold that characterized the research of the 1980s. The final element, ‘the unknown 50%,’ points toward the deficits in a theory based on a narrowly defined group of readers (principally adults) and an even narrower conceptualization of the context against which reading is learned and used. Failure to consider these critical variables exposes significant gaps in the understanding of L2 reading.

### **Revisiting L1/L2 Relationships: the Transfer of Literacy and Language Knowledge**

In language learning, the most commonly cited definition of transfer came from Odlin (1989):

Transfer is the influence resulting from similarities and differences between the target language and any

other language that has been previously (and perhaps imperfectly) acquired (1989: 2).

The most obvious characteristic of this definition is its similarity to the psychological conception of transfer based on identical elements. Language transfer describes the phenomenon of influence between the existing L1 knowledge and the development of L2. Transfer can take both a positive, facilitating manifestation and a negative manifestation, which is marked by interference errors or overuse of certain forms. According to Ellis (1994), transfer was “historically speaking . . . the first factor to receive serious attention” (Ellis, 1994: 299). As transfer is a cross-linguistic phenomenon, the contrastive analysis hypothesis (CAH) assumed that structural differences between two languages represented difficulties and were a predictable error source, whereas structural similarities facilitated the development of the L2. The validity of this hypothesis has been both overestimated and underestimated in the past (Ellis, 1994: 306–312). Nevertheless, today it is not possible to “dismiss the evidence of transfer effects in bilinguals as irrelevant to L2 acquisition” (Ellis, 1994: 310).

Cummins formulated his well-known CALP/BICS distinction against the backdrop of transferability. He differentiates between linguistic skills and conceptual/academic skills. The language interdependence principle argues that transfers of universal, conceptual aspects of language proficiency occur automatically, after linguistic surface features of the L2 are acquired. The acquisition of the linguistic skills necessary for the communication in the L2 initiates “[the] transfer of cognitive/academic or literacy-related skills across languages” (Cummins, 1984: 143). However, Cummins’s threshold hypothesis put this strong claim into perspective. The threshold hypothesis argued that the transfer of cognitive skills from L1 to L2 only operates after the learner’s performance of linguistic skills in the L2 has reached a certain threshold (Cummins, 1984: 106–107).

Cummins’s conceptions have had a powerful effect on research in second language reading. They are, however, largely untestable, even though they seem to suggest very specific types of predictions. First, most of the data on which these formulations were based were from language acquisition studies, not literacy. They have been brought into the literacy area without adequate grounding in empirical research in reading and writing. Second, the two formulations make contrary predictions. Either L1 and L2 are interdependent or L2 operates only after some threshold. These are what are often referred to as under-specified theoretical perspectives. Neither formulation is sufficiently precise as to exclude the other. Finally, it is not clear how one defines a threshold. Until that is done,

these two formulations are interesting heuristics, but not scientifically useful.

Recent thinking about transfer has shown that the situation is somewhat less clear when complex learning tasks are involved. The general findings are typically that individuals do not spontaneously transfer from one problem to the next. Bransford and Schwartz (1999) differentiated the conditions under which transfer has been studied. They described traditional studies of transfer as involving what they termed “sequestered problem solving” (1999: 61). In this assessment of transfer, individuals are given new problems to solve, but are denied resources to which they might have access in the initial learning. Bransford and Schwartz noted that the theory undergirding this conception is one that views transfer in terms of the direct applicability of prior learning in new contexts.

Bransford and Schwartz proposed an alternative to the traditional formulation by emphasizing what they term “preparation for future learning” (PFL) (Bransford and Schwartz, 1999: 61). In short, the notion here is that transfer is best viewed as the ability to learn in knowledge-rich environments. In an extensive review of the research, combined with new evidence, they show that some of the evidence of positive transfer was obscured by the conditions under which transfer was assessed. When learning was assessed under richer conditions, it became clear that learning was more efficient when learners had appropriate prior experiences. That is, learners could have experiences which did not necessarily relate directly to the task (in terms of identical elements) but which provided insights into what was needed in new situations. This has important implications for language transfer.

### Transferring Knowledge About Language Elements

At first glance, the concept of transfer from L1 to L2 is simple: similar elements exist between and among all languages, and some languages are more similar to each other than they are to others. Basic features such as phonetic components and orthography form important loci of similarities and differences. Absent from much of the conceptual work on transfer in the L2 research literature is a perspective related to learning. The literate status of learners is key: learners are either literate or not in L1. When literate L1 learners enter an L2 literacy-learning environment, the important question is whether they have an easier time learning to read in L2. If they do, there is positive transfer. If they find it more difficult to learn to read than L1 learners, there is negative

transfer. For learners who are not literate in L1, there are two questions. The first is whether or not such learners learn to read in ways that are the same or different from learners in an L1 context. An ancillary question is whether the transfer from L1 literacy to L2 literacy is sufficiently great to warrant teaching students L1 literacy *prior* to beginning L2 literacy instruction. One final issue that is not readily apparent is the tension between transfer of ability and transfer of knowledge; i.e., whether or not knowledge (content) is represented differently in different languages. It would seem that the reason for this tension is that content issues are not well represented even in the L1 reading literature. Another reason may be the implicit assumption that what the individual knows about the world is simply available, regardless of the language in which it is expressed.

Studies of metalinguistic awareness provide some insights into transferability by trying to separate the effects of literacy from those of bilingualism on specific measures of metalinguistic awareness. Carlisle *et al.* (1996) investigated the relationship among developing metalinguistic capabilities, English language proficiency, and literacy for Hispanic high school students who qualify for bilingual educational programs. High school students receiving services from the bilingual education program, all native speakers of Spanish, were given several tests such as an English and a bilingual grammar test and a definitions test. Overall, students had relatively low levels of English literacy achievement and metalinguistic capabilities across the grade levels. The quality of their formal definitions was related to their reading and to their non-verbal problem solving, but not to their English oral language proficiency. There was a significant correlation between the formal definitional quality and the performance on the English reading test, and also between the formal definitional quality and the nonverbal cognitive development test, suggesting transfer across languages. Additional work with primary school children, indicates that performance on a definitions task is explained by word knowledge in the language of the task, and that degree of bilingualism is not significant when level of vocabulary knowledge is considered. Generally speaking, it appears that metalinguistic awareness transfers and may even be heightened by learning to read in a second language.

Further work examines the relationships between and among other reading variables. Gholamain and Geva (1999) examined the parallel development of reading in English and Persian. They suggest that there are common underlying cognitive and linguistic factors, such as working memory or rapid letter naming. They also found that acquisition of the



principle of grapheme-phoneme correspondence rules in Persian did not require differential proficiency in Persian. This research is suggestive of the transfer of some phonological abilities, if not the exact grapho-phonemic rules. Additional research shows that phonological processing is transferred across Spanish-speaking first-grade children learning English (Cisero and Royer, 1995). English oral language proficiency predicted English and Spanish word reading, but Spanish proficiency did not predict English word reading. The general conclusion is that there is transfer of phonological processing skills across languages. It is also important to note that the set of languages studied in this arena is widely varied, including both Roman and non-Roman orthographies.

### **Transferring Language Elements: Grammar and Vocabulary**

One of the earliest-researched variables in the reading and psychological literature about reading is morpho-syntax. Ironically, this critical feature of text (how words in strings relate to each other) is, generally speaking, ignored in contemporary literacy research. This may well be because there is scant research found in the English language literature that addresses the impact of either morphology or word order on text comprehension. Indeed, the English language is, syntactically speaking, relatively inflexible. Word order is by and large SVO, and there is relatively little variance between spoken and written syntax. In a monolingual, English-speaking context, therefore, syntax may be an inconsequential variable. Readers and listeners are attuned to a predictable, strict word order.

Early studies using an eye-movement methodology, examined native; nonnative, highly fluent; and nonnative, nonfluent readers reading the same texts in German. Native Germans read in a relatively linear fashion; nonnative nonfluent readers put German into their own syntactic rules for word placement; and nonnative yet fluent readers were somewhere in the middle – not mentally rearranging German words, but certainly spending more time in areas of the text that both natives and the nonfluents were simply skimming (Bernhardt, 1991). Native readers of German also directly fixated endings of words, in contrast to readers of English who moved from content word to content word indeed seeing function words, but rarely spending more than 100 milliseconds on them.

In a parallel vein, qualitative data generated through recall were based on readers of various levels reading and recalling authentic texts in German, French, and Spanish. In these studies, readers would reveal a fairly discombobulated English syntax in their recalls, often failing to recognize which word

an adverb was actually modifying, or who was doing what to whom. Support for the belief that syntax, or the way in which words relate to each other, is a key variable in predicting L2 reading comprehension is derived from the work of Odlin (1989) and Kern (2000). Evidence within L2 contexts predicts that the impact on the comprehension process of readers moving between predictable and unpredictable word order, for example, is significant. Languages such as German, Russian, or French exhibit degrees of flexibility in word order and, consequently, readers cannot merely rely on word meaning to comprehend, but must understand the signaling relationships between and among words (Kern, 2000). Odlin (1989) notes that L2 learners from flexible-word-order languages have higher numbers of production error rates when learning rigid-word-order languages. Odlin further hypothesized that learners from rigid word order languages have higher error rates in the receptive language skills, namely reading and listening. Few recent L2 studies examining the reading of either children or adults have examined morphosyntax extensively. While the finding that at least 30% of the L2 reading process can be predicted on the basis of language knowledge is consistent, few studies have examined the components of language knowledge. The exception is Brisbois (1995), who managed to decompose the 30% variance into 27% vocabulary and 3% grammatical knowledge.

Vocabulary knowledge is crucial to reading comprehension in L1 (NICHD, 2000). It has long been the case that L1 researchers believed that comprehension was composed of two skills: word knowledge, and reasoning. There is evidence that this applies equally to reading in L2 (Saville-Troike, 1984), although the research is neither as abundant nor as methodologically rigorous as it should be to reach unambiguous conclusions. Verhoeven (2000) found that for first- and second-grade children, vocabulary knowledge had a greater impact on L2 learners than on L1 learners. For speakers of Urdu, Mumtaz and Humphreys (2002) found that students with high levels of vocabulary knowledge and phonological awareness in Urdu were more likely to perform well on English reading tasks. It may be that vocabulary knowledge leverages the ability of readers to make use of the alphabetic principle by recognizing words more efficiently.

For example, for Spanish L1 students in first grade, reading and phonological processing appear to be related both within and across languages. Three factors seem to relate to proficiency: reading, oral language, and phonological processing. In addition, English vocabulary and reading also seem to be related, suggesting that vocabulary supports processing in beginning



readers. This might also be interpreted as providing the same kind of leverage hypothesized above. Garcia (1991) found that unfamiliar English vocabulary was the major linguistic factor that adversely affected the reading test performance of fifth- and sixth-grade Spanish-speaking students. In the case of bilinguals, how conceptual and word knowledge (vocabulary) is represented in memory is still not well understood. Similarly, Nagy *et al.* (1997) explored the effects of Spanish-English bilinguals' L1 knowledge of syntax on their ability to guess the meanings of new words in English (L2). The importance of this study of seventh- and eighth-grade students is that it disentangled the contribution of language proficiency from knowledge of syntactic differences between L1 and L2. Evidence of transfer was found in that participants used their L1 syntactic knowledge to make guesses about the meaning of words in L2 contexts.

Some evidence suggests that vocabulary knowledge does not transfer very well for kindergarten students learning dissimilar languages such as Turkish and Dutch (Verhoeven, 1994). Yet, for older Spanish-speaking children (4–6) reading in English, Durgunoglu *et al.* (1993) found that knowledge of cognates, i.e., words with common ancestral roots with similar forms and meanings, can facilitate comprehension in the second language. Investigating the relationship between Spanish vocabulary knowledge, ability to recognize cognates, and English reading comprehension, indicated a significant transfer between knowledge of Spanish vocabulary and performance on the English comprehension task. More importantly, Spanish vocabulary knowledge and recognition of cognates interacted. Performance on the English multiple-choice items was highest in those cases where the student both knew the word in Spanish and recognized the English cognate.

The few studies on vocabulary transfer suggest that instruction should include the teaching of bilingual strategies for resolving unknown vocabulary, such as the use of translation, cognate searching, and word substitution (Nagy *et al.*, 1993; Garcia, 1998). Nagy *et al.* (1993) showed that the students underutilized their knowledge of cognates, indicating the potential for a cognate recognition strategy as a means for enhancing Spanish-speaking children's reading comprehension in English. For readers from noncognate languages, little research exists and yet is critical toward understanding the process of second language reading in its entirety.

An emphasis on cognate searching is not a trivial strategy for many L2 readers struggling with comprehension. Cognates in Spanish and English, most of which are taken from Latin and Greek, often “look alike” and sound alike (Nash, 1997). The entire set of

these shared cognates is estimated to be between 10 000 to 15 000 words, which accounts for one-third to one-half of “the average educated person's active vocabulary . . . with additional cognates in a person's passive vocabulary, that is, specialized, literary, and obsolete words” (Nash, 1997). If the transfer of the knowledge of these words is accomplished, an L1 learner has a head start to learning a second language. The caveat here is that there is a wide variation in the shared cognates between languages. Languages that do not share common linguistic roots will have few, if any, cognates. Consequently, the utility of cognate searching as a strategy is dependent on the relationship between L1 and L2.

Studies about how adult L2 learners learn new words or compensate for unknown words fall into three categories. The first category includes studies that investigate the role of traditional vocabulary lists and dictionaries. Davis (1989) found that vocabulary lists provided to learners prior to reading enhanced comprehension. No followup to how many of the words were actually acquired was conducted, although Hulstijn *et al.* (1996) provided some evidence in this regard. They found that Dutch learners of French who were most able to acquire incidental vocabulary through reading had access to marginal glosses. Generally speaking, most investigations find positive effects on vocabulary learning from the use of dictionaries, with some reported skepticism, however, about the direct instruction of words with the use of dictionaries.

A second arena of investigation examines the polar opposite: the acquisition of words with no external support. Most of the studies in this area argue that the contexts surrounding words play critical roles in the acquisition of words meaning. They therefore cast doubt on the genuine utility of dictionaries that tend to provide a one-word meaning or translation. Some evidence exists that extensive reading fosters vocabulary acquisition, yet Laufer (2003) expressed skepticism that significant numbers of L2 words can be acquired through extensive reading. Other studies, e.g., Pulido (2003), noted that examining either dictionaries or extensive reading *per se* were not fruitful lines of inquiry without also considering the role of L2 proficiency, as well as the nature of the first language and culture in understanding the meanings of new L2 words.

A third area of investigation is comprised of studies that consider the contexts in which learners will use word-learning aids, and how they go about intentionally learning new words. The importance of repetition in new L2 word learning seems to be clear. Hulstijn (1993), whose subjects were 82 Dutch learners of English, examined the conditions under which learners employ word-learning strategies. Hulstijn found

effects for both general literacy knowledge and for task. In other words, the greater the literacy level, the lower the chances of looking up words. Further, the comprehension task also determined the extent to which learners confronted individual words. When the task was a general summary, learners tended to look up fewer words than when they knew in advance that they would have to answer an explicit question.

### Contextual Variables

The third complexity introduced into L2 reading research over the past years is the growing acknowledgement of the importance of contextual factors in literacy acquisition. These are factors that mediate and mold comprehension well beyond morphological, syntactic, or vocabulary knowledge in any language. For young children, the most important contextual factors for early reading is language and literacy activities in the home. For the acquisition of L2 literacy, there are differential effects of oral language and literacy activities. In an analysis of the literature, Goldenberg (2004) concluded that home literacy experiences in either L1 or L2 were, in general, positively associated with literacy attainment in either L1 or L2. By contrast, home oral language effects on literacy attainment were more differentiated. Home L1 oral language appears to be unrelated or negatively related to L2 literacy, although it has positive effects on L1 literacy. Home L2 oral language appears to have positive effects on L2 literacy acquisition. The results appear to be mixed when it comes to the effect of home L2 oral language on L1 literacy acquisition.

One possible explanation for this phenomenon is that oral language mediates early reading acquisition. Given the practice a child might have in either L1 or L2 is a trade-off. The more one language is used, the less the other will be. For literacy, the presence of any literate activity may serve as a model in either language. These results implicate the importance of the home environment variable in learning to read, either in L1 or L2. Other context variables, outside of SES, did not prove to be powerful. There is little evidence that language prestige and immigration circumstances influence literacy outcomes. Nor is there any evidence that discourse and interactional differences influence literacy outcomes.

Research on adult readers of second languages has examined an array of variables from gender and topic interest through instruction to the impact of particular text types (principally expository versus literary) on the impact of the acquisition of reading in second languages. Most of this research carries with it significant findings regarding one variable or another. The

bulk of the work must be regarded with skepticism, however, because of the shallow context against which it has been conducted. Most studies isolate a variable without considering either the transfer of knowledge or linguistic forms that clearly interact in the process of second language reading. The converse of this research paradigm is that presented under the rubric of *critical*. Pennycook (2001) noted that “a great deal of work in critical literacy has shown how the significant issues for literacy are not so much how the brain deals with text but how literacy is related to its context” (2001: 77). Pennycook argued for an expanded vision of the elements entailed in a highly charged concept such as literacy. Indeed an expanded view de-emphasizes language elements and importantly emphasizes power relationships in the use of those language elements and points toward how adult L2 readers act on the content of what they are asked to read and understand.

### Conclusion

The future of L2 reading research lies in theory development that integrates the knowledge provided by the areas noted above. A good theory attempts to capture a knowledge of the present and to point researchers and practitioners into important and targeted conceptualizations for the future. No such theory currently exists. Present models either ignore young, developing readers learning and reading in two languages, or ignore developed L1 readers reading in L2. Any theory must try to account for the array of variables that characterizes L2 readers. In addition, present models oversimplify the transfer of both literacy knowledge and language knowledge to the L2 comprehension process. Transfer can be both negative and positive; it can interfere or facilitate; it can be deep or shallow. Models of the L2 reading process must be able to reflect the diversity and complexity of moving between and among languages of very different manifestations as well as different literacy levels. Finally, theory development must acknowledge the backdrop against which L2 readers learn to read in a second language and how they go about using the knowledge they acquire through reading. This is a tall order for theory development.

In order for more adequate theory development to occur, research designs will need to reflect the complexity of L2 reading. Stating the literacy levels of subjects in studies; their age and schooling levels; the linguistic nature of the two languages involved, including the level of cognate overlap; the linguistic knowledge that subjects have of the second language; as well as the sociocultural relationship between two languages will be critical in offering substantial and

credible data. Examining the multivariate process of reading in an L2 through univariate lenses will not help the field progress. Variables within the L2 reading process are in contingent relationships with each other. The future lies in research designs that mirror these relationships.

*See also:* Applied Linguistics; Assessment of First Language Proficiency; Assessment of Second Language Proficiency; Bilingualism and Second Language Learning; Critical Applied Linguistics; Learning Second Language Vocabulary; Reading and Multiliteracy; Vocabulary Program for Second or Foreign Learners.

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## Second Language Attrition

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### Introduction

Language attrition is a process which many – linguists and nonlinguists alike – appear to find interesting. Many people feel that, at some point in their lives, they have lost or forgotten some of the competence that they once had in a language, be it a foreign language learned at school or through a sojourn in the country where it was spoken, or a first language which has fallen into disuse for some reason. It is certainly no coincidence that a seminal work on second language (L2) attrition opens with the statement “Language loss affects all of us” (Hansen, 1999). It would be hard to imagine a paper on language acquisition, markedness, or minimalism starting with such a sentence, although it might be equally true.

One reason for this, I would propose, lies in the simple fact that the process of ‘un-learning’ differs from the process of learning or acquisition (or, for that matter, any other process or aspect of the use of a language) in several ways, but possibly most profoundly on a psychological level: it is an individual (and often lonely) one. While learning a language will almost invariably take place through interaction, through the sharing of a linguistic system that others already possess, through entering some linguistic community – whether the artificial one of the foreign language classroom, or the real-life one in the country where it is spoken – and through communication, attrition is felt most keenly (although by no means does it have to be most drastic) where these factors are absent, where there is isolation from the language. It is my belief, born out of many interactions with people who feel that their competence in a language has ‘attrited,’ that this loneliness and isolation may, paradoxically, often lead the speaker to feel an authenticity and involvement about this process that is lacking in the more natural, common sense and communicative process of language acquisition.

While this aspect certainly adds to the compelling human interest of the topic, and is vital for the researcher to bear in mind when investigating attrition (a language that the speaker feels has attrited can be a very vulnerable spot in the first place, but if it is also an intimate territory that is easily violated, care and sensitivity are vital if one would avoid doing emotional damage), it may also be responsible for having biased research towards somewhat easy approaches

and simplistic explanations over the past decades. It cannot be a coincidence that metaphors such as ‘derelict houses,’ ‘riding a bicycle,’ ‘trying to find a lost possession,’ to name but a few, abound in language attrition research. We know language to be an extraordinarily complex, multilayered neuropsychosociological system that very probably bears no resemblance whatsoever to a house, a bicycle, or a set of keys that we may have lost. However, there seems to be a profound need to think what we know – or think we know – to be true, authentic, and part of our own emotional experience, which we can also grasp and understand intellectually. It is often when this need is thwarted that we reach for metaphors that can explain what we cannot interpret within its own frame of reference.

The term ‘language attrition’ itself was clearly born out of such a metaphor: the OED defines attrition as “the action or process of gradually reducing the strength or effectiveness of someone or something through sustained attack or pressure.” This indicates that the term was coined on the assumption that a linguistic system in disuse will be vying for memory space with the other linguistic system(s) occupying the same brain, that not being kept fresh and strong through constant use will somehow weaken it, and that it will therefore suffer in some way. Whatever deviant forms were observed in the attrition process were therefore implicitly assumed to be the result of another language encroaching on the linguistic system and changing its representation. It should be stressed that at the time that the term ‘attrition’ was first used, in the early 1980s, there was absolutely no evidence whatsoever for such a process (arguably, there still is none), and one should remember that the explanation engendered in the label was purely intuitive. The fact that the term has caught on, even though some still object to it very decisively (e.g., V. Cook, personal communication – such objections, however, are usually based more on the negative semantic potential the term carries than on the inaccuracy of the metaphor), further seems to indicate that this metaphorical explanation was intuitively convincing to many.

This underlying perspective changed as psycholinguistics and neurolinguistics began to take an increased interest in language attrition. It quickly became evident that many of the phenomena witnessed in attrition could not simply be explained on the basis of interference from another language. The forces governing attrition began to be ascribed more to a language internal process, due to lack of exposure or input in that language, not through the



amount of exposure to or input from another. Even more recently, the role of output has also been stressed in this connection (de Bot, 2001: 70). And ever since it has become evident that there is more to the process of language attrition than a situation of hostile takeover by another language, researchers have been looking for theoretical models that might have the power to make sense of the puzzling phenomena witnessed in the process of attrition.

### Theoretical Models

As mentioned above, one of the most important forces in both L1 and L2 attrition has always been assumed to lie in cross-linguistic influence (CLI). For L1 attrition, the investigation of this phenomenon is relatively straightforward, since one can assume that CLI was relatively minor or completely absent before the onset of attrition, that is, before the move to another environment takes place. For L2 attrition, on the other hand, it can be difficult to investigate the increase of CLI, since L1 probably always has some degree of influence on L2. It is therefore necessary either to isolate phenomena that are known to have been mastered at some time, or, ideally, to choose a longitudinal research design, where the development of certain selected features can be monitored over a longer time span (on the influence of time on attrition, see below).

One of the more intuitively persuasive models to be invoked in language attrition research was also one of the earliest ones: the regression hypothesis, first formulated by Ribot, extended to aphasia by Freud, and formulated more specifically in this context by Jakobson in the 1940s, in particular with respect to phonology. This theory, also known as the LIFO (*last in, first out*) model, predicts that the process of loss of a language will be the reversal, or mirror image, of the process of acquisition. In other words, it assumes that we forget things in the inverse order in which we learned them, that the things we acquired earliest will be most persistent, while more recent knowledge will be more vulnerable.

As has often been pointed out, where pathological language loss is concerned the regression hypothesis does not provide a valid theoretical framework. However, the findings from L2 attrition research suggest that order of acquisition may be a valid predictor for the attrition process – order of acquisition, in this case, not referring to normal and unguided child language acquisition, but to the order in which the individual who is forgetting an L2 learned the features under investigation in the classroom (Berko-Gleason, 1982; Cohen, 1975; Hayashi, 1999; Jordens *et al.*, 1986, 1989) or in unguided exposure to an L2 environment (Cohen, 1989; Hansen, 1999; Kuhberg,

1992; Olshtain, 1989). As Hansen points out, in L2 attrition the question is no longer **if** the regression hypothesis applies, but **“when and under what conditions its predictions hold true”** (1999: 150, *her emphasis*).

A further interesting question to ask in this context is, of course, **why**. What is it in the acquisitional sequence that would have such a strong influence on language forgetting? Is it due to some intrinsic feature of linguistic knowledge and its organization in the brain (as was the original assumption)? Is it due to reinforcement, or lack thereof – features that have been acquired recently will not have been rehearsed as frequently as the early features (quality of learning vs. chronology of learning, cf. Obler, 1993: 189; Weltens, 1988: 7; Yoshitomi, 1994: 12)? Or does it have to do with the linguistic complexity of particular items and features; especially in classroom acquisition of an L2, one would assume that the simpler grammatical phenomena are taught earlier, while the more complex ones, which will be reserved for later and will be harder to master, will also be more difficult to maintain (Andersen, 1982: 113)? This factor has not yet been resolved.

Another linguistic theory that is often invoked in L2 attrition is markedness, most usually in the UG sense of the term (Hansen, 1999; McCormack, 2001, 2004). This theoretical framework assumes that language-internal processes, such as those addressed in Chomsky's theory of government and binding (GB), can predict the sequence of language attrition. As Sharwood Smith and Van Buren (1991: 17) point out, it seems important to know whether an individual has lost or **is even able to lose** those kinds of underlying mental representations of an attriting language that may be identified as Chomskyan-style Universal Grammar (UG)-based competence. This is based on the assumption that second language learners only have access to a UG that is already parameterized. With respect to L2 attrition, the prediction would thus be that a marked value that the second language learner has acquired will, in the process of language loss, revert to its unmarked L1 setting. Such a process has indeed been identified by McCormack (2001, 2004), with the intriguing twist that the linguistic feature under investigation (the binding properties of the English reflexive) began to be influenced by another linguistic category (finiteness), which does not influence the feature in either of the attriter's languages, but does play a role in other natural languages.

These are the most important linguistic models for L2 research; other theoretical approaches have been applied to the development of certain linguistic features in L1 attrition; for an overview see Köpke and Schmid (2004).

## Extralinguistic Factors

The process of language attrition is influenced not only by linguistic factors, but also by extralinguistic ones such as age at onset of attrition, achievement level at onset of attrition, time since onset of attrition, amount of exposure to the attriting language, attitudes and motivation, etc. For L1 attrition, a further important factor is education level. Where the study of L2 attrition is concerned, this factor usually has relatively minor influence, since often the same level of achievement in L2 presupposes a similar education level. Education will therefore not be included here: a discussion can be found in Köpke and Schmid (2004).

An important extralinguistic variable for the study of L2 attrition is attitude and motivation. Since this has been shown to be one of the most important determining factors for success in L2 acquisition (see **Motivation and Attitudes in Second Language Learning**), it would be only natural to assume that it might also condition retention. However, attitude has proved to be a slippery diagnostic in attrition studies, probably partly because such studies typically cover a longer range of time than studies of acquisition, and attitudes are subject to frequent and often radical changes (Schmid, 2004a). So far, the only studies that were able to correlate attitudinal and attritional factors were those that measured attrition exclusively by self-evaluations (L1 attrition: Waas, 1996; L2 attrition: Gardner *et al.*, 1985, 1987). However, self-evaluations often are not a valid predictor of the actual attritional process, especially in L2 attrition speakers, who tend to report massive losses that are not borne out by actual linguistic tests (Weltens, 1988).

Where age at the onset of attrition is concerned, findings so far suggest that there is an important turning point that probably can be situated somewhere between 8 and 10 years. Virtually all studies of both L1 and L2 attrition that investigate children around or below that age report a significant decrease in proficiency, while studies using older subjects often establish a surprising degree of stability in linguistic knowledge. Especially interesting in this context are the findings of Berman and Olshtain (1983) and Fujita (2002). Both of these studies suggest a freezing point or cutoff point around age 9, which proved the strongest determining factor for their investigation. Similar findings have been reported for L1 attrition (for an overview, see Köpke and Schmid, 2004). It is very interesting to note that this cutoff point in most cases coincides with the age at which children master literacy. The question of whether the stabilization of the linguistic system is conditioned purely by brain

maturation processes that occur at that age or whether it may be caused or at least facilitated by literacy has recently been posed (Hansen, 2001; Köpke, 2004; Köpke and Schmid, 2004), but remains unresolved.

Level of achievement, on the other hand, is a factor which plays a much greater role in the study of L2 attrition than it does for adult L1 attrition, where usually the process of normal acquisition of the feature(s) under investigation is assumed to have been completed prior to the onset of attrition. For L2 attrition, however, a critical threshold or critical mass (Nagasawa, 1996, 1999), after which L2 proficiency appears to stabilize, has often been suggested. Numerous further studies, while not going as far as proposing such a threshold, have found the level of initial proficiency (that is, proficiency at the time where instruction in or exposure to the L2 ceases) to be the best predictor of language loss or retention (e.g., Reetz-Kurashige, 1999). Interestingly, Hansen (1999) established the impact of length of exposure to L2, as opposed to initial level of proficiency. This factor has not been tested elsewhere, but it can be expected that length of exposure and proficiency will usually depend on each other. It has thus often been suggested that a higher proficiency in L2 is a good safeguard against attrition. In this context, an intriguing observation was made by Bahrck (1984) and Weltens (1988): their findings suggest that L2 learners will relatively quickly lose a fixed amount of knowledge, independent of their initial level of proficiency. However, while this means that both high and low proficiency speakers of L2 lose the same amount in **absolute** terms, **relatively** speaking each speaker has a lower proportion of knowledge at the onset of attrition.

A further finding from these latter two studies refers to the time period in which this loss takes place. As has also been suggested for L1 attrition, it seems that the greatest part of L2 attrition takes place within the first few years immediately following the end of instruction in or exposure to L2. The earliest major study of L2 attrition, Bahrck (1984), suggests that the lion's share of L2 attrition can be found within 3–6 years. After this, his findings suggest surprising longevity of linguistic knowledge. The part of this knowledge that will remain robust for approximately 25 years he labels **permastore** content, while another large part appears to be completely impervious to language attrition.

## Linguistic Levels

Many attempts have been made to describe exactly which linguistic features are more vulnerable to loss,

i.e., belong to the linguistic knowledge that will disappear in the early stages of language attrition, and which of them will belong to the more robust part of the linguistic repertoire. In both L1 and L2 attrition, it is generally agreed that the lexicon – or part of the lexicon – will suffer most easily and quickly. Whether such a reduction is a case of actual loss, or simply a matter of diminished accessibility, has often been debated, but the fact that many studies have found receptive skills to be unimpaired (e.g., Grendel, 1993; Weltens, 1988) suggests the latter.

How productive lexical skills, on the other hand, are affected by attrition seems to be influenced by frequency and similarity. It has often been pointed out that low-frequency lexical items tend to become inaccessible before high-frequency ones, and that cognate items are retained better. These findings are exactly what common sense would lead us to expect. While investigating the attrition of lexical skills may help us understand memory processes or the organization of the mental lexicon, there seems to be little we can learn from such studies in terms of the structure of linguistic knowledge. For this reason, more recently, language attrition has focused more on grammatical aspects.

The erosion of grammatical and phonological skills, too, has often been assumed to be influenced by similarity between the two languages. In these areas, frequency does not play an important role (most grammatical and phonological features occurring very frequently in most types of discourse), and research has usually focused on complexity instead.

While there is a small body of work dealing with the impact of attrition on L2 phonetics (e.g., Dugas, 2000 on voice onset time and Nagasawa, 1996 on pauses), the attrition of L2 phonology remains very much under-researched. The only detailed investigation to have been conducted thus far focused only on receptive skills, where the impact of similarity between L1 and L2 was conclusively demonstrated (Weltens, 1988). Studies investigating, for example, the development of the production of phonemes not present in L1 are clearly called for. The large body of work on L2 acquisition of phonological features would be very useful in this context (*see Acquisition of Second Language Phonology, Morphology, and Syntax*).

Such studies could help elucidate the impact of similarity or dissimilarity between L1 and L2, which remains a contested matter. While in the earlier stages of language attrition research, the prevailing assumption was that items that are also present in an attriter's stronger language would be easier to preserve in the attriting language, this has more recently been called into doubt, especially where the grammatical system

is concerned. It is tempting to assume that the presence of a feature in L1 will lead to its frequent rehearsal and thus prevent attrition of the same feature in L2. However, as two grammatical or phonological features, or even two cognate lexical items, are rarely if ever totally identical in two languages, this is a double-edged sword: it is also possible that the slightly different use, pronunciation, or meaning of the grammatical, phonological, or lexical feature under investigation will imprint itself on the comparable feature in L2, and thus lead to its misuse (this would be congruent with the early, intuitive meaning of the term 'attrition' mentioned above). At the same time, features of L2 that are not similar to anything that L1 has, such as English /θ/ or /ð/ for L1 speakers of Dutch or French, might be immune to such attritional forces.

To illustrate this last point, consider the case of past tense morphology. Both English and German have a synthetic past tense (formed by suffixation of the verbal stem) and a periphrastic one (formed with an auxiliary verb and the past participle of the main verb). However, while in English these two are clearly distinguished aspectually, in German no such distinction exists, and the distribution is mainly stylistically conditioned (see also Schmid, 2002: chap. 5.1). Consider the following example:

- (1a) I did not go home.
- (1b) I have not gone home.

In English, (1a) could only be part of a narrative, which at the point of telling is concluded: wherever the narrator had been going, he or she would be expected to have reached the destination at the moment of narration. Example (1b) suggests that he or she is still on her way, and will, at some point in the future, go home.

In German, however, one would expect the sentence grammatically corresponding to (1a) to occur in a written, formal or literary narrative, while (2b) would sound more natural in a spoken, colloquial one. There is no aspectual distinction between (2a) and (2b).

- (2a) Ich ging nicht nach Hause.
- (2b) Ich bin nicht nach Hause gegangen.

An investigation of this grammatical feature in language attrition would first have to come to a workable definition of similarity. Grammatically speaking, both languages possess the same feature; however, the meaning potential is different. So we might, for example, expect both L1 or L2 speakers whose German is attriting and whose English is dominant to reject (2a) in a context where the aspectual prerequisites that condition the use of the corresponding English structure are not met.

The methodological catch here is that it is a logical impossibility to establish the impact of (dis)similarity of a particular feature on the basis of only two languages. In order to investigate such a feature, it is necessary to include a cross-linguistic comparison with at least one other language. A possible candidate would be French, which has a three-way contrast that marks both aspectual and stylistic differences morphologically: the synthetic past tense in (3a) indicates a continuous aspect, the periphrastic one in (3b) suggests completion, while the synthetic tense in (3c) replaces the periphrastic tense in literary or formal contexts.

- (3a) Je ne retournais pas à la maison.  
 (3b) Je ne suis pas retournée à la maison.  
 (3c) Je ne retournai pas à la maison.

It is this kind of contrast that would be interesting to investigate comparatively, in order to gain more information on the impact of similarity and contrast in language attrition, particularly where L2 is concerned.

## Research Designs

It has recently been pointed out how important it is to recognize that the way in which data are elicited and the way in which certain linguistic features are selected in particular studies of language attrition will determine and limit the conclusions to be drawn (Köpke and Schmid, 2004). In this respect, it is vital to recognize fundamental differences between L1 and L2 attrition. All aspects of language attrition research discussed so far have an impact on both L1 and L2 attrition, the differences are usually merely quantitative. It is where research designs are concerned that the division between the two fields becomes qualitative and not comparable.

This is understandable, since the skills acquired in both acquisition processes are probably very different, and so it takes different tasks and tests to measure their erosion as well as their acquisition (*see Assessment of First Language Proficiency; Assessment of Second Language Proficiency*).

However, L2 attrition can further be separated into two clear subfields, namely that of an L2 that was acquired through formal, classroom teaching (often, this means that it has hardly, if ever, been used in a naturalistic setting) and an L2 acquired informally through a sojourn in the country where the language was spoken. While earlier studies, such as Bahrlick (1984), Weltens (1988), and Grendel (1993) focused on the former type, recently focus has shifted to the latter, particularly in the large body of studies focusing on Japanese returnees or former missionaries in South-east Asia (e.g., the studies collected in Hansen, 1999).

An interesting case in point is the study by Murtagh (2003), who investigated the L2 attrition of Irish Gaelic. While this language had been a compulsory subject for all her informants at school, it is not quite clear how subjects' exposure to this language in childhood, e.g., from a grandparent, might influence the process of attrition. A similarly mixed situation is also investigated by Montrul in the case of heritage speakers of Spanish, and it seems clear that this distinction has the potential of confounding the issue unless it is given more prominence in L2 attrition research.

While L1 attrition studies often attempt, through informal conversations or semi-structured interviews, to elicit data that is as naturalistic as possible and thus matches the skills an L1 speaker can be assumed to possess, L2 attrition research has mainly relied on the methods developed for the assessment of L2 proficiency. In the case of a formally acquired L2, the logic behind this approach is compelling, since it allows the best comparison with the point of reference at the onset of attrition (ideally in a pre-test post-test design, if information about the informant's performance at this point is available, or through use of data obtained in a similar way from a control group). Often, such tests have even been standardized across large populations and can thus be considered to be particularly valid, and also have the further advantage that they are in a format that everyone exposed to L2 teaching is familiar and comfortable with.

However, when dealing with speakers who have acquired their L2 informally, these methods have their limitations. The first and most obvious one of these is that many such tests rely heavily on written material (with the great advantage that they can be administered to large groups of informants at a time). Speakers who have never had formal instruction in a language often have very limited literacy, especially in languages that use a different writing system than their own; and even in cases where they are literate, the gap between spoken and written skills is usually much greater than in the other type of L2 acquisition (where speakers often even prefer the written to the spoken code).

The second problem is that, while such standardized methods test skills that can be clearly assumed to have been learned after a certain time of systematic instruction, assessing the point of reference, i.e., the proficiency of an informant in a particular skill at the onset of attrition, is much more difficult for speakers who have never had any formal language teaching, since there is great individual variance in such cases. For such groups, thus, a longitudinal research design would be ideal. Nevertheless, considering Bahrlick's (1984) findings about permastore content that remains stable for 25 years or more, one has to wonder just how practical such a design would be.



An investigation of testing techniques used in L2 attrition studies clearly reveals the shift in focus from the attrition of a formally to an informally learned L2: while virtually all studies that were conducted in the 1980s used measures such as cloze tests and other formal exams, many studies in the 1990s worked with free conversations or data elicited through picture-story retellings. (An annotated bibliography of studies of both L1 and L2 acquisition, detailing languages investigated, theoretical frameworks, and test methods can be found in Schmid, 2004b.)

Obviously, the manner of data elicitation can only ever be evaluated alongside a fair consideration of the goals pursued, since they permit very different conclusions. Naturalistic methods are ideal for global approaches, aimed at measuring all aspects of performance, or for preliminary research in order to identify sensitive areas. More formal tasks, on the other hand, allow for better control of linguistic and psycholinguistic factors and should thus be applied in the investigation of specific domains.

Most of all, it should be acknowledged that the attrition of a formally and informally acquired L2 probably makes up two separate and different areas of study. This difference could be far more important and useful than the four-way classification of language attrition by attriting language and environment, which was first proposed by de Bot and Weltens (1985) but is usually ascribed to van Els (1986). This taxonomy is still invoked at the beginning of virtually every article on language attrition, although its practical impact has been negligible.

## Conclusion

The study of language attrition, and in particular of L2 attrition, has come a long way, from the mostly descriptive approaches that dominated in the 1980s to the quantitative and theoretically informed studies of the past decade or so. More work is clearly needed in this expanding domain, since language attrition is a topic that is not only intuitively interesting. Like the study of a language being acquired, investigating a language that is in a process of decline can help us gain insights that a normal linguistic situation would not allow. But then again, what is normal? As the quote toward the beginning of this article states, “[l]anguage loss affects us all.” If properly investigated, however, it can benefit us all as well.

*See also:* Acquisition of Second Language Phonology, Morphology, and Syntax; Assessment of First Language Proficiency; Assessment of Second Language Proficiency; Motivation and Attitudes in Second Language Learning.

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## Second Language Corpus Studies

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Corpus linguistics has contributed to several areas of applied linguistics. In addition to core contributions in the areas of lexicography and grammar, corpus linguistics has also provided insights into the areas of register variation (e.g., spoken versus written language, across academic disciplines, stylistic variation), language change over time using historical or diachronic corpora, studies of gender differences, and, more recently, the area of second language studies (Reppen, 2001; Granger *et al.*, 2002; Granger, 2003). By using large, principled collections of naturally occurring language, corpus linguistics can accurately explore and describe linguistic characteristics and patterns associated with language use in different contexts (e.g., talking among friends, giving a formal speech, writing a friend, writing a research paper), across different speakers, and how language varies regionally. These descriptions can then be used to accurately describe patterns of variation and can also be used to inform pedagogy for second-language learners.

Corpora consist of large collections of spoken and/or written texts, are typically stored on computers, and are often grammatically annotated and/or marked up for certain text features (e.g., Biber *et al.*, 1998; Meyer, 2002; Reppen and Simpson, 2002). Because of their large size, often well over a million words, it is essential to have tools that allow users to effectively and efficiently search the corpora. There is a variety of computer programs available, ranging from concordancing software (e.g., MonoConc, Word-Smith) that can generate word lists and identify specific words or combinations of words, to sophisticated programs that can perform comparisons that track features across a range of texts. Most users will interface with corpora through the use of concordancing software, most of which can be used with either an unannotated corpus or one that is annotated for grammatical or text features. A concordancing program allows users to generate word frequency lists, see target words in context, look for expressions, and also search for particular combinations, such as verb plus preposition, or what verbs frequently occur with complement clauses (if using a grammatically tagged corpus). Concordancing programs are useful tools for both language researchers and language students and teachers.

The development of learner corpora (e.g., Granger, 2003) has enhanced the ability of corpus linguistics to make contributions to the areas of second language acquisition and language pedagogy (Partington,

1998; Conrad, 1999, 2003; Burnard and McNery, 2000; Biber and Reppen, 2002; Granger *et al.*, 2002; Meunier, 2002; Granger, 2003). Rather than relying on information from case studies or single examples, researchers are able to use corpora from second language learners to describe and explore the linguistic patterns of second language learners. As more second language corpora are developed, they will become powerful resources for cross-linguistic comparisons of different first language speakers producing different target languages. Researchers will be able to accurately describe the linguistic patterns of second language learners. This information will help shape teaching and language pedagogy to more accurately address the needs of second language learners.

In spite of second language or learner corpora only recently beginning to take hold, information from corpus linguistic research on English corpora is being used to inform second language instruction and assessment. Rather than relying on native speaker intuitions about how language is used, material developers and language teachers are now able to base pedagogical decisions on information from corpus-based research. Using information from detailed corpus studies based primarily on native English speakers (e.g., Biber *et al.*, 1999, 2004), teachers and material developers are able to produce lessons and instructional materials that target the needs and goals of the language learners. These corpora based on native English speakers contribute valuable information to the areas of second language research and pedagogy in two ways. First, they allow teachers and researchers to identify patterns of language use while also providing real language in context for second language learners to interact with in addition to textbooks and other course materials. Second, the native speaker corpora provide a starting point for cross-linguistic comparisons between the learner corpora and the native speaker corpora. These types of analysis will provide valuable insights into areas of similarities and differences for a variety of language learners (e.g., many different first languages) across a range of different contexts.

In addition to teachers using corpora to inform their teaching decisions, language teachers are also bringing corpora into the classroom and learners are interacting with corpora to explore questions of language use (Gavioli, 1997, 2001). For example, learners in an English for academic purposes (EAP) class can use a corpus to examine how certain phrases are used or to learn specialized vocabulary in their area of study. The MICASE (Michigan corpus of academic spoken English) site has over a million

words of academic spoken language. This corpus, and the companion concordancing program available online, represents a range of academic disciplines and academic settings (e.g., lectures, advising sessions, class discussions). Lessons and activities based on the MICASE corpus can be of great use to advanced learners of English preparing to study at English-speaking universities. Another valuable EAP resource is the research done on the T2K-SWAL corpus – a corpus of over 2 million words of academic spoken and written academic English (Biber *et al.*, 2004). Although the T2K-SWAL corpus is not available for general use as is the MICASE corpus, research based on the corpus is available and provides insights as to the linguistic patterns in spoken and written academic English. In addition to these two corpora, which are valuable resources for academic English, there are also other available corpora that cover a wide range of aspects of English (e.g., American National Corpus, British National Corpus, ICAME). Involving learners in exploring language through the use of corpora in the classroom can serve as a strong motivator and also help promote autonomous language learning.

The role of corpus linguistics in the area of second language studies is just gaining momentum. The widespread availability and use of computers in language classrooms and increasing availability of corpora should serve as a catalyst for the development of additional tools and for corpora that can be used for both research and pedagogical purposes. With the development of more second language corpora, both spoken and written, the fields of second language studies and language pedagogy will change significantly over the next decade. The types of analysis and the insights gained as to cross-linguistic variation in different contexts will help to shape the areas of language research and pedagogy.

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## Relevant Websites

- <http://americannationalcorpus.org> – American National Corpus (ANC). The first release of 11.5 million words is available. The site has samples of the corpus format and links to papers related to the ANC project.
- <http://info.ox.ac.uk> – British National Corpus (BNC). 100-million-word multiregister corpus of spoken and written British English. The site also has links to many corpus-related resources.
- <http://www.hit.uib.no/icame.html> – ICAME: International computer archive of modern and medieval English.
- <http://www.hti.umich.edu> – MICASE: Michigan corpus of academic spoken English.
- <http://www.athel.com> – MonoConc.
- <http://oup.com> – WordSmith.

## Second Language Discourse Studies

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In the development of the field now known as Applied Linguistics over the past 40 years, we have seen a uniting of research on Second Language Acquisition (SLA; I use the term 'learning' synonymously with 'acquisition' to denote both tutored and untutored second and foreign language development) with studies in the area of discourse analysis (DA). The intersection of discourse studies and SLA research has lent theoretical illumination and practical applications to second language (L2) learning and pedagogy. By studying how language users employ their language(s) in a variety of contexts, with a variety of types of interlocutors, and on a variety of topical issues, teachers and other experts are enabled to create curriculum, materials, and assessment instruments based on natural, spontaneous data from mother tongue users, bilinguals, and language learners.

The present account of 'discourse for second language studies' focuses on recent approaches and theoretical frameworks relating to the study of spoken discourse for second language. Several of these have emerged over the past several years to shape our thinking about the processes involved in second language development.

### Discourse and SLA

Early SLA research studied spoken discourse to ascertain the interactional features important to language learning (e.g., Gass and Varonis, 1985; Hatch, 1978; Long, 1983; Pica, 1988; Swain, 1985). This research viewed discourse from the perspective of negotiated interaction, either between native speakers and learners (NS–NNS) or between two or more learners (NNS–NNS). This kind of interaction encourages language learners to stretch their linguistic abilities in L2 by means of checking their understanding of the discourse until mutual comprehension is achieved.

Studies of negotiated interaction have been taken by some as a narrowly defined psycholinguistic approach to acquisition. A notable example of this stance is Firth and Wagner (1997), who opened up a controversial debate on this issue, in which they called for a reconceptualization of SLA in order to address what they saw as an imbalance biased toward a *cognitive* perspective on SLA that neglected *social interactional* perspectives. Their major claim

is that SLA research has by and large viewed L2 development from a purely psycholinguistic point of view, with learners traversing an interlanguage continuum that has, at its hypothetical end-point, the abstract notion of the idealized native speaker. Movement toward the target proceeded along the linguistic dimensions of phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical, and semantic growth. Pragmatic considerations have been studied in terms of 'interlanguage pragmatics,' a concept viewing the acquisition of norms of appropriate speech behavior largely through a lens of movement from L1 norms to L2 norms, with particular attention to pragmatic transfer (e.g., Cohen and Olshtain, 1981; Blum-Kulka *et al.*, 1989; Wolfson, 1989).

Nonetheless, some early work in SLA did indeed take into account more sociolinguistically relevant points of view: Labovian sociolinguistic perspectives on SLA (see, for example, the early work on variation and SLA of Tarone, 1985, 1988), accommodation theory perspectives on SLA (e.g., Beebe and Giles, 1984; Beebe and Zuengler, 1983), acculturation theory perspectives (e.g., Schumann, 1978, 1986), and classroom discourse and interaction perspectives (e.g., Kramsch, 1985; Mehan, 1979; Stubbs, 1983).

However, while this rich body of research in Applied Linguistics was amassed over the past 40 years, the world changed dramatically. English continues to be the world's *lingua franca* with regard to commerce, trade, and diplomacy. Communication in the English language occurs, more often than not, among speakers none of whose first language (L1) is English (McKay, 2002). The constructs of 'native speaker,' 'learner,' and 'interlanguage' have consequently changed from how they were seen in early SLA research, at least for English. Discourse analysis of *lingua franca* users is now the main focus for ascertaining how successful communication occurs in social, workplace, and educational spheres.

Given the proliferation of 'Englishes,' major changes in SLA research have occurred, including an enhanced awareness of the sociolinguistic dimensions of language use. This state of affairs led Firth and Wagner to suggest a "broadening of the traditional SLA data base" (1997: 286). Their proposal gave rise to an important theoretical debate among SLA researchers published by the *Modern Language Journal (MLJ)* (see *MLJ*, 81(3), 1997, for a complete overview of the debate). The arguments in defense of psycholinguistic perspectives on SLA research are cogently outlined in Kasper's (1997) contribution to the *MLJ* debate. Though she argues that



dropping the 'A' in SLA results not in study about the developmental process of language learning but in the study of language 'use' as opposed to 'acquisition,' Kasper points out that the field of SLA has indeed seen more and more research of an ethnographic nature that clearly analyzes language learning in context and from an *emic* perspective. She points out that these studies are not about the acquisitional process from a cognitive perspective but are about L2 issues that focus on identity, insider–outsider perspectives, and issues of what it means to be a language user in a world of increasing globalization.

Indeed, discourse studies in recent years have enabled applied linguists to view language learning as more than a purely cognitive phenomenon, as the issue of the native speaker is obfuscated in a shrinking planet (cf. Boxer, 2002). Even in his rebuttal of Firth and Wagner, Michael Long agrees with this inarguable fact when he states, 'there are, however, of course, numerous multilingual settings in which most, even all, L2 users that a learner encounters will be other NNSs' (Long, 1997: 320). The issue, then, becomes, what it means to be a member of a 'community of practice' (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985), rather than what it means to become or be a member of any particular 'speech community.'

Given this state of affairs and change in the air, if we construe SLA not only as a psycholinguistic question of striving toward some 'target,' but also as a discourse issue, the endeavor of L2 learning becomes transformed from the way in which it was previously seen. This new perspective is congruent with a view of the world as it currently exists: one of transnationalism and globalization. Given these arguments, the question facing applied linguists at present is how to weave together a new view of discourse analysis that can inform L2 learning? Three theoretical frameworks lend new insights into this issue: (1) Language Identity, (2) Language Socialization, and (3) Sociocultural Theory.

## Language Identity

The notion of discourse communities as 'communities of practice' has engendered among applied linguists an interest in the relationship between identity and second language development (e.g., Boxer and Cortes-Conde, 1997, 2000; McKay and Wong, 1996; Norton-Pierce, 1995; Norton, 1997; Pavlenko and Lantolf, 2000). These researchers have been interested in studying how incorporating an additional language and culture impinges on or impacts one's sense of who one is in the world. For immigrants, the issue of taking on a new and/or changed identity is a hallmark of one's linguistic and cultural development

in the context of immigration. Even for those learning an L2 for more instrumental purposes, as the case with ESL/EFL as the world's *lingua franca*, adding a language to one's verbal repertoire necessarily entails modifying one's self-perception in relationship to others in the world. From this basic premise stems the relatively new heightened interest among applied linguists in language identity, largely studied through discourse analysis.

In their emphasis on 'agency enhancement' and 'identity enhancement,' McKay and Wong (1996) focused on the importance of fluid individual and social identities and their relation to multiple discourses (e.g., immigrant, minority, academic, gender). In their view, the identity of an individual in the process of second language learning is an extremely important consideration for such learning, affecting agency, a concept that differs from the traditional view of motivation. Agency enhancement derives from identities that afford learners a sense of power over their environment and thereby their learning.

In a somewhat parallel view, Norton (cf. Norton-Pierce, 1995; Norton, 1997) highlighted the importance of 'investment enhancement' in her discussion of identity in relation to language learning. She described investment as the relationship of social identity to power differences between learners and mother tongue speakers: 'An investment in the target language is also an investment in a learner's own social identity, which changes across time and space' (Norton, 1997: 411). In a similar vein, Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000) describe the process that immigrants go through when they confront and either appropriate or reject linguistic and cultural 'affordances' of the new language and culture. Here, affordances refers to aspects of the new language and culture that have the potential to transform one's sense of self.

Boxer and Cortes-Conde (1997, 2000) put forth the concept of 'relational identity' (RID), which differs from both individual and social identity. Relational identity is displayed and developed between and among specific interlocutors in their interactions over time. For language users and learners, relational identity reflects the comfort to build on sequential interactions that rest on rapport and solidarity. This relationship built between interlocutors leads naturally to further interaction and, consequently, increased opportunities for scaffolding and thus language development.

It seems likely that the first and foremost resource of those involved in additional language learning is social and interactional, involving face-to-face spoken discourse. Individuals involved in acquiring additional languages must grapple with fluid and shifting identities – individual, social, and relational – and



come to terms with the power relations inherent in them. Whether or not those in the position of taking on new linguistic and cultural identities choose to appropriate or reject the affordances of the new language/culture may depend largely on the lived histories of the individuals, the contexts of their interactions, and the power relationships inherent in these contexts.

### Language Socialization

The Language Socialization framework of studying linguistic and cultural development emanates from the early work of Schieffelin and Ochs (e.g., 1986), who focused on L1 socialization (e.g., Samoa). The applications of a language socialization model to L2 learning have been most notable in studies focusing on second language *classrooms as communities of practice*. Socialization practices of such communities are reflected in the classroom discourse and interaction of second language classes in which talented teachers take on the role of socializing agent, much in the fashion of adults vis-à-vis children for L1 acquisition (cf. Ohta, 2001). The applications of socialization theory to SLA are principally in the realm of discourse and pragmatic development (see Kasper, 2001 for an overview of this research).

These two frameworks, Language Identity and Language Socialization, are clearly overlapping and compatible with each other.

### Sociocultural Theory

A contingent of applied linguists spearheaded most notably by James Lantolf has been actively engaged in adapting the theoretical perspectives of Vygotsky (e.g., 1978, 1981, 1986) to the acquisition of language (first and subsequent) as a sociocultural phenomenon linking the social/interactional with the cognitive. Sociocultural Theory, in contradistinction to the Language Identity and Language Socialization models described above, specifically connects the role of discourse as a mediating tool between social interaction and the development of higher order mental processes. This theoretical perspective calls for elucidating the connection between internal, mental representations of learning and language development stemming from interactions between and among interlocutors of differing levels of expertise. Vygotsky's notion of 'Zone of Proximal Development' (ZPD) is useful in envisioning how the expert/novice paradigm of sociocultural interaction leads to new mental representations in learners.

Sociocultural theory is a lens through which we can view more clearly both tutored and untutored

second language development. Scaffolding occurs through the various configurations of social interaction between the expert and novice. Gradually, the novice becomes more adept, and that which began as an intermental, socially mediated activity becomes an intramental, cognitive developmental process. In contrast to a more traditional SLA view of the learner as a 'deficient version of an idealized monolingual expert in linguistics' (Hall, 1997: 303), a sociocultural theoretical view of SLA treats the learner as 'an active and creative participant in what is considered a sociocognitively complex task' (Hall, 1997: 303).

The three frameworks described above, Language Identity, Language Socialization, and Sociocultural Theory, are important recent theoretical perspectives for studying second language development. Given a world of more fluid boundaries owing to globalization and transnationalism, the notion of language use in communities of practice has become the relevant focus for weaving together a picture of discourse and L2.

*See also:* Applied Linguistics; Classroom Talk; Communicative Competence; Interlanguage; Second Language Identity; Second Language Socialization.

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## Learning Second Language Vocabulary

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### Learning Burden

Knowing a word well involves knowing several aspects covering the form, meaning, and use of the word. The difficulty these aspects have for any particular word depends on how closely the aspects relate to knowledge the learners already have. This knowledge can come from the learners' first language or other languages they know, and it can come from the knowledge they already have of the second language. For example, if the learners' first language uses the same written script as the second language, then this will make the learning burden of the written form of the second language much lighter. If the written form of the second language is very regular with one letter always representing the same sound and vice versa, then the learning burden of the written form will be even lighter. Similarly, if the two languages share a lot of cognate vocabulary, some of the learning burden will be lighter. Spanish learners learning the academic vocabulary of English find that these words have a light learning burden because most have very similar forms and meanings in English, for example *acquisition* and *evaluation*. Finnish learners of English are faced with a more difficult task.

Teachers can try to lighten the learning burden of a word by explicitly relating it to known items that are similar in the first or second language, by showing the patterns or rules that the word fits into, and by pre-teaching items and features that will make the new word easier to learn. Before teaching a word, it is worth doing a quick analysis of the learning burden of the word to work out what aspects of the word the teaching needs to focus on.

### Word Form

Words that are difficult to pronounce are usually difficult to learn (Rodgers, 1969; Ellis and Beaton, 1993). Words that are easy to pronounce can more easily be held in working memory and thus have a greater chance of entering long-term memory. Thus, the words introduced early in an English course should be easy for learners to pronounce. Substantial listening practice and a small amount of guided pronunciation practice can make it easier for words with unfamiliar sounds to be learned.

Although English spelling is notorious for its irregularities, there are numerous patterns and rules that can help learning. First language research on reading has shown that developing phonemic awareness (the idea that words are made up of separable sounds) can have very positive effects on learning to read English (Ehri *et al.*, 2001). Similarly, giving some attention to phonics (sound-spelling relationships) can also help with learning to read and write (Stahl *et al.*, 1998). A very large proportion of English words come from French, Latin, or Greek and thus make use of prefixes, suffixes, and stems that can occur in many different words. Learning can be helped if the most common affixes and their meanings are learned, and often a simple explanation of a word's etymology (e.g., the word *rank* has the same stem as the word *arrange*) can help learning. Irregular affixation can increase the learning burden. Laufer's (1997) study of synforms has shown that, when knowledge of a form is not firmly established, there can be considerable interference with words of roughly similar form.

### Word Meaning

If an L2 word is a loan word or a cognate in L1, it is then very easy to relate the form of the word to its meaning. For example, approximately 70% of the 570 words in Coxhead's (2000) Academic Word List exist in Spanish in a similar form with a similar meaning. Only a very small number, approximately 10%, are false cognates in which the form is similar but the meaning is not. The reason for such a large overlap is that over half of English words came to English from French or Latin (Roberts, 1965). As a result, other languages derived from or with a lot of borrowing from Latin and related languages share a large amount of vocabulary. One important effect of this is that the analysis of words into parts, particularly giving attention to prefixes and suffixes, can greatly help the learning of these words. Remembering the meaning of a regularly affixed word such as *unpredictable* or *miscommunication* is helped by having an understanding of the parts that make it up. There are lists of the most frequent, regular, productive, and predictable affixes in English that learners of English as a second language can usefully learn (Bauer and Nation, 1993).

Some English words require considerable concept development by learners with particular first languages. The most striking of these may be words for family relationships and pronouns if English uses a system different from that in the first language. For example, in the Thai system for showing family relationships, relative age is very important and the

term used to refer to an older sister is different from that used to refer to a younger sister. Similarly an aunt on your mother's side who is younger than your mother is referred to in a different way from one who is older than your mother. Learning such a system takes a lot of time and experience for a nonnative speaker.

Some areas of technical vocabulary may also present a heavy learning burden. Recent studies of technical vocabulary (Chung and Nation, 2003) have shown that a very large proportion of the running words in specialized texts are technical words. In highly technical subjects such as anatomy almost one in every three words is a technical word. In other areas, this may drop to one in five. From a learning-burden perspective, technical vocabulary can be divided into two types: technical words that have forms that are largely unique to the specialized area and words that also occur in nonspecialized areas, usually with the same or a related meaning. The first group includes words such as *thorax*, *sternum*, and *vertebrae* in anatomy and *pixel*, *ROM*, and *cpu* in computing. The second group includes words such as *by-pass*, *chest*, and *rib* in anatomy and *file*, *open*, and *save* in computing. Usually the completely new words such as those in the first group will have a heavier learning burden because both a new form and a new concept must be learned. Words in the second group can be made easier to learn by relating their nontechnical meaning to their technical meaning.

When learning most other words, the learner may find the L1 equivalent to be sufficient as a first step in developing an L2 concept for the word. If a word has a wide range of senses that do not correspond to the L1, then this can increase learning burden.

### Word Use

If the grammar and collocations of a word are not similar to those in the first language or to known second language synonyms, then the learning burden is heavy and teachers may need to spend time on these aspects. Collocations are words that typically occur with other words. Some typical collocates of *sweet* in the British National Corpus are *smile*, *smell*, *flavour*, *dreams*, *tooth*, *boy*, *juice*, and *dreams*. If these do not parallel the first language, then they need to be learned. This is probably best done through extensive experience with the language. Such learning can also be helped by drawing attention to the concept underlying the range of uses of the word (*sweet* shows that something is pleasing and well liked) and by explicit attention to the collocates. It has been suggested that it is knowledge of collocational units that makes native speakers sound nativelike and that allows

them to use the language fluently (Pawley and Syder, 1983). That is, native speakers can use the language well because they have stored units of language that are much larger than a word. Storing and accessing units such as *that's all very well for you to say* and *without further ado* allow a speaker to produce accurate language quickly.

Some words such as *faucet*, *kid*, *bugger*, and *explicate* have restrictions on their use. These restrictions include geographical restrictions (Americans use *faucet*; British use *tap*), register (*expedite* is very formal; *speed up* is more colloquial), currency (some words such as *forsooth* and *breeches* are no longer in use), age restrictions (*potty* and *choo-choo* are used by and with children), gender restrictions (*fabulous* tends to be used by women), and frequency (some words such as *diligent* and *capricious* are not commonly used). When learning and using these words, these restrictions need to be noted.

### Idioms

Most groups of words (multiword units) in normal language are easy to comprehend if the words that make up the multiword unit are known. So, understanding *is the food good?* and *they are going to the city* is not usually problematical. Some multiword units, however, have a meaning that is very different from the meaning of their parts. Carefully applying the criteria of noncompositionality and nonfigurativeness, Grant and Bauer (2004) made an exhaustive search of idiom dictionaries, articles about idioms, language teaching texts, and television scripts to find all the English core idioms. The term 'core idiom' was used to distinguish it from the looser uses of 'idiom.' For example, *by and large* is a core idiom because the meaning of *by and large* cannot be related to the meaning of the individual words *by* and *large* – that is, it is noncompositional – and we cannot visualize some figurative use of *by and large* relating it to its meaning – that is, it is nonfigurative. On the other hand, *the worm turns* is not a core idiom. We can imagine or visualize a mild worm turning fiercely on an attacker (which conveys the meaning of the phrase), and so it is a figurative and thus not a core idiom.

Only 104 core idioms were found. Each of these items was then searched for in the British National Corpus (BNC) to find its frequency, various forms, literal uses, and collocations. The most frequent core idiom, *by and large*, occurred 487 times in the 100 000 000 token corpus. This frequency is not sufficient to get it into the most frequent 5000 words of English. Most of the core idioms occurred fewer than 50 times per 100 000 000 running words, and 18 of them did not occur at all in the BNC.



Core idioms are usefully distinguished from other types of multiword units because they require different interpretation and learning procedures. They have to be treated as unanalyzed wholes. Figuratives and collocations can be learned by analyzing their parts.

Fifty-nine of the 104 core idioms were not frozen; that is, they had variations in the BNC, some of them quite substantial. If frozenness was added to the criteria for a core idiom, there would only be 45 English core idioms.

A few core idioms such as *a piece of cake*, *beat it*, and *Uncle Sam* have literal equivalents; *a piece of cake* is most often literally 'a piece of cake' not 'something easy to do.' Forty-nine of the 104 had no literal equivalents, and a further 34 were very unlikely to have literal equivalents.

Core idioms are a small group of infrequent items. They do not deserve teaching time, but learners may benefit from some help in choosing and using an idiom dictionary.

### Learning Conditions

Ease or difficulty of learning can be affected by the conditions under which the learning takes place. Crothers and Suppes (1967) found that when the learning burden of the words was heavy, it was more effective to learn small groups of words (around 20) rather than larger groups. In the early stages of language learning, the learning burden tends to be high because the learner is unlikely to be familiar with the systems and patterns of the new language. When the learning burden is low, it is much more effective to learn much larger groups of words.

### Deliberate and Incidental Learning

Experiments involving deliberate learning show learning rates and long-term retention rates that far exceed those from incidental learning (Nation, 2001: 298–299). Similarly, in message-focused learning through speaking activities, vocabulary whose meaning is overtly negotiated is much more likely to be learned than that which is quietly guessed from context clues. There are several issues to consider here. First, incidental learning and deliberate learning should not be seen as competitors; they can be mutually reinforcing, and thus it is better to have both types of learning rather than just one. Second, it is not clear how to apply the label 'difficulty' properly to these two kinds of learning. The deliberate learning of vocabulary and negotiation of vocabulary involve more focused effort. Incidental learning, in the short term at least, is less effective but also involves much less focused effort. If difficulty is measured by results then deliberate learning is easier.

If it is measured by the amount of focused effort, then incidental learning may be easier. One of the best studies of incidental vocabulary learning was carried out by Waring and Takaki (2003). They looked at incidental learning from reading one graded reader containing 25 target words. After the learners read the text, Waring and Takaki tested each target word in three different ways. The easiest test was a recognition test in which the learners saw a list of 42 words and had to indicate which ones occurred in the story they had just read. The average score was around 16 out of 25. A multiple-choice test required them to choose the most suitable meaning for each word from four choices. The average score was 10 out of 25. The most difficult test was a translation test that required the learners to translate a given word into their first language. The average score was around 4 out of 25. The translation test is the one closest to what the learners might need to do while they read, and the score was low. However, if the total learning as revealed by the three tests is considered, it is clear that quite a lot of learning occurred that would be built on by further encounters with the words.

### Involvement Load

Involvement load (Hulstijn and Laufer, 2001) is an attempt to measure the amount of mental processing that learners do when working on a vocabulary learning task. The three factors that Hulstijn and Laufer focused on are (1) need (Is the vocabulary needed to complete the task?), (2) search (Do the learners have to look for the word form or meaning or are they already provided?), and (3) evaluation (Do the learners have to decide if the word or meaning chosen is the most suitable one?). Hulstijn and Laufer rated each task they studied using the three factors, scoring the role of each factor as 0, 1, or 2. The involvement load of the task was the sum of the ratings for each of the three factors. Hulstijn and Laufer's studies showed that the greater the involvement load, the more likely a word was to be learned. This finding parallels those on generative use, that is, using a word in creative ways, which show that the more generatively a word is used, the more strongly it is learned (Joe, 1998). These studies relate increased mental effort to more effective learning.

### Negotiation

What at first glance seems like a contradiction to this finding comes from studies involving negotiation of vocabulary. Negotiation occurs when learners try to work out the meaning of an item by discussing it with



one another. Here is an example from Nation and Hamilton-Jenkins (2000).

- S12: bus driver? I don't think so  
 S10: bus driver because it is . . .  
 S9: if you don't have a licence how can you drive a bus, the police will catch me (The others agree)  
 S11: I see so we need **registoration**  
 S12: . . .so bus driver also need **reg** . . .**registration** because of competence so at first I think teacher, doctor, and lawyer is a very specific occupation so um it um at first they have to go to the university and polytech so they need require **registration** so ah in my opinion er I bus driver . . .if we want to be bus driver only we have ah licence and then we can ah get as a driver so I don't forget **registration** so I mistaked ah Japanese guess  
 S10: maybe it is not **registration**, maybe it is not **registraction**, I think maybe it is only bus driver licence . . .  
 . . .maybe **registration** is just like a list where you can find some name like doctor.

Several studies have shown that learners who quietly observe negotiation taking place learn just as well as those who actively negotiate (Stahl and Clark, 1987; Ellis and Heimbach, 1997). Stahl and Clark deliberately designed this feature into their experiment. The learners were divided into three groups. One did the activity, which involved discussing things with one another. A second group observed the activity, but were told that they would be tested on what happened in the activity. The third group just observed with no expectation of being tested. All three groups were tested, and it was found that those who did not expect to be tested did not learn as well as those who did.

One problem with the vocabulary studies of such learning is that vocabulary knowledge was measured using only one test, so it was not possible to see how well each learner knew each word. However, putting this aside, the studies show that it may not be overt effort that determines learning but mental effort. Negotiation involves mental involvement. It also provides opportunities for generative use. Generative use occurs when a word is used in a way that is different from the ways in which it has been used or met before (Joe, 1998). This difference may be quite small (the word is used in the plural rather than the previously met singular form) or large (the word is used with new collocates). The bigger the difference (the greater the generativity), the stronger the learning resulting from the use is likely to be.

Strength of learning can be measured by testing each word in, preferably, three different ways with tests of varying degrees of sensitivity as in the Waring and Takaki experiment. Strength of knowledge is determined by adding together the scores for the three tests for each word.

When learners negotiate the meanings of items, they put the word into new contexts; that is, they use the word generatively. Several of these contexts may be metalinguistic contexts: *What does 'shed' mean? How do you spell 'tiger'?* The power of negotiation may be that it causes the learners to give focused deliberate attention to an item and that it results in generative use of the item. Negotiation thus sets up conditions that encourage learning.

## Interference

There are now several studies that show that learning related items together makes learning more difficult (Higa, 1965; Tinkham, 1997; Waring, 1997). If near-synonyms (*bring* and *take*), opposites (*fat* and *thin*), free associates (*knife* and *fork*), or members of a lexical set such as articles of clothing or types of fruit are learned together, then learning is 50–100% more difficult (Nation, 2000). That is, learning the days of the week in the same lesson is much more difficult than learning one of the days of the week and six other unrelated words. The difficulty is even greater if words have some formal similarity to each other, so *Tuesday* and *Thursday*, for example, are especially likely to interfere. The difficulty occurs because crossassociations are made between the word forms and their meanings. So, for example, the word *white* may be associated with the meaning 'black,' and *black* may be associated with the meaning 'white.'

This difficulty can manifest itself in several ways. If learners have worked out some kind of mnemonic or luck is on their side, then the wanted associations may be made. Another possibility, as already described, is that the items are crossassociated. A more common possibility is that the learner realizes that *black* and *white* are two of the colors but is uncertain which is which. Most textbook writers are clearly not aware of this source of difficulty. Tinkham (1997) found that words that were related such as the words in a story, for example, *frog*, *green*, *slimy*, *pond*, and *splash*, were easier to learn together than unrelated words or members of a lexical set. If we attempt to generalize about the interfering and facilitating relationships, we can see that items that would be listed one under the other in a substitution or paradigmatic relationship (Figure 1) are likely to interfere.

Items that are in a syntagmatic relationship *the green slimy frog jumped into the pond with a splash* are likely to be easier to learn together than unrelated items or items in a paradigmatic relationship. This has implications for lesson planning. If a course book writer chooses a topic such as colors, clothing, or at

It is red  
 black  
 blue  
 green  
 white  
 yellow

**Figure 1** Sample substitution frame.

the fruit shop, interference is likely to result. If, however, the lesson is organized around a story, there is less likelihood of interfering relationships occurring. Interference occurs when most or all of the items in a set are unknown. Once most or all of the items are known, there is some value in bringing them together to see what the distinctions between them are. If, however, the learning of the items is not already reasonably well established, then interference will occur.

The way words are grouped in lessons can have a major effect on learning difficulty. Once interference has occurred, then some mnemonic trick is needed to establish the correct associations.

### Massed versus Spaced Learning

The same words can be studied intensively for a period of time (massed learning), or they can be repeatedly studied for briefer periods of time at increasingly spaced intervals (spaced or distributed learning). That is, a learner could spend an hour studying a group of 30 or so words, or the learner could spend 10 minutes studying them now, in an hour's time spend another 10 minutes, and then in 4 or 5 hours time another 10 minutes and then continue in this way the next day and so on. In total, the spaced learning could total 1 hour. Experiments comparing massed and spaced learning show much better results for spaced learning (Bloom and Shuell, 1981; Dempster, 1987; Baddeley, 1990). The repetitions should be spaced further and further apart. The principle behind this is that the older a piece of learning is, the slower the forgetting. This means that soon after something is first learned, forgetting occurs quite quickly. There needs to be another repetition before too much is forgotten. After the next repetition, the learning is now older and so the forgetting does not occur as quickly as it did the first time. It will thus take a little longer for the forgetting to reach the point where another repetition is needed. Pimsleur (1967) proposed a formula, which should not be taken too seriously but which provides a very useful and easy to remember guide for spacing repetitions: The time to the next repetition should be the square of the time between the two previous repetitions. So, if a word was studied and then looked at again 5 minutes later, the next repetition should be  $5 \times 5$  minutes later (25 minutes later), the next

$25 \times 25$  minutes later (10.5 hours later), the next  $10.5 \times 10.5$  hours later (approximately 4 days later), and so on.

### First Language Definitions

Learning vocabulary is easier if the meanings of words are conveyed in short, clear ways. The more detailed and complicated a definition, the more difficult it is for both native and nonnative speakers to understand. The main reason is that there tends to be too much information for a learner to focus on and the learner chooses just one part to latch on to. This usually misrepresents the meaning of the word. One of the clearest and simplest ways of providing a meaning for a word is to give a first language translation. This has several advantages: (1) the translation is usually short and clear, (2) it is usually in the form of a synonym rather than a definition (definitions are more difficult to understand because of their complex grammatical structure), (3) the new word is related to something the learners already know well, and (4) the meaning is presented in totally familiar language. There is some experimental evidence that translations are an effective way of conveying meaning (Lado *et al.*, 1967; Mishima, 1967; Laufer and Shmueli, 1997). If other ways of conveying meaning, such as pictures, objects, demonstrations, and second language synonyms can meet these same criteria, they are also likely to be very effective. Often, however, they do not.

Many of the factors involved in the learning burden and difficulty can be manipulated to some degree by teachers and course designers. Aspects of the learning burden can be lightened by pointing out analogies with known items, by drawing attention to patterns or rules, and by directing deliberate attention to the particular aspect. Learning conditions are even more manipulable. George (1962) pointed out that teaching can have three effects: a positive effect in which teaching results in learning that takes the learners forward in their knowledge, a neutral effect in which nothing is learned, and a negative effect (the result of 'unteaching') in which the teaching results in learning that confuses or upsets previous learning. Good teachers can also be good 'unteachers.' An awareness of factors such as involvement load, negotiation, generative use, interference, and spaced repetition can reduce 'unteaching' and make the time spent on teaching and learning more productive and enjoyable.

*See also:* Interlanguage; Reading in a Second Language; Second and Foreign Language Learning and Teaching; Second Language Corpus Studies; Vocabulary Program for Second or Foreign Learners.

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## Sign Language Acquisition

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Sign languages are expressed with the hands, arms, and face and are understood through the eyes. Sign languages have evolved within communities of individuals who are deaf, and the children of these communities acquire sign as a first language. Like all languages, sign languages have linguistic rules for how words, sentences, and discourse are structured. Thus, all sign languages have a lexicon, grammatical and derivational morphology, phonology, syntax, and semantics. We focus here on sign language acquisition begun in infancy, as is typical for spoken language acquisition.

Sign language acquisition has been studied in several languages, including American Sign Language (ASL), Australian Sign Language (Auslan), British Sign Language (BSL), Danish Sign Language (DSL), French Sign Language (LSF), Italian Sign Language (LIS), Japanese Sign Language (JSL), Sign Language of The Netherlands (SLN), and Quebec Sign Language (LSQ). Research suggests that the developmental path from first words and combinations to sentence structure and discourse is similar across sign languages, although it is important to remember that the linguistic details vary from sign language to sign language (see **Table 1**). Sign language research reveals that the child's discovery of the units and rules of grammar is an abstract process that transcends sensory-motor modality.

Infant-directed sign language attracts and holds babies' attention more than adult-directed sign does, even when babies have never seen sign before. Infant-directed sign is slower, with larger movement trajectories, and tends to have more repetitions, compared to adult-directed sign (Masataka, 1996). Some elements of infant-directed sign are ungrammatical for adult signers but are modified in infant-directed sign to accommodate the visual needs of babies. For example, adults will displace signs away from their bodies to sign within the baby's visual field until the infant is about 20 months old, the time at which infants look automatically at the visual linguistic input source. Children must learn where to look to 'see' language, a task unique to sign language acquisition (Harris and Mohay, 1997; Holzrichter and Meier, 2000). Another modification in infant-directed sign involves facial expression. In adult sign language, facial expression has two functions, the affective function, which is universal to humans, and the

linguistic function, which is unique to sign languages. In infant-directed sign, adults use only affective facial expression. When children have acquired signs for some facial linguistic markers, around 24 months of age, adults can begin to add more linguistic facial expressions to their infant-directed sign (Reilly *et al.*, 1991; Reilly, 1996).

Infants who experience sign language babble with their hands. Manual babble occurs around the same age as vocal babble, from 6 to 12 months. Manual babble consists of a reduced set of phonological parameters found in the sign language input and follows the syllabic organization of sign languages, especially with respect to rhythmic timing. The handshapes most commonly observed in manual babbling are: [5] (relaxed hand), [A] (fist), [0] (including baby O), and [G] (index point). These handshapes are used with more repetitious movements than they are in the adult model, and movements such as opening and closing the handshape, raising and lowering the hands or arms, and movement toward the body are common. The location (or place) parameter of manual babbling seems to be idiosyncratic; for example, some infants babble in neutral space in front of the body, while others babble mostly on the head or face (Petitto and Marentette, 1991).

The transition from manual babbling to first words occurs around 10 months of age (with large individual variation). Manual babble and communicative pointing decline just before the appearance of the first sign (Petitto, 1987). First signs have been reported from as early as 8 months to as late as 16 months. The first 10 signs are produced around 12 months of age, and the first 50 signs emerge at 24 months and older (Anderson and Reilly, 2002). Children inevitably make signing errors; the phonological parameters used most frequently in manual babble tend to be the most common substitution errors in early sign (see **Figure 1**). The sign parameters most frequently misarticulated are handshape, followed by movement, with location being the most accurate (Marentette and Mayberry, 2002). Development of motor control is evident in early signs, with movements made by proximal joints, such as the shoulders and elbows, being substituted for movements made by distal joints, such as wrists and fingers (Meier *et al.*, 1998).

Less than a third of children's first signs are composed of vocabulary with iconic qualities. Instead, children's first signs are semantically similar to those of children learning spoken languages. Words closely related to the child's experience appear first, such as words for people, animals, and food. The acquisition



**Table 1** Summary of acquisition of grammatical structures in sign language

Structures	Age <sup>a</sup>		Sign languages <sup>b</sup>
	Of first appearance	First mastered	
Babbling	0;7–0;10	—	ASL, JSL, LSQ
First words	—	0;8–0;12	ASL, JSL, LIS, LSQ
Word combinations			
Two words	1;2–1;6	—	ASL, JSL
Basic word order	2;4–2;6	—	ASL, SLN
Pronouns			
First person	1;8	2;2	ASL
Second person	1;10–2;0	2;2	ASL
Third person	2;0	3;6	ASL
Possessives	2;0	2;4–2;9	ASL
Negation			
Negative signs	1;6	—	ASL
Negative-incorporated verbs	1;6	—	ASL
Negative sign with headshake	1;8	4;0	ASL
Negative-incorporated verb with headshake	2;0	4;0	ASL
Negative predicate with headshake	1;8–2;2	4;0	ASL
Questions			
Yes/no facial grammar	1;0	—	ASL
Question signs	1;6–2;4	—	ASL
Non-manual markers over question signs	3;6	6;0	ASL
Facial adverbials	1;10–2;0	5;0	ASL
Topics	2;9	3;0	ASL
Conditionals			
Conditional signs	3;0	4;0	ASL
Non-manual markers over signs	5;0	7;0–8;0	ASL
Verb agreement			
Agreement verbs without inflection	2;6	—	ASL
Agreement verbs with inflection	3;0	6;0	ASL
AB verbs	6;0	11;0–12;0	ASL, BSL
Perspective shift			
Shift roles with eye gaze	3;0	—	ASL, BSL
Direct quote	3;6	6;0–8;0	ASL, BSL
Non-manual markers	3;6	13;0	ASL, BSL
Classifiers			
Figure (handshapes)	3;0	8;0–9;0	ASL, BSL, SLN
Use of space	3;0	9;0–10;0	ASL, BSL, SLN
Ground	4;0	11;0–12;0	ASL, BSL, SLN

<sup>a</sup>Given in years;months.

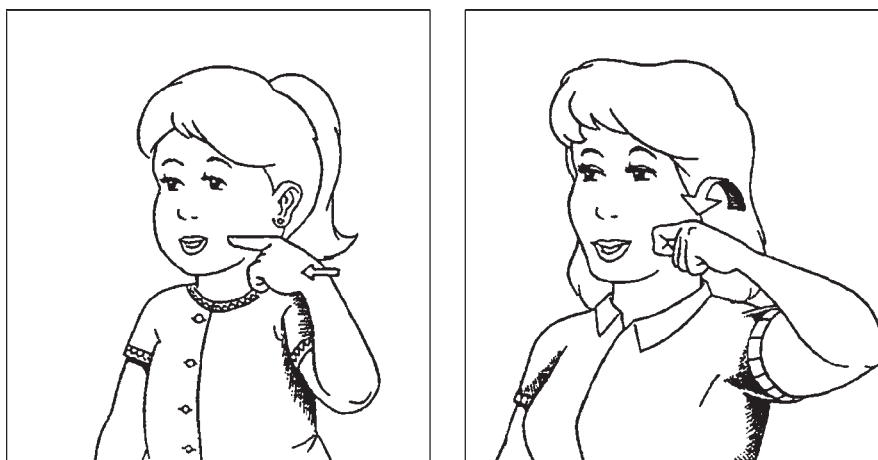
<sup>b</sup>ASL, American Sign Language; JSL, Japanese Sign Language; LSQ, Quebec Sign Language; LIS, Italian Sign Language; SLN, Sign Language of The Netherlands; BSL, British Sign Language.

of more abstract words is related to the size of the lexicon. Question words, cognitive verbs, and negation all appear after 100 words have been learned, around 18 to 24 months of age (Anderson and Reilly, 2002). Pointing is present in infants' communicative repertoires starting at 10 months of age, but does not lead smoothly into the use of sign pronouns, which are produced using the same form. Until 20 months of age, children use nominals instead of pronouns/possessives to refer to people, and begin using pronouns with errors just before 2 years. The first-person pronoun is acquired first, followed by second person; pointing to a third person who is present precedes the use of abstract locations in

space to refer to people and objects not present, which is acquired after 3½ years (Hoffmeister, 1987; Petitto, 1987).

In the transition from single words to the two-word stage, children begin by combining a gesture, usually a point, with a single word (as is the case for babies acquiring spoken language). This development, around 12 months of age, is called the semantic one-sign stage because the gesture and sign both refer to the same meaning. The semantic two-sign stage follows, at around 16 months, with the point and the sign referring to two distinct meanings. For example, the child may point at an object and sign a verb such as 'EAT', or make a request, such as 'MORE'





**Figure 1** A child's sign error: the child signs 'APPLE' by using the handshape [l] instead of [lh] and the movement [contact] instead of [twist], in comparison to the mother's correct target sign. Illustration by Michael Shang. Reprinted with permission from Marentette P F & Mayberry R I (2000). 'Principles for an emerging phonological system: a case study of early ASL acquisition.' In Chamberlain C, Morford J & Mayberry R (eds.) *Language acquisition by eye*. Mahway, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Assoc. 71–90.

(Capirci *et al.*, 2002; Torigoe and Takei, 2001). Children combine lexical signs once they have a vocabulary of 100 signs, from 18 to 24 months of age. These combinations generally consist of uninflected nouns and verbs such as 'MOMMY EAT' or 'WANT DRINK' or may include quantifiers such as 'MORE CRACKER' (Anderson and Reilly, 2002). After the two-word stage, children begin to acquire the more complex elements of sign languages, such as morphology, that depend on non-manual markers and the linguistic use of space with signs. In general, non-manual markers, or linguistic facial expressions, are neither comprehended nor produced by children until they have acquired the corresponding manual signs. Children begin to use non-manual markers around the age of 2 years, but cannot produce them comparable to the adult model until after 12 years of age. Although children communicate negation using a non-linguistic headshake by 12 months, their first negative signs at 18 months are produced without the obligatory linguistic headshake. They integrate the headshake (with errors in timing and scope) a few months later and use both sign and non-manual negation correctly between 26 and 28 months of age. Similar to the acquisition of negation, facial adverbials, such as 'puff' (puffing the cheeks out, meaning 'very big/fat'), are not acquired until children can express these meanings in signs. Dozens of facial adverbials are acquired much like lexical items are acquired, from the age of 22 months to 4 years and older (Anderson and Reilly, 1997, 1998).

The acquisition of yes/no questions occurs early because there are no signs to be mastered first. Babies use the necessary non-manual marker, generally raised eyebrows, over a single sign as early as 12 to

16 months of age. Questions requesting information require the acquisition of both signs and non-manual markers (such as lowered eyebrows and eye squint). Question signs appear first at 18 months and gradually increase in variety and use until 3 years of age, but non-manual markers are not added consistently or appropriately until 3½ years of age (Anderson and Reilly, 2002). The adult model has a variety of acceptable word orders in questions, and children start using these orders, also adding a redundant question word in sentence-final position, after the age of 4½ years (Lillo-Martin, 2000). Although topicalization uses non-manual markers that are similar to those used in yes/no questions, non-manual markers are not used for topics until the age of 3 years. However, there is some evidence that children can express topicalization using a prosodic break by the age of 2 years (Pichler, 2002).

The development of conditional sentences further demonstrates the dichotomy between the acquisition of the signed and non-manual markers of many syntactic structures. Non-manual conditional markers are obligatory but conditional signs are not in ASL. From ages 3 to 4 years, children can comprehend the conditional structure in signs, but not in non-manual markers, and they can express some conditionals in signs without the obligatory non-manual markers. By the age of 5 years, children can comprehend non-manual markers but are inconsistent in their production of these structures. The timing and scope of non-manual markers with signing are not fully mastered until the age of 8 years (Reilly *et al.*, 1990).

In many sign languages, verb agreement is marked with the linguistic use of space. Acquiring spatial morphology is a gradual process in which children

actively attempt to identify morphological components; this is apparent in the errors they make, which are productive as opposed to being iconic. In general, around the age of 3 years, children can comprehend the use of locations in space for verb agreement before they can produce it. At the same time, they are able to inflect verbs using people, places, and objects that are present. The period from age 4 to 5 years is the time in which they comprehend verb agreement but produce it with errors, such as over-generalizations to verbs that cannot take agreement. Correct production of basic verb agreement is acquired by the age of 6 years (Meier, 1987, 2002). Shifting directional verb agreement, involving what are known as AB verbs, is a kind of verb agreement that takes children longer to grasp. In this case, three thematic roles are mapped onto two-argument verbs. In English, this could be expressed as *John hit Peter on the head*. In many sign languages, this is expressed using two parts, A and B. In A, the verb agrees with person X and person Y. In B, the verb agrees with person Y and the part of the body being affected (in this case the head). Children can comprehend AB verbs (ages 3 to 5 years) long before they can produce them. Usually, children will attempt to produce these verbs using only the B part, omitting the subject information. Between the ages of 6 and 8 years, they will sometimes produce only one part, and usually omit the obligatory perspective shift. Production of AB verbs is mostly correct by 9 years of age, although it takes a few more years for the non-manual markers to become fully adultlike (Morgan *et al.*, 2002).

The acquisition of sign language structures referred to as classifier constructions is protracted, because full mastery requires the adept combination of several linguistic skills. Children must be able to use an array of signs alongside classifier handshapes, must coordinate both hands so that they can work together to track figure and ground, and must know when to introduce a referent with an identifying sign versus a classifier. Before they start using classifiers, children first use the bare form of the verb to describe an action. Also, children focus entirely on the action involved, do not focus on the figure, and generally omit the ground. By 5 or 6 years of age, children can select appropriate semantic classifier handshapes without specifying all of the relevant dimensions, and they start to distinguish the beginning and end of the action. Children are able to show facial affect with classifier constructions and change the orientation of the non-dominant hand to represent the ground by the age of 8 years. By age 9½ years, their classifier constructions are mostly correct. Nonetheless, children do not properly specify the ground in classifier constructions until 11 or 12 years of age.

In mastering classifier constructions, children tend to focus first on the action and then begin to add information about the figure; finally, they are able to specify the ground (Engberg-Pedersen, 2003; Slobin *et al.*, 2003).

Reported action in many sign languages requires the mastery of perspective shift, which is important to narration. Children need to understand the concept of shifting viewpoint and must be able to produce several different non-manual markers. From ages 3 to 4 years, the only evidence that children are changing perspective is in their eye gaze shift; some children may use a character facial expression incorrectly. Around 5 years of age, children transition to expressing perspective shift linguistically by first labeling a character and then signing 'SAY' to introduce a direct quote. Most children of this age also correctly take on the facial expression of the character, although they tend to stay fixed in one perspective (whereas adults are capable of changing perspectives rapidly and often). By ages 6 and 7 years, children have mastered the signed and most of the non-manual markers for a direct quote, but they continue to have difficulty with reported action; i.e., whereby the narrator reports a character's actions and takes on the facial expression of that character while remaining in the role of narrator. At this point, children tend to tell narrations solely from a narrator's viewpoint using primarily linguistic, as opposed to paralinguistic, means. They gradually integrate paralinguistic devices with perspective shift after 8 years of age. Finally, as in most structures that use complex non-manual markers, the non-manual markers for character perspective and reported action do not become adultlike in narration and discourse until age 12 years and older (Morgan *et al.*, 2001; Reilly, 2001).

Cross-linguistic research shows that linguistic structure remains abstract when it is understood through the eyes and expressed with the hands, arms, and face. Children who are acquiring sign languages face the same challenges that children acquiring spoken languages face. They must discover the underlying units and rules of the words, sentences, and discourse patterns of the language around them. Like children acquiring spoken languages, children acquiring sign languages are highly analytic and acquire grammatical structure one piece at a time through communicative interactions with the people who care for them.

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## Speaking in a Second Language

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### Introduction

The productive skill of speaking in a second language has received attention only in relatively recent times. Bygate (2001) noted three reasons for this. First, many of the dominant approaches to language teaching (notably the grammar-translation approach) do not give any priority to the promotion of oral communication. Second, only since the mid-1970s has there been widespread availability of good recording media to facilitate the in-depth study of recorded natural speech and to allow for the use of spoken material in classrooms. Third, many of the approaches to language teaching, other than grammar translation, did use oral communication in the target language as a central medium for teaching (for example, the direct method, the audiolingual approach); however, ironically, speaking as a skill largely focused only on pronunciation. In the case of audiolingualism, the importance of speaking was highlighted in its input-before-output sequence: listening–speaking–reading–writing. This behaviorist view of language perceived speaking as a series of habits (in reality, structures) that could be broken down and learned by “no more than engineering the repeated oral production of structures in the target language” (Bygate, 2001: 15). Since the 1970s, other influences have changed the way we view second language speaking, most notably cognitive and sociolinguistic theories and the rise to prominence of spoken corpora.

### Models and Descriptions of Second Language Speaking

#### Theoretical Models for Understanding Second Language Speaking

Concerted study of second language acquisition (SLA) has been under way since the late 1960s. A number of early SLA studies looked at the interactional aspects of speaking that were relevant to language learning. Simultaneously, and often independently, models of spoken language description, such as ethnography of speaking, conversation analysis (CA), interactional sociolinguistics (IS),

discourse analysis (DA), and critical discourse analysis, have been evolving. Boxer (2004) noted that although some recent research in SLA has begun to glean insights from the various approaches to the analysis of spoken discourse, there is much more that could be studied to illuminate the theoretical and practical aspects of SLA. As she noted by studying how language users employ their language in a variety of contexts, with various types of interlocutors, and on a variety of topics, students, teachers, and scholars can create curricula, materials, and assessment instruments based on something more substantial than the intuition of mother tongue users. Boxer (2004: 8) identified three theoretical models that offer ‘fairly compatible insights’ into the processes involved in the development of spoken language ability in both first and second/additional languages. These are: (1) Language Identity, (2) Language Socialization, and (3) Sociocultural Theory.

The Language Identity model focuses on the impact of taking on an additional language in terms of an individual’s identity (see Pavlenko and Lantolf, 2000). For those learning a language, the primary resource, as Boxer (2004: 9) noted, is “social and interactional, involving face-to-face spoken discourse.” Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000) looked at the process that immigrants go through when they are faced with learning a new language. They either choose to appropriate or reject linguistic and cultural aspects of the new language and its culture that can potentially change one’s sense of self. Within the same paradigm, but focusing on the cumulative effect of interaction, relational identities are said to build up over time, and successful interactions for language learners lead to further interaction and in turn promote more opportunities for language development (see Boxer and Cortes-Conde, 2000).

Language Socialization offers a framework for the study of second language speaking in which language is viewed as the symbolic means by which humans appropriate knowledge of norms and rules of verbal and nonverbal behavior in particular speech communities. Becoming a competent member of any speech community means taking on appropriate behaviors of the community. Most of the research in this area focuses on the first and second language development of children in particular speech communities and the role of parents and teachers who make explicit what ought to be said and done (see Boxer, 2004). SLA studies that draw on a Language Socialization model focus mostly on socialization practices in the classroom from the perspective of a community of practice rather than in a speech community.



Socialization practices of such communities are reflected in the classroom discourse and interaction of second language classes in which talented teachers take on the role of socializing agent, much in the same way as adults take on this role with children in first language development.

The third and most influential model that Boxer (2004) identified as appropriate for the study of the processes involved in the development of second language speaking is Sociocultural Theory (SCT). This movement, springing mainly from the work of Lantolf and his associates, draws on the theories of Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky (see Vygotsky, 1978, posthumously published). Vygotsky's philosophy supports the view that the acquisition of language (first and additional) is a sociocultural process linking the social/interactional with the cognitive. Boxer (2004) noted that contrary to Language Identity and Language Socialization models, SCT specifically connects the role of language as a mediating tool between social interaction and the development of higher-order mental processes. This theory proposes that mental functioning such as memory, attention, perception, planning, learning, and development come under the voluntary control of individuals as they internalize culturally constructed artifacts, which include all culturally organized forms of communication (Lantolf, 2000). Social relationships are transformed into psychological processes by individuals as a means of mediating their own mental activity.

Examination of Vygotsky's work (e.g., Lantolf, 2000) generated debate among applied linguists on how such a perspective might feed into the teaching and learning of second language speaking. Two central notions of the Vygotskian paradigm are relevant here: the notion of scaffolding and that of the zone of proximal development (ZPD). Scaffolding is the cognitive support provided by an adult or other guiding person to a child or learner. Scaffolding occurs in dialogue, so that the child/learner can make sense of challenging tasks. The ZPD is the distance between where the child/learner is developmentally and what he or she can potentially achieve in interaction with adults or more capable peers (Vygotsky, 1978: 86). The concept of scaffolding refers to a situation where the interlocutor possessing the expertise guides the novice through a series of interactions in which the expert gradually cedes control as the novice takes on increasing responsibility and becomes more adept (Hall, 1997). This happens through the various configurations of social interaction, and as the process goes on, that which began as an intermental, socially mediated activity becomes an intramental, cognitive development process. In contrast to most traditional

SLA perspectives, SCT views the learner not as a deficient version of the idealized monolingual expert, but as an active and creative participant in a "sociocognitively complex task" (Hall, 1997: 303). Instructors (or peers) and their pupils cocreate the arena for development; it is not preordained and has no locksteps or limits. Meaning is created through dialogue (including dialogue with the self, as may be evidenced in 'private speech') while the participants are engaged in activity. Ohta (2001) conducted a longitudinal case study of the private speech of seven adults learning Japanese in their foreign language classroom at the University of Washington in 1996 and 1997. She used the private speech of the learners to access what was actually going on in the mind of a learner while learning a second language. She defined private speech as "oral language uttered not for communicative interaction with another, but for dialogue with the self" (Ohta, 2001: 14), that is, an intermediary between social and inner speech. Ohta claimed that private speech has particular potential as a data source because it provides a window into the mind as it works on the cognitive, intimately social interactive problems presented by learning language, arguing that the paramount understanding is that private speech is not only a frequent feature of L2 classroom activity, but evidences SLA in process. She compared private speech to a moving picture of language acquisition in process.

In terms of the effectiveness of the Vygotskian approach in promoting second language speaking, Machado (2000) showed how peer-to-peer mutual help during the preparation stages of speaking tasks in the classroom (for example, negotiating interpretations of the tasks and the wording of meanings) can be directly reflected in the performance phases of the same tasks, suggesting that internalization of scaffolding has taken place. This supports the view that peer-to-peer scaffolding may be just as important as expert-novice scaffolding in the improvement of spoken performance. Ko *et al.* (2003) also took this line and sought to explicate what constitutes good, effective negotiation-of-meaning interactions in classroom tasks (see also Kasper, 2001). The contributions to such tasks made by the teacher may be enhanced by contributions from peers during the negotiation phase between separate performances of the same task, again suggesting the central role played by scaffolding in promoting and improving second language speaking. As a caveat to the general optimism toward Vygotskian approaches to second language speaking, Kinginger (2002) warned against the uncritical importing of concepts such as scaffolding and the ZPD in ways that do no more than justify unreformed current practices (e.g., the input-output

hypotheses, all and any types of pair- and group-work tasks, teacher feedback moves), rather than genuinely re-examining the part played by social interaction in language development. In this respect, the work of Swain and associates (for example Swain and Lapkin, 2000) presented the ZPD as an open-ended arena for unplanned development and unpredictable events, and not as a fixed discourse based on input and output or the tightly circumscribed sequences of teacher–learner exchanges. Hughes (2002) also repeatedly stressed the need for proper social and cultural contextualization of second language speaking activities, and there certainly seems to be a growing awareness that second language speaking in pedagogical settings should not take place in a vacuum, sealed off from the social and cultural life of the learner.

Recent research has investigated the design and implementation of speaking tasks within cognitive frameworks, focusing principally on fluency, complexity, and accuracy of production (Bygate, 2001 provided an overview of the evolution of such research). Robinson (2001) has argued that stepping up the cognitive complexity of speaking tasks affects production, with a greater lexical repertoire on show in more complex versions and greater fluency evidenced in simpler versions of the task. Yuan and Ellis (2003) looked at the positive impact of pretask planning on learners' spoken production, especially with regard to fluency and complexity, even though it was not obvious that accuracy benefited. Yuan and Ellis also examined situations where learners were given unlimited time to formulate and monitor their speech while performing; such planning seemed to positively influence accuracy and grammatical complexity. Research has also looked at repetition and recycling in speaking tasks and their contribution to the integration over time of fluency, complexity, and accuracy of spoken production (Bygate, 2001). Additionally, the role of the teacher in relation to task design and implementation and the teacher's ability to provide scaffolding to underpin the development of competence in speaking has become a focus.

### **Analytical Approaches for Understanding Second Language Speaking**

Describing spoken language was a very difficult task before the widespread availability of audio recording equipment. Not surprisingly therefore, the past 40 years have seen a proliferation of studies and emergent methodologies in this area. Most relevant to the study of foreign language speaking have been conversation analysis (CA), Discourse Analysis (DA),

and Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS). Though these analytical approaches differ, they all focus on empirical data and are concerned with turn-by-turn analysis of spoken interactions across many contexts of use. They have largely been used to describe first language interactions but many illuminating studies of foreign language speaking have also been carried out.

CA studies the social organization of conversation, or talk-in-interaction, by a detailed 'bottom-up' inspection of audio (and sometimes video) recordings and transcriptions. Core to its inductive analysis of the structure of conversations are the following areas: (1) the rules and systematicity governing turn-taking; (2) how speaker turns can be related to each other in sequence and might be said to go together as adjacency pairs (for example, complaint + denial A: *You left the light on.* B: *It wasn't me.*); (3) how turns are organized sequentially in context at any given point in an interaction and the systematicity of these sequences of utterances; (4) how seemingly minor changes in placement within utterances and across turns are organized and meaningful (for example, the difference between the placement of a vocative at the beginning, mid-point, or end-point of an utterance). The influence of CA as a tool for understanding and fostering speaking in second language learning contexts has grown in recent years. Ducharme and Bernard (2001) studied spoken interactions among learners of French, by means of microanalyses of videotaped conversations and post-task interviews aimed at incorporating the perspectives of the participants. CA was also used by Mori (2002), who analyzed a speaking task performed by nonnative-speaking learners (NNS) of Japanese, where learners interacted with Japanese native speakers (NS) who had been invited to the class. The intention was to encourage freer, natural conversation, but the NS–NNS interaction in Mori's case revealed the characteristics of an interview, with questions from the students and responses from the NS guests, an undesired outcome. More natural discursive exchanges happened when the learners made spontaneous contributions or when they paid more marked attention to the moment-by-moment progression of the talk. Key to the interpretation of such phenomena is an understanding of the participants' orientation toward the institutionalized nature of the task they had been set, and CA, it is argued, facilitates such understanding. The CA-based view is that aspects of activity design and implementation influence the outcomes of speaking tasks in ways that CA can elucidate and that CA can point to directions for the improvement of the design and implementation of speaking tasks. On the other hand, there has been criticism of the lack

of a 'learning' dimension in CA studies of second language speaking, in that CA is a very locally oriented analysis that is not good at producing actual evidence of change and development in speaking ability over longer spans of time.

CA analysts also examine openings and closings in conversations and how speakers manage the topics they talk about or want to talk about. Topics generally shade smoothly into one another, without unnatural jumps, and in conversations between equals, the right to launch a topic belongs to any speaker, but the other participants must accept the topics and contribute to them before they can truly be said to be conversational topics. In short, topics are typically *negotiated* in everyday talk among equals. Again, questions relating to second language speaking pedagogy include the possibility of assembling a lexicon of topic-management expressions, such as *Oh, by the way*, *Going back to . . .*, and *As I was saying* (Dörnyei and Thurrell, 1994). Another related issue is the exercising of topical control (typically by the teacher) and the potential therein for losing opportunities for the introduction of topics of which learners have genuine knowledge. The question of motivation if topics are imposed on learners or whether it is preferable to allow learners to introduce and manage their own topics is also one of interest. Other issues include whether raising awareness of topic-boundary phenomena (such as metastatements or discourse markers) can help second language learners to listen more selectively to discourses such as university lectures and the way learners actually intervene in topical negotiation, including even in relatively 'traditional' language classrooms.

The DA approach has also been influential in research on second language speaking. In this approach, the smallest unit of interaction is seen as the exchange, which involves at least two turns: an initiation (I) and a response (R), for example, *How are you?* (I) *Fine.* (R). The most common pattern of spoken exchanges in the traditional teacher-fronted classroom is that of initiation (I), response (R), and follow-up (F), often called IRF exchanges. That is to say, the teacher initiates, the student responds, and the teacher then follows up, for example, *What color was the cat?* (I) *Black.* (R) *Very good.* (F). The original study in this area was carried out on L1 classroom data by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) and it is often argued that the IRF pattern does not reflect the complex demands of everyday conversations outside of the classroom, especially since teachers most typically exercise the follow-up role, while learners languish in passive, respondent roles. However, Kasper (2001) took to task the commonly held view that IRF routines are a restrictive interactional format.

Kasper argued that the negative reputation of the IRF exchange may not be entirely justified and that it is the kind of interactional status assigned by the teacher to individual learners that matters in how speaking occurs in the classroom. When learners are treated as primary interactants in speaking activities, teachers extend them more participation rights in the conversation. Kasper suggested that teachers can help learners to become actively involved in spoken interaction, even within the framework of the classic IRF patterning of teacher-fronted classroom talk.

McCarthy (2002), also starting from a DA base, suggests that R and F moves play a central role in the manifestation of 'listenership,' that is to say, verbal engagement in the discourse when one is not in the role of main speaker, a situation NNS typically find themselves in, especially at earlier stages of proficiency. Listenership is distinct from 'listening' in the conventional four-skills paradigm of listening-speaking-reading-writing, where listening is seen as receptive and is tested through comprehension tests. Listenership is instead a component of the speaking skill, since it demands appropriate verbal response as the main index of comprehension and engagement. The difficulty lies in the fact that many R moves and the vast majority of classroom F moves are produced by the teacher, resulting in impoverished opportunities for learners to engage in typical listener follow-ups as they occur in non-institutional, everyday conversations. Learners most typically experience the teacher's R and F moves only as peripheral participants (Ohta, 2001). Ohta advocated peer-to-peer interaction as offering more enriched opportunities for learners to engage in appropriate listener behavior. The happiest compromise seems to be exposure to the teacher's use of R and F moves accompanied by explicit guidance and instruction on the use of respondent moves to encourage learners to develop over time toward production of such moves in peer-to-peer speaking activities. In a framework that combines DA and CA elements, Walsh (2002) stressed the importance of distinguishing different modes of teacher talk and illustrated how different modes may hold back or optimize opportunities for second language learners to contribute via the distinct types of exchanges associated with each mode. Seedhouse (1996) also argued that traditional classroom discourse has been unfairly criticized by those advocating more 'communicative' pedagogies. He argued that the goal of creating 'natural' conversation in the second language classroom is basically unattainable and that it would be better to adopt an approach where classroom discourse is seen as an institutional variety

of discourse, alongside other institutional varieties and alongside non-institutional varieties, in which the character of the interaction corresponds appropriately to institutional goals.

Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS) also provides an analytical framework for a number of studies of second language speaking. IS stems particularly from the work of Gumpertz (see Gumpertz, 1982). It is a microethnographic approach to the study of communication in the context of bilingualism and cross-cultural contexts. IS draws on CA and ethnographic approaches to look at audio- or videotaped interactions from the perspective of both the researcher and the participants. Research in this area is particularly focused on gaining insights into cross-cultural miscommunication and misperceptions when two cultures are involved in a spoken interaction. By scrutinizing the recorded interaction, participants can reflect on what they said, what they meant, and what they achieved. Boxer (2004) noted that IS offers rich contextualized analysis of talk-in-interaction that has important potential implications for of the study of second language speaking in SLA contexts. Halmari (2004), for example, conducted a 12-year study of the codeswitching patterns of two young Finnish Americans living in the United States. Her study illustrates 1) that codeswitching patterns may be seen as a reflection of developing discourse competences and 2) how the two languages are deftly altered in naturally occurring discourse among bilingual family members as a means of conveying a vast array of subtle pragmatic messages.

### **Speech Acts in Second Language Speaking**

The study of speech acts is an area that is related to CA, DA, and IS, but studies in this field differ fundamentally in the data they use. Most studies into speech act realization in second language speaking have derived from elicited rather than spontaneously recorded data. This is because it can be difficult to gain access to data with rarely occurring or rarely recorded speech acts, or speech acts that do not readily occur in two languages that the researcher wishes to compare. One of the most common strategies is to use Discourse Completion Tasks (DCTs), which involve specially designed questionnaires that elicit responses. For example, they can provide a situation and leave a blank for the speech act to be supplied or provide a first turn followed by a blank. Multiple turns have also been employed to make DCTs more interactive. DCTs can alter contextual features, such as age, gender, and speaker status, to access varied responses from informants. Much discussion has

taken place as to the adequacy of DCTs as a research instrument. They are criticized for making *a priori* decisions about sociolinguistic variables that are deemed to be important in a given situation (Boxer, 2004). Beebe and Waring (2004) designed a DCT-based study on rudeness that comprised six situations where someone was rude and the subject was asked to respond. The situations were selected from 750 naturally occurring examples of spontaneous rudeness. It involved 40 NNS participants from seven countries all enrolled in an Intensive English Language Program at a North American university. They were asked both what they would say and what they would feel like saying, so that the informants could respond (1) in a way that reflects social constraints and (2) in a way that reflects no social constraints that would hold them back. They found that the low-proficiency speakers tended to rely on sarcasm and intensifiers by repeatedly using a limited number of adverbs. The high-proficiency speakers, on the other hand, used a much wider range of adverbials to convey tone and managed to sound assertive without being hostile. Based on these and other findings, Beebe and Waring speculated that there is a cline of difficulty in acquiring pragmatic tone in second language speaking – intense and sarcastic tones are easier to acquire than more subtle tones of assertiveness or aggression.

## **Areas of Growing Influence and Debate in the Area of Second Language Speaking**

### **Corpus Linguistics**

The advent of the tape recorder changed not only how spoken language was taught but also how it was studied. Similarly, the availability of computers meant that large amounts of naturally occurring recorded spoken language could be transcribed and then stored on computer for analysis. Such principled collections of texts (spoken and written) are referred to as corpora. As a result, our knowledge of spoken language has changed significantly. Large corpora of spoken language are now collected and described. In the area of English as a Foreign Language, spoken corpora that have been or are being exploited for the teaching of speaking include the spoken components of the British National Corpus (100 million words in total, of which 10 million is spoken conversation) and of the Bank of English, the British/Irish CANCODE spoken corpus, the Michigan corpus of academic spoken English (MICASE), the Longman Spoken American Corpus, and the American National Corpus. Those studying the teaching of speaking



note the growing influence of spoken corpora on the pedagogy of speaking and point out that new understanding has prompted new debates about the ‘what’ and the ‘how’ of the teaching of second language speaking.

In the context of English as a globally used language, new issues for second language pedagogical modeling arise with the collection and description of different varieties from around the world. In the case of English, the International Corpus of English (ICE) project makes available spoken data for the Englishes of Hong Kong, New Zealand, Singapore, Great Britain, Nigeria, and the Caribbean, with others under development, and Ireland can count on both ICE and the Limerick Corpus of Irish English (LCIE), all of which are either aimed at or have direct implications for the improvement of second language speaking. Though English dominates the present discussion, it is apparent that similar problems exist in the establishment of pedagogical models for the speaking of multi-national languages such as French and Spanish. North American universities often insist on the spoken model of metropolitan France rather than that of nearby French Canada and publishers routinely sanction language teaching materials for use in Latin America in terms of their faithfulness to European (Castilian) Spanish norms. Corpora are also currently influencing the teaching of spoken French, with similar debates about the modeling of spoken language for pedagogy as those under way with regard to English (Lawson, 2001).

Research into language corpora has frequently shown that there is a discrepancy between the language we use and the language we teach (see, for example, Holmes, 1988). A recent example is the finding by corpus analysts and other linguists that fixed ‘chunks’ of various kinds have a central role in everyday, fluent speech. Wray, investigating formulaic sequences (which include idioms, collocations, and institutionalized sentence frames), stressed that such sequences circumvent the analytical processes associated with the interpretation of open syntactic frames in terms of both reception and production and she criticized attempts to encourage the analysis of formulaic sequences in second language pedagogy as “pursuing native-like linguistic usage by promoting entirely unnative-like processing behaviour” (Wray, 2000: 463). Wray’s work attempted to move away from a static, behaviorist account of formulaic language, emphasizing its nature as dynamic, responding to the demands of language in use. The study of the role of fixed sequences in second language contexts has been investigated by Schmitt and his associates (Schmitt, 2004), and emerging insights into the importance of the acquisition of

chunks in second language speaking continue to flow from corpus-based studies of both first and second language speaking.

### **NS versus NNS Models for Second Language Speaking**

Another ongoing debate centers on the comparability of native versus nonnative speaking. Medgyes (1992) argued that a nonnative cannot aspire to acquire a native speaker’s language competence and that native- and nonnative-speaking teachers reveal considerable differences in their teaching behavior and that most of the discrepancies are language-related. However, he noted that native and nonnative teachers have an equal chance to become successful teachers, but the routes used by the two groups are not the same. A number of publications debate the issue of NS versus learner corpora and NNS corpora (Seidlhofer, 2001; Prodromou, 2003). Prodromou, whose work is based on a mixed NS–NNS spoken English corpus, raised issues concerning the undermining effect of NS spoken corpora for NNS faced with language varieties and cultures that they can never appropriate completely for themselves. Reacting to similar concerns, Seidlhofer proposed a spoken corpus of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) to profile ELF as robust and independent of English as a native language and to establish “something like an index of communicative redundancy” with pedagogical applications (Seidlhofer, 2001: 147). The shift away from the NS as the sole model for second language speaking is further underscored by the introduction into the debate of terms aimed at leveling the playing field between NS and NNS as potential models. Building on earlier work, such terms include ‘expert users’ and ‘successful users of English,’ with a focus on the modeling of successful language users (whether NS or NNS) in non-pedagogical contexts. Meanwhile, the Louvain International Database of Spoken English Interlanguage, set up in 1995, provides spoken data for the analysis of learner language.

Second language speaking is a complex affair and many aspects of research and observation of first and second language behavior have contributed to our understanding of the process. The future promises more data-based studies of second language speaking and more delicate descriptions of second language speaking on its own terms, rather than simply as an impoverished reflection of first language speaking.

*See also:* Communicative Competence; Communicative Language Teaching; Interlanguage; Learning Second Language Vocabulary; Lingua Francas as Second



Languages; Listening in a Second Language; Nonnative Speaker Teachers; Second Language Discourse Studies; Second Language Identity; Second Language Socialization; Traditions in Second Language Teaching; World Englishes.

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## Third Language Acquisition

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### Introduction. The Spread of Third Language Acquisition: Sociolinguistic Perspectives

Third language acquisition is a very common phenomenon all over the world and occurs in a large number of diverse sociolinguistic situations. The number of languages spoken in the world nowadays (approximately 6,000) clearly outnumbers the number of countries (approximately 200) in which they are spoken, implying that going beyond second language acquisition is not unusual, and learning a third or a fourth language is natural for many people all over the world. Third language acquisition occurs commonly in bilingual and multilingual contexts, when, due to historical or political reasons, two or more languages overlap in a region, but also occurs commonly among individuals who need to communicate for professional or other reasons.

Third language acquisition is promoted in Europe within established linguistic minority groups (for example, Catalan, Basque, Frisian, or Welsh), whose members, as a matter of ethnic pride and cultural preservation, support learning and using their traditional languages in addition to the national language and languages of wider communication. It is also very common for immigrants to learn a third language. In some cases, immigrants are already bilingual or multilingual before they learn the language of the host country, and in non-English-speaking countries, they may also further their communication skills by learning English at school in the host country. In the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, immigration is a very common phenomenon. Members of minority communities in these countries speak their own heritage language (for example, Mohawk in Canada or Maori in New Zealand) or the immigrant language (for example, Spanish, Italian, or Chinese) and may learn English in schools (and in the case of children, additional languages) or as part of their assimilation education.

Bilingualism and multilingualism are extremely common in Asia and Africa. In some countries in these regions, many people use a variety of family and tribal languages plus a lingua franca and/or a national language, thus third language acquisition is a very common part of the culture. The teaching of additional languages at school also contributes to

multilingualism. For example, speakers of Berber in Morocco learn Arabic, French, and some English at school; in South America, school is often the place where many children acquire a second and a third language. Native speakers of Quechua, Aymara, or Guarani, for example, usually learn Spanish as a second language and English as a third language.

The role of English as the most important language of wider communication in the world also contributes to its dominance as a third language. The spread of English has been visualized by Kachru (1992) in terms of three circles. The innermost circle includes the countries that are traditionally considered the bases of English, where English is the first language for the majority of the populations (the United Kingdom, the United States, Ireland, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand). (As already noted, however, English is not the only language spoken in these countries and it is learned as a second or third language by members of minority communities.) The next circle outward includes those countries where English is not the first language for the majority of the population, but it is a second or third language that is used at the institutional level, as the result of colonization (India, Nigeria, Philippines, etc.). The expanding outermost circle includes those countries where English has no official status and is taught as a foreign language (Continental Europe, Japan, China, South America, etc.). As can be seen, speakers of English are in contact with speakers of other languages in all three circles, and therefore the third language acquisition of English is not unusual in most places in the world.

Despite third language acquisition being a common phenomenon, research in this field has received very little attention until recently. In the past decade, there has been a growing body of research into third language (L3) acquisition and multilingualism, as is reflected in an increasing number of publications in this area (for instance, Cenoz and Jessner, 2000; Cenoz *et al.*, 2001), in the publication of *The International Journal of Multilingualism*, and in the number of international conferences devoted to research on third language acquisition (held in Innsbruck, 1999; Leeuwarden, 2001; Tralee, 2003; and Fribourgh-Biel, 2005). The research has responded to the need to identify the specific characteristics that distinguish L3 acquisition and multilingualism from second language (L2) acquisition and bilingualism, and has addressed psycholinguistic, sociolinguistic, and educational issues. Research in this area tried to answer questions concerning the influence of bilingualism on L3 acquisition, whether L3 learners mix languages more than L2 learners do, how the first and the

second languages affect the acquisition of additional languages, and which specific strategies are used by learners in L3 acquisition.

### Differences between Second and Third Language Acquisition

Processes involved in the acquisition of a second or a third language have a lot in common, both theoretically and in terms of research methodologies. In both cases, researchers make theoretical proposals about the way learners process and use languages that are not their first language, and analyze learners' production of the target languages. However, there are important differences in the learning processes. These differences can be basically defined as 'process oriented' and 'product oriented.' Third language acquisition is a more complex phenomenon, compared to second language acquisition, and entails some specific characteristics. Learners, having already faced the task of acquiring a non-native (second) language, have gone through the process of developing learning strategies and metalinguistic awareness. The 'product' resulting from the process of acquiring a second language – that is, communicative competence in the second language – can influence how learners acquire a third language. This effect has been described in studies of the cross-linguistic influence in third language acquisition. The process of acquiring a third language can be considered more complex in terms of research because it involves all of the factors related to second language acquisition, plus additional factors related to the size of the learner's linguistic repertoire and his/her experience as language learner:

Multilingual acquisition and multilingualism are complex phenomena. They implicate all the factors and processes associated with second language acquisition and bilingualism as well as unique and potentially more complex factors and effects associated with the interactions that are possible among the multiple languages being learned and the processes of learning them. [Cenoz and Genesee, 1998, 16]

The range of situations in which a third language may be acquired is also potentially quite broad. Languages may be acquired either simultaneously (early bilingualism or early trilingualism) or consecutively. A third language may also be acquired following the simultaneous acquisition of two languages, or simultaneously with a second language. These situations could become even more complex if the process of acquiring different languages is interrupted and resumed.

Second language acquisition can take place formally (through instruction), naturally (outside school), or

by a combination of instruction and natural acquisition. When several languages are involved, there is more potential for diversity. Ytsma (2001) proposed a typology of trilingual education that includes 46 types and is based on factors such as the linguistic distance between the languages involved, the use of the third language in the sociolinguistic context, or the age of introduction of the third language. For example, the three languages may be typologically related to each other, as in the case of trilingual programs in Friesland, where English is learned as a third language after Frisian and Dutch, or two of the three languages involved may be typologically related to each other but unrelated to the other, as in the case of immersion programs in Finland involving Finnish, Swedish, and English. Other variables, such as the sociocultural status of the languages, also entail greater diversity when more than two languages are involved. For example, in Luxembourg, the second and third languages used in schools (French and German) are considered more prestigious than the first language. In Quebec, Canada, double-immersion programs (see Genesee, 1998) expose learners who speak English as their first language to French and Hebrew as languages of instruction.

The areas of research that have received the greatest attention when comparing second and third language acquisition are metalinguistic awareness and learning and communicative strategies (for a review, see Cenoz, 2003a). Research on the effects of bilingualism on metalinguistic awareness has associated bilingualism with a higher ability to reflect on language and to manipulate it. Bialystok (2001) observed that bilinguals tend to obtain better results in tasks related to word awareness and in tasks that demand high levels of control of attention. A number of studies have been reported that multilinguals use a wider variety of processing strategies. In a series of comparisons of monolinguals and multilinguals learning artificial linguistic systems (see, for example, Nayak *et al.*, 1990), it was found that multilingual persons demonstrated greater flexibility in switching strategies according to the demand characteristics of the task; for example, they preferred mnemonic strategies for a memory task and linguistic strategies for a rule-discovery task, they were more likely to modify strategies that were not effective in language learning, and they more effectively used implicit learning strategies. Their superiority in these domains was attributed to their experience as language learners.

According to some research studies, bilingual children are more sensitive to the communicative needs of their interlocutors and use more varied communication strategies. This enhanced ability may be

related to the fact that bilinguals have to keep their languages separate and have to switch languages according to the needs of different situations.

### Third Language Acquisition Research

Though the focus of research on third language acquisition is potentially broad in scope, so far it has been limited to a few specific aspects of language acquisition: the effect of bilingualism on third language acquisition, the acquisition of a third language at different ages, and the cross-linguistic influence from the first and the second languages into the third one.

#### Effect of Bilingualism on Third Language Acquisition

One of the main areas of interest in third language studies is analysis of the influence of bilingualism on learning another language; this has been achieved by comparing bilingual and monolingual learners during acquisition of a third language. These studies tend to confirm the advantages that bilinguals have over monolinguals in language learning. Studies concerning general aspects of proficiency indicate that bilingualism has a positive effect on L3 acquisition when it takes place in additive contexts and when bilinguals have acquired literacy skills in both of their first two languages. For example, research on the acquisition of French as a third language in Canadian immersion programs indicates that bilingual children score higher on French language tests than do their monolingual counterparts (see Bild and Swain, 1989). Similar results were obtained by Thomas (1988), who compared the scores on French tests of English-Spanish bilinguals to those of English-speaking monolinguals. Research conducted in Catalonia and the Basque Country also confirms these results (for a review, see Cenoz, 2003a).

However, not all research studies report positive effects of bilingualism on L3 acquisition. Some studies comparing the degree of proficiency achieved in the third language by bilingual immigrant students and majority-language students have reported no differences. For example, Sanders and Meijers (1995) and Van Gelderen *et al.* (2003) did not find any advantages associated with the acquisition of English as a third language when they compared monolingual Dutch speakers and bilingual immigrant students who had Turkish or Moroccan Arabic as their first language. These results may be related to the socio-linguistic context in which the research took place, and it is important to bear in mind that L3 acquisition is a complex phenomenon affected by a large number of individual and contextual factors, and bilingualism

is one of these factors but not necessarily the most important factor in L3 acquisition.

Research on very specific areas of language proficiency tend to confirm the advantages of bilinguals over monolinguals, but this trend has not been confirmed in all cases (Cenoz, 2003a). Nevertheless, when it comes to very specific aspects of proficiency, the comparability of the results of these studies is severely limited by their diversity regarding the specific areas of language proficiency tested and their different research methodologies.

#### Age and Third Language Acquisition

Third language acquisition can take place at different times in life. In the case of early trilingualism, children are exposed to three languages from a very early age. There are several case studies on early trilingualism (see Quay, 2001), but it is difficult to say how widespread early trilingualism is. Most research studies and reports have been written by European and North American parents who are, in most cases, linguists or language teachers and who have decided to follow a specific language policy and speak different languages at home. Early L3 acquisition also occurs naturally as the result of immigration by families to areas where two or more languages are spoken. The many different situations in which early L3 acquisition takes place depend on factors such as the languages used by each of the parents when addressing the child, or used between the parents, and the languages used in education. Other factors are the discourse strategies used by parents or their attitudes toward multilingualism.

There have been very few research studies on early trilingualism, and most have focused on language mixing, because this is the most noticeable characteristic of multilingual production. When considering the relative proportion of language mixing in the child's production of speech, in the case of early trilingualism, most parents and researchers report that children tend to mix their languages at the onset of speech production but that there is separation of the language systems afterward. There is not enough evidence in the case of early trilingualism to support either the 'mixed' or the 'separate' systems hypotheses. Language mixing at the onset of speech production is not necessarily evidence for mixed language systems, because children may produce words in other languages as a strategy when they have a lexical gap. Language mixing may also be related to language mixing by adults; as Nicoladis and Genesee (1997) observed, the parents' language mixing can have an effect on their children's language mixing.

The acquisition of a third language at school is probably a more common event than early trilingualism is.



Second and third languages can be taught as school subjects or can be used as languages of instruction, as is the case in immersion programs. Research on the age factor in L2 and L3 acquisition indicates that instruction in foreign languages from an early age, in the school context, does not necessarily mean higher achievement in all cases. When instruction in the third language is limited to a few hours a week, older children make more progress than younger children do, but when instruction is more intensive and the second and third languages are used as languages of instruction, the results can be more positive for early starters (see Genesee, 1998; Cenoz, 2003b).

### **Cross-Linguistic Influence in Third Language Acquisition**

Contextual interactions that occur when learners are exposed to more than one language and particularly the influence of the first and second languages on the third language are primary areas of research in third language acquisition studies. Such research highlights the differences between processes involved in L2 and L3 learning and has important implications for broader theories of language acquisition. Specific areas of investigation include the effects of different factors (such as typological distance, L2 status, proficiency, or time of acquisition) on cross-linguistic influence from L1 and L2 on L3. Speakers borrow more terms from the language that is typologically closer to the target language. For example, Cenoz (2003c) observed that learners used Spanish more often than Basque as the source language of borrowings into English both when Spanish was the first language and when it was the second language.

Another factor that can predict cross-linguistic influence is the so-called foreign language effect, or L2 status (Hammarberg, 2001). Several studies have reported that learners tend to use the L2 or languages other than the L1 as the source language of cross-linguistic influence (Clyne, 1997; Williams and Hammarberg, 1998), but typology seems to be stronger than L2 status when learners choose their source language for borrowing into the third language. Cross-linguistic influence in L2 acquisition has been related to the level of proficiency in the target language; less proficient learners have been reported to transfer more elements from their first language, compared to learners who present higher levels of proficiency (Ringbom, 1987). Even though it has also been suggested that transfer is more likely from the first language than from subsequently learned languages (Ringbom, 1987), such effects seem to be less potent than typological similarity between the languages. Another factor that can potentially affect cross-linguistic influence is ‘recency’ (see Hammarberg,

2001). It is hypothesized that learners are more likely to borrow from a language they actively use than from other languages they may know but do not use.

Other factors that can determine cross-linguistic influence are related to the specific context in which communication takes place, including the interlocutors, the settings, and the topics of the conversation. Grosjean (1998) considered that these factors determine if the speaker is in a bilingual or a monolingual mode. The influence of the contextual factors that determine the speaker’s mode has been confirmed in some L3 studies. For example, Dewaele (2001) found that the level of formality affects the total number of terms transferred from the L2 in L3 production, and the percentage of mixed utterances was higher in informal situations.

### **Multilingual Competence and the Multilingual Mind**

Acquiring communicative competence involves the acquisition of linguistic, sociolinguistic, discourse, pragmatic, and strategic competence. When several languages are involved, as in third language acquisition, it seems quite unrealistic to expect learners to acquire a native-speaker level of competence with regard to all of the different components. In fact, the traditional idea of competence as related to second language acquisition has been challenged. Grosjean (1992), Cook (1992, 1995), and others proposed that the traditional position on L2 competence, i.e., expecting multilingual and monolingual learners to achieve monolingual native competence, is a ‘monolingual view of bilingualism.’ As Edwards (1994) pointed out, a perfectly balanced bilingualism or multilingualism is exceptional. Most learners do not achieve native competence in a second or third language, and in some cases both teachers and learners view this as failure in the language acquisition process. This view is derived from the fact that only the norms of native speakers are considered, and that the needs of the learners and the ways that they are going to use the language are disregarded. In comparison to this ‘fractional’ view of an idealized form of bilingualism, Grosjean (1992) proposed a holistic view. Bilinguals seldom have balanced proficiency because they have developed communicative competencies in two languages according to the specific contexts in which they learn to use them. The language competence of bilinguals should not be regarded as simply the sum of two monolingual competencies, but rather should be judged in conjunction with the users’ total linguistic repertoire.

Cook (1992) proposed the notion of ‘multi-competence’ to designate a unique form of language



competence that is not necessarily comparable to that of monolinguals. According to Cook, second language users should not be viewed as imitation monolinguals in a second language, but rather they should be seen to possess unique forms of competence, or competencies, in their own right. Herdina and Jessner (2002) also adopted a holistic view of bilingualism and emphasized the fact that multilingual competence is dynamic rather than static.

Other specific theoretical proposals for multilingual processing have focused on the processing of the lexicon. For example, De Bot (2004) proposed a theoretical model that consists of three stores of information: conceptual features, syntactic procedures and form elements, and a language node that controls the use of the different languages. He concluded that there is no need to develop a specific model for multilingual processing, but rather the goal is to adapt the specific models so as to accommodate for more languages. Indeed, speech production in the different languages a multilingual uses may share most of the general characteristics of speech production in monolinguals and bilinguals, but necessarily presents more complexity and implies some specific characteristics derived from the interaction between different linguistic systems. The processes used in L3 acquisition may be very similar to those used by L2 learners, but, as Clyne pointed out, “the additional language complicates the operations of the processes” (Clyne, 1997: 113).

### Contribution of Third Language Acquisition Research to Applied Linguistics

The study of third language acquisition makes an important contribution to research in applied linguistics because the process of acquiring a third language entails some specific characteristics that can help to understand the complex process of language acquisition in general. The diversity of third language acquisition and the interplay of combinatory possibilities in this process give rise to situations that are unique in language acquisition. Third language acquisition research is based on the theories and research methods used in second language acquisition, but can also contribute empirical data and theoretical proposals that are of interest to researchers working in other areas of language acquisition, and to applied linguists in general.

Acquisition of a third language has a great deal in common with second language acquisition (for example, in terms of research methodologies), but there is a need to conduct research specific to multilingualism in order to identify unique characteristics and operations that affect this process. Research that compares

second language acquisition to third language acquisition is central in third language acquisition studies in order to identify specific and unique characteristics in the process of third language acquisition.

Another important reason to focus on the specific characteristics of third language acquisition is that research in this area brings together the disciplines of bilingualism studies and second language acquisition research. These two areas have often ignored one another, the latter concentrating on the processes involved in the acquisition of a second language and the description of the resulting proficiency, and the former often concentrating on the effects of bilingualism on cognitive development. The study of the impact of bilingualism on third language acquisition brings these two traditions together.

*See also:* Applied Linguistics; Pedagogical Grammars for Second Language Learning.

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### Relevant Website

[http://www.spz.tu-darmstadt.de/projekt\\_L3](http://www.spz.tu-darmstadt.de/projekt_L3) – Website with information on third language acquisition.

## Variation in Second Language Acquisition

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The linguistic behavior of the L2 speaker is commonly believed to differ from that of the native speaker. The differences involve several aspects of language: grammar, pronunciation, and social and pragmatic features of language use. Moreover, these differences are both qualitative and quantitative, especially in early stages of L2 development. Grammatical, phonetic, and pragmatic deviations from the target L2 are obvious in learners with relatively little exposure to the second language. On the other hand, in advanced stages of second language development, the L2 learner may even attain native-like performance at least in the domain of grammar use (Birdsong, 1992; Epstein *et al.*, 1998; Sorace, 1993, 2000).

Throughout L2 development – perhaps with the exception of beginning stages – the learner's behavior generally includes target-like uses, whose frequency increases with time. In advanced stages, the comparison between the native speaker and the L2 speaker of that language becomes considerably more difficult. Empirical research on L2 grammatical development has shown that even advanced L2 speakers may differ from native speakers of a language in the degree of (in)consistent use of target forms, or in the (in)consistent application of grammatical constraints on the use of L2 grammar (cf. Coppieters, 1987; Hawkins *et al.*, 1993; Sorace, 1993, 2000; White and Genesee, 1996). This variation is also termed 'optionality' or 'variability' and refers to the performance data of the individual L2 speaker.

This notion of variability seems to be distinct from the notion of individual variation or individual differences. These terms aim to describe variation among L2 learners who have been grouped under the same level of L2 performance, on some independent measure of evaluation (e.g., a placement test). The degree of individual variation among L2 learners has also been used as a criterion for distinguishing first from second language development. Child L1 learners follow a relatively uniform developmental pattern and attain a mature level of competence in their native language. In the generative linguistics tradition, this uniform, fast, and effortless process of L1 development, together with the uniformity of the outcome referred to as native speaker's competence, are viewed from the same theoretical perspective: the innateness hypothesis for language acquisition. The lack of uniformity in the outcome of L2 acquisition, on the

other hand, gives rise to alternative hypotheses regarding the nature of the cause. Several possibilities have been offered, which are addressed below. In general, the difference between first and second language learners is considered to be either a difference in the learning mechanisms employed in the developmental process, or an (in)ability of the learner's system to successfully analyze L2 input, resulting in a non-target mental representation of the L2 grammar (Hawkins, 2001; White, 2003). The majority of research on L2 variation attempts to account for the L2 data on these grounds.

Recent studies in L2 acquisition have raised alternative or additional possibilities to account for variation in the performance of the L2 speaker. These are based on two fundamental hypotheses of modern linguistic theory. The first concerns the competence/performance distinction in language. Although this distinction has been an essential part of Chomskyan linguistics throughout, it is only recently that psycholinguistics and L2 research combined their efforts to investigate the possibility of L2 variation being relevant to constraints on L2 processing (production or perception) rather than on L2 knowledge (Juffs, 1998; Juffs and Harrington, 1995; Felser *et al.*, 2003) thus investigating L2 performance as a possible cause of part or all of variation in advanced stages of L2 development. The second hypothesis draws on the new 'minimalist' direction which generative linguistic research has adopted with Chomsky's (1995) minimalist program. Minimalism offers a promising view on the architecture of the language system in relation to other domains of human cognition. From this perspective, variation in the L2 learner potentially involves problems at the interface between syntax and discourse, or syntax and morpho-phonological realization (Sorace, forthcoming; Prévost and White, 2000; Goad and White, 2004). Furthermore, the combination of these two hypotheses leads to the possibility of investigating variation in the L2 speaker's grammar as a result of interface problems (morphological or syntactic) in execution, i.e., in production or comprehension, but not in the underlying linguistic knowledge.

Whatever the analysis, it is noteworthy that the two notions of variation, i.e., variation in an individual L2 speaker's grammar or variation among L2 speakers' performance, could amount to the same psycholinguistic property of the non-native language. In other words, a feasible analysis of variability in the use of a syntactic phenomenon by a non-native speaker should be extendable to account for variation found among L2 learners. As we shall see below, to

approach the question of variability one needs to have an elaborate theory of language use that makes underlying grammatical representations only one of the many possible loci of variation in language performance.

In the following sections, some of the recent theoretical trends of L2 speaker variation in the use of grammar will be presented. They belong to the different but complementary research hypotheses outlined above, namely the grammar, the interface, and the processing approach.

## The L2 Grammar

Earlier work in second language acquisition has revolved around the question of whether the developing L2 grammar and its endstate are constrained by natural language principles, as is the case with the native language grammar. This question refers to the nature of the learning mechanisms involved in L2 acquisition which guide the analysis of the input but also the construction of the L2 grammar. To this aim, different types of developmental L2 data primarily from adults but also from children and adolescents were examined with two points of reference; the target language on one hand, and Universal Grammar – i.e., natural language principles – on the other. There are three logical possibilities in this respect, namely that second language development is (i) similar, (ii) different, (iii) partly similar to native language acquisition, insofar as accessibility of principles and constraints of Universal Grammar is concerned. Unsurprisingly, all three possibilities have been advocated under the names of *Full Access*, *No Access*, and *Partial Access* theory, respectively (White, 2003). Within each of these theories, a number of alternative analyses have been proposed, which, however, share the basic assumptions regarding the nature and the locus of the L2 representation. Thus, *Full Access* theories propose that L2 grammars are represented in the same cognitive faculty as L1 grammars, i.e., the Language Faculty. All learning mechanisms and constraints on developing and on endstate native grammars are similarly operative in the L2 case. These theories have an important epistemological advantage over *No Access* and *Partial Access* theories, in that they assume the ‘null hypothesis’ for second language acquisition. Specifically, by arguing that the cognitive domain of linguistic knowledge is the same for native and non-native languages, they propose a more economical approach to knowledge acquisition and storage. Moreover, they have an empirical advantage in explaining the fact that all L2 learners, exposed to sufficient input, will attain good knowledge of the second language, which can be used spontaneously

and without conscious feedback from explicit meta-linguistic information. On the other hand, *Full Access* theories need to account for variation in the use of the L2 grammar by even advanced learners. To this end, they propose that variation can be (a) due to the insufficient or degenerate nature of the input presented to the L2 learner, (b) to the ‘marked’ status of the L2 phenomenon in relation to universal constraints (c) to L1 interference at interface levels of representation. The third choice belongs to the interface approach to L2 variation and will be discussed below. The nature of the input and the extent to which the L2 learner’s developing grammar can analyze it adequately is an empirical question and requires experimental testing. The idea is that even if the quantity and quality of the input are similar in native and non-native learners of the same language, the fact that the non-native learner already has an endstate representation of the native language may render the L2 input underdetermined for the L2 developing grammar (Schwartz and Gubala-Ryzak, 1992). Finally, the second possible cause of variation in the L2 speaker refers to the characterization of the L2 grammar as the marked option with respect to a particular phenomenon. For example, it has been argued that null subject languages, such as Spanish, instantiate the unmarked option of the relevant parameter whereas the English non-null subject option is ‘marked.’ Thus, L2 acquisition of the ‘marked’ option should be slower or even incomplete for native speakers of null subject languages, whereas the opposite case, e.g., English learners of Spanish, would be more successful.

*No Access* theories maintain that the language faculty is only indirectly involved in L2 grammar construction, i.e., only through positive transfer of grammatical features or parametric values that are similar in the native and the second language. The crucial difference between *No Access* and *Full Access* theories is the assumption that general learning mechanisms may be implemented in the analysis of the L2 input and the construction of the L2 grammar (Clahsen and Muysken, 1986). This approach implies that the L2 grammar may be represented in a cognitive domain distinct from the L1 grammar, in adult L2 learners. As a result, variation in the performance of the L2 speaker is expected: a linguistic generalization drawn from general cognitive strategies, distinct from the language faculty, will give rise to wrong performance, even if the rule is consistently observed. This is due to the notions of domain-specificity and modularity of the language faculty. Grammar-construction located outside the language faculty is bound to show defects compared with the usual development of the native language, in the same way



that compensatory strategies implemented by cognition in domains affected by some pathological cause can give rise to incomplete output representations (Paradis and Gopnik, 1997).

*Partial Access* theories share the assumption of Full Access theories regarding the role of UG constraints in L2 grammar construction. Thus, L2 development is regulated by the same language-specific mechanisms operative in L1 acquisition. Second language grammars are, then, ‘natural languages,’ represented within the domain of the language faculty. On the other hand, *Partial Access* theories suggest that syntactic differences between the grammar of the native and the second language are problematic even for advanced learners. The reasons are various. For example, some *Partial Access* theories assume that the Critical Period Hypothesis is valid and, as a result, constructing the target L2 grammar even on the basis of sufficient input is impossible for adult L2 learners. The underlying assumption is that certain aspects of the language faculty are subject to critical period constraints. These aspects become inaccessible after the end of the critical period, and the system maintains the syntactic choices of the native language for the L2 grammar, too. In advanced stages of L2 development, the L2 grammar attempts to compensate for the misfit between the L1 grammar and the L2 input, adopting other UG-constrained options or using metalinguistic strategies to accommodate the L2 input (Smith and Tsimpli, 1995; Hawkins and Chan, 1997). It is important to note that variation in the performance of the L2 speaker is predictable by *Partial Access* theories. The locus of variation is the syntactic domain where L1 syntax differs from the second language. As L2 development proceeds, the learner’s attempts to integrate UG-based or other options to approximate L2 input leads to improvement in L2 performance, which, however, cannot, by assumption, be identical to native-like output.

Explicitly adopting the Critical Period Hypothesis is not necessary in the *Partial Access* framework. It is possible to attribute the incomplete nature of L2 grammars to the mature representation of the native language which characterizes the language faculty of an adult L2 learner. Thus, it has been suggested that L2 learners are predicted to show optional and variable behavior in the use of L2 grammar due to the underlying optional grammatical representations. This optionality is due to unfixed (or ‘inert’ in Eubank’s 1993/94 terms) values that functional categories such as inflection may have, in second language grammars. Given that the cause of optionality is the lack of fixed values of grammatical features in the L2 syntactic representations, this version of the *Partial Access* approach is perhaps the only one in this

framework that invokes a derivational and representational difference between native and non-native grammars: the former cannot tolerate valueless features whereas the latter can. Although this theory has been presented as a theory of developing second language grammars, a version of it has been extended to describe endstate or very advanced L2 grammars which are characterized as ‘impaired’ with respect to their inability to identify the value of specific grammatical features (Beck, 1998). *Partial Access* theories share the empirical problem of reducing variation to a minimum – albeit in a small minority of L2 speakers – and attaining an endstate grammar that is indistinguishable from that of a native speaker.

Having outlined the main assumptions of the ‘grammar approach,’ it becomes clear that this approach builds primarily on syntactic theory. It ignores performance factors or other non-linguistic constraints on L2 performance, on the grounds that second language grammars are analyzable like native language grammars, within the generative paradigm. If the point of reference is indeed the native language, then L2 grammars, particularly given the variability observed even in advanced stages of L2 development, should differ in both qualitative and quantitative terms. As mentioned at the beginning of this essay, however, it is possible to analyze variation in the L2 speaker as the result of an interaction between parts of the language faculty and other aspects of cognitive or motor systems, affecting language performance. We can then turn to the interface approach to L2 variation.

### The Role of the Interfaces

In the recent minimalist framework of Chomsky (1995), language is viewed as a cognitive system that comprises a computational component, i.e., the syntax proper, and two interface levels: the LF (Logical Form), which includes all and only semantic information of syntactic representations, and the PF (Phonetic Form) which includes all and only phonetic output. LF is the interface between language and the conceptual-intentional systems of higher cognition, in particular, inferencing, whereas PF is the interface between language and the sensorimotor systems. Given that generative research has been based on the modularity view of the language faculty (Chomsky, 1972), the minimalist picture of language allows only the computational component, i.e., the domain where syntactic derivations take place, to remain strictly modular in the Fodorian sense. Interface levels are by definition penetrable by the systems which form the interface itself. Therefore, semantic features that ‘reside’ in language but also in the mental lexicon are actively involved in the LF interface. Similarly,



phonetic features, which are produced by the motor system interfacing with language, have a representation in the PF interface.

An important property of interface representations is the necessary exclusion of some features which, nevertheless, participate in the syntactic computation. In particular, there are syntactic features that are *interpretable* at LF, due to their semantic content, and other syntactic features that are *uninterpretable* at LF and have to be deleted before the derivation reaches the semantic LF interface. Features such as Case or subject-verb Agreement, are responsible for crucial aspects of the syntactic derivation, but are not 'legible' by the LF interface, due to their lack of semantic content (Chomsky, 1995). Thus, in a sentence such as *This boy runs fast*, the agreement feature [3rd person singular] appears on the subject and the verb's feature specification. At LF, however, the feature is interpretable only on the subject, which is a nominal category, and not on the verb. Given that LF and PF interfaces are regulated by semantic and phonetic constraints, respectively, the elements or grammatical features that participate in the interface representations need to have semantic and phonetic content. It should be pointed out that features that are *uninterpretable* at LF are those features that drive syntactic computations and, as a result, are responsible for crosslinguistic variation in the syntax. Thus, syntactic differences between languages, referred to as 'parameters,' are regulated by the properties that semantically uninterpretable features have in each natural language. The process of native language acquisition comprises acquisition of lexical, interpretable, and uninterpretable features, which will determine the parametric properties of the language acquired. This picture of the language system, together with the distinct role of a grammatical feature inside the syntactic computation and at either interface level, has proved fruitful in the description and analysis of variation in the non-native speaker of a language, as we see in the theoretical accounts framed within the interface approach.

Within the minimalist spirit, there have been some recent attempts to account for variation in the use of L2 grammar by advanced learners. There are two alternative views. One assumes that second language grammars can develop through the operation of the same UG-based principles and constraints as native language grammars. Therefore, L2 development can reach an endstate that is identical to that associated with L1 development as far as the modular representation of the grammar is concerned. This theory does not adopt critical period assumptions regarding differences in the 'ultimate attainment' of native and non-native developmental processes. It is assumed, however, that

interface properties are vulnerable in cases of language contact in the individual's linguistic system. Thus, it is possible to find interference of L1 discourse-related features on an otherwise native-like L2 representation at the LF interface (Sorace, forthcoming).

To exemplify this theoretical approach, Sorace discusses the use of subject pronouns by English near-native speakers of Italian. It appears that differences from the monolingual Italian speaker's use of pronouns are restricted to the syntax-discourse interface. Specifically, although these L2 speakers use null subject pronouns, they will occasionally use an overt subject pronoun as a response to a question such as *Perchè Maria è uscita?* ('Why has Maria gone out?'), producing utterances with an overt pronoun, e.g., *Perchè lei...* ('Because she...'), which are deviant, from the monolingual speaker's view, in discourse terms. This type of evidence suggests that near-native L2 speakers can be native-like with respect to the syntactic properties of the L2 grammar, but still show interference effects from the native language at the interface between syntax and discourse.

The interface level of syntax and morphology/phonology has been invoked in attempts to analyze optional use of correct morphological forms by advanced or near-native L2 speakers (Lardiere, 2000; Prévost and White, 2000). The argument, in this case, is that the constraints that necessitate use of, for example, the third person singular '-s' in English present tense forms of regular verbs (*walk-s*, *laugh-s*) are distinct from the syntactic representation that includes *abstract* specification of the corresponding inflectional feature. Thus, the phonological form [la:fs] is the realization of the abstract syntactic representation including the verb 'laugh' with its inflectional features (V, (3rd Person, Singular, Present Tense)). For a speaker to produce the correct form, both the abstract specification and its mapping constraints on overt morphology have to be satisfied. The interface approach to L2 speaker variation suggests that the underlying representation can be target-like, especially in the case of near-native L2 speakers, whereas the operation of the interface conditions on PF realization are affected by the surface properties of the native language. Thus, optionality in the correct use of overt morphophonology is predicted even in near-native L2 speakers.

The two versions of the interface approach presented above share a fundamental assumption, namely that the grammar of the L2 learner can be identical to that of a native speaker of the language in question. Thus, the crucial difference between the interface approach to variation and the grammar approach presented in the previous section concerns the vulnerability of the grammar proper in non-native language acquisition.

One could, however, entertain an alternative account for L2 speaker variation, which is sensitive to the minimalist architecture of the language faculty, and combines some of the possibilities offered by the grammar and the interface approach. It could be referred to as the *Interpretability* approach, and it capitalizes on the minimalist assumption that grammatical features can be distinguished in terms of their role in the derivation, i.e., the syntax module, and the LF or the PF interfaces (Tsimplici, 1997, 2001). This is a more general learnability approach to grammatical features and the pattern of their acquisition in native child language learners, in non-native adults, and in pathological cases of language development.

The interpretability theory suggests that the semantically *uninterpretable* grammatical features are subject to maturational constraints in first language development. Assuming that the Critical Period Hypothesis is valid, the implication is that these uninterpretable features become inaccessible after the critical period is over. For example, the agreement feature found on verbal inflection has been associated with the value of the Null Subject parameter, mentioned above. Assuming that it is an uninterpretable feature, the implication is that it will not be accessible for parameter-resetting after the end of the critical period (Tsimplici, 1997). On these assumptions, adult L2 learners fail to construct an L2 grammar using the same resources as the child native language learner. Specifically, syntactic aspects that depend on purely grammatical features with no semantic content lead to incomplete and deviant derivations of L2 syntactic structures, even in advanced stages of L2 development. This results in the attested variation in L2 performance. On the other hand, semantically interpretable features are not subject to maturation; therefore, they are accessible to learners in any course of language acquisition. Recall also that the LF interface is not a modular system, and as such it is penetrable by higher levels of cognition, including conceptual and pragmatic information. It is therefore possible to access semantic features not only through the language system, i.e., ‘bottom-up,’ but through the conceptual-intentional systems, too, i.e., ‘top-down.’

There are two main questions for this theory: (a) How can the theory account for near-nativeness in the use of L2 grammar; and (b) why do features of the syntax/discourse interface show variation and optional use by L2 speakers, as suggested by Sorace (forthcoming). With respect to the first question, near-native grammars are claimed to ‘simulate’ L2 output via linguistic or extra-linguistic routes (Smith and Tsimplici, 1995). The process of approximating near-nativeness is itself gradual. Thus, implementing alternative resources may, in the early stages of

development, involve a process which is conscious or accessible to consciousness. With time and practice, the successful output becomes implicit knowledge in the form of an over-learned routine (Anderson, 1992). For this account to be psychologically feasible, it is important to maintain that it is an empirical question which can be tested neurolinguistically and psycholinguistically, so as to access sub-conscious workings of language and systems parasitic on it, such as memory and processing constraints. Furthermore, we expect some variation to persist in the use of these grammatical features, precisely because attainment of the ‘near-native’ level is mediated by cognitive routes not followed in the case of the native speaker, in the form of compensatory strategies.

As far as the second question is concerned, namely the variation observed in the use of discourse-related features, there are different possibilities. The first is that these features are not part of the LF interface exclusively. Logical Form is the level of syntactic representation that includes all and only semantic features, but not discourse-related features which contribute to pragmatic interpretation. It is possible then that a higher level of representation where discourse and information-structure of the sentence are relevant, is involved. This level ‘enriches’ the output representation of syntax *and* LF. For example, according to theories such as Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson, 1995; Carston, 2002), reference-assignment to pronouns, and generally, interpretation of pronouns, is largely underdetermined by the LF interface. When this representation enters pragmatics, early stages of discourse processing will allow context to determine the referential index that the pronoun has.

Another possibility is to distinguish between the activation of an interpretable feature such as [aspect] or [referentiality] in L2 grammar construction, and the PF output of the grammaticalized options this feature has in a specific language. Consider, for example, the difference between a language that morphologically marks the distinction [+/-progressive] but not [+/-perfective], such as English, and a language that marks [+/-perfective] but not [+/-progressive], such as Russian or Greek. Both features belong to the category of *viewpoint aspect* in Smith’s (1991) terms, i.e., the category of morphologically realized aspectual distinctions, which may differ from language to language. According to Smith (1991), the [progressive] feature is a subcategory of the general [-perfective] feature, in that the contexts in which the progressive interpretation is the target are also imperfective, whereas the reverse does not hold. It is relatively common for Russian or Greek near-native speakers of English to show some variation in the use of the progressive form, usually

overextending it to habitual or stative cases. Sentences such as *'I am thinking that you are a fool'* are therefore possible in the advanced L2 of these speakers.

The question then is whether the problem is localized in the PF interface, the LF interface, or both. If it is a PF-interface problem, then the near-native grammar of these learners of English shows variation due to the possible mapping of the *-ing* form onto the [progressive] and the [–perfective]. The latter is a feature active in the native language, and the former is the feature active in the second language. Given the interpretability of these features at the LF interface, the interpretability theory predicts that the [progressive] should be accessible to the L2 grammar. Given the native language, however, the [imperfective] will also remain available. The reason why acquisition of the [progressive] does not override the L1 [imperfective] feature is primarily the subordinate/superordinate relation of these two features at the semantic level. As a result, the learner will show a certain degree of optionality even at advanced stages of development, in the morphological realization of the [–perfective, –progressive] as in the example presented above. In all contexts where the [–perfective] is active, the [progressive] may but does not need to be active too. Although the learner has acquired the [+/-progressive] distinction in the second language and can use it to contrast ongoing and habitual readings of an event, optional uses of *-ing* for non-progressive forms are also expected because of the [–perfective] feature.

In this analysis, variation in the use of aspectual forms in L2 speakers stems from the semantic interaction – at the LF interface – of [+/-progressive] and [+/-perfective] interpretable features in the second language and from the PF implications this has for the mapping options of these features onto L2 forms. If this approach is correct, variation in the use of interpretable features does not indicate problems in the *acquisition* of the relevant L2 feature. Instead, variation can be found in cases where different features of the same category are grammaticalized in L1 and L2, respectively. The co-existence and LF interaction of the native and non-native features gives rise to the variation attested.

### Syntactic Processing in the Second Language

Language processing has usually held a peripheral place in generative linguistics research due to the assumption that the 'parser' is a performance system whose operations draw from grammatical knowledge but also from memory and processing constraints

specific to the parser and independent from grammar proper. In native language processing, it seems that the integration of semantic and pragmatic information follows the initial step of syntactic processing; this involves generating a syntactic structure constrained by universal and language-specific constraints on syntactic parsing, largely independent from semantic or pragmatic considerations (Frazier and Clifton, 1996; Phillips, 1996; cf. Altmann *et al.*, 1998; MacDonald, 1994). Second language research has recently begun investigating variation in the use of the second language, as a result of parsing differences between the native and the non-native language. It is then possible that 'parsing' a syntactic structure in the second language is different from 'knowing' that same structure. Consequently, L2 performance may exhibit variation which need not involve incomplete or divergent L2 grammars (Sorace, forthcoming).

Transitivity and argument structure alternations constitute a common research area in language processing. Notice that this area of grammar involves the mapping from lexicon to syntax, and, as such, it requires knowledge of lexical semantics and corresponding syntactic structures. Juffs (1998) found differences in the parsing ability of causative-inchoative alternations in advanced L2 learners of English, who appear to share the same level of grammatical knowledge of these structures in the second language but vary in their ability to parse them. It is argued that the variation attested may be due to the different native languages of the learners (Japanese, Korean, Romance, Chinese) but also to the different rate and pattern of development of the L2 parser compared with the L2 grammar. The discrepancy between L2 competence and L2 parsing has also been found in processing studies concentrating on purely syntactic phenomena, such as wh-interrogatives (Juffs and Harrington, 1995). The claim is that although knowledge of wh-extraction and chain-formation are part of L2 knowledge, L2 learners are sensitive to semantic or pragmatic properties of wh-structures, on-line. Differences between native and non-native language processing have also been identified in relation to 'universal' principles of parsing. The structures involve modification and create local ambiguities of the type *I met the secretary<sub>i</sub> of the director<sub>j</sub>; who<sub>ij</sub> was standing on the balcony* (Papadopoulou and Clahsen, 2003; Felser *et al.*, 2003). The prediction for this type of structures is that parsing strategies force the interpretation according to which the person standing on the balcony is the secretary rather than the director. This prediction is not borne out for both native and non-native speakers of English. It is therefore concluded that language-specific parsing preferences together with parsing strategies adopted for

non-native language processing need to be taken into account.

Generally, research on language processing focuses on the ability of native and non-native speakers of a language to assign an interpretation to a sentence using lexical or structural knowledge on-line. In a recent study, Papadopoulou and Tsimpli (2004) investigated native and non-native language processing in Greek, focusing on the use of subject-verb agreement morphology to resolve local ambiguities created by optionally transitive verbs. The group of L2 speakers of Greek included participants from different language backgrounds with advanced or near-native knowledge of the language. The results show that whereas native speakers show no significant difference in reading times for the subject and object interpretation, non-native speakers show a significant preference for the object reading, indicating that thematic information, such as transitivity, overrides morphological cues for parsing locally ambiguous structures. Thus, native parsing prioritizes morphology over thematic structure, while the reverse holds for non-native parsing.

## Conclusion

Variation in the L2 speaker's linguistic performance is frequently attested. The questions for linguistic theory are whether the attested variation is (a) the result of an underdetermined or incomplete L2 grammar, (b) the result of the 'contact' between the native and the non-native language at the grammar or the interface level, (c) the result of a mismatch between language knowledge and language use, or (d) a combination of these. Research continues to address all of these options as open questions, and fruitful outcome is expected when more is known about mental interaction between the language system, the parser, and higher levels of cognition.

*See also:* Acquisition of Second Language Phonology, Morphology, and Syntax; Bilingualism and Second Language Learning; Interlanguage; Second Language Attrition.

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# Writing in a Second Language

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## Introduction

### Context

In light of increasing globalization and written electronic communication, worldwide interest in second language writing (L2W) has increased rapidly during the past 25 years. L2W instruction is available from kindergarten through graduate school and beyond.

However, while work on L2W and writing instruction is now being done throughout the world, across educational levels, and in a number of languages, the majority of work to this point has been done in North America (due to the existence of required composition courses) at the college level (where research is most viable) in English (due to its dominant position in the world). This bias will be reflected in what follows. Fortunately, scholarship on L2W and writing instruction is growing rapidly in Europe, Asia, Australia, and elsewhere; thus, it can be expected that in the next 25 years, L2W and writing scholarship will become truly international in scope.

### Definitions

L2W will be defined here as writing done in a language other than one's mother tongue. The term 'second language' will encompass both second (writing in a context in which the target language is dominant) and foreign languages (writing in a context where the target language is not dominant); 'writing' will refer to composing written text (as opposed to orthography). In a more general sense, L2W will be seen as purposeful and contextualized communicative interaction that involves both the construction and the transmission of knowledge; its basic elements are the writer, the reader, text, and context, and the interaction of these elements in authentic settings.

### History

L2W studies has grown primarily out of work done in applied linguistics and composition studies. A brief account of the recent history of composition studies and applied linguistics will be offered to provide context for the examination of the history of L2W.

### Composition Studies

The roots of contemporary composition studies in North America, defined as the study and teaching of writing, can be traced back to the beginning of the 19th century. The model for first-year composition

was a course that focused on reading and writing about the canonical literary works of the day. What students were taught about grammar, style, and organization, which were the staples of this course, was derived from these works.

Early in the 20th century, resistance to the belletristic focus and the imposition of the literary canon on writing courses began to mount. This resistance promoted student self-expression in writing, the social utility of writing courses, and the preparation of students to function in a democratic society.

With the advance of the 20th century, the division between literary scholarship and the teaching of writing in English departments grew wider. The increasing independence of the discipline of composition studies was reflected in its professionalization, examples of which are the founding of a professional organization and a scholarly journal. Other manifestations of the maturing of the field included advocacy for writing teachers and program administrators, the incorporation of knowledge from other disciplines, and the expansion of different avenues of inquiry (specifically, a move toward empirical research in composition).

The second half of the century brought even greater independence and change. The 1960s saw the return of classical rhetoric, the beginning of empirical study of composing processes, and an increased focus on the notion of a writer's authentic voice. The 1970s brought the notion of writing as a cognitive process and its application in both teaching and research, the recognition of student diversity in language and culture, the distinction between home and school language, and the encouragement of teachers outside of composition studies to give serious attention to teaching students how to write in their own disciplines.

In the 1980s, writing began to be seen as a socio-cultural as well as a cognitive process and as an interdisciplinary field. Rhetoric became epistemic, involved in creating as well as transmitting knowledge, and the notion of discourse communities strongly took hold. The process of professionalization continued with the proliferation of graduate programs in composition studies, the establishment of a national center in the United States for the study of writing, the production of a comprehensive bibliography of composition scholarship, and an increase in outlets for publication overall. Tension between literature and composition faculty in U.S. departments of English also grew. Composition studies had become overtly political and had begun to inquire seriously into issues such as race, class, and gender.

The 1990s saw growing interest in postmodernism and cultural studies, social constructivist thought, and historical and archival studies of the field, all a function of an increasingly reflective attitude among composition professionals. Also foregrounded were longitudinal empirical research, a critique of composing process research and pedagogy, an increased focus on diversity with regard to language and cultural issues, and an explosion of interest in the use of computers and related technologies.

### **Applied Linguistics**

It can be argued that applied linguistics has been around for hundreds of years. However, most commentators place the birth of contemporary applied linguistics, at least in North America, near the middle of the 20th century, particularly in 1941, with the founding of English language institutes and the establishment of applied linguistics journals. The motivation for all of this focus on language research was to a great extent the need for language training for military personnel in World War II. The theory that followed was a blend of American structuralist linguistics and behaviorist psychology; its manifestations, among other things were contrastive analysis, instruction based on the notion of operant conditioning, and discrete point language testing.

In the 1950s, applied linguistics' primary focus remained on L2 instruction, although there was some work on literacy and language arts. This decade also saw the appearance of graduate programs in and centers for applied linguistics. In addition to work on language teaching, the 1960s brought increased interest in language assessment, language policy, and the incipient research area of second language acquisition. The theoretical basis of applied linguistics began to move from structuralism to generative grammar, which would influence the field only indirectly via psycholinguistic inquiry that would later spawn the notion of interlanguage and studies in second language acquisition. This decade also saw the establishment of national and international professional applied linguistics organizations.

In the 1970s, while the foci of the 1960s continued, there was growth and interest in such areas as bi- and multilingualism, the rights of linguistic minorities, language policy and planning, and teacher training. In addition, new theoretical orientations that continue to the present day were put forward. These orientations included anthropological and sociological ideas that led ultimately to the influential notion of communicative competence. This work later manifested itself in the functional analysis of discourse, the development of courses in language for specific purposes, and the linguistic study of genre.

Applied linguistics in the 1980s began to go far beyond focusing on L2 learning and pulling work from only linguistics, psychology, and education. New foci included studying language use in academic and other professional settings, translation, lexicography, language and technology, and corpus linguistics; new disciplinary areas of influence were anthropology, sociology, political science, public administration, and English studies, particularly composition, rhetoric, and literary theory.

The 1990s and the first years of the new millennium brought even further expansion of work in applied linguistics, especially in terms of language learning and teaching (e.g., language awareness, attention and learning, task- and content-based learning, teacher/action research), in the critical appraisal of previous and current work (e.g., in language analysis, pedagogy, and rights), in ethical issues in language teaching and assessment, and in the viewing of applied linguistics as a discipline that mediates between research and practice.

### **Second Language Writing**

Although developments in L2W have been greatly influenced by work in composition studies and applied linguistics, the unique contexts of L2W require distinct perspectives, models, and practices. In the recent history of L2W, a number of approaches or orientations (more or less specific to L2W) have vied for the attention of L2W professionals. These approaches or traditions will be addressed in order of their appearance on the L2W stage.

### **Controlled Composition**

Controlled composition can be seen as an offshoot of the audiolingual approach to language teaching in that it shares two of its central tenets: the idea that language is speech (from structural linguistics) and that learning is habit formation (from behaviorist psychology). Thus, it is not difficult to understand why, within this tradition, writing is regarded essentially as reinforcement for oral habits and as a secondary concern.

In the controlled composition classroom, the primary focus is on formal accuracy. The teacher employs a controlled program of systematic habit formation in an attempt to avoid errors (presumed to be related to first language interference) and to reinforce appropriate second language behavior. Practice with previously learned discrete units of language is privileged over concerns about ideas, organization, and style; imitation and manipulation of carefully constructed and graded model passages are the central activities. Overall, in the controlled composition tradition, writing functions as a service activity, reinforcing

other language skills. The goal of writing instruction is habit formation. Students manipulate familiar language structures; the teacher is an editor privileging linguistic features over ideas. The text is seen as a collection of vocabulary or sentence patterns; there is negligible concern for audience or purpose.

Linguistic analysis dominated the research in this tradition and is still a major focus, though it has become more functional and less formal over the years. Early work in the linguistic analysis of second language writers' texts involved contrastive analysis (comparing the grammatical structures of two languages, for example, Spanish and English, in an attempt to ascertain structural differences, which were believed to pose the greatest problems for second language writers) and error analysis (locating, counting, and categorizing errors to discern patterns of error in written texts). Formal features examined include primarily lexical and syntactic phenomena; features such as number of words per t-unit and clause structures have been used to measure fluency, accuracy, and complexity in second language writers' texts.

### Current Traditional Rhetoric

Increasing awareness of second language writers' need to produce extended written texts lead to the realization that there was more to writing than constructing grammatical sentences. The result of this realization was the ESL version of current traditional rhetoric (based on contemporary work in composition studies that focused on the written product, the analysis and classification of discourse, usage, and style), which emphasized the importance of organization above the sentence level. This approach owes much to the notion of contrastive rhetoric – the notion that writers' different cultural and linguistic backgrounds will be reflected in their rhetoric, with rhetoric typically (implicitly) seen as primarily a matter of textual structure. Thus, first language interference was believed to extend beyond the sentence to paragraphs and longer stretches of text.

The basic concern in this tradition was the logical construction and arrangement of discourse forms. Of primary interest, especially in the early years, was the paragraph, where the focus is on its elements (for example, topic sentences) as well as options for its development (for example, comparison and contrast). Another important concern was essay development, actually an extrapolation of paragraph principles to complete texts. This involved larger structural entities (for example, introductions) and organizational patterns or modes (for example, exposition).

Classroom procedures associated with this tradition have tended to focus students' attention primarily on form. At the most basic level, students are

asked to choose among alternative sentences within the context of a provided paragraph or text. At a higher level, learners are instructed to read and analyze a model text and then apply the knowledge gleaned from this analysis to a parallel piece of original writing. At their most complex, exercises require students (already given a topic to write on) to list and group relevant facts, develop topic and supporting sentences on the basis of these facts, put together an outline, and compose a text of their own.

In short, this tradition sees writing as basically a matter of arranging sentences and paragraphs into particular patterns; learning to write requires developing skills in identifying, internalizing, and producing these patterns. The writer uses provided or self-generated data to fill out a pattern; thus, the reader is not confused by an unfamiliar pattern of expression. The text is made up of increasingly complex discourse structures (that is, sentences, paragraphs, sections, and so on), each embedded in the next largest form; and all of this takes place within an academic context, wherein the instructor's evaluation is assumed to reflect a community of educated native speakers.

By far, the largest single research focus in this tradition has been contrastive rhetoric. The focus of this work has been on characterizing how first language "cultural thought patterns" are reflected in second language writers' texts, how some cultures put the responsibility for successful written communication on the writer and others on the reader, and how differences between 'collectivist' and 'individualist' tendencies manifest themselves in L2W. The most commonly compared linguistic or cultural backgrounds have been Arabic, Chinese, English, Japanese, and Spanish. Contrastive rhetoric has been and is still a controversial issue, with some of its critics arguing that the notion can lead to stereotypes and others suggesting that the differences seen between groups are a matter of development rather than transfer. A number of other specific rhetorical features have been addressed in the literature. These include hedging, indirectness, reader orientation, introductions, metadiscourse, rhetorical preferences, and voice.

### The Process Approach

Dissatisfaction with controlled composition and current traditional rhetoric, due to the belief that neither adequately engendered thought or its expression and to their perceived linearity and prescriptivism, paved the way for the process approach, another import from mainstream composition studies. This tradition sees the composing process as a recursive, exploratory, and generative process wherein ideas are discovered and meaning made. It is believed that guidance

through and intervention in the process was preferable to the imposition of organizational patterns or syntactic or lexical constraints and that, where there is a need or desire to communicate, content will determine form to convey meaning successfully.

In the classroom, the process tradition calls for providing and maintaining a positive, encouraging, and collaborative workshop environment and for providing ample time and minimal interference to allow students to work through their composing processes. The objective is to help students develop viable strategies for getting started, drafting, revising, and editing. From a process perspective, then, writing is a complex, recursive, and creative process that is very similar in its general outlines for first and second language writers; learning to write requires the development of an efficient and effective composing process. The writer is engaged in the discovery and expression of meaning; the reader is engaged in interpreting that intended meaning. The product (that is, the written text) is a secondary concern, whose form is a function of its content and purpose. In the process tradition, it is up to the writer to identify a task and an audience and to make the response to the former meet the needs of the latter.

The advent of the process approach prompted research on composing that focuses on the person (that is, the writer) and the process (that is, strategies) involved in writing. Many variables affecting second language writers have been identified and addressed in the literature. The second language writer has been looked at primarily in terms of the extent of transfer of first language proficiency or writing ability to L2W and the relationship between general second language proficiency and L2W ability. Also of interest are the possible connection between L2W ability and first language writing experience and expertise, writing apprehension, gender, learning style, language and instructional background, the second language writer's perceptions with regard to writing and writing instruction, and the amount of reading (in both first and second languages) a second language writer engages in. Research in this area has gone from seeing writer variables as simple and relatively discrete to very complex and greatly intertwined.

There is also a substantive body of scholarship on second language writers' composing processes. Predominant in this area are general composing process studies, that is, research that looks at L2W processes holistically. There are also studies that focus on particular subprocesses and elements of the composing process. The most common of these are studies of planning, drafting, revising, and editing. However, a number of other elements have also been examined. These include translating, backtracking, formulating,

monitoring, the use of the first language when writing in the second, language switching, and the use of dictionaries and background texts when composing.

### **English for Academic Purposes**

Perceiving theoretical and practical problems and omissions with regard to the process approach, critics suggested that the emphasis in ESL composition research and instruction be shifted from the writer to the reader, in particular academic and professional discourse communities. Most of the aforementioned criticism of the process approach came from proponents of an English for academic purposes orientation wanting to consider more seriously issues such as developing schemata for academic discourse, deriving insights from research on contrastive rhetoric, understanding what constitutes realistic preparation for academic work, learning about the nature of high-stakes academic writing tasks, giving students a better idea of how university writing is evaluated, and, generally, understanding the sociocultural context of academic writing.

Instruction in writing English for academic purposes focuses primarily on academic discourse genres and the range and nature of academic writing tasks. This instruction is meant to help students work successfully within the academic context. The instructional methodology suggested aims at recreating, as well as possible, the conditions under which actual university writing takes place and involves closely examining and analyzing academic discourse genres and writing task specifications; selecting and intensively studying materials appropriate for a given task; evaluating, screening, synthesizing, and organizing relevant information from these sources; and presenting these data in a form acceptable to the academy.

To sum up, in the English for academic purposes tradition, the emphasis is on the production of texts that will be acceptable at English-medium institutions of higher education; learning to write is part of becoming socialized into the academic community. The writer is pragmatic and interested primarily in meeting the standards necessary for academic success; the reader is a player in the academic community who has clear and specific expectations for academic discourse. The text is viewed as a more or less conventional response to a particular writing task that fits a recognizable genre; the context is the academic discourse community. Although the English for academic purposes tradition has grown and prospered, some have questioned its emphasis on writing in various disciplines (particularly in scientific and technical fields), pointing out the difficulty in learning and teaching the discourses of fields unfamiliar to L2W instructors.



Research in writing English for academic purposes has looked primarily at the issues of audience and, more recently, genre. The audience research has focused primarily on one particular readership: the academic discourse community, in particular, college and university professors and, to a lesser extent, editors of scholarly journals. This research has been performed primarily through surveys and addresses academics' beliefs, practices, expectations, reactions with regard to errors, literacy skills, and writing problems. The question of whether and how students should be initiated into the academic discourse community has also been debated.

In recent years, the study of genre in L2W has become very popular. In addition to general treatments of genre, many studies of particular written genres have appeared. Some address general types or modes of writing, such as narrative, descriptive, and argumentative writing as well as personal, academic, business, technical, and legal texts. A number of more specific text types addressed include summaries, essay examinations, laboratory reports, research papers, theses, dissertations, research articles, experimental research reports, and letters of reference.

### Recent Trends

Recent years have seen the development of a number of new approaches, or perhaps it would be better to say extensions of prior orientations and traditions. These include a belletristic orientation focused on responding to literary texts and on reading and writing connections, an orientation based on work in critical theory and cultural studies, focusing explicitly on political and ideological matters, a genre orientation based on text analysis and work in corpus linguistics, and an orientation focused on general inquiry and rhetorical principles.

### Current Status

For a long time (until the 1990s or so), L2W was primarily pedagogical in nature, borrowing, often uncritically, from composition studies and applied linguistics, working in their shadows, so to speak. However, in recent years, L2W has become a much more independent discipline in terms of mapping out its philosophical bases, theories, modes of inquiry, politics, and programmatic issues, as well as pedagogy.

### Philosophy

Applied linguistics tends toward a positivist inquiry paradigm, with its realist ontology, objectivist epistemology, and empirical and manipulative methodology. It values certain truth and adopts a modernist

orientation. Composition studies tend toward a relativistic paradigm, with its constructivist ontology, subjectivist epistemology, and hermeneutic methodology. It values consensus and adopts a postmodern orientation. The philosophical basis for inquiry in L2W studies reflects its lineage in the sense that it is a blend of the ideologies and inquiry paradigms of applied linguistics and composition studies. L2W studies favor a humble and pragmatic rationalism, with a modified realist ontology, an interactionist epistemology, and a multimodal methodology. It values contingent knowledge and adopts an orientation that incorporates elements of both modernism (e.g., progress, optimism, rationality) and postmodernism (e.g., relative and contingent knowledge, difference).

### Theory

Applied linguistics theory grows primarily from linguistics; composition studies grow from rhetoric. Incipient L2W models and theories, in addition to drawing from these areas, look to psychological, sociological, educational, and other disciplines, and while there currently exists no well-developed theory of L2W, there seems to be a consensus that a such a theory would see L2W and first language writing as saliently different; address both the individual (cognitive) and social aspects of L2W; include consideration of second language writers' personal characteristics, composing processes, and written texts; be reasonably comprehensive and internally consistent; be informed by relevant work in relevant neighboring disciplines, and be sensitive to cultural, linguistic, and experiential differences of individuals and societies.

### Politics

Current explicit commentary on political matters has its roots in work done in the early to mid-1990s. There were claims that L1 writing tended toward the ideological and L2 writing tended toward the pragmatic, and L2W professionals were warned against the uncritical acceptance of L1 writing ideology. In response to this, it was suggested that all forms of ESL instruction were political, that neutrality was a myth, and that a pragmatic position supports the status quo. It was also argued that L2 writing pedagogy is just as ideologically charged as L1 writing pedagogy, though not as openly articulated or discussed. In response came a denial of a necessary connection between pragmatism and an accommodationist ideology and a challenge to ideologist discourse. There was a call for adoption of critical theory and pedagogy, a critical pragmatism, and a subsequent critique of critical approaches to L2W.



A smaller cluster of work at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century looked at ideology from a cultural perspective. It was claimed that L1 composition's principles and practices reflect an individualist ideology and that applying them with students whose culture may not share this ideology is problematic. In response, it was argued that, despite cross-cultural differences, such notions as voice, peer review, critical thinking, and textual ownership were not inherently individualistic. Other areas addressed included language bigotry in mainstream composition classes against speakers of nonprestige varieties of English; the role of power in the evaluation of L2 students' writing; L2W theory in terms of research methodology, discourse style, and gender sensitivity; the politics of textual production and consumption; how pedagogical approaches can help second language writers position themselves in vernacular and academic communities; strategies for advocating for ESL student support services; and the perceived efficacy of L2W instruction.

### **Research**

Research in applied linguistics is typically empirical; research in composition studies is primarily hermeneutic. L2W studies employ both hermeneutic (narrative, historical, philosophical) and empirical (qualitative and quantitative) research methods to investigate both basic (the nature of the phenomenon of L2W) and applied (L2W instruction) problems.

In recent years, L2W research, has become better informed, theoretically and methodologically, has developed greater depth and breadth, has begun to use more mixed designs, and has gone from simple to more complex perspectives, toward a broad-based social understanding and toward greater inclusivity.

Specifically, its basic research foci have included writer characteristics (L2 writing ability, L2 proficiency, L2 writer background, and L1 influence on L2 writing), composing processes (planning, thinking, translation, rereading, revising, and editing), and written text (genre, organization, L2 text quality, text length, syntax, lexis, and errors). Its applied research foci have included content-based instruction, voice/identity, reading and writing, computers and technology, grammar and vocabulary, peer interaction, plagiarism, teacher response, literature, and film.

### **Programmatic Issues**

Programmatic issues in L2W and writing instruction have been addressed mainly in three areas: assessment, instructional contexts, and instructional topics.

### **Assessment**

Basic issues in assessment have included discussions of direct vs. indirect/objective writing tests; holistic, analytic, and primary trait rating; rater training; raters with or without experience with L2 writers; validity; reliability; and variables such as linguistic and rhetorical elements, subject matter knowledge, cultural expectations, nationality, reading comprehension, and amount of L1/L2 reading.

### **Instructional Contexts**

Instructional contexts are discussed in terms of level (elementary, secondary, undergraduate, and graduate), aim (specific purposes vs. general categories), foci (composing processes, genre, grammar, and content), and type (basic/remedial, bilingual, immersion, submersion, sheltered L2, mainstream composition, cross-cultural, adjunct, writing across the curriculum, intensive L2 programs, and writing centers).

### **Instructional Topics**

The main instructional topics that have been addressed include audience; cohesion; collaboration; computers and technology; conferences; content-based instruction; conventions; dictionary use; drafting; editing; error correction; freewriting; grading; grammar instruction; journals; literature; model/sample texts, peer review/response/evaluation/tutoring; plagiarism; planning/invention; portfolios; reading assignments; reading and writing; reformulation; research papers; sentence combining; sequenced writing assignments; teacher response; writing from sources; revising strategies; text analysis; topics/tasks/themes; translation; tutoring/writing centers; video/film; vocabulary; and workshops.

### **Future Directions**

L2W seems to be moving toward a substantial treatment of three related issues: (inter)disciplinarity, professionalization, and inclusivity.

#### **(Inter)disciplinarity**

The field of L2W studies has come to view its parent disciplines neither as places to go for authoritative answers to its questions nor as role models to be emulated or imitated, but as areas with their own interests and agendas, strengths and weaknesses, and issues and problems that generate information and insights for L2 writing professionals to consider. While continuing to be sensitive to developments in other disciplines, the field of L2 writing has matured to the point of being able to resist the temptation to

try to import easy answers from other disciplines into the complex contexts of L2 writing. In addition, L2W studies have begun to draw on ideas from a number of other disciplines, e.g., psychology, sociology, and education.

### Professionalization

The field of L2W studies has achieved a certain amount of independence and a distinct identity. It has a journal devoted exclusively to work in the area, professional conferences and symposia, book series, monographs, collections, and increased recognition in neighboring disciplines. However, it faces a number of challenges. One is continuity. It is the case that many specialists in the area do not work in Ph.D.-offering units, which prompts questions about where the next generation of L2W professionals will come from. Cutbacks in funding at research universities also make L2W studies vulnerable on this account.

To meet this challenge, it will be necessary for research universities with large numbers of second language writers in their graduate schools to recognize the need to hire full-time, tenure-track L2W specialists to run writing support programs and prepare teachers to staff these programs. It will also be necessary for Ph.D. programs in applied linguistics/second language studies and composition studies to see L2W as a viable research area and to accommodate students wishing to perform doctoral research in this area. That is, there will be a need for interdisciplinary cooperation and collaboration.

### Inclusivity

As previously mentioned, currently, the majority of work done in L2W is carried out in North America with precollegiate and undergraduate college writers. For L2W studies to thrive, it will be necessary to encourage the expansion of L2W research, to look more and more closely at, for example, L2W in English outside of North America, in other second/foreign languages, in elementary and secondary schools, in bilingual education programs, with Deaf and hard-of-hearing students, in adult education programs, at the graduate level, and in the workplace.

Broadening the scope of L2W scholarship will require the efforts of scholars, publishers, and editors. Scholars will need to adopt a more global view, to promote a basic understanding of writing in general and L2W, to increase collaboration between specialists in North America and elsewhere, and to be willing to hold and attend conferences outside of North America.

Publishers and editors will need to create more outlets for publication outside of North America, to increase the accessibility of L2 writing scholarship, to distribute L2 writing research on-line, to be willing to publish research in languages other than English, and to start or continue to provide free or reduced-price copies (hard or electronic) of publications where prices are prohibitive.

### Conclusion

The field of L2W studies is clearly becoming a mature discipline – it has begun to reflect on its history, reexamine its basic assumptions about L2W and writing instruction, synthesize research, and build models and theories. It is in transition from a tradition that sees L2W practitioners as consumers of imported instructional approaches and their accompanying research programs and ideologies to experienced and seasoned professionals with an understanding of the nature of L2W and a familiarity with relevant research from within and outside the field, who can reflect critically on knowledge of theory and on the results of inquiry from any relevant discipline so that they can develop their own models and theories, form their own research agendas, and, in their role as teachers, decide for themselves what makes sense for their students, for their objectives and teaching styles, and for their political, instructional, and classroom contexts.

*See also:* Applied Linguistics; Languages for Specific Purposes; Second and Foreign Language Learning and Teaching; Second Language Curriculum Development; Second Language Discourse Studies.

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## **IV. LANGUAGE, TEACHERS AND EDUCATION**

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# Bilingual Education

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## Introduction

The term bilingual education has multiple meanings, with varying positive and negative associations, and a varied history. Take three cases. First, bilingual education is loosely used to refer to schools attended by bilingual children (e.g., Latinos and Latvians in U.S. schools, Greek and Gujarati children in U.K. schools). However, bilingualism is not fostered in such schools. Rather, the aim is to shift the child rapidly from the home, minority language to the dominant, majority language. Second, the term refers to children who are allowed to use their home language in the classroom for only a short period (e.g., one or two years) until they switch to the majority language (called transitional bilingual education). Third, bilingual education appears a more appropriate label for schools in which students learn through two languages in the classroom. For example, there are dual language schools in the United States that teach students through Spanish for one day and the next day through English. In Europe, there are elite bilingual programs (e.g., Luxembourg, Switzerland) in which children both learn, and learn through two or more prestigious languages (e.g., German, French, English).

## Types of Bilingual Education

Given that bilingual education has multiple meanings, some clarity is possible by defining different types of bilingual education. Although Baker (2001) and Garcia (1997), respectively, define 10 and 14 different types of bilingual education, a threefold categorization is helpful.

1. 'Null' forms of bilingual education bring together bilingual children but with the aim of monolingualism in the majority language. Submersion education is the term used in academic writing for such education, but not by school systems that tend to use the term mainstreaming. Submersion education implies that the child (on immediate entry to school) only experiences the majority language. The child is thrown into a language at the deep end and are expected to sink or swim in the majority language from the first day.
2. 'Weak' forms of bilingual education allow children to use their home language for a temporary period until they can switch totally to the

majority language (Carrasquillo and Rodriguez, 2002). Weak forms of bilingual education include structured immersion, withdrawal classes, various forms of sheltered English, transitional bilingual education, and mainstreaming with foreign language teaching. Second language and foreign language teaching in schools occasionally produces competent bilinguals. Generally, such teaching does not result in age-appropriate proficiency in the second or foreign language, nor reaches a level of language that enables learning of curriculum content to occur via that language. Sometimes, a subset of language abilities is developed for instrumental or practical reasons (e.g., travel, trade, cultural awareness).

3. 'Strong' forms of bilingual education aim for each child, irrespective of ability, to achieve bilingualism, biliteracy, and cultural pluralism. Such outcomes are gained mainly through students learning content (e.g., mathematics, social studies) through both languages. Strong forms of bilingual education include U.S. dual language schools, Heritage Language programs, Canadian Immersion, and the European Schools movement. Three of these strong forms of bilingual education will be discussed here, so as to define education that has bilingualism as an educational outcome rather than bilingual children as an input.

## Immersion Bilingual Education

Immersion education typically has students from majority language backgrounds (e.g., English homes in Canada; Swedish homes in Finland) and teaches them through another majority or a minority language (e.g., French in Canada). However, there are many variations: first, the age at which a child commences the experience. This may be at the kindergarten or infant stage (early immersion), at 9 to 10 years old (delayed or middle immersion), or at secondary level (late or late-start immersion). Second, the amount of time spent in immersion. Total immersion usually commences with 100% immersion in the second language, reducing after 2 or 3 years to 80% per week for the next 3 or 4 years, finishing junior schooling with approximately 50% immersion in the second language per week. Partial immersion provides close to 50% immersion in the second language throughout infant and junior schooling.

Children in early immersion are usually allowed to use their home language for a year or more for classroom communication. There is no compulsion to speak the second (school) language in the

playground or when eating lunch. The child's home language is valued and not disparaged. Such children also start immersion education with relatively homogeneous language skills. This not only simplifies the teacher's task, it also means that students' self-esteem and classroom motivation are not threatened because of some students being linguistically more advanced.

### **Heritage Language Bilingual Education**

Heritage language bilingual education occurs when language minority children use their native, ethnic, home, or heritage language in the school as a medium of instruction and the goal is competence in two languages. Examples include education through, or more often partly through, the medium of Navajo or Spanish in the United States (Francis and Reyhner, 2002), or Basque in Spain (Gardner, 2000), or aboriginal languages in Australia (Caldwell and Berthold, 1995). In China, since 1979 minority language education has been provided for over 20 minority groups, partly as a way of improving ethnic minority relationships with central government (Blachford, 1997). In the Canadian provinces of Manitoba, British Columbia, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, there are heritage language bilingual education programs. The heritage language is the medium of instruction for about 50% of the day (e.g., Ukrainian, Italian, German, Hebrew, Yiddish, Mandarin Chinese, Arabic, and Polish). Heritage language programs in the United States (see Krashen *et al.*, 1998) and elsewhere vary in structure and content and overlap with the 90:10 model of dual language education (see later). Some of the likely features are described here.

Most of the children come from language minority homes but may be joined by a small number of majority language children whose parents desire bilingualism in their children. Such parents will often have the choice of sending their children to mainstream schools or to heritage language programs. In most cases, the majority language will also be used in the curriculum, ranging from second language lessons to a varying proportion (e.g., 10% to 50%) of the curriculum being taught in the majority language. There is a tendency to teach mathematical, technological, and scientific studies through the majority language, and to use the majority language progressively more across the grades.

Where a minority language is used for a majority of classroom time (e.g., 80% to almost 100%), the justification is that children easily transfer ideas, concepts, skills and knowledge into the majority language. Having taught a child multiplication in

Mohawkian, this mathematical concept does not have to be retaught in English. The **justification** given for such programs is also that a minority language is easily lost, a majority language is easily gained. Children tend to be surrounded by the majority language, especially in the teenage years. Thus, bilingualism is achieved by an initial concentration on the minority language at school.

### **Dual Language Bilingual Education**

U.S. dual language (or two-way) bilingual education typically occurs when there is an approximate balance in numbers between language minority and language majority students in the same classroom. Whereas a 50:50 **language balance** often was advised, the majority language can become dominant (e.g., because of its higher prestige value), putting the aim of bilingualism and biliteracy at risk.

Both languages are used for instruction and learning, revealing that the aim is to produce students who are bilingual, biliterate, and bicultural or multicultural (Lindholm-Leary, 2001). Dual language schools use a non-English language for at least 50% of curriculum time for up to six grades. In each period of instruction, only one language is used, such that students learn a new language mostly via content. Genesee and Gándara (1999) suggest that such schools enhance intergroup communication and cultural awareness. They produce children who, in terms of intergroup relations, are likely to be more tolerant and sensitive. "Contact between members of different groups leads to increased liking and respect for members of the outgroup, including presumably reductions in stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination" (Genesee and Gándara, 1999: 667).

Some teachers use both languages on different occasions with their students; others just use one language and may be paired and work together closely as a team. The school ethos also will be bilingual by classroom and corridor displays, curriculum resources, announcements, and extracurricular activity using both languages if possible.

A central idea in dual language bilingual schools is language separation and language boundaries. Language boundaries are established in terms of time, curriculum content and teaching. One frequent preference is for each language to be used on alternate days. Alternately, different lessons may use different languages with a regular change over to ensure both languages are used in all curricula areas. The division of time may be in half days, whole days, or alternate weeks. The essential element is the distribution of time to achieve bilingual and biliterate students. Often, a 50:50 balance in use of languages is

attempted in early grades, although in some schools, the minority language is given more time (60% to 90% of the available time). In the later years of schooling, there is sometimes a preference for more emphasis on the majority language.

### Bilingual Education and Politics

There is no deep understanding of bilingual education except through understanding the politics behind such education. There are varying philosophical and political origins to bilingual education that underpin different models of bilingual education. For example, bilingual education is best understood by reference to national variations (Cummins and Corson, 1998). The contrasting politics of Canada's two language solitudes and South Africa's management of social integration when retaining multilingualism, the ardor of language activists in the Basque Country and the more gentle revolution in Wales, the suppression of Breton in France, and the historical repression of Native American Indian languages in the United States illustrate that the history and politics of a nation shapes its approach to languages and bilingual education.

The contemporary politics of bilingual education relates to the education of immigrants (e.g., in the United States, the United Kingdom), the preservation of nationalism (e.g., the fate of Breton in France), the devolution of power to regions (e.g., Wales, Catalonia), language revitalization (e.g., Native American Indians, the Maori in New Zealand), internationalism (e.g., the European Schools Movement, bilingual education in Japan), and the emancipatory education of deaf people (e.g., through bilingual education in a sign language and a majority language – see Baker and Jones, 1998). The varying politics of immigrant assimilation and political integration, economic protectionism and global trade, institutionalized racism and equality of opportunity, and recent debates about peace and terrorism can make bilingual education as much about politics as about education. Bilingual education also has become associated with political debates about dominance and control by elites, questions about social order, and the perceived potential subversiveness of language minorities (Garcia, 2002; Tollefson, 2002).

In Macedonia (Tankersley, 2001), China (Zhou, 2001), the United States (Wiese and Garcia, 2001), and the South Pacific (Lotherington, 1998), bilingual education also can be positively located within attempts to effect social, cultural, economic, or political change, particularly in strengthening the weak, empowering the powerless, and invigorating those most susceptible. This is illustrated by Tankersley

(2001). Contextualized within the recent ethnic conflict in the Balkans, she examines a Macedonian/Albanian dual language program. The program demonstrated success in aiding community rebuilding after the war and the growth of cross-ethnic friendships. The research shows the potential for bilingual education program to develop students' respect for different languages and cultures, and help to resolve ethnic conflict. However, because the Macedonian language was connected with greater power and prestige, obtaining an equal balance of languages in the classroom was complex.

The importance of a historical perspective on bilingual education as politics is provided by Wiese and Garcia (2001) through an analysis of the U.S. Bilingual Education Act from 1968 to the present. The changing U.S. ideologies in minority language civil liberties, equality of educational opportunity, assimilation, and multiculturalism become translated into legislation and tested in litigation. Most recently, the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 placed an emphasis on accountability and testing. Whereas Title V authorizes programs for Native Indian, Native Hawaiian and Alaskan Native Education, Title III requires testing in English for most language minority students. All states are required to monitor the progress of some 3.68 million U.S. language minority students in meeting their English proficiency and academic objectives. The paradox is that the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 followed the September 11 terrorist attacks. In the aftermath of the attacks, politicians, the press, and the public lamented the lack of language and cultural skills in U.S. intelligence and defense. It also seems possible that peace and harmony between religions and regions would be aided by producing bilinguals who appreciate the diversity that is possibly intrinsic in bilingualism and biculturalism.

Research and analysis of Proposition 227 in California has led to it being one of the most profiled examples of power and politics governing bilingual education (Stritikus, 2001; Crawford, 2004). In effect, Proposition 227 aimed at outlawing bilingual education in California. Proposition 227 was passed in a public ballot by a margin of 61% to 39%. Analysis of the voting and subsequent surveys found that Latinos were clearly against the proposition but, nevertheless, bilingual education became virtually illegal.

The importance of bilingual education for minority language literacy development and biliteracy has become a major recent theme (e.g., Martin-Jones and Jones, 2000; Hornberger, 2003). Using contexts of classroom, home, and community, such literacy research tends to be less concerned with teaching and

learning methodology and more focused on, for example, the relationship between asymmetrical power relations and literacy practices that reproduce social inequalities and competing discourses about what counts as literacy. Current biliteracy research suggests that language policies and practices in education are struggles over power and authority, equity and marginalization, legitimacy and social order, symbolic domination and identities, social categorization, and social hierarchization. Any consideration about who should speak what language, how, when, and where is essentially about what counts as legitimate language and who has dominance and control. Hence, those in power who legitimate the current social order regulate access to linguistic norms and linguistic resources to preserve their power and position.

However cogent and coherent are the philosophical and pedagogic foundations for bilingualism, biliteracy, and biculturalism, however strong are the educational arguments for bilingual education, and however strong are the arguments for the preservation of vanishing languages in the world, it is the politics of power, status, assimilation, and social order that can refute bilingual education so swiftly. However, bilingual education is typically a necessary, and sometimes an essential condition for the preservation of language species in the world. Where there is a shortfall in minority language reproduction in the family, then language production at school is essential in education to retain or increase the number and density of minority language speakers. From preschool bilingual education to adult language learning (e.g., in Ulpanim), bilingual education has a possible contemporary function not only to educate but also for minority language transmission.

### **Language Revitalization through Bilingual Education**

Bilingual education is sometimes a component of national or regional language planning that varyingly attempts to assimilate indigenous and immigrant minorities, or integrate newcomers or minority groups (e.g., U.S., U.K.). On other occasions, bilingual education is a major plank in language revitalization and language reversal (e.g., among Native American Indians, the Sámi in Scandinavia, and the Maori in New Zealand).

The growing interest in endangered and dying languages has recently provided a further *raison d'être* to bilingual education. The predicted demise of many or most of the world's languages has created a momentum for language planning (Littlebear, 1999; Nettle and Romaine, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Spolsky,

2004). For a minority language to survive, it has to produce new speakers, mostly via family language transmission and the education system (including adult language learning). Language planners tend to believe that bilingual education is an important means of language maintenance, language revitalization and reversing language shift, for example, among Native American Indians (Bia and McCarty, 2002; Francis and Reyhner, 2002; House, 2002), Ecuadorians (King, 2001), and the Basques (Gardner, 2000). Language acquisition planning via bilingual education becomes essential for language revival but insufficient by itself.

Nevertheless, bilingual education cannot gain its rational solely from language restoration or maintenance. It requires research to demonstrate underlying educational advantages (e.g., raising student achievement, increasing employment opportunities). There is sometimes over-optimism among language planners about what can be expected from and delivered by bilingual education in revitalizing a language. Although bilingual education has an important role in language reproduction, and without bilingual education a minority language may not be able to survive except through intense religious usage, bilingual education cannot deliver language maintenance by itself.

### **The Advantages of 'Strong' Forms of Bilingual Education**

Support for bilingual education tends to circle around eight interacting advantages of bilingual education that are claimed for students. There also are societal benefits that already have been alluded to in the above discussion of politics and bilingual education and will be briefly mentioned later. This section concentrates on the individual advantages.

First, bilingual education typically enables both languages to reach higher levels of competency. This potentially enables children to engage in wider communication across generations, regions, and cultural groups (Cummins, 2000). Second, bilingual education ideally develops a broader enculturation, a more sensitive view of different creeds and cultures. Bilingual education will usually deepen an engagement with the cultures associated with the languages, fostering a sympathetic understanding of differences, and, at its best, avoids the tight compartmentalization of racism and stereotyping. Third, strong forms of bilingual education frequently leads to biliteracy (see Hornberger, 2003). Accessing literacy practices in two or more languages adds more functions to a language (e.g., using in employment), widening the choice of literature for enjoyment, giving more opportunities for understanding different perspectives and



viewpoints, and leading to a deeper understanding of history and heritage, of traditions and territory (Tse, 2001).

Fourth, research on dual language schools, Canadian immersion education, and heritage language education suggest that curriculum achievement is increased through content learning occurring via dual language curriculum strategies (Cummins, 2000; Tse, 2001). This is returned to later in this article. Fifth, plentiful research suggests that children with two well-developed languages share cognitive benefits (Bialystok, 2001). Such thinking advantages include being more creative because of their dual language systems (Baker, 2001), being more sensitive in communication as they may be interpersonally aware, for example, when needing to codeswitch, and tend to be more introspective of their languages (metalinguistic advantages – see Bialystok, 2001). Sixth, children's self-esteem may be raised in bilingual education for minority language students (Cummins, 2000). The opposite is when a child's home language is replaced by the majority language. Then, the child itself, the parents and relatives, and not least the child's community may appear as inadequate and disparaged by the school system. When the home language is used in school, then children may feel themselves, their home, family, and community to be accepted, thus maintaining or raising their self-esteem.

Seventh, bilingual education may aid the establishment of a more secure identity at a local, regional, and national level. Sharing Welsh, Maori, or Native American Indian identity may be enhanced by the heritage language and culture being celebrated and honored in the classroom. Developing a Korean-American, Bengali-British, or Greek-Australian identity can be much aided by strong forms of bilingual education, and challenged or even negated by weak forms. Eighth, in some regions (e.g., Catalonia, Scandinavia) there are economic advantages for having experienced bilingual (or trilingual) education. Being bilingual can be important to secure employment in many public services and particularly when there is a customer interface requiring switching effortlessly between two or more languages. To secure a job as a teacher, to work in the mass media, to work in local government and increasingly in the civil service in countries such as Canada, Wales, and the Basque Country, bilingualism has become important. Thus, bilingual education is increasingly seen as delivering relatively more marketable employees than monolingual education (Dutcher, 1995; Tse, 2001).

To this list may be added the potential societal, ethnic group, or community benefits of bilingual

education (May, 2001; Peyton *et al.*, 2001; Stroud, 2001; Tse, 2001) such as continuity of heritage, cultural vitality, empowered and informed citizenship, raising school and state achievement standards, social and economic inclusion, social relationships and networking, ethnic group self-determination, and distinctiveness. This is well illustrated by Feuerverger (2001) in an ethnography of a village (Neve Shalom/Wahat Al-Salam) in Israel, where Jews and Palestinians attempt to live together harmoniously and cooperatively, maintaining respect for the culture, identity, and languages of each group. This is partly attempted by two schools, an elementary school and the 'School for Peace,' which create bilingual Hebrew-Arabic bilinguals.

### The Effectiveness of Bilingual Education

Research support for bilingual education is relatively robust (Baker, 2001) although there has been much political challenge to this in the United States (Crawford, 2004). Perhaps the strongest research support for bilingual education derives from evaluations of immersion education, particularly from Canada since the 1960s (Johnstone, 2002). There is plentiful research from the United States since the 1960s (see Baker, 2001, for a review).

Evaluations of the effectiveness of dual language schools indicate relative success. One of the most wide-ranging evaluations of dual language schools is by Lindholm-Leary (2001). She analyzed teacher attributes, teacher talk, parental involvement and satisfaction, as well as student outcomes (using 4854 students) in different program types. These programs included Transitional Bilingual Education, English-Only, the 90:10 Dual Language Model, and the 50:50 Dual Language Model. The measured outcomes included Spanish and English language proficiency, academic achievement and attitudes of the students. Socioeconomic background and other student characteristics were taken into account in reporting results. Among a wealth of findings, Lindholm-Leary (2001) found that

- students who had 10% or 20% of their instruction in English scored as well on English proficiency as those in English-only programs and as well as those in 50:50 dual language (DL) programs;
- Spanish proficiency was higher in 90:10 than 50:50 (DL) programs. Students tended to develop higher levels of bilingual proficiency in the 90:10 than the 50:50 DL program;
- for Spanish-speaking students, no difference in English language proficiency was found between

- the 90:10 and 50:50 DL programs. However, DL students outperformed transitional bilingual education (TBE) students in English by the Grade 6;
- students in both the 90:10 and 50:50 DL programs were performing about 10 points higher in reading achievement than the Californian state average for English-speaking students educated in English-only programs;
  - higher levels of bilingual proficiency were associated with higher levels of reading achievement;
  - on Mathematics tests, DL students performed on average 10 points higher on Californian norms for English-speaking students educated only in English. There was a lack of difference in the scores of 90:10 and 50:50 DL students;
  - DL students tended to reveal very positive attitudes toward their DL programs, teachers, classroom environment and the learning process.

Thomas and Collier's (2002) Final Report on their 1985 to 2001 database of 210,054 minority language students' academic achievement in eight different models of education indicates that: schooling in the home language has a much greater effect on achievement than socioeconomic status; late immigrants whose early education was in their home language outperformed early immigrants schooled in English only; enrichment (heritage language) 90:10 programs and dual language programs (50:50) were the most academically successful for English L2 students and had the lowest dropout rates; the strongest predictor of L2 student achievement is the amount of formal L1 schooling with the more L1 schooling, the higher the L2 achievement; the highest quality ESL content programs reduce about half of the total achievement gap between those in enrichment or dual language programs and those without any bilingual support.

However, the reasons why research finds bilingual education linked with higher achievement are neither simple nor straightforward (August and Hakuta, 1997). There is likely to be a complex equation between such academic success and factors such as the support of the home (e.g., in encouraging literacy development), the devotion and dedication of teachers in school, children feeling their minority language is accepted and their self-esteem thus supported, and the positive relationship between bilingual education and cognitive development. Laosa (2000) reveals that school characteristics such as the quality and ratio of teachers per student, the teacher's credentials, and fragmentation of instruction are potentially influential in student achievement. That is, particular models of bilingual education interact with a host of student, teacher, curriculum, and

environmental variables in complex ways to influence student outcomes. It cannot be assumed that bilingual education, *per se*, results in higher attainment across the curriculum. There are many interacting variables that will underlie such success with no simple recipes for guaranteed success.

## **The English Language and Bilingual Education**

The paradox of English in bilingual education is illustrated by the research of Valdés (2001). English language learning policies enacted in schools can deny access to the language and knowledge that would empower U.S. immigrant children. Valdés (2001) shows that, separately and cumulatively, there are complex interacting classroom factors that frequently work against a student's second language development, achievement, employment, citizen rights and opportunities, and self-esteem. Such factors include a lack of regular, purposeful, and developing interactions with native speakers, impoverished second language interactions with teachers on a staff-student ratio of over 1:30, passive learning and 'tight discipline' strategies, mixed language competence classes working to a low common denominator, subject matter kept simplistic as the second language is insufficiently developed, and teachers' concerns with 'flawed language' forms rather than communication: "Placing blame is not simple. Structures of dominance in society interact with educational structures and educational ideologies as well as with teachers' expectations and with students' perspectives about options and opportunities" (Valdés, 2001: 4).

The 'English language dominance' dangers for bilingual education also are found in access to Information Communications Technology (ICT) for language minority students. ICT is often dominated by the English language. This relates to current debates about the place of the English language in bilingual education in the context of the internationalization of English and its growing worldwide prominence as a second language rather than a mother tongue (Graddol and Meinhof, 1999). In contrast, there are potential opportunities to support the future of minority languages in education through ICT such as e-books, machine translation, voice recognition, WebTV, international e-mailing, and text messaging (Skourtou, 2002).

## **The Limitations of Bilingual Education**

Although bilingual education has an increasing number of international supporters, it is not without some

political critics, especially in the United States – see Cummins (2000) for a review. This has been considered earlier. There also are limitations to the pedagogical view of bilingual education. Bilingual education is no absolute guarantee of effective schooling. It is ingenuous to imagine that employing two or more languages in the school curriculum automatically leads to a raising of achievement, more effective schooling, or a more child-centered education. In reality, the languages of the school are but part of an extensive matrix of variables that interact in complex ways to make schooling more or less effective. Among bilingual schools in every country, there is often a mixture of the outstanding and the ordinary, those in an upward spiral of enhancing their quality, and those that depend on past glories rather than current successes. The school effectiveness research movement has located many of the important factors that make such schools more or less effective (August and Hakuta, 1997). Bilingual education is only one ingredient among many.

Another limitation of the pedagogical perspective on bilingual education is the nature and use of language learned at school. Canadian research suggests that the language register of formal (e.g., immersion) education does not necessarily prepare children for language use outside the school (Cummins, 2000). The language of the curriculum is increasingly complex and specialized. The vernacular of the peer group and the lingo of the street is different. Canadian children from English-speaking homes who have been to immersion schools and learnt through the medium of French and English sometimes report difficulty in communicating appropriately with French speakers in local communities. Local French speakers can find such students' French too formal, awkward, or even inappropriate.

A further concern about bilingual education is that language learning may stop at the school gates. The minority language may be effectively transmitted and competently learned in the classroom. Once outside the school gates, children may switch into the majority language for reasons of status, acceptance by peers, and inclusiveness in peer relations (that is, the majority language is often the 'common denominator' language). Thus, the danger of bilingual education in a minority language is that the language becomes a language of school but not of play; a language of the content delivery of the curriculum but not of peer culture. Extending a minority language learnt at school to use in the community over the teenage and adulthood years is something that is difficult to engineer, difficult to plan, but nevertheless vital if that language is to live outside the school gates.

See also: Language Policy in Multilingual Educational Contexts; Nonstandard Language; Standard Language.

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## Classroom Talk

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Much classroom activity takes the form of talk. In recent decades, studies of teacher and student spoken language in the classroom have been undertaken from a variety of perspectives in applied linguistics, education, ethnography, and ethnomethodology. In particular, the analyses of talk between the teacher and the students, as well as among students, seek to understand how the spoken language and the discourse of the classroom affect learning (including language learning) and the development of socio-cultural affiliation and identity (e.g., Watson-Gegeo, 1997).

To a great extent, spoken language and face-to-face interaction constitute the foundational aspects of both teaching and learning at school. Although specialists in education and teaching first became interested in the impact of classroom discourse and interaction on students' learning and the development of cognitive skills in the 1930s and 1940s, since that time, research on classroom talk has moved forward in a number of directions. In the study of language and applied linguistics, classroom talk has been the subject of considerable exploration in discourse, conversation, and text analyses, as well as sociolinguistic and sociocultural features of interaction.

The linguistic features of classroom talk were studied intensively in the 1970s and 1980s, when the uses of language and forms of interaction at school became an important venue in discourse, pragmatic, and literacy studies. Many of the early discourse analyses focused on the linguistic features of talk, narrative structure, common speech acts, their sequences, and the contexts in which they occurred, as well as the flow of classroom speech (e.g., Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; Stubbs, 1983). As a matter of course, these studies approached classroom talk as occurrences of conversational discourse, without attempting to discern the effect of the language spoken in the classroom on student learning and the educational processes. The analyses of the discourse flow and the language of interaction revealed that classroom talk is highly structured and routinized.

Building on the discourse-analytic foundation, the influential work of such sociolinguists and cognitive linguists as Cazden (2001), Gumperz (1982, 1986), Edwards and Mercer (1987), and Edwards and Westgate (1994) employed a combination of methodological perspectives in their explorations of the spoken discourse, language, and the structure of

interaction in schooling. In general terms, sociolinguistics takes into account the social contexts and the structure of interaction to determine how they shape the spoken language. Sociolinguistic research methods in the classroom are usually complemented by ethnographic and pragmatic perspectives. Taken together, the findings of these studies have brought to the foreground issues of power, socioeconomic class, culture, and the social construction of experience in the classroom. Many, if not most, of these investigations point to the common and frequent mismatches between the normative properties of the school language and the language used in students' families.

A number of important and congruent findings have emerged from the study of classroom discourse and spoken language. One prominent thread in research is that a large majority of classroom interactions occur between the teacher and the students, individually or in groups, although some student-student interactions also take place during group or collaborative activities. Investigations carried out in different locations and countries around the world have shown that in classroom interactions, teachers talk approximately 75% of the time, with the remainder divided among the students. This pattern of talk seems to be comparatively consistent and, on the whole, resistant to change, despite the calls for its modification or attempted educational reforms (e.g., van Lier, 1988, 1996; Dysthe, 1996; Nystrand, 1997).

Another strand that runs through practically all studies is that classroom talk includes a number of predictable and observable sequences. Much of the classroom spoken language centers around knowledge and information elicitation turns between the teacher and the students, cohesive topical stretches of talk, or exchanges motivated by instructional activity in the classroom. In general terms, teacher-student exchanges reflect the unequal and hierarchical relationship of their participants in teacher-fronted classrooms (Edwards and Westgate, 1994).

The typical conversational patterns in such dyadic exchanges proceed along the lines of what has become known as Initiation-Response-Feedback (IRF) (also called Initiation-Response-Evaluation or Question-Answer-Comment), e.g.:

Teacher: So, why did Peter run to the village?  
Student: For a joke.  
Teacher: Right!

In such routine classroom sequences, the teacher initiates the interaction or asks a question, the student responds or answers the question, and the teacher



takes the concluding turn that provides a commentary (e.g., *So, Peter was bored*) or an evaluation (e.g., *Good/Great answer*).

Spoken language in the classroom is fundamentally different from many other types of talk, such as conversations among peers, coworkers, or family members. Some researchers, such as, for example, Mehan (1979) and van Lier (1996), have pointed out that IRF interactions are, by their nature, artificial and constrained and, for this reason, they cannot be analyzed as ordinary conversational discourse that follows ordinary interactional conventions. In their view, the institutionalized structure of classroom talk is crucially distinct when the teacher nominates topics and speakers, and controls turn-taking and the amount of participant talk.

The decades of investigating talk in the classroom have also identified the social, cultural, and behavioral practices that predominate in classroom discourse. Numerous studies carried out in such locations as the United States, the United Kingdom, and Scandinavia have demonstrated that complex systems of socio-cultural prescriptions and expectations that exist in the wider society are strongly reflected in the norms of speaking and behaving in the classroom. Influential works by, for example, Heath (1983) and Gee (1990), highlight the pervasive discontinuities between the middle-class linguistic and interactional practices widely adopted in schooling and those in children's homes. The disparities between the rigidly prescribed and traditional rules of the classroom talk extend to the learning, socialization, and literacy development of the children in racially and linguistically diverse schools. Examples of language and interaction mismatches abound (e.g., Scollon and Scollon, 1981; Brock *et al.*, 1998):

- Spanish-speaking students in the United States are not always familiar with the predominant norms of classroom behavior when students are expected to be quiet while the teacher or another student is speaking.
- Native American students often participate in class conversations collectively, but not individually, as is usually expected in U.S. and Canadian schools.
- Ethnic Chinese students in U.K. and Australian schools rarely speak during requisite classroom activities and strongly prefer to work alone instead of working in groups, where much conversation is required.

In all, a large number of sociolinguistic and ethnographic studies have shown conclusively that the practice of classroom talk and the rigid norms of interaction in schooling represent culturally bound

contexts for learning. As an outcome, the learning and literacy development of racial and linguistic minority students can be constrained in the classrooms where the structure of talk and discourse follows sociocultural prescriptions different from those in the students' communities outside the school.

From a different vantage point, research in discourse and conversation analysis, as well as language acquisition, has also shown that classroom talk has numerous important learning, cognitive, and social functions. The most common of these include exposure to language and linguistic input in the form of, for example, direct instruction, questions and answers, orientations to topics, information elicitation, explanations, hypothesis-making, and using evidence. In the following example of a story-circle discussion, the teacher attempts to elicit more elaborate explanations and evidential support for the students' in effect accurate appraisal of the story events:

Teacher: Ok, so Laura got a pretty new dress .... A very nice dress. She must have liked it. So, did she like it?

Several students together: Nooooooo.

Teacher: She didn't? Well, no, she didn't.... Eh, ok, ... so how do we know that she didn't?

Sam: She said ... I ... I don't need it ... it ... the new one. So, she didn't.

Teacher: Good job, Sam, good thinking .... Laura really didn't need this dress? Ok, or maybe, she didn't like it? Can we tell? How can we tell?

In addition to guiding the students to support their conclusion by means of the information in the story, the teacher also uses relatively advanced syntactic constructions, such as *must have liked it* and a number of complex sentences with noun clauses and negation.

More recently, with the increased understanding of learners' cognitive and linguistic development, investigations of classroom talk have continued to gain importance in language teaching and education of second language and minority students. In many cases, discourse and conversation analyses of classroom talk have also shown that language uses and interactions in educational contexts play an important role in learner language and cognitive development (see, e.g., Edwards and Westgate, 1994; Dysthe, 1996; Seedhouse, 2004). For instance, the uses of lexical and grammatical features in classroom talk have allowed researchers to assess the value of classroom language exposure and input in language learning and the growth of first and second language literacy skills.

Among other venues, for example, the uses of display and referential questions in classroom talk have been extensively researched. The purpose of display questions is to elicit information already known to

the interaction participant, who asks the question to lead to the display of knowledge or familiarity with information, e.g., “What do we call this thing?” On the other hand, referential questions elicit information that is not known to the speaker, e.g., “Why did you and Mary put this picture before that one?” Studies of referential questions have shown that their educational uses lead to different classroom exchanges that result in significantly longer speech events, higher rates of lexically and syntactically complex responses, and greater opportunities for learner language use (e.g., Edwards and Mercer, 1987; van Lier, 1996).

In-depth investigations of classroom talk have undertaken to gain insight into a large number of sociocultural and linguistic properties of interaction, such as equal and unequal power relationships, some aspects of turn-taking, talk management, and the timing and length of speech events (e.g., Markee, 2000). From the perspective of conversation analysis, classroom interactions have provided a fertile ground for examinations of repair, correction, self-correction, discourse, and face-saving markers in equal and unequal power educational contexts.

At present, sociologists, educators, and linguists almost universally recognize that social and cultural institutions of schooling are inseparable from how language and discourse are employed to transmit knowledge and socialize learners (e.g., Watson-Gegeo, 1997; Cazden, 2001).

See also: Teacher Preparation.

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## Communicative Language Teaching

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Communicative language teaching (CLT) is best understood within the broader historical spectrum of methods or approaches to language teaching. Seen from a 21st-century modernist perspective that views teaching as rather more science than art, the theoretical grounding for the epistemology of practice offered by CLT can be found in (1) the second- or foreign language acquisition research that began to flourish in the 1970s and (2) a long-standing functional view of language and language use as social behavior. The interpretation or implementation of practice in language teaching contexts around the world is, of course, yet another matter. A consideration of these various influences highlights the major issues that confront CLT on the threshold of the 21st century.

### Linguistic Theory and Classroom Practice

The essence of CLT is the engagement of learners in communication to allow them to develop their communicative competence. Use of the term 'communicative' in reference to language teaching refers to both the process and goals of learning. A central theoretical concept in CLT is *communicative competence*, a term introduced in the early 1970s into discussions of language (Habermas, 1970; Hymes, 1971) and second-language learning (Jakobovits, 1970; Savignon, 1971). Competence is defined as the expression, interpretation, and negotiation of meaning and looks to second-language acquisition research to account for its development (Savignon, 1972, 1983, 1997). The identification of learner communicative needs provides a basis for curriculum design. Descriptors sometimes used to refer to features of CLT include process-oriented, task-based, and inductive or discovery-oriented.

The elaboration of what has come to be known as CLT can be traced to concurrent developments in linguistic theory and language learning curriculum design, both in Europe and in North America. In Europe, the language needs of a rapidly increasing group of immigrants and guest workers, along with a rich British linguistic tradition that included social as well as linguistic context in the description of language behavior, led to the development of a syllabus for learners based on notional-functional concepts of language use. This notional-functional approach to curriculum design derived from neo-Firthian

systemic or functional linguistics that views language as meaning potential and maintains the centrality of context of situation in understanding language systems and how they work (Firth, 1937; Halliday, 1978). With sponsorship from the Council of Europe, a Threshold Level of language ability was proposed for each of the languages of Europe in terms of what learners should be able to *do* with the language (van Ek, 1975). Functions were based on the assessment of learner needs and specified the end result or goals of an instructional program. The term 'communicative' was used to describe programs that followed a notional-functional syllabus based on needs assessment, and the language for specific purposes (LSP) movement was launched.

Concurrently, development within Europe focused on the process of classroom language learning. In Germany, against a backdrop of social democratic concerns for individual empowerment articulated in the writings of philosopher Jürgen Habermas (1970), language teaching methodologists took the lead in the development of classroom materials that encouraged learner choice (Candlin, 1978). A collection of exercise types for communicatively oriented English language teaching was used in teacher in-service courses and workshops to guide curriculum change. Exercises were designed to exploit the variety of social meanings contained within particular grammatical structures. A system of 'chains' encouraged teachers and learners to define their own learning path through a principled selection of relevant exercises (Piepho, 1974; Piepho and Bredella, 1976). Similar exploratory projects were also initiated by Candlin at his academic home, the University of Lancaster in England, and by Holec (1979) and his colleagues at the University of Nancy in France. Supplementary teacher resource materials promoting classroom CLT became increasingly popular (for example, see Maley and Duff, 1978). There was also a renewed interest in learner vocabulary building. The widespread promotion of audiolingual methodology with a focus on accuracy in terms of so-called native grammatical or syntactic form had resulted in the neglect of learner lexical resources (Coady and Huckin, 1997).

At about the same time, paradigm-challenging research on adult classroom second-language acquisition at the University of Illinois (Savignon, 1971, 1972) used the term 'communicative competence' to characterize the ability of classroom language learners to interact with other speakers and to make meaning, as distinguished from their ability to recite dialogues or to perform on discrete-point tests of

grammatical knowledge. At a time when pattern practice and error avoidance were the rule in language teaching, this study of adult classroom acquisition of French looked at the effect of practice in the use of coping strategies as part of an instructional program. By encouraging learners to ask for information, to seek clarification, to use circumlocution and whatever other linguistic and non-linguistic resources they could muster to negotiate meaning, and to stick to the communicative task at hand, teachers were invariably leading learners to take risks, to speak in other than memorized patterns. Consistent with the process of language development that was being documented in first-language and untutored or 'natural' second-language acquisition research, the communicative activities offered learners an opportunity to focus on meaning as opposed to form. Achievement tests administered at the end of the 18-week introductory-level instructional period showed conclusively that learners who had engaged in communication in lieu of repeating laboratory pattern drills performed with no less accuracy on discrete-point tests of grammatical structure. In fact, their communicative competence as measured in terms of fluency, comprehensibility, effort, and amount of communication in unrehearsed communicative tasks significantly surpassed that of learners who had had no such practice. Learner reactions to the test formats lent further support to the view that even beginners respond well to activities that let them focus on meaning as opposed to formal features.

A collection of role plays, games, and other communicative classroom activities was developed subsequently for inclusion in the adaptation of the French CREDIF materials, *Voix et Visages de la France*. The accompanying guide (Savignon, 1974) described the purpose of these activities as involving learners in the experience of communication. Teachers were encouraged to provide learners with the French equivalent of such expressions as 'What's the word for...?', 'Please repeat,' and 'I don't understand,' expressions that would help them participate in the negotiation of meaning. Not unlike the efforts of Candlin and colleagues working in Europe, the focus was on classroom process and learner autonomy. The use of games, role plays, pair, and other small group activities gained acceptance and was subsequently recommended for inclusion in language teaching programs generally.

The coping strategies identified in the Savignon (1971, 1972) study became the basis for the subsequent identification by Canale and Swain (1980) of strategic competence in their three-component framework for communicative competence, along with grammatical competence and sociolinguistic

competence. Grammatical competence represented sentence-level syntax, forms that remain the focus of Chomskyan theoretical linguistic inquiry and were a primary goal of both grammar-translation and audio-lingual methodologies. Consistent with a view of language as social behavior, sociolinguistic competence represented a concern for the relevance or appropriateness of those forms in a particular social setting or context. There is now widespread recognition of the importance of these various dimensions of language use and of the need for learners to be involved in the actual experience of communication if they are to develop communicative competence.

Inclusion of sociolinguistic competence in the Canale and Swain framework reflected the challenge within American linguistic theory to the prevailing focus on syntactic features. Dell Hymes (1971) had reacted to Noam Chomsky's (1965) characterization of the linguistic competence of the "ideal native speaker" and had used the term 'communicative competence' to represent the use of language in social context and the observance of sociolinguistic norms of appropriateness. His concern with speech communities and the integration of language, communication, and culture was not unlike that of Firth and Halliday in the British linguistic tradition. Hymes's communicative competence may be seen as the equivalent of Halliday's meaning potential. Social interaction rather than the abstract psycholinguistic functioning of the human brain would become an identifying feature of CLT. Interpreting the significance of Hymes's perspective for language learners, some U.S. methodologists tended to focus on 'native speaker' cultural norms and the difficulty, if not impossibility, of representing these norms in a classroom of 'non-natives.' In light of this difficulty, the appropriateness of communicative competence as an instructional goal for classroom learners was questioned (Paulston, 1974).

CLT thus can be seen to derive from a multidisciplinary perspective that includes linguistics, anthropology, philosophy, sociology, psychology, and educational research. Its focus has been the elaboration and implementation of programs and methodologies that promote the development of functional language ability through learner participation in communicative events. Central to CLT is the understanding of language learning as both an educational and a political issue. Language teaching is inextricably tied to language policy. Viewed from a multicultural, intranational, and international perspective, diverse sociopolitical contexts mandate not only a diverse set of language learning goals but also a diverse set of teaching strategies. Program design and implementation depend on negotiation among policymakers,



linguists, researchers, and teachers. The evaluation of program success requires a similar collaborative effort. The selection of methods and materials appropriate to both the goals and context of teaching begins with an analysis of socially defined language learner needs, as well as the styles of learning that prevail in a given educational setting (Berns, 1990).

### **Emergence of English as a Global Language**

Along with a better understanding of the second-language acquisition process itself, the emergence of English as a global or international language has had a profound influence on language teaching, confronting language teacher education with new challenges worldwide. With specific reference to English, CLT recognizes that the norms followed by those in the 'inner circle' of English language users, to adopt the terminology proposed by Kachru (1992), may not be an appropriate goal for learners (Pennycook, 2001; Savignon 2001, 2002). In a post-colonial, multicultural world where users of English in the outer and expanding circles outnumber those in the inner circle by a ratio of more than two to one, the use of such terms as 'native' or 'native-like' in the evaluation of communicative competence has become increasingly inappropriate.

Learners moreover have been found to differ markedly in their reactions to learning a language for communication. Although some may welcome apprenticeship in a new language, viewing it as an opportunity, others experience feelings of alienation and estrangement. Such phenomena may be individual or general to a community of learners. In Spanish-speaking Puerto Rico, for example, a long-standing general resentment of U.S. domination exerts a powerful negative influence on English language instruction. Not only learners but sometimes teachers also may consciously or subconsciously equate communicative English language learning with disloyalty to the history and culture of the island. Studying the rules of grammar and memorizing vocabulary lists is one thing. Using English for communication in other than stereotypical classroom exercises is quite another. Where they exist, such feelings are a strong deterrent to second- or foreign language use, even after 10 or more years of instruction.

With respect to the documentation of cross-varietal differences of English, research to date has focused most often on sentence-level lexical and syntactic features. Consequently, such attempts as the Educational Testing Service (ETS) Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC) to represent norms for a standard English for international communication reflect a primarily lexical and syntactic emphasis (Lowenberg, 1992). The hegemony of

essentially Western conventions at the levels of discourse and genre is represented or challenged less easily. Differences in the way genres are constructed, interpreted, and used of course clearly extend beyond lexical and syntactic variation. Such differences are currently thought of as discursive in nature and are included in discourse competence, a fourth component of communicative competence identified by Canale (1983). Pressures for a 'democratization' of discursive practices have in some settings resulted in genre mixing and the creation of new genres. In professional communities, however, conformity to the practices of an established membership continues to serve an important gate-keeping function. The privilege of exploiting generic conventions becomes available only to those who enjoy a certain stature or visibility (Foucault, 1981; Fairclough, 1992; Bhatia, 1997).

### **Sociocultural Competence for a Dialogue of Cultures**

Consistent with a view of language as social behavior, sociolinguistic competence is as we have seen integral to overall communicative competence. Second- or foreign language culture and its teaching have of course long been a concern of language teachers. Yet, if early research addressed the possibility of including some aspects of culture in a foreign language curriculum (for example, see Lado, 1957), recent discussion has underscored the strong links between language and culture and their relevance for teaching and curriculum design (Valdes, 1986; Byram, 1989; Damen, 1990; Kramersch, 1993). So mainstream now is the view of culture and language as inseparable that the term "sociocultural" has come to be substituted for the term "sociolinguistic" in representing the components of communicative competence (Byram, 1997; Savignon, 2002; Savignon and Sysoyev, 2002).

Interest in teaching culture along with language has led to the emergence of various integrative approaches. The Russian scholar Victoria Saphonova (1996:62) has introduced a sociocultural approach to teaching modern languages that she has described as "teaching for intercultural L2 communication in a spirit of peace and a dialogue of cultures." Given the dialogic nature of culture (Bakhtin, 1981), we cannot fully understand one culture in the absence of contact with other cultures. Thus, dialogue can be seen to be at the very core of culture, where culture is understood as a dialogical self-consciousness of every civilization.

The emergence of a focus on sociocultural competence can be seen in other European nations as well. The free flow of people and knowledge within the European Union has increased both the need and the opportunity for language learning and intercultural



understanding. Brammerts (1996:121) described the creation of the International E-Mail Tandem Network, a project funded by the European Union that brings together universities from more than 10 countries to promote “autonomous, cooperative, and intercultural learning.” The project is an extension of the tandem learning initiated in the 1970s in an effort to unite many states in a multicultural, multilingual Europe. Collaboration between entire classrooms of learners is a focus of ongoing research (Savignon and Roithmeier, 2003; Kinginger, 2004).

### Interpretations of CLT

Although the term CLT may be recognized worldwide, theoretical understanding and interpretations of it vary widely. Some methodologists have suggested that CLT is an essentially Western concept, inappropriate in other than Western contexts (Richards and Rogers, 2001; Rao, 2002). In addition, there are those who consider discussions of CLT to be passé (Bhatia, 2003; Kumaravadivelu, 2003; Savignon, 2003, 2004). Discouraged by the failure of both grammar-translation and audiolingual methods to prepare learners for the interpretation, expression, and negotiation of meaning and yet encouraged to adopt a variety of commercial materials and strategies increasingly labeled ‘communicative,’ many teachers and even teacher educators have been left confused or disillusioned. Substantive revision of teaching practice appropriate to a given context is ultimately of course the responsibility of classroom teachers. Yet, they cannot be expected to change their practices without considerable administrative and governmental support along with extensive guided experiential pre-service and in-service professional development.

Given the current widespread uncertainty as to just what are and are not essential features of CLT, a summary description would be incomplete without brief mention of what CLT is *not*.

CLT is not concerned exclusively with face-to-face oral communication; principles of CLT apply equally to literacy. Whether written or oral, activities that involve readers and writers in the interpretation, expression, and negotiation of meaning are in and of themselves communicative. The goals of CLT depend on learner needs in a given context. Although group tasks have been found helpful in many contexts as a way of providing increased opportunity and motivation for communication, classroom group or pair work should not be considered an essential feature of CLT and may well be inappropriate in some settings. Finally, CLT does not exclude metalinguistic awareness or conscious knowledge of rules of syntax,

discourse, and social appropriateness. However, knowing a rule is no substitute for using a rule. The creative use of interpretive and expressive skills in both reading and writing requires practice. CLT cannot be found in any one textbook or set of curricular materials inasmuch as strict adherence to a given text is not likely to be true to the process and goals of CLT. In keeping with the notion of context of situation, CLT is properly seen as an approach or theory of intercultural communicative competence to be used in developing materials and methods appropriate to a given context of learning. No less than the means and norms of communication they are designed to reflect, communicative teaching methods will continue to be explored and adapted.

Considerable resources, both human and monetary, are being deployed around the world to respond to the need for language teaching that is appropriate for the communicative needs of learners. In the literature on CLT, teacher education has not received adequate attention. What happens when teachers try to make changes in their teaching in accordance with various types of reform initiatives, whether top-down ministry of education policy directives or teacher-generated responses to social and technological change? Several recent reports of reform efforts in different nations provide a thought-provoking look at language teaching today as the collaborative and context-specific human activity that it is.

Redirection of English language education by Mombusho, the Japan Ministry of Education, includes the introduction of a communicative syllabus, the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Program, and overseas in-service training for teachers. Previous encouragement to make classrooms more ‘communicative’ through the addition of ‘communicative activities’ led to the realization by Mombusho that teachers felt constrained by a structural syllabus that continued to control the introduction and sequence of grammatical features. With the introduction of a new national syllabus, structural controls were relaxed, and teachers found more freedom in the introduction of syntactic features. The theoretical rationale underlying the curriculum change in Japan includes both the well-known Canale and Swain (1980) model of communicative competence and the hypothetical classroom model of communicative competence, or the “inverted pyramid,” proposed by Savignon (1983: 46).

Minoru Wada, senior advisor to Mombusho, described these efforts as “a landmark in the history of English education in Japan. For the first time it introduced into English education at both secondary school levels the concept of communicative competence. . . . The basic goal of the revision was to prepare students to cope with the rapidly occurring

changes toward a more global society” (Wada, 1994:1). Following the research model adapted by Kleinsasser (1993) to understand language teachers beliefs and practices, Sato (2002) reported on a year-long study of teachers of English in a private Japanese senior high school. Multiple data sources, including interviews, observations, surveys, and documents, offered insight into how EFL teachers learn to teach in this particular context. Among the major findings was the context-specific nature of teacher beliefs, which placed an emphasis on managing students, often to the exclusion of opportunities for English language learning.

Cheng (2002) has documented the influence of a new, more communicative English language test on the classroom teaching of English in Hong Kong, a region that boasts a strong contingent of applied linguists and language teaching methodologists and has experienced considerable political and social transformation in recent years. In keeping with curricular redesign to reflect a more task-based model of learning, alternative public examinations were developed to measure learners’ ability to make use of what they have learned, to solve problems, and to complete tasks. Cheng’s ambitious multiyear study found the effect of washback of the new examination on classroom teaching to be limited. There was a change in classroom teaching at the content level, but not at the more important methodological level.

The role of washback in Costa Rica, a small nation with a long democratic tradition of public education, offers a contrast with the Hong Kong study. Quesada-Inces (2001), a teacher educator with many years of experience, reported the findings of a multicase study that explored the relationship between teaching practice and the Bachillerato test of English, a national standardized reading comprehension test administered at the end of secondary school. Although teachers expressed strong interest in developing learner communicative ability in both written and spoken English, a reading comprehension test was seen to dominate classroom emphasis, particularly in the final two years of secondary school. The findings illustrate what Messick (1996) has called “negative washback,” produced by construct under-representation and construct irrelevance. The Bachillerato test of English does not reflect the content of the curriculum, assessing skills less relevant than those that go unmeasured. The English testing situation in Costa Rica is not unlike that described by Shohamy (1998) in Israel where two parallel systems exist – one the official national educational policy and syllabus and the other reflected in the national tests of learner achievement.

English language teaching has also been a focus of curricular reform in both Taiwan and South Korea.

Adopting a sociocultural perspective on language use and language learning as a prerequisite to pedagogical innovation, Wang (2002) noted the efforts that have been made to meet the demand for competent English language users in Taiwan. They include a change in college entrance examinations, a new curriculum with a goal of communicative competence, and the island-wide implementation of English education in the elementary schools. However, she noted that despite learner preference for a more communication-focused curriculum, grammar teaching continued to prevail and much more needed to be done to ensure quality classroom teaching and learning: “Further improvements can be stratified into three interrelated levels . . . teachers, school authorities, and the government. Each is essential to the success of the other efforts” (Wang, 2002: 145).

### **CLT in the 21st Century**

In each of the studies sketched above, the research was both initiated and conducted by local educators in response to local issues. Although each is significant in its own right, together they can only suggest the dynamic and contextualized nature of language teaching in the world today. Nonetheless, the settings that have been documented constitute a valuable resource for understanding the current global status of CLT. Viewed in kaleidoscopic fashion, they appear as brilliant multilayered bits of glass, tumbling about to form different yet always intriguing configurations. From these data-rich records of language teaching reform on the threshold of the 21st century three major themes emerge, suggestive of the road ahead:

1. The highly contextualized nature of CLT is underscored again and again. It would be inappropriate to speak of CLT as a teaching method in any sense of that term as it was used in the 20th century. Rather, CLT is an approach that understands language to be inseparable from individual identity and social behavior. Not only does language define a community but a community, in turn, also defines the forms and uses of language. The norms and goals appropriate for learners in a given setting, and the means for attaining these goals, are the concern of those directly involved.
2. Related both to the understanding of language as culture in motion and to the multilingual reality in which most of the world population finds itself is the futility of any definition of a ‘native speaker,’ a term that came to prominence in descriptive structural linguistics and was adopted by teaching methodologists to define an ideal for language learners.

3. Time and again, assessment seems to be the driving force behind curricular innovations. Increasing demands for accountability along with a positivistic stance that one cannot teach that which cannot be described and measured by a common yardstick continue to influence program content and goals. Irrespective of their own needs or interests, learners prepare for the tests they will be required to pass. High-stakes language tests often determine future access to education and opportunity.

*See also:* Second and Foreign Language Learning and Teaching; Second Language Teacher Preparation; Traditions in Second Language Teaching.

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# Computer-Assisted Language Education

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## A Definition of CALL

Computers are widely used in the teaching and learning of Modern Foreign Languages (MFL) and English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) in secondary and higher education. The use of computers in teaching and learning languages encompasses many different applications. The applications tend to fall into two distinct types: (a) those that involve the use of generic software tools such as word processors, presentation software, e-mail packages, and Web browsers, and (b) those designed specifically to promote language learning. The latter type falls into the category of Computer Assisted Language Learning (CALL), which is the main focus of this article.

CALL is a term that came into favor in the early 1980s. Levy (1997: 1) provides the following succinct definition of CALL:

Computer Assisted Language Learning (CALL) may be defined as “the search for and study of applications of the computer in language teaching and learning.”

This definition is a very broad one. A more precise way of describing CALL is to say that it is an approach to language teaching and learning in which computer technology is used as an aid to the presentation, reinforcement, and assessment of material to be learned, usually including a substantial interactive element.

## A Brief History of CALL

CALL's origins can be traced back to early experiments in the 1960s. Up until the late 1970s, CALL projects were confined mainly to universities, where computer programs were developed on mainframe computers. The PLATO project, initiated at the University of Illinois in 1960, is an important landmark in the early development of CALL (Marty, 1981).

Early CALL (see 'Early CALL' below) favored an approach that drew heavily on practices associated with programmed learning. This aim was reflected in the term Computer Assisted Language Instruction (CALI), which originated in the United States. The term CALI is still used, but it is often associated with a behavioristic approach to language learning that is currently out of favor.

The advent of microcomputers in the late 1970s brought computing within the range of a wider audience, resulting in a boom in the development of

CALL programs and a flurry of publications in the early 1980s (Davies and Higgins, 1982, 1985; Kenning and Kenning, 1984; Last, 1984; Ahmad *et al.*, 1985). Most of the CALL programs that were produced in the early 1980s consisted of a series of drills, multiple-choice exercises, and Cloze exercises, focusing on grammar and vocabulary. These kinds of programs were out of tune with orthodox language teaching methodology, which by this time had embraced the communicative approach. There was initially a lack of imagination on the part of CALL developers, a situation that was rectified to a considerable extent by the publication of an influential seminal work by Higgins and Johns (1984), which contains numerous examples of nondrill-based approaches to CALL.

Throughout the 1980s, CALL widened its scope. An alternative term to CALL emerged in the early 1990s, namely Technology Enhanced Language Learning (TELL), which was felt to provide a more accurate description of the activities that fall broadly within the range of CALL.

A major landmark in the history of CALL was the advent of the World Wide Web, which has become the central focus of an increasing number of CALL practitioners and is discussed in more detail in the section 'Web-based CALL' below.

For further information on the history of CALL, see the History of CALL website.

## CALL Typology

Various attempts have been made to produce a definitive CALL typology. Davies and Higgins (1982, 1985) distinguish between (a) programs that focus on traditional exercise types such as multiple-choice, gap-filling, free-format, reordering, and Cloze; and (b) programs such as simulations and adventures, action mazes, text manipulation, and exploratory programs. Jones and Fortescue (1987) categorize CALL programs according to those focusing on (a) grammar or vocabulary; (b) the four essential language skills of reading, writing, listening, speaking; with (c) separate categories for adventures, exploratory programs, and authoring programs.

Hardisty and Windeatt (1989) distinguish four broad categories of CALL:

1. School: traditional exercise types
2. Office: generic programs such as word processors and communications software
3. Library: concordancing programs
4. Home: games such as simulations and adventures



Warschauer (1996) looks at CALL in terms of its historical development:

1. Behavioristic CALL: The computer as tutor, serving mainly as a vehicle for delivering instructional materials to the learner.
2. Communicative CALL: With the advent of the microcomputer in the late 1970s, CALL continues to be used for skill practice, but in a non-drill format, with a greater degree of student choice, control, and interaction. This phase also includes (a) using the computer as a stimulus for discussion, writing, or critical thinking; and (b) using the computer as a tool or workhorse – examples include word processors, spelling, and grammar checkers, and concordancing programs.
3. Integrative CALL: This phase is marked by two important technological developments:
  - Multimedia personal computers (MPCs), which enabled reading, writing, speaking, and listening to be combined in a single activity, with the learner exercising a high degree of control over the path through the learning materials.
  - The Internet, which offered new opportunities for computer-mediated communication (CMC) between learners and teachers, and a wide range of activities centered on the World Wide Web.

We shall distinguish the following categories:

- Early CALL
- Communicative CALL
- Multimedia CALL
- Web-based CALL
- CALL authoring programs
- Intelligent CALL (ICALL)
- Computer Aided Assessment (CAA)
- Whole-class teaching and CALL

### **Early CALL**

Early CALL programs – many of which fell into Warschauer's behavioristic category (Warschauer, 1996) – simply presented a series of stimuli to which the learner had to respond. In CALL programs developed for mainframe computers and early microcomputers in the 1960s and 1970s, the stimulus was usually in the form of text displayed in monochrome on a computer screen, and the only way in which the learner could respond was by entering an answer at the keyboard, either by entering a letter or number as a response in a multiple-choice exercise or by typing the answer in full as a response in a free-format exercise. Such programs consisted mainly of a sequence of repetitive drills.

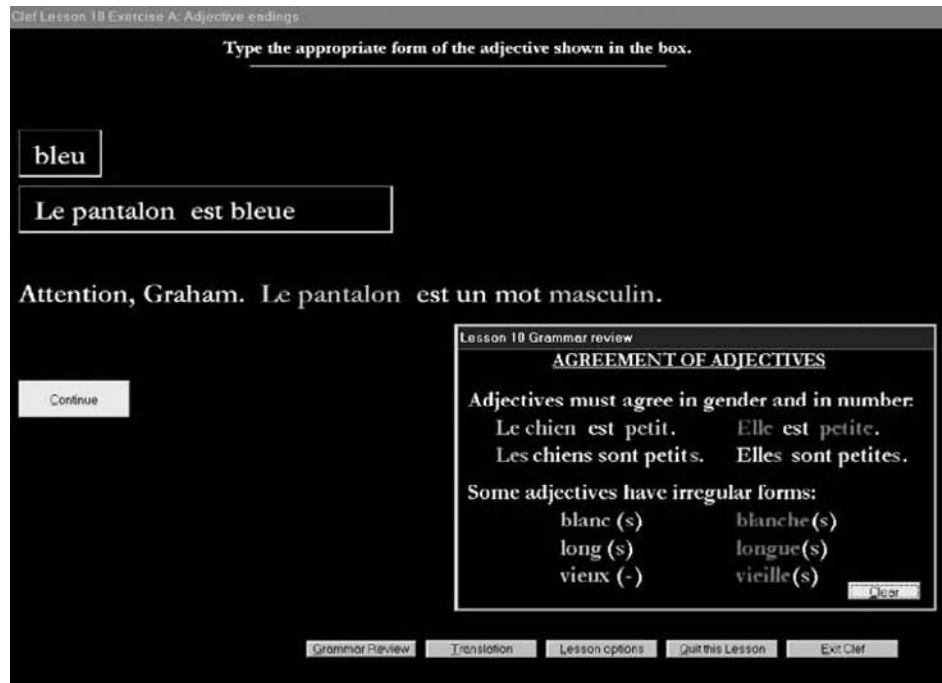
The advent of the microcomputer in the late 1970s gave rise to more imaginative programs, in which text was presented in more interesting ways. Color was used to highlight grammatical features, for example, gender in French and case endings in German. Movement was used to illustrate points of syntax such as position of adjectives in French and subordinate clause word order in German. Discrete error analysis and feedback were a feature of CALL in this period, and the more sophisticated programs attempted to analyze the learner's response, pinpoint errors, and branch to help and remedial activities. A typical example of this approach is the CLEF package for learners of French, which was developed in the late 1970s and early 1980s by a consortium of Canadian universities, and is still widely used in an updated version (Figure 1).

The approach to error analysis adopted by the authors of CLEF – who were predominantly language teachers – was to anticipate common errors and build in appropriately tailored feedback. An alternative approach is the use of Artificial Intelligence (AI) techniques to parse the learner's response, which is a feature of Intelligent CALL (ICALL) – see the section 'Intelligent CALL' (ICALL) below.

### **Communicative Call**

Within the language-teaching profession, there has always been a degree of controversy about the teacher-centered, drill-based approach to CALL. The survey conducted by Levy among CALL developers in the early 1990s indicated that the communicative approach was "the current preferred philosophy of language teaching and learning," but there was also evidence of a high degree of eclecticism, with the majority of teachers adopting two or more different approaches, including the use of drills and teaching formal grammar (Levy, 1997: 122ff.).

Prior to Levy's survey, it was evident as early as the mid-1980s that there was a discernible move away from a drill-based approach to CALL and towards a learner-centered, task-based, or explorative approach. Higgins and Johns (1984: 8–9) were among the first CALL practitioners to illustrate how the computer might adopt different roles other than that of a provider of drills, for example, the computer as an informant, with the learner asking the questions and the computer providing the answers. Jones C. (1986) questioned the role of the computer as a rival to the teacher and stressed the importance of integrating the computer into normal classroom activities, urging the teacher to apply the same methodological expertise and imagination to computer programs as they would to any other classroom aid. Jones G. (1986) and Piper (1986)



**Figure 1** CLEF Screenshot. The screenshot is taken from the CLEF French grammar CD-ROM (University of Guelph/Camssoft). It shows a fill-in-the-blank exercise on the agreement of adjectives in French, where the learner has entered the incorrect answer 'bleue' (blue), the feminine form of the adjective, instead of the masculine form that is required to agree with the masculine noun 'pantalon' (trousers/pants). The discrete feedback, 'Attention, Graham. Le pantalon est un mot masculin,' points the learner in the right direction rather than giving the correct answer immediately, indicating that the learner needs to make the adjective agree with a masculine noun. The box in the lower right hand corner of the screen is a reminder of the rule about agreement and the forms that adjectives can take. This reminder can be called up by the learner at any time in the course of working on the exercises. Screenshot courtesy University of Guelph/Camssoft.

illustrated how the computer might be used as a stimulus for conversation. In other words, there was a clear break with the top-down programmed learning approach to CALL that characterized its early days.

The explorative approach to CALL is also characterized by the use of concordance programs (concordancers) in the languages classroom. Concordance programs, which were originally used as literary or linguistic research tools, found a new life as tools for the language teacher and student, embodying an approach described by Johns (1991) as Data-Driven Learning (DDL). DDL was the only new approach to CALL that was described in Levy's survey as "a direct result of the attributes of the computer" (1997: 123). See also Tribble and Jones (1990), Johns and King (1991), and Rézeau (2001).

### Multimedia CALL

As indicated above in the section Early CALL, computers were initially very limited in terms of the kind of stimulus that they could present to the learner. Most early computers could only offer plain text or simple line drawings. The multimedia personal computer (MPC) was a breakthrough insofar as

the stimulus could now consist of any combination of text, still images, sound, and motion video. Ways in which the learner could respond to the stimulus reflected these new developments. Instead of just typing at the keyboard, the learner could point-and-click and drag-and-drop with the mouse, or speak into a microphone. Feedback also reflected the new developments in multimedia.

The earliest manifestations of multimedia CALL were made technologically possible by linking a computer with a 12-inch videodisc player. This enabled text, high-quality photographic images, and sound and video recordings to be presented in a variety of imaginative combinations. The result was the development of interactive videodiscs such as *Montevideo* (Schneider and Bennion, 1984), *Expodisc* (Davies, 1991) and *A la rencontre de Philippe* (Fuerstenberg, 1993), all of which were designed as simulations in which the learner played a key role.

The techniques learned in the 1980s by the developers of interactive videodiscs were adapted for the integrated MPC, which incorporated a CD-ROM drive and was in widespread use by the early 1990s. The MPC is now the standard form of personal computer. CD-ROMs were used in the 1980s initially to store large quantities of text and later to store sound,

still images, and motion video. By the mid-1990s, a wide range of multimedia CD-ROMs for language learners was available. Most CALL programs under development today fall into the category of multimedia CALL.

A typical multimedia CALL program includes the presentation of sound and video, usually offering the learner the opportunity to record and playback his/her own voice. An example of a multimedia CALL of this type is EuroTalk's *World talk* program (Figure 2).

The quality of video recordings offered by CD-ROM technology has been slow to catch up with that offered by the earlier interactive videodiscs. The Digital Video Disc or Digital Versatile Disc (DVD), which is now becoming established as a storage medium for multimedia CALL programs, offers much higher quality video recordings, for example EuroTalk's *Movie talk* DVD-ROM series, which is based on authentic TV broadcasts and offers the learner to opportunity to participate in role-plays enhanced by video (Figure 3).

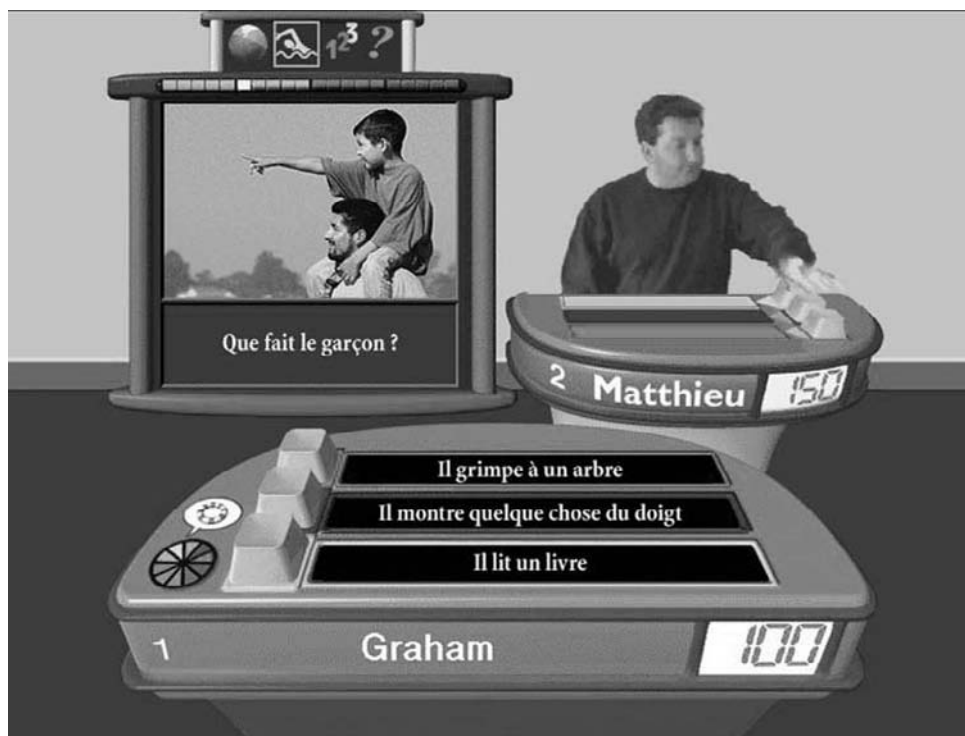
Surprisingly, few imaginative simulations have been developed for the MPC. The series of CD-ROMs entitled *Who is Oscar Lake?* is a notable

exception. In this series, the learner is identified as the chief suspect in a diamond robbery in a foreign country and has to argue his/her innocence and determine who the real suspect is. Other multimedia programs make use of Automatic Speech Recognition (ASR) software to diagnose learners' errors, for example Auralog's *Tell me more pro* series (Figure 4).

One of the advantages of multimedia CALL is that it has helped language centers in schools and universities to offer courses that normally would not run due to staff shortages or poor take-up by students. The Critical Language Series, produced by the University of Arizona, offers a number of courses on CD-ROM in languages that are not normally taught as part of the educational curriculum (Figure 5). Similarly, EuroTalk's *Talk now* and *World talk* series offer a wide variety of languages.

#### Web-based CALL

In 1992, the World Wide Web was launched, reaching the general public in 1993. The Web offers enormous potential and is playing an increasingly important role in language teaching and learning. But, the Web still has some way to go before it catches up with the interactivity and speed of access offered by



**Figure 2** *World talk* Screenshot. The screenshot is taken from EuroTalk's *World talk* CD-ROM for beginners in French. It is essentially a timed multiple-choice exercise in which three alternative answers to the question below the photograph are presented, taking the form of a TV game show in which the learner has to select the correct answer before his/her opponent 'Matthieu' makes his selection. As well as appearing as text on the computer screen, the question and possible answers are read out by a native-speaker quizmaster, so that the learner can hear the French pronounced as well as reading it from the screen. 'Matthieu' is a video recording and can be seen here reaching for the selection button. Screenshot courtesy of EuroTalk, with permission.



**Figure 3** *Movie talk* Screenshot. The screenshot is taken from the Spanish version of EuroTalk's *Movie talk* DVD-ROM for intermediate/advanced learners of Spanish. The DVD-ROM includes a complete episode, *Querido maestro*, from a Spanish TV detective series. The video recording is exploited in different ways, offering sophisticated exercises in which the learner participates in role-plays as well as simple vocabulary exercises like the one illustrated here, in which still images from the recording are presented and the learner has to match the word in the box with one of the six images. As in *World talk* (above), that the learner can hear the French pronounced by a native speaker as well as reading it from the screen. Screenshot courtesy of EuroTalk, with permission.



**Figure 4** *Tell me more pro* Screenshot. The screenshot is taken from Auralog's *Tell me more* CD-ROM, a package that incorporates speech-recognition software. It shows a pronunciation exercise in which the learner attempts to repeat the sentence presented in the box at the top of the screen. A native speaker pronounces the sentence and a voice-print of the native speaker model is displayed in the upper of the two voice-print boxes immediately below. The learner's attempt to repeat the sentence is played back and at the same time the learner's voice-print is displayed in the lower box. The learner can attempt the sentence as many times as he/she likes until a close match is achieved. The learner's performance is also displayed in a score box at the lower right hand part of the screen. Screenshot courtesy of Auralog, with permission.





**Figure 5** *Critical language series* Screenshot. The screenshot is taken from the opening screen of the Mandarin Chinese CD-ROM that forms part of the *Critical language series* produced by the University of Arizona. It shows the titles of the first 10 lessons of the program. All the programs in the series follow the same pattern, making use of audio and video for presentation, followed by five types of exercises: multiple choice, fill-in-the-blank, audio flashcard, pronunciation, and listening dictation. Learners can record and play back their own voices and compare their pronunciation with that of the native speaker. Screenshot courtesy of University of Arizona, with permission.

CD-ROMs or DVD-ROMs, especially when accessing sound and video files. There is no doubt, however, that the Web is a remarkable source of information and has opened up a new range of tasks for learners of foreign languages, e.g., Web quests, Web concordancing, and collaborative writing (Felix, 2001).

With the advent of broadband, however, many of the problems associated with the Web are being overcome, but an educational institution needs an extremely fast connection to enable multiple users to enjoy the media-rich language learning materials that are currently available. For this reason, Felix (2001: 190) advises adopting hybrid approaches to CALL, integrating CD-ROMs and the Web and running audio conferencing and video conferencing in conjunction with Web activities.

Web-based multimedia is a growing area of development but has not yet supplanted CD-ROM or DVD technology. Many websites containing CALL materials offer more in terms of presentation rather than interaction, for example, it is not easy to record and playback one's own voice in a Web environment – a feature of CD-ROM-based multimedia CALL since the late 1980s. Nevertheless, some attractively designed multimedia websites have been produced, for example the BBC Languages website, which offers

a comprehensive range of introductory and intermediate courses (Figure 6).

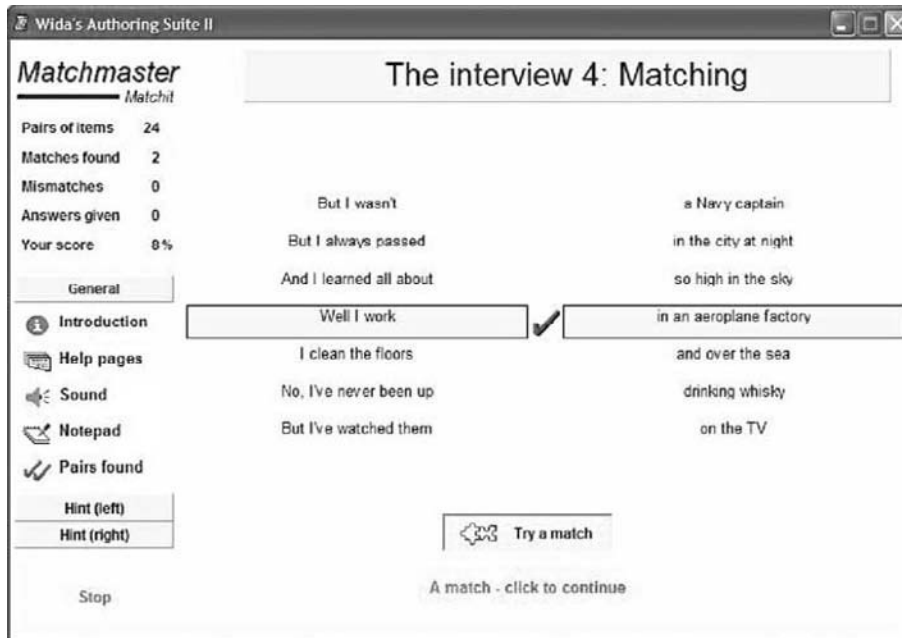
For further examples of what can be done in a Web environment, see LeLoup and Ponterio (2003).

### CALL Authoring Programs

Generic authoring packages such as Macromedia's *Director* have been used to create a number of multimedia CALL programs. In the hands of an experienced user, they enable the speedy development of CALL materials, but they are probably too complex for most language teachers and are best suited to the template approach to authoring, as described by Gimeno and Davies (2001). Authoring programs designed specifically for CALL, however, offer a do-it-yourself approach that is within the capabilities of the average language teacher who has no knowledge of computer programming. Typical examples are authoring packages that automatically generate a set of preset activities for the learner, for example, Camsoft's *Fun with texts* and Wida Software's *The authoring suite* (Figure 7). Web authoring packages of a similar type – also offering a range of pre-set activities – are also in widespread use, for example, Hot Potatoes. For further information on CALL authoring programs, see Bangs (2001) and Bickerton *et al.* (2001).



**Figure 6** BBC *German steps* Screenshot. The screenshot is taken from the opening screen of the introductory *German steps* course, one of a series produced by the BBC. The screen shows the contents of the course, which consists of materials centered on typical situations that an adult learner might be confronted with on a visit to a German-speaking country. The other programs in the series follow a similar pattern. Screenshot courtesy of BBC, with permission.



**Figure 7** *The authoring suite* Screenshot. The screenshot is taken from Wida Software's *Matchmaster* program, which forms part of a larger package known as *The authoring suite*. This is a matching exercise for learners of English as a Foreign Language, in which the task is to match the beginnings and ends of sentences. *The authoring suite* enables teachers with no programming knowledge to create their own materials. Screenshot courtesy of Wida Software, with permission.

**Intelligent CALL (ICALL)**

The extent to which the computer is capable of analyzing learners' errors has been a matter of controversy since CALL began. The controversy

hinges on those who favor the use of Artificial Intelligence (AI) techniques to develop Intelligent CALL (ICALL) programs, such as Underwood (1989) and Matthews (1992), and its detractors such as Last

(1989). The issue of error analysis looms large in this controversy, focusing on the possibilities and limitations of computers programs in diagnosing learners' errors and appropriate feedback (Heift and Schulze, 2003).

Practitioners who come into CALL via the disciplines of computational linguistics, for example, Natural Language Processing (NLP) and Human Language Technologies (HLT), tend to be more optimistic about the potential of these disciplines than those who come into CALL via language teaching. It is clear, however, that recent advances in these areas, such as the development of parsers and speech technology software, are beginning to make a significant impact on CALL (Schulze, 2001; Schulze and Gupta, 2001).

### Computer Aided Assessment and Language Learning

Computer Aided Assessment (CAA) covers a range of assessment procedures and is a rapidly developing subset of CALL. CAA refers to any instance in which some aspect of computer technology is used as part of the assessment process. CAA may include tests that take a similar form to CALL exercises, for example, tests in multiple-choice and gap-filling format, but it may also extend to using computers for onscreen marking of students' word-processed writing and using a spreadsheet or database to keep a record of students' grades.

CAA has its limitations, however. While it is particularly useful in testing knowledge of basic grammar and vocabulary and, to a limited extent, reading skills and listening skills, it has not yet had a significant impact on the assessment of speaking skills.

One of the most ambitious CAA projects undertaken in recent years is DIALANG. DIALANG is a major European Union project aimed at providing effective diagnosis of language competence in 14 EU languages. It uses online tests, including placement and self-assessment tests, as key tools in this process. DIALANG is for use by the general public and can be downloaded from the DIALANG website. Tests are available in Listening, Writing, Reading, Structures, and Vocabulary for 14 different languages: Danish, Dutch, English, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Icelandic, Irish, Italian, Norwegian, Portuguese, Spanish, and Swedish. A key feature of the DIALANG project is that its tests are closely linked to the six levels of the Council of Europe's Common European Framework of Reference for Languages.

### Whole-Class Teaching and CALL

When the first computers were introduced into schools, it was usual for a teacher to bring a single

computer and a large TV monitor into the classroom and teach the whole class, using the TV monitor as the focus of attention. The teacher or a student would operate the keyboard, and the class would be asked to respond to what appeared on screen. The teacher might use the computer, for example, as a stimulus for eliciting oral responses from the class. This approach worked very well with a variety of programs.

Whole-class teaching went out of favor as computers became cheaper, but it is now undergoing a revival thanks to the advent of the interactive whiteboard, a touch-sensitive projection screen that allows the teacher to control a computer by touching the whiteboard rather than using a keyboard or mouse, although these can still be used. Interactive whiteboards in combination with loudspeakers offer a wide range of activities in the languages classroom, and CALL software designed both for use in computer labs and with interactive whiteboards for whole-class teaching is now widely available, for example mdsoft's *TaskMagic* package (Figure 8).

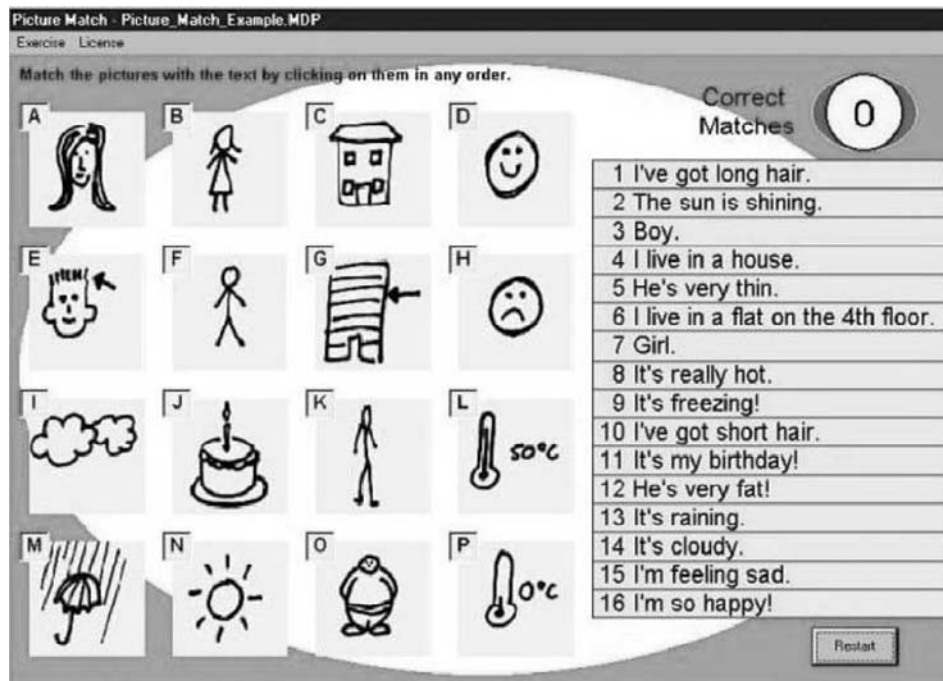
### The Future of CALL

So, where is CALL heading? Undoubtedly, there will be an expansion of online learning, but it is more likely to supplement conventional modes of learning rather than replacing them. Language learners in particular cannot acquire certain skills, for example, conversational skills, without face-to-face contact with an experienced teacher, but new software tools facilitate synchronous and asynchronous oral computer-mediated communication and are already being used in distance-learning CALL environments.

An area of research and development currently known as Human Language Technologies (HLT) is likely to make an increasing impact on CALL. Schulze and Gupta (2001) describe the main areas of HLT that have already had an influence on CALL and which are likely to have an influence in the not-too-distant future. These areas include Natural Language Processing, Machine Translation, corpus linguistics, and speech technology. All these were once regarded as fringe areas of CALL, but they are now attracting increasing attention.

### Professional CALL Associations

The rapid growth in the use of computers in language learning and teaching in the 1980s led to the foundation of the two leading professional associations for CALL: CALICO (USA) in 1982 and EUROCALL



**Figure 8** *TaskMagic* Screenshot. The screenshot is taken from mdlsoft's *TaskMagic* package. The aim of this exercise is to match the text in the box on the right of the screen with the pictures. *TaskMagic* is an authoring program that enables teachers with no programming knowledge to create their own materials, and it also lends itself to the creation of materials that are particularly appropriate for whole-class teaching using a computer and a projector or a computer and an interactive whiteboard. Screenshot courtesy of mdlsoft, with permission.

(Europe) in 1986, both of which continue to thrive. The longer-established professional association, IALLT (founded 1965), focused initially on language laboratories, but later widened its scope to embrace language learning technology in general. An increasing number of professional associations devoted to CALL are emerging worldwide. The established associations are grouped together under WorldCALL, which is in the process of setting itself up as an umbrella association of associations. WorldCALL held its first conference at the University of Melbourne, Australia, in 1998, and the second WorldCALL conference took place in Banff, Canada, 2003.

*See also:* Communicative Competence; Interlanguage; Second Language Teaching Technologies; Teacher Preparation.

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## Relevant Websites

- <http://www.auralog.com/english.html> – Auralog, producers of CALL Software, France.
- <http://www.bbc.co.uk/languages> – BBC Languages, a series of Web pages for learners of foreign languages.
- <http://www.camssoftpartners.co.uk/clef.htm> – CLEF, a software package for learners of French, produced by the University of Guelph and published in the UK by Camssoft.
- <http://clp.arizona.edu/cls> – Critical Language Series, a CD-ROM series produced by the University of Arizona.
- <http://www.dialang.org> – DIALANG, a diagnostic language testing project, initiated with funding from the European Union.
- <http://www.eurotalk.co.uk> – EuroTalk, producers of CALL software, London, UK.
- <http://www.history-of-call.org> – History of CALL, a website containing a wealth of information on the history of CALL.
- <http://web.uvic.ca/hrd/halfbaked/> – Hot Potatoes, a Web-authoring package produced by Half Baked Software Inc, University of Victoria, Canada.
- <http://www.ict4lt.org> – ICT4LT (ICT for Language Teachers), a large collection of ICT training resources for language teachers.
- <http://llt.msu.edu> – Language Learning Technology Journal (LLTJ), an on-line refereed journal.
- <http://www.languagepub.com> – Language Publications Interactive (LPI), producers of *Who is Oscar Lake?* a language simulation on CD-ROM.
- <http://www.mdlsoft.co.uk> – mdlsoft, producers of the *Task Magic* package.
- <http://www.wida.co.uk> – Wida Software, producers of *The authoring suite*.
- <http://www.tell.is.ritsumei.ac.jp/cocllejonline/>, Kusatsu, Shiga, Japan: Ritsumeikan University, available only on-line (the *CALL-EJ* journal (Japan) merged with the *On-CALL* journal (Australia) and became *CALL-EJ Online* in May 1999).
- <http://www.taylorandfrancisgroup.com> – *CALL Journal*, London: Taylor & Francis, available on-line from Volume 11.
- <http://llt.msu.edu> – *Language Learning Technology*, East Lansing: Michigan State University, available only on-line.

<http://www.upv.es/worldcall/> – WorldCALL, an umbrella organization of professional associations for CALL.

<http://www.eurocall-languages.org> – EUROCALL: a European professional association for CALL; Cambridge University Press publishes the journal *ReCALL* on the association's behalf.

<http://www.calico.org> – CALICO: a North American professional association for CALL and publisher of the *CALICO Journal*.

<http://www.iallt.org> – IALLT: a North American professional association and publisher of the *IALLT Journal of Language Learning Technologies*.

## Content Teaching and Learning

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For the past 20 years, language educators have seen major growth and development in the integration of language and content (ILC) teaching and learning. The conceptualization of language proficiency (Cummins, 1980) as the ability to use language in both social and academic settings propelled educators to place more emphasis on developing the academic end of the spectrum. Seminal works appeared in the 1980s (Cantoni-Harvey, 1987; Coelho, 1982; Crandall, 1987; Mohan, 1986) that provided the impetus for K–12 and higher education programs to integrate second language objectives with content knowledge. Models for ILC teaching and learning evolved from the communicative language approach as educators realized that the latter did not provide all the skills and vocabulary students needed to be successful in academic, mainstream classes once they exited a second language (e.g., ESL) program. Without competence in the language of instruction, students were hard pressed to learn through that language and use it to demonstrate their knowledge. Motivation to develop a pedagogy incorporating language and content was enhanced by pressure in the United States and elsewhere for program accountability and student success in the K–12 and higher education arenas. Positive features from the communicative approach, such as inclusion of meaningful activities, a focus on learner needs, and promotion of student interaction, were incorporated.

At present, ILC is viewed as an effective way for second/foreign language learners to develop their language and academic skills at the same time. The United States' national *ESL standards for pre-K–12 students* (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, 1997) reflect the importance of language and content integration, calling for students to be able to use English to achieve academically in all content areas so that they can:

1. interact in the classroom;
2. obtain, process, construct, and provide subject matter information in spoken and written form;
3. use appropriate learning strategies to construct and apply academic knowledge.

Programs that use ILC include content-based ESL, sheltered instruction, total and partial foreign language immersion, two-way immersion, developmental bilingual education, early foreign language programs (e.g., content-based FLES), and more.

## Second Language Education

Early ILC efforts led to the content-based language approach (also known as content-based instruction) in ESL programs. These content-based ESL classes, designed for second language learners only, are taught by language educators whose main goal for students is English language development but whose secondary goal is preparing them for the mainstream, English-medium classroom. Teachers develop the students' English language proficiency by incorporating information they have selected from subject areas that students are likely to study, or from courses the students may have missed if they are new to the school system. Content-based instruction is often accomplished through thematic or interdisciplinary units, such as a rain forest ecology unit, and lessons could include objectives drawn from life sciences, history, or mathematics as well as ESL. Throughout the course syllabus, different content areas and topics are usually covered.

The content-based language approach creates a forum for subject area knowledge generation, application, and reinforcement by addressing key topics found in grade-level curricula. Students acquire academic, subject-specific vocabulary, background knowledge of multiple concepts, and practice in academic skills and tasks common to mainstream classes. The sophistication of the material presented varies according to the grade level and language proficiency of the students, but is nonetheless relevant and meaningful to them because it is tied to school subjects. Attention to language development is paramount with focus on both form and function within the content themes.

Content-based language instruction, however, has not been sufficient to help all second language learners succeed academically. In the United States, for example, the growth in the number of students learning English as an additional language, the shortage of qualified ESL and bilingual teachers, the pressure to meet academic standards, and the focus on high-stakes assessments have extended the need to teach content to students outside the language classrooms. As a result, ESL educators developed the sheltered instruction approach in conjunction with content teachers. In sheltered instruction, language and content objectives are systematically woven into the curriculum of one particular subject area, such as geometry or world history, and teachers modify the pedagogy to make the information comprehensible to the students. The goal is to teach content to students learning English through a developmental language approach. A series of courses may constitute a

program called Content-ESL, Sheltered Instruction, or Specially Designed Academic Instruction in English (SDAIE). One research-based approach is known as the SIOP Model.

Sheltered instruction may be provided to classes composed entirely of second language learners or to a mix of native and non-native speakers of the target language. Bilingual, ESL, and content teachers may be the instructors, although at the high school level, sheltered courses are usually taught by content teachers so that students may receive core, not elective, graduation credit. To integrate language and content effectively, bilingual and ESL teachers need to learn the content curriculum or have an educational background in the subject. Content teachers must learn ESL methods and second language acquisition theory so they can make their instruction more accessible to students learning through the new language.

The approaches described above – content-based language teaching and sheltered instruction – represent the two ends of the continuum for integrated language and content teaching and learning. One focuses more on proficiency in the new language; the other, comprehension of grade-level subject curricula. Together, these courses are proving to be a promising combination when implemented throughout a school. Content-based language instruction occurs at the elementary level in pull-out ESL classes and at the secondary level in self-contained periods of ESL instruction. Sheltered instruction is also found at elementary and secondary levels, particularly for core content areas such as mathematics, science, history, and language arts.

In higher education, the best known ILC course is the adjunct course. In this setting, a university student who is enrolled in a psychology course, for example, is also enrolled in a companion (i.e., adjunct) course that supports his/her academic language learning. This course may be co-taught with a language specialist and a content specialist. The instructors help the student develop background knowledge, key vocabulary, and reading comprehension strategies, and assist with academic tasks, such as writing reports. Another higher education design is sustained content language teaching. In this model, teachers engage students in a multidisciplinary exploration of content over an extended time period. Students have greater opportunities to learn language in context and develop a level of expertise about the topic that the teacher, or teacher and students together, have chosen.

English for specific purposes (ESP), English for academic purposes (EAP), and English for occupational purposes (EOP) are additional programs found in tertiary instruction. As the names indicate (and other languages could be substituted for English, but English is most prevalent), the purpose of the course is

focused on learner needs, such as use of the second language for business.

Language and content teaching and learning is also found in adult second language education. A common course is a workplace language course that may be held at the job site. Literacy skills are practiced with authentic, work-related materials and on-the-job communication patterns are stressed.

In general, integrated language and content teaching and learning can occur in any setting where subject area material is being taught through the second language of some of the students. Although early implementation of this pedagogy occurred in K–12 and university ESL programs in the United States and Canada, ILC is now found in multiple program models around the world. English is often the second language being learned, but not exclusively. In the Netherlands, for example, content-based Dutch is taught to immigrants from Turkey and Indonesia.

## Foreign Language Programs

Foreign language (FL) programs also integrate language and content. FL immersion programs are well-known models and developed on a parallel path with content-based second language programs. In these programs, speakers of the majority language (in the society) study grade-level curricula through the minority language using similar pedagogical techniques to content-based and sheltered instruction. Students remain in these programs for several years (i.e., throughout elementary school), and as their proficiency develops, the need for ILC techniques lessens.

A number of FLES (foreign language in elementary schools) programs incorporate content in their curricula as well. Although the amount of time devoted to FLES is more limited than typically found in other ILC courses, the content themes are meaningful and teachers make connections with other grade-level activities. Content-based foreign language courses at the secondary level, however, are less common. Secondary FL courses may integrate some culture or literature but less frequently incorporate objectives from core subject areas.

In higher education, there is a growing interest in language across the curriculum courses. A degree program in business, for example, may offer a content course through Spanish, Mandarin, or German so the students experience content-based instruction and learn to apply their content knowledge through the new language. Some courses have a focus on reading authentic texts in the foreign language; others on oral interaction. Goals include advanced levels of proficiency and intercultural understanding.



## **Bilingual Programs**

Integrated language and content teaching and learning should be part of any program that aims to develop bilingualism. To be considered a competent bilingual, students must understand and use content information in both languages. Nonetheless, ILC instructional techniques are employed most often in developmental bilingual, dual language, and two-way immersion programs as students develop proficiency over several years, as in FL immersion programs.

## **Instructional Practices**

As teachers plan lessons to integrate language and content, they must make key decisions about which language objectives to select and which content topics to cover. For content-based courses, the language objectives are derived from the language curriculum (which may have a functional orientation), but the teacher selects the content topics to address. In the case of sheltered courses, the content is predetermined by the subject area curriculum, but the language objectives need to be carefully aligned to how the academic language used in the subject, namely, to the content register. Usually lessons that integrate language and content also combine practice with all four language skills – reading, writing, listening, and speaking.

ILC teachers modulate the level of the new language used with students and make the content comprehensible through varied techniques, such as the use of visual aids, modeling, demonstrations, graphic organizers, vocabulary previews, cooperative learning, peer tutoring, and native language support. They make specific connections between the content being taught and students' experiences and prior knowledge and focus on expanding the students' vocabulary base. Teachers guide students to construct meaning from texts and classroom discourse and to understand complex content concepts by scaffolding instruction. They pay careful attention to students' capacity for working in English, beginning instruction at the current level of student understanding and moving students to higher levels through tailored support. One way they do so is by adjusting their speech (e.g., paraphrasing, giving examples, elaborating student responses) to facilitate student comprehension and participation in discussions. Another way is by adjusting instructional tasks so they are incrementally challenging (e.g., preteaching vocabulary before a reading assignment, having students write an outline before drafting an essay) and students learn the skills necessary to complete tasks on their own.

In effective ILC lessons, there is a high level of student engagement and interaction with the teacher,

with each other, and with text that leads to elaborated discourse and critical thinking. Students are explicitly taught functional language skills, such as how to negotiate meaning, confirm information, and express opinions. To enhance the interaction, teachers strive to create a nonthreatening environment where students feel comfortable taking risks with language. They plan activities that tap into the auditory, visual, and kinesthetic preferences of the students and often include multicultural content. Besides increasing students' declarative knowledge (i.e., factual information), teachers highlight and model procedural knowledge (e.g., how to accomplish an academic task, such as conducting research on the Internet) along with study skills and learning strategies (e.g., note-taking, self-monitoring comprehension when reading).

ILC classes also use supplementary materials to support the academic text and create a literacy-rich classroom. The materials may include related readings (e.g., trade books), graphs and other illustrations, audiovisual and computer-based resources, adapted text, and the like. The purpose for these materials is to enhance student understanding of key topics and details in the content concepts being taught through alternate means than teacher lecture or textbook prose.

Depending on the students' proficiency levels, ILC teachers offer multiple pathways for students to demonstrate their understanding of the content. For example, teachers may plan pictorial, hands-on, or performance-based assessments, group tasks or projects, oral reports, written assignments, portfolios, and paper and pencil tests to check on student comprehension of the subject matter and language growth.

## **Teacher Preparation**

In countries with large numbers of second language learners, teacher education programs that offer certification in second language teaching are increasingly focusing on content-based language and sheltered instruction in their methodology courses. However, pre-service education for elementary and secondary content teachers has not kept pace with changes in student demographics. Most teacher training institutions in these countries do not require these teacher candidates to take courses in ESL or sheltered instruction methods, in effect underpreparing them for effective instruction in their classrooms. As a result, it is through in-service professional development or graduate coursework that these teachers learn strategies and techniques for working with second language learners in content courses. This is clearly an area for a shift in teacher education policy.

## Future Directions and Research

Language and content teaching and learning is an expanding area in the field of second and foreign language education. As such, it is important to conduct research that examines student outcomes, evaluates programs, identifies effective literacy and assessment practices, and monitors teacher change. The following questions represent a small sample of possible research directions.

- Are certain instructional strategies and techniques more effective with specific profiles of learners, considering, for example, learners who are literate in their mother tongue vs. learners who have had limited formal schooling vs. bilingual learners studying curricula through two languages?
- How much content knowledge (at the conceptual level) should a second language teacher have (whether in an adjunct course, sustained content teaching course, or content-based ESL course) in order to integrate language and content effectively and accurately?
- How does teacher/faculty collaboration across courses or within a school improve both language and content teaching and learning?
- What features of language are particularly salient in sheltered content courses? What aspects of the content register must students become proficient in so they can work independently?
- What is the relationship among input, output, and learner feedback in content-based second and foreign language courses?
- Which assessments best measure a student's academic language development?

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## Culture in Language Teaching

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Culture has always been an integral component of language teaching. Until World War II, culture used to be seen as the literate or humanities component of language study. After the war and following the communicative turn in language pedagogy, it became synonymous with the way of life and everyday behaviors of members of speech communities, bound together by common experiences, memories, and aspirations. These communities were seen as grounded in the nation – the national context in which a national language was spoken by a homogeneous national citizenry. In the last 10 years, this unitary conception of one language equaling one national culture has become problematic. National standard languages have come to be seen as arbitrary constructions of the 19th-century nation states as much as the social and political institutions that constitute national cultures. At a time of growing economic and political globalization, when cultural encounters are increasingly mediated by information technologies, whose and what culture(s) should we teach: national, regional, or global culture? Urban or rural culture? High brow or popular culture? Oral, written, or cyberculture? Gay culture? Marketing culture? And what disciplinary discourse should we draw upon to understand culture: cultural studies, anthropology, ethnography, sociology, education? To what extent is culture separable from power and ideology? The concept of culture has become in many respects politicized and embroiled in the controversies associated with the politics of ethnic identity, religious affiliation and moral values. Ethnic and regional cultures have been rallying points for the politics of identity and for ethnic claims by speakers of minority, heritage, regional, endangered languages. Religious affiliation has been turned into cultural affiliation, as in the controversy surrounding the headscarf for Muslim women in French public schools. And, given the sectarian meanings given to the term ‘culture’ in recent times, questions are being raised about the future of foreign language education in multicultural democracies.

When exploring these questions, various trends of thought become apparent, themselves manifestations of various cultures of nationalism or universalism that preexisted the advent of globalization and the Internet. I first survey how the cultural dimension of language study has been defined, taught, and

researched for the teaching of English and other languages in the United States and Europe. I then review current interdisciplinary developments in the way culture is conceptualized and how it is now seen as integrating learners’ historicities and subjectivities in language education.

### The Cultural Dimensions of Language Study

There are roughly two different ways of looking at culture in language study, depending on one’s disciplinary and political orientation, and on whose interests are being served: the modernist and the post-modernist perspectives. They both coexist today in the same language departments at the same universities.

#### The Modernist Perspective

In the pedagogic imagination of most language teachers around the world, the term ‘culture’ is associated with the context in which the language is lived and spoken by its native speakers, themselves seen as a more or less homogeneous national community with age-old institutions, customs, and way of life. Culture is seen either as a humanistic or as a sociolinguistic concept, with the concept of the intercultural, that characterizes the contact between people from different cultures, being of concern to researchers in communication studies and in education.

**A Humanistic Concept** As a humanistic concept, culture is the product of a canonical print literacy acquired in school; it is synonymous with a general knowledge of literature and the arts. Also called ‘big C’ culture, it is the hallmark of the cultivated middle-class. Because it has been instrumental in building the nation-state during the 19th century, ‘big C’ culture, as the national patrimony, has been promoted by the nation state and its institutions, e.g., schools and universities. It is the culture traditionally taught with standard national languages. Teaching about the history, the institutions, the literature and the arts of the target country embeds the target language in the reassuring continuity of a national community that gives it meaning and value. The fact that in the United States, foreign languages are still taught for the most part in departments of foreign language and literature, and the curriculum for foreign language majors still puts a heavy emphasis on the study of literature is a reminder that language study was originally subservient to the interests of philologists and

literary scholars. In the 1980s, with the advent of communicative language teaching, the humanistic concept of culture gave way to a more pragmatic concept of culture as way of life. But the prestige of big C culture has remained, if only as *lieux de mémoire* in Internet chatrooms named, for example, *Versailles*, *Madison Avenue*, or *Piccadilly* – cultural icons of symbolic distinction.

**A Sociolinguistic Concept** With the focus now on communication and interaction in social contexts, the most relevant concept of culture since the 1980s has been that of ‘little c’ culture, also called ‘small cultures’ (Holliday, 1999) of everyday life. It includes the native speakers’ ways of behaving, eating, talking, and dwelling, as well as their customs, beliefs, and values. Research in the 1980s was deeply interested in cross-cultural pragmatics and the sociolinguistic appropriateness of language use in its authentic cultural context. To study the way native speakers used their language for communicative purposes, the Herderian equation one language = one culture was maintained, and teachers were enjoined to teach rules of sociolinguistic use the same way they taught rules of grammatical usage (functional-notional syllabi of the 1970s), i.e., through modeling and role-playing. Even though it now related to the variety of native speakers’ uses of language in everyday life, culture was seen as pretty monolithic, like the native speaker him/herself. Teaching culture has meant teaching the typical, sometimes stereotypical, behaviors, foods, celebrations, and customs of the dominant group or of that group of native speakers that is the most salient or exotic to foreign eyes. Striking in this concept of culture is the maintenance of the focus on national characteristics and the lack of historical depth.

The sociolinguistic concept of culture takes on various forms depending on whether the language taught is a foreign, second, or heritage language. In foreign language (FL) classes taught outside of any direct contact with native speakers, culture is mostly of the practical, tourist kind with instructions on how to get things done in the target country. In second language (SL) classes taught in the target country or in native speaker run institutions abroad (e.g., British Council, Goethe Institut, Alliance Française), culture can also take the form of exposure to debates and issues of relevance to native speakers in the target country, or of discussions about living and working conditions for immigrants. In heritage language (HL) classes taught to native speakers who wish to connect with their ancestral roots, culture is the very *raison d’être* of language teaching. It is, not, however, without presenting major difficulties when the heritage community has either lost much of its original everyday

culture (e.g., Native American languages, see Hinton, 1994), or when its speakers belong to a community that historically no longer exists (e.g., western Armenian or Yiddish). The teaching of culture in HL classes is very much linked to identity politics (Taylor, 1994).

**Intercultural Education** The term “intercultural” emerged in the 1980s in the fields of intercultural education and intercultural communication. Both are part of an effort to increase dialogue and cooperation among members of different national cultures within a common European Union or within a global economy (for a review, see Kramsch, 2001). Intercultural education as a component of a humanistic education is pursued with particular intensity in the Scandinavian countries (Hansen, 2004a, 2004b) and in Germany (for a review, see Königs, 2003).

In foreign language study, the concept of intercultural learning has emerged in recent years in Europe alongside the concept of communicative competence (Bausch *et al.*, 1994; Byram and Fleming, 1998; Zarate, 2004); it characterizes a form of language learning that is less focused on approximating a native speaker linguistic or pragmatic norm than it is based on the subjective experience of the language learner engaged in the process of becoming bi- or multilingual and struggling with another language, culture, and identity. The concept has been an object of controversy in Germany between discourse analysts (Edmondson and House, 1998) and educational linguists (Hu, 1999).

For Edmondson and House (1998), as for many researchers in pragmatics, conversation and discourse studies, entities like culture, power, and identity are constructed across turns-at-talk and in the minute-by-minute negotiation of face, stance, and footing. Since, in their view, communication is the *raison d’être* of language learning, language instruction should focus on the study of culture in discourse, i.e., the cross-cultural dimension of discourse pragmatics and the misunderstandings or successful understandings brought about by the discursive management of language itself. Language teachers should teach non-native speakers how to recognize and adopt the discursive behavior of the native speakers whose language they are learning, in order to find out ultimately how they think, what they value, and how they see the world. In short, foreign language instruction should focus on communicative competence and the cultural dimensions of discourse competence, not on intercultural competence.

Hu (1999) argues that the concept of culture as used by Edmondson and House is too restricted and essentialistic. To assume that ‘German culture’ speaks through the discourse of a speaker of standard



German is an inappropriate assumption in our days of hybrid, changing, and conflicting cultures. For Hu, concepts like ‘communication,’ ‘language,’ and ‘culture’ cannot be taken at face value; their problems must be recognized. Hence the usefulness of the term ‘intercultural,’ which covers intra-as well as interlingual communication between people who don’t share the same history, values, and worldviews. An intercultural pedagogy takes into account the students’ culturally diverse representations, interpretations, expectations, memories, and identifications, that are, in turn, made thematic, brought into the open through personal narratives and multilingual writings, and discussed openly in class. Hu’s perspective on culture, like that of many educators working with immigrants, is close to the post-modernist perspective discussed below.

The German debate surrounding the notion of intercultural is emblematic of the problematic role that culture plays in language teaching at a time when national and other collective cultures are more increasingly denationalized, de-territorialized, and hybridized. With the increased mobility of people and global markets, popular culture is shared by young people around the globe; with television and the Internet, attitudes and worldviews are no longer associated with geographical locations but interpenetrate one another in a myriad ways. Culture becomes a portable and variable concept, linked to historical stereotypes, personal memories and socialization patterns or *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1991), that are activated by individual speakers in face-to-face interactions or internet communication and are always subject to change, depending on the interlocutor, the topic, and the circumstances. This more variable notion of culture is nowhere more apparent than in the teaching of English as a foreign or second language.

### The Post-Modernist Perspective

In the teaching of English as the language of immigration, global employment, and global transactions, culture has taken on a radically different flavor than in traditional language teaching. Culture, in the territorial, hierarchical sense given by the modernist conception of the term, has been seen as a handicap to individual mobility, entrepreneurship, and change associated with the mastery of English as a second or international language. Culture in the teaching of English has therefore been re-signified as a post-modernist concept referring to ‘Discourse,’ identity, and power. This view of culture has influenced the teaching of other languages as well.

**Culture as Discourse** Drawing from post-modern theories of the multiple, conflictual, changing subject

of our post-structuralist times and from the ‘dialogic turn’ in cultural theory, culture has become equated with what James Gee calls Discourse with a capital ‘D,’ i.e., “ways of using language, of thinking, feeling, believing, valuing, and of acting that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or ‘social network’” (Gee, 1990: 143). Discourses, as identity kits, are inherently ideological, in the sense that they lead people to put forward certain ideas and values at the expense of others. Because they are the products of history, they are related to the distribution of social power and hierarchical structure in society. For example, the distribution of *tu* and *vous* in French everyday discourse reflects changes in social structure in various periods of French history. The *tu* of solidarity, that was common during the French revolution and the revolution of May 1968, became generalized among students, army comrades, and young adults in the democratic France of the 1970s and 1980s, but the hierarchical *vous* has recently surfaced again as a sign of distinction in the economically competitive France of the turn of the century.

This view of culture establishes a much closer link between language, thought, and culture than in the modernist conceptions (Kramsch, 2004). Culture as Discourse introduces the notion that every utterance is embedded in asymmetrical relations of power between communication partners, that culture in the form of language is embodied history, and that the meaning of this history is constantly renegotiated through language. For example, there have been various terms to denote those who oppose existing political regimes. The French who opposed German occupation during World War II were called ‘resistants’ by the French, ‘saboteurs’ by the Germans; the Iraqis who oppose the American occupation are called ‘insurgents’ by the Americans, ‘guerillas’ or ‘martyrs’ by the Iraqis; in Guatemala opposition to the regime was led by ‘rebels’ if you were on the side of the government, ‘freedom fighters’ if you were on the side of the opposition. The use of one or the other term said something about the political leanings of a newspaper and its readers. By placing culture squarely in Discourse, post-modernists have linked an individual’s membership in a culture to his/her social and political identity.

**Culture as Identity** For Norton, identity signifies “how people understand their relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how people understand their possibilities for the future” (Norton, 1997: 410), which matches roughly Kramsch’s definition of culture as “membership in a discourse community that

shares a common social space and history, and common imaginings” (Kramsch, 1998: 10), but with the emphasis placed on the individual rather than on the collective. Shifting the emphasis from culture to identity in language teaching dissociates the individual learner from the collective history of the group; it gives people agency and a sense of power by placing their destiny in their own hands. For example, one of the immigrant women studied by Norton was able to draw strength from her identity as a mother to stand up to her landlord in front of her children and counter his image of her as a helpless non-native speaker of English from Czechoslovakia.

Atkinson echoes Norton as he reassesses the notion of culture in TESOL, which, he claims, has been underexamined up to now. In his post-modernist view of culture, he suggests that language (learning and teaching) and culture are mutually implicated, but that “culture is multiple and complex” (Atkinson, 1999: 647). He further posits that “social group membership and identity are multiple, contradictory, and dynamic” and that “all humans are individuals,” but, he adds, “individuality is also cultural.” Despite some dissenting voices, Atkinson’s view of culture represents the dominant view of many teachers of English around the world, as well as TESOL’s global and multinational ideology.

Ultimately, the lesser importance given to culture in the teaching of ESL than in other foreign languages might just be part of an ideology that likes to think of English as a multinational, culture-free language, or lingua franca that speaks to all cultures and none in particular, and that can be appropriated and owned by anyone to express their own local meanings. Each person is seen as the intersection of an infinite number of partially overlapping cultures (Atkinson, 1999: 637). American pragmatism instinctively resists pigeonholing people according to where they come from and prefers to see alone standing individuals and cultures as “fluid, ever-changing, and nondeterministic,” i.e., unimpeded by their history. This view also reflects a concern not to stereotype individuals and essentialize their national characteristics, for fear that culture might become political. But such an ideology risks mapping onto the rest of the world a culture of geographic and social mobility and of an individual pursuit of happiness that is itself political and quintessentially American.

**Culture as the Moral Right to Be Heard and Listened To** The paradox is that once a person has been stripped of her national culture and been made into a free-standing, rational, autonomous agent, the burden is on her to maintain her integrity and free will

against the enormous pressure to conform to the will of the marketing industry and the demands of the national political majority. Cameron (2000) shows some of the pervasive ways of talking and thinking in a global culture that fetishizes ‘communication,’ ‘partnership,’ ‘options and opportunities,’ ‘initiative,’ and ‘entrepreneurship.’ In the United States, the nationalistic discourse of ‘freedom,’ ‘democracy,’ and ‘homeland security’ is equally constraining. Membership in a cultural group seems to be the only safeguard left against the domination of the market and the tyranny of the majority. Hence the growing demands for political recognition of individuals who define themselves not as free-standing individuals, but as members of cultural groups characterized by race, ethnicity, gender, occupation, sexual preferences, regional affiliation, etc.

A post-modernist perspective understands cultures to be in principle of equal worth, but in fact they are objects of moral and ideological struggle; hence the term ‘culture wars’ to denote the clash between different social and moral values that different cultures represent (Taylor, 1994). For example, the current debate about the wearing of the Muslim scarf in French schools highlights the dilemma of the French educational system that needs to maintain the hard won separation of church and state while preserving the right of each individual to his/her own culture. The popularity of social and cultural theory among language educators (Luke, 1996) shows how closely language is related to power in the teaching of culture in language study. Ultimately, the need to teach culture confronts the language teacher with a political dilemma, namely, how to teach cultural and moral difference without ignoring the incommensurable and even conflictual aspects of that difference. The increasingly polarized world we live in does not make the task of the language teacher any easier.

### **New Ways of Integrating Language, Culture, History, and Identity**

Culture is being re-conceptualized to respond to the different needs of the learners of foreign, second, and heritage languages. Citizens of nation states need to learn the languages of citizens of other nation states, or **foreign** languages, for reasons either of employment or of national security. New immigrants to industrialized countries need to be integrated into the host societies by learning the host language as a **second** language. Long time resident immigrants feel the need to learn the language of their ancestors as a **heritage** language in order to reconnect with their roots. In all three cases, culture is seen as the

indispensable key to understanding speakers' verbal behaviors and worldviews and the way they position themselves vis-à-vis others both in history and in the social structure.

### Foreign Languages

Among foreign languages, English occupies a special position by virtue of its worldwide spread. Within the European Union, English is taught in schools side by side with other foreign languages, but its value is different and so is its perceived usefulness. Although the teaching of English in European schools is still very much oriented toward British or American national culture, research on English as the lingua franca of continental Europe is gaining momentum (Seidlhofer, 2003). This lingua franca is not necessarily a culture-free global English, but rather a supra-national European dialect that takes on the cultural specificities of each host culture.

In Europe, there is a boom of interest right now in the teaching of languages other than English. New avenues of research focus, as mentioned above, on the intercultural components of language learning but also on its ecological aspects (Fill and Mühlhäusler, 2001) and on pluriculturalism as a dimension of plurilingualism (Busch, 2004; Zarate, 2004). This research draws heavily on insights from literary and cultural studies, sociolinguistics and pragmatics, anthropology, and from a long tradition of study abroad and student exchange. In Europe, language educators are particularly concerned about the effects of globalization and the weakening of national institutions on the teaching of foreign languages. Hans Hansen, a humanities scholar from the University of Copenhagen, speaks for many when he says that foreign language teaching in an era of globalization (global market and global terrorism) means "reflecting theoretically upon the relation between entities like language, culture, identity, history and the self-knowledge and imaginary world pictures as they are represented in art and literature" (Hansen, 2004a: 115). He envisages a new role for culture: "Foreign Language Studies must learn to conceive of culture as an open, multi-voiced and dialogical interaction full of contradictions, rather than as the deterministic, homogeneous and closed structure that belonged to the era of the nation state" (Hansen, 2004b: 9).

The current tensions between the creation of a European community geared to the global market and the Europeanization of national communities geared to political national identities, are leading toward the creation of a "third sector," i.e., a European multilingual public sphere in the media and in professional life that includes national, regional, and local

languages, minority and migrant languages, and sign languages. This multilingual sphere or "sprachensfreundliches Umfeld" (Busch, 2004: 164) is meant to sensitize Europeans of all walks of life to cultural diversity and encourage them to embrace public multilingualism and multiculturalism, understood as "a corrective against the interests of the nation state and a global market economy" (Busch, 2004: 289). This also prepares them for the eventual emergence of a multilingual political European identity. It includes the screening of foreign films with subtitles, the tolerance to untranslated code-switches in public statements, the symbolic use of untranslated languages in greetings, leave takings, etc., and the airing of bilingual TV programs like ARTE. It includes efforts by the Council of Europe to move from an emphasis on translation and linguistic diversity to efforts to develop a plurilingual education based on critical language awareness, plurilingual identity formation, and intercultural understanding. This shift entails a turn toward a more hermeneutic, reflexive, interpretive kind of teaching, in which 'text' can serve as a common ground: conversational texts, written texts, visual texts, not as objects of philological exegeses or structural analyses but as dialogically constructed culture in action.

In the United States, by contrast, the foundational field of research for all foreign language education is still second language acquisition (SLA) research. It has traditionally drawn its data predominantly from ESL or the beginning levels of foreign language instruction. Because of its mostly psycholinguistic and sociocognitive concerns, SLA research has not had much to say about the teaching of culture in language classes, except perhaps regarding learners' motivation to acculturate into a target community of native speakers, as is the case with many ESL learners. SLA research has been less interested in studying the cultural benefits of study abroad than in exploring the uses of computer-mediated communication to learn about foreign cultures without going abroad (Warschauer and Kern, 2000). It has aligned foreign language research with linguistics and psychology rather than with anthropology or cultural studies. It has thus exacerbated the split between the social sciences and the humanities, between language teachers and literature/cultural studies scholars in language departments at American universities. In the current political climate, U.S. federal funding is given in priority to research on the psycho- and sociolinguistic aspects of advanced language competencies for intelligence gathering purposes in the languages declared necessary for national security. It is not primarily concerned about their cultural or historical aspects.

### Heritage Languages, Second Languages

In American domestic affairs, there is a notable rise of interest in heritage languages for **social and cultural** purposes: Native American ancestral languages, master-apprentice programs (Hinton, 1994), interest in western Armenian, Yiddish, Spanish, Chinese, Vietnamese, and Korean as heritage languages linked to vanished or distant cultures (Peyton *et al.*, 2001). This interest is in part an ecological concern for the preservation of endangered languages, in part a romantic need to reconnect with one's roots in the face of the impersonal forces of the market and of information technologies, in part a desire to exercise long-distance proselytism in one's country of origin (e.g., Cuba, Armenia, Vietnam). Yet, the issue of which culture to teach (Cuban culture or Cuban-American culture? North Vietnamese or South Vietnamese or Vietnamese-American culture?) when teaching Spanish or Vietnamese in the United States has not yet been addressed in the case of heritage languages, probably because it is a politically sensitive issue.

By contrast, teaching the national culture of the host country is part and parcel of the socialization of immigrants learning the language of the land as their second language. Until recently the pedagogy of English as a second language was unabashedly acculturationist, indeed, assimilationist. It taught immigrants mainstream middle-class American or British ways of speaking, thinking, and behaving in every day life. In view of the increasingly multicultural nature of industrialized societies and following post-modernist conceptions of culture, new research is being drawn upon to conceive of culture in the teaching of second languages to immigrants. Language memoirs and personal testimonies of bilingual/multilingual individuals offer rich insights into the transcultural identities and subjectivities of language learners (Pavlenko and Lantolf, 2000). The notion of 'third place,' first introduced by Kramsch (1993), captures the need to think of culture as a subjective, portable, entity, linked to an individual's history and his/her variable subject position in variable contexts of language use. As a way of giving meaning to one's life, it is not a place to belong to but a way of belonging.

### Resignifying Culture as Historicity and Subjectivity

The term 'culture' has come to cover a host of phenomena that mean different things to different people: literate tradition or high culture, level of civilization, way of life, ethnic membership, country of origin, nationality, ideology, religious affiliation, or moral values. It is difficult to find a common

objective denominator. However, in our contentious times, culture has retained a sense of the irreducible, the sacred, that touches the core of who we are – our history and our subjectivity. Culture is embodied history. Theoretical perspectives on the cultural dimension of language research have thus drawn their inspiration from feminist and post-structuralist theories of the subject (Weedon, 1987; Bourdieu, 1991), and from theories of language as social semiotic practice (Kramsch, 2002), as historical intertextual practice (Hanks, 2000), as institutional and ritual practice (Rampton, 1995), as discursive and conversational practice (Moermann, 1988), and as ideological practice (Cameron, 2000). These theories provide fruitful ways of bridging the individual and the social in language use. They enable us to see culture as that precarious third place where our historical and subjective self gets constructed across utterances and turns-at-talk between the self we have just been and the self we might still become.

*See also:* Applied Linguistics; Bilingualism and Second Language Learning; Communicative Language Teaching; Critical Applied Linguistics; Educational Linguistics; Europe; Foreign Language Teaching Policy; Immigrant Languages; Interlanguage; Language Policy in Multilingual Educational Contexts; Lingua Franca as Second Languages; North America; Politics of Teaching; Second Language Discourse Studies; Second Language Identity; Second Language Socialization; Second Language Teacher Preparation; Second Language Teaching Technologies; Teaching of Minority Languages; Traditions in Second Language Teaching; World Englishes.

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## Education in a Former Colonial Language

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### Colonization

Although notable colonizers have included the Arabs, the Chinese, and the Russians, the concept is primarily associated with Western European states in the 19th century, especially the English and French, although the Portuguese, Dutch, and Spanish were also deeply involved. English colonialism in particular has a long history (from the invasion of Wales in the 13th century to the takeover of Tanganyika in the 20th century), and was exceptionally extensive (including the Americas, Asia, Australasia, and Africa).

Colonization often was destructive to indigenous ethnic groups, and particularly so in the Americas, the Caribbean, Australia, and New Zealand, where, by the early 20th century, indigenous peoples had been wiped out or reduced to tiny minorities. The language of the colonizer thus became by default the language of education. In other colonized regions, however, notably Africa, the Far East, and the Indian subcontinent, indigenous populations survived colonization to achieve independence, especially following World War II.

### Political Goals of Ex-colonies

Major concerns for newly independent governments were to secure the country's unity, to enhance development, and to promote national identity. The formal education system has been a key instrument for furthering these goals.

#### Unity

For newly independent countries that were multilingual, the colonial language was claimed to play a unifying role. Multilingual Zambia, for example, became independent in 1964, under the slogan 'One Zambia, one nation,' with the Minister of Education saying that "English – ironically a foreign language and also the language of our former colonial master – has definitely a unifying role in Zambia" (Mwanakatwe, 1968: 213).

#### Development

Newly independent countries that wished to gain access to technology, commerce, and international diplomatic contacts felt a need to provide their citizens with access to an international language; the colonial languages were readily available candidates.

#### Identity

A stress on their unique identity enabled newly independent countries to distance themselves from the colonial regimes. The interplay of language, religion, and political ideology has been important here, with the colonial language sometimes seen as a threat to religious identity, or at variance with political ideology.

Prioritization of these three goals has varied across countries and over time; thus, some postindependence governments saw the colonial language as the language of oppression to be replaced as soon as convenient. However, more recent generations who did not experience colonization, have seen English in particular as the key to global participation, whether as agents of commercial development or as consumers of popular entertainment.

### Colonization and Educational Language Policy

#### Africa

Following the 19th-century 'scramble for Africa,' borders to the European colonies were established through the General Act of Berlin in 1885. In almost every case the colonies thus created had multilingual populations. The preeminent colonial powers in Africa were Britain, France, and Portugal. Belgium occupied the Congo, whereas Germany, after World War I, lost present-day Namibia, Tanzania, and the Cameroons to France and Britain.

Given the multilingualism of most African countries, and the lack of any immediate realistic alternative, it is understandable that, at independence, many governments tended to downplay identity and designated the colonial language as the official language, giving it a significant role as a medium of instruction (MOI). Political views of English as unificatory were widespread. Furthermore, even countries whose populations share a common first language (e.g., Lesotho) still opted for English as a MOI, presumably for development purposes. Likewise, almost all ex-French or Belgian colonies retained French as the MOI in secondary and tertiary education (here we might note that French colonial policy in language and education was more assimilatory than British). In the ex-Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola, Portuguese is the normal MOI, with English being increasingly taught as a subject, especially in Mozambique, which in 1995 joined the British Commonwealth. In the Republic of South Africa, primary education is in theory possible through any of the 11 official languages,

including Afrikaans (the language of the early Dutch colonizers), although since the fall of apartheid English is the most frequent choice.

There are exceptions to the persisting dominance of colonial languages in Africa. Tanzania has long promoted Swahili as the MOI for reasons both of unity and identity (although this policy marginalizes local languages), whereas Muslim north Sudan uses Arabic. In North Africa, although French rather than Arabic is the MOI in about half of the secondary schools of Morocco, Arabic is nonetheless the predominant MOI in Algeria and Tunisia, except at tertiary level, where French is used. Islamic identity is certainly a factor in this postcolonial move to Arabic.

### The Indian Subcontinent

At independence in 1947, British India was partitioned into India, West Pakistan, and East Pakistan (subsequently Pakistan and Bangla Desh respectively). Present-day India has 25 constituent states with 18 official state languages between them, although the country has some 800 languages in all. Attempts to select Hindi as the sole official language were resisted by non-Hindi speakers, and currently the MOI in government schools is the official language of that state, whereas English is widely used in the private sector, and in tertiary education. In multilingual Pakistan, although Urdu (the L1 of less than 10% of the population) is the official language, English is employed as a MOI in education, again especially in private schools, which some 20% of urban students attend. In Bangla Desh, Bengali is the L1 of 98% of the population, but English is a second official language, used together with Bengali as a MOI. In Sri Lanka, however, the government stressed Buddhist identity following independence, and Sinhala was made the sole official language and MOI, a move that provoked riots between the majority Buddhist Sinhalese and the Hindu Tamils. Nonetheless, English is employed for scientific study at tertiary level in the country.

### East Asia

Independence in the ex-British colonies of east Asia (Malaysia, Singapore, and Hong Kong), led to a variety of educational roles for English. In Malaysia, English was gradually replaced as a MOI throughout the education system by Bahasa Malaysia (also called Bahasa Melayu), which not only empowered the ethnic Malays (some 50% of the population) but also was intended to unify the three main ethnic groups (Malays, Chinese, and Indians). Ethnic Malays were Muslims, and relatively few Malays attended English medium schools for fear of Christianization.

Singapore, however, with its majority Chinese population, seceded from the Malaysian federation in 1965 and accorded a dominant role to English in education; the results are said to be very positive, making Singapore an exception among countries that have maintained a colonial language as a MOI. Hong Kong reverted to China in 1997 after a century of British rule; since then, there have been moves to promote Mandarin Chinese (the L1 of about 1% of the population) in education, although English remains the MOI in much secondary and tertiary education.

Having been a Spanish colony for three centuries, the Philippines (with some 80 different languages) came under American rule from 1898 until 1946, a period that saw determined attempts to impose English in the education system. Although Filipino is now the national language, English remains the MOI in secondary education. Neighboring Indonesia, the most populous Muslim country in the world (and with over 600 languages), gained independence from Holland in 1955: Many children are educated initially through their L1, but Bahasa Indonesia becomes the universal MOI from year 4. Of the ex-French colonies in east Asia, Vietnam became independent in 1945, and Vietnamese, the L1 of about 90% of the population, replaced French as the MOI. In Cambodia (Kampuchea, independent in 1953), Khmer, again the L1 of 90% of the population, is now the sole official language. Laos, which gained independence from France in 1949, differs from Vietnam and Cambodia in having over 90 languages. French continued to be the MOI in tertiary education until the communist victory of 1975, when Lao (the L1 of just under half the population) became the exclusive MOI.

The general picture is that colonial languages have retained a prominent role as MOI in sub-Saharan Africa, and to a lesser extent in the Indian subcontinent, prime motivations being a concern for unity or for development, according to circumstance. Elsewhere, if colonial languages were perceived to be a threat to identity, whether cultural, or political, a national language generally became the MOI.

### Individual Academic Effects

In focusing on political goals, however, governments have severely neglected the role of language in the academic development of the child. The educationist view is typified by UNESCO's dictum: "[W]e take it as axiomatic that the best medium for teaching is the mother tongue of the pupil" (1953: 6). Although 'mother tongue' is a problematic term, because one language label may encompass different varieties, evidence abounds that the dominance of colonial languages in ex-colonies has contributed to

difficulties in the educational development of the individual.

The World Bank (1995), in a survey of bilingual programs in eight countries, concluded that “the first language is essential for the initial teaching of reading, and for comprehension of subject matter.” Greaney (1996: 24) claims, “Research findings suggest that initial instruction should be offered in a child’s first language.” Elley (1994) reporting on 32 countries, found that pupils whose home language differed from the school language performed less well on reading tests than those who were tested in their home language.

In Africa especially, the use of colonial languages as a MOI is associated with negative academic achievement, and there is ample evidence that most primary school pupils are not able to read adequately in English: at year 6 this is the case with around three-quarters of children in Zambia, and around two-thirds in Zimbabwe. Similar problems obtain in Zanzibar, Mauritius, and Namibia according to a series of UNESCO reports (see Ross, 1998). Even in countries such as Kenya, Malawi, and Nigeria, where local languages are often the MOI in the first years, their role is transitional, with the switch to English generally occurring between years 3 and 5. Inadequate English proficiency at the point of change is a serious problem: there are particularly large discrepancies between the students’ English vocabulary and the demands of English medium education. Weakness where the colonial language is an MOI is also widely reported outside Africa: examples include India and Pakistan (at tertiary level), the Philippines (secondary and tertiary), and Papua New Guinea (an ex-Australian colony where English is the universal MOI). Clearly, the students are not to be blamed for this: the majority get very little exposure to the colonial language outside school, particularly students in rural areas, and also girls, who may face domestic demands. Furthermore, in many countries, the rapid expansion of education following independence has meant that some teachers lack proficiency in the MOI.

Conversely, research suggests that using local languages as MOI enhances academic achievement: In the Nigerian Ife-Ife project, for example, Yoruba was used as an MOI for the first 6 years, with English as a subject, with positive results; in Tanzania, secondary school students taught in Swahili were said to have a cognitive advantage compared to those taught in English; in Mali, positive results are reported from mother tongue medium education rather than French (see Association for the Development of African Education, 1996). In Burundi, Eisemon *et al.* (1989) found that scores on a range of academic tests were significantly higher for students tested in Kirundi rather than in French.

## Conclusion

All the evidence is consistent with the commonsense view that learner proficiency in the MOI is an important factor – although not the only factor – in educational achievement. In those countries in which the colonial language has maintained a role as the MOI, the academic achievement of the majority of students has been adversely affected. The use of colonial languages at the primary level, which for many students is their only education, can be especially harmful. In effect, the colonial language is a barrier, rather than a bridge, to education. However, many families pay little heed to such realities, and see proficiency in colonial languages as the route to a salaried job. Such language ideologies coincide with government policies for unity and development through colonial languages; however, although using these languages has prevented national rifts based on language groups, it has exacerbated the divisions between those who have good access to colonial languages, typically the rich, and those who don’t, typically the poor. Meanwhile, development, especially in terms of poverty alleviation, is hampered by a shortage of appropriately educated citizens for whom colonial languages have been an obstacle to learning.

Although the problems are obvious, the solutions are less so. Switching the MOI from colonial languages to local language involves the expense of producing materials in local languages, and of reskilling teachers. Against this, there is the considerable economic waste of running education systems that are, partly because of colonial languages, ineffective. Again, although it is important for a country’s international relations and commerce to have some people competent in colonial languages, especially English, this could be achieved without using these languages as MOI for entire generations of students. Reducing the dominance of colonial languages, while simultaneously improving their teaching as subjects, offers a way forward for those countries that have yet to decolonize their education.

*See also:* Language Policy in Multilingual Educational Contexts; Nonstandard Language; Standard Language.

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## Internet and Language Education

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### History of the Internet

Computer power is 8000 times less expensive than it was 30 years ago. If we had similar progress in automotive technology today, you could buy a Lexus for about \$2. It would travel at the speed of sound and go about 600 miles on a thimble of gas (Wagschall, 1998).

In the space of scarcely a decade of widespread availability, the Internet has affected and even transformed many aspects of people's lives in the technologized world. To be sure, the basic structure of the Internet has existed since the 1960s, but it was not until the 1990s that it began to be used extensively by the general population, and not until the mid-1990s that schools started to use it for educational purposes (Keating and Hargitai, 1999).

Sometime around the early to mid-1990s was also the time that most educators started to receive e-mail service, either privately or through their institutions. The precise dates and degrees of availability vary widely from country to country and institution to institution, with countries such as Finland and the United States being early leaders, and universities and colleges having earlier and easier access than elementary or secondary schools. Most (if not all) educators have access to e-mail and to the Internet in industrialized countries, but also increasingly in the developing countries (see Warschauer, 2003). However, the degree, quality, and/or frequency of access still varies widely.

### The Internet as Classroom

The Internet has made it possible for institutions to offer courses and entire degree programs online, so that in the words of enthusiasts, the 'two-by-four-by-six' constraints of classroom instruction have been broken. This phrase, first used by Tiffin and Rajasingham (1995: 87), reverberated around the online learning conferences of the late 1990s to indicate how the Internet had managed to supersede the *two* covers of the textbook, the *four* walls of the classroom, and the *six* daily hours of (high school) instruction.

The first years of the Internet boom led to enthusiastic activity in setting up online classes, courses, and programs. A large number of universities started planning to offer online or distance degree programs.

In their 1997 guide to external degrees, Spille *et al.* (1997) listed 122 accredited universities in the United States that offered distance degrees.

In addition, several large consortia or 'virtual universities' sprang up in the United States, the three largest being California Virtual University (CVU), Western Governors University (WGU), and Southern Regional Electronic Campus (SREC). These were originally not universities offering actual courses or degrees, but they acted as brokerage institutions, with online catalogues, searchable databases, and multiple enrollment options. All had plans to establish corporate links and to offer information on corporate training providers. CVU was discontinued in 1999. WGU is now an accredited university and offers degrees in education, business, and information technology. However, its degrees are not universally recognized. SREC has now evolved into the SREB (Southern Regional Education Board) 'electronic campus,' in which a large number of southern colleges and universities in 15 states participate. Courses offered include some foreign language courses (about 30), but many of these are taught by videotape or audiotape, and are thus not truly online, i.e., Internet-based.

Other countries also have their online institutions or consortia, e.g., the Canadian Virtual University (CVU – not to be confused with the now-defunct California version) offers a rather extensive menu of foreign language courses. Similar to their U.S. counterparts, many of these are textbook plus video/audio-based, but some offer supplementary materials on the Internet. Other international institutions include the Erasmus Student Network in Europe, aimed at facilitating exchange programs and study abroad, CIEE (Council on International Educational Exchange), and many others.

When one looks at the actual mechanisms and materials that are used to offer 'online' language classes, one often finds that they operate with a traditional textbook, supplemented perhaps with a CD-ROM, video and/or audiotapes (all these purchased by the student, and sent by regular mail), with at times an online component. In other words, most 'online' courses are only in part online (and often minimally, or optionally). Thus, many courses are a mixture of traditional distance education practices (distributing materials by mail) and additional Internet and e-mail services. This may gradually shift toward more fully online technologies, as course management systems (CMS) become better (and more affordable) and as Internet technologies, such as voice over IP and streaming audio and video become more accessible.

Accessibility continues to be an important issue. While it is possible in most places now to get Internet access (if only in Internet Cafes, where an hour's access may be quite cheap by Western standards), in many countries access at home may be expensive, because even local calls may be charged per minute. Thus, a group of students in the United States communicating with a group of students in say, Japan, may encounter inequalities of access, not because of differences in equipment, but because of the cost of telephone bills. Massive expansion of broadband access (cable, DSL, etc.) will equalize access in many areas. However, there will remain vast areas of the globe, and numerous neighborhoods in even the most well-connected countries, where access continues to be difficult.

Online courses and programs receive mixed reviews. As mentioned above, initial enthusiasm was considerable, even though detractors have been equally vociferous. A scathing indictment was David Noble's *Digital diploma mills* (1998), which cited numerous ways in which online programs may shortchange students, cut corners, reduce the quality of education, and commercialize and commodify knowledge as merchandise bought and sold over the Internet.

The advantages and disadvantages of online learning are fairly predictable. Among the advantages are individualization, flexibility, and independence from time and space constraints (i.e., study when you want, where you want). Disadvantages include the lack of face-to-face interaction, technical problems, and dependence on self-motivation. Interestingly, instructor-student interaction, which one would expect to be less in online classes, is often reported to be in fact the opposite: students and instructors often report that they have in fact more and better interaction online than they would in the equivalent classroom setting (e.g., large undergraduate or high school classes, where individual attention is minimal). A final logistical problem of online courses can be the administration of official tests and exams at a distance (e.g., how to prevent cheating and how to arrange for proctoring).

A crucial requirement (perhaps *the* most crucial requirement) of a successful online course or program is the development of a (virtual) community of learning, a social context. An online 'space' must be created that fosters a sense of belonging and that encourages (and requires) learners to communicate with one another. Simple steps along the way may be for all learners to post personal bios and photographs, the use of chat rooms where learners can get to know each other (in small groups) informally, and the design of collaborative activities and projects. Several online environments have been

designed that encourage the development of such communities (e.g., Svensson, 2003), and clearly such three-dimensional, highly visual, and multi-modal virtual landscapes can be attractive for certain groups of students. As mentioned above, CMS are constantly becoming more versatile, integrating graphics, audio, video, animation, interactive games and quizzes, and more. Of course, the need for such bells and whistles varies with the type of student: Some will always prefer a more no-nonsense information and debate-based approach driven by professional goals and requirements.

## Research and Resources: The Internet as Tool

In language courses we rely on textbooks, dictionaries, and libraries; on exposure to the target language from a variety of sources; and of course on interaction with fellow students, teachers, and if possible other target-language speakers. What can the Internet offer to assist learners in their quest for language sources, resources, and guidance?

The Internet can serve as a useful tool for language learners, either in full online classes, or as supplements to regular classes (in so-called *hybrid* formats, which combine classes with online work) in these three ways: (1) information about languages and linguistics; (2) authentic language use and language samples; (3) opportunities for interaction. A fourth way, practice opportunities, will be discussed after these three, in the next section.

### Information about Languages and Linguistics

Let's say you want to check the vowel chart of Quechua. Before the mid-1990s, you would try to find a source on your shelves or in the library, or perhaps order books via Interlibrary Loan, and so on. Now you type the words *Quechua vowel chart* into one of the major search engines, and within a few seconds you are looking at the vowel chart (the accuracy being dependent upon the original source).

To give another example, perhaps you are citing a research paper, but you are missing a particular detail such as a page number or the author's initials. Instead of searching in libraries or hunting through your files to find the original or your notes, you now might find the information through an Internet search in a fraction of the time and effort: someone, somewhere will probably have a reading list posted that has the information you need.

As these examples show, the researcher, student, and teacher of language can find an enormous amount of information about language and languages on the Internet, although the quality of that

information will have to be evaluated on a case-by-case basis. A number of websites and portals, such as Ethnologue, the Yamada Language Center, Bob Peckham's Famous French Links, the AATG links for German, among many others (see 'Relevant Websites'), attempt to guide the visitor to particular categories of information and services (such as specialized language fonts) and in some cases evaluate or comment on the sites listed. In addition, there are a number of online journals on CALL (Computer-Assisted Language Learning), many of them free of charge.

In sum, the student of linguistics and of any particular language can find an abundance of information on the Internet. Language teachers can use the Internet to design research projects for their students, as well as to incorporate authentic texts (including audio and video) in class. As Internet technology advances, it becomes easier to obtain on-the-spot transcripts of video fragments, to find ready-made lesson notes for news clips, or to compile a list of online activities in grammar, vocabulary, and so on.

#### **Authentic Language Use and Language Samples**

Most language teachers and students agree that using authentic materials is beneficial for a number of reasons, especially if this can be accompanied by carefully designed activities and lesson plans. Finding suitable authentic materials can be quite difficult and time-consuming, of course, and here the Internet once again has a plethora of resources available. In some cases, teaching materials such as transcripts and prototype activities (as mentioned above) are made available on websites, but in most cases the teacher or student must decide how to evaluate, interpret, and deal with the materials found. Once again, as in examples mentioned above, the quality, veracity, or representativeness of the authentic language samples must be evaluated by the user.

A host of other potential issues may affect the use of authentic language samples from the Internet. Let's say a teacher of Chinese wants to use a video clip from a news broadcast in Chinese in tomorrow's lesson. This video clip may be available now on a news website, but there is no guarantee that it will still be there tomorrow. Furthermore, relying in class on accessing a live website has its risks: the site may be down, the local server may be down or suddenly slow down to a crawl, and so on. Therefore, the teacher may have to download the clip to the hard drive, but perhaps this is not allowed because of copyright restrictions, or space restrictions, or special software may be required. To use the resources available on the Internet at short notice, a number of prerequisites may apply. It is neither automatic nor risk-free.

A different, but no less thorny issue relating to the abundance of authentic materials available on the Internet in written form is the ease of cutting and pasting material into essays and writing projects. The ease of access to quotes and academic sources makes unattributed use of quotes easy. As in other areas, however, the Internet offers some solutions to the problems it has itself created: there are a number of excellent websites and services available to not only spot plagiarisms but also to discuss ways of preventing and dealing with it in foreign language writing classes.

#### **Opportunities for Interaction**

As mentioned earlier, by the mid-1990s, most academic institutions had begun providing e-mail access for faculty, staff, and students. In addition, increasing numbers of people began to have e-mail access from their home, first by modem, then by cable, DSL, or other broadband connections. In some countries adult access to e-mail is as high as 90% (for example, in the United Kingdom, Australia, and The Netherlands, according to a 2002 Nielsen Ratings survey). Chat and instant messaging (IM) are less ubiquitous, yet in some countries (e.g., Brazil and Spain) more than 40% of adults were reported to use it. In addition, young adults in the United States now report that they hardly use e-mail anymore (except to communicate with parents and teachers Thorne, 2003); but use IM most of the time that they are online (which can literally be 24 hours a day in the United States where there are generally no time limits). Many young people routinely have several windows open in which they communicate with several friends separately and simultaneously, while also listening to music and claiming to be doing their homework. If this is true, and if the homework indeed gets done satisfactorily, then the Internet has truly brought multitasking to the younger generations, too.

The effect of various forms of online interaction in language learning have not yet been fully investigated, although a number of studies have been conducted. Lamy and Goodfellow (1999) compared asynchronous (e-mail or discussion list) and synchronous (chat) communication in an online French class, and they found that asynchronous communication was particularly well suited for language learning, because it allows for a combination of reflective and conversation-like language use. Thorne (2003) found that students required to participate in asynchronous online learning were relatively unmotivated until they discovered IM connections with their counterparts abroad; through IM they started getting to know them, and this also involved



flirtatious and romantic encounters online. What it really means for online language learning remains unclear at this point. The slower, more monitored medium of e-mail and threaded discussion allows the learner to focus more on accurate and edited language use (Lamy and Goodfellow, 1999), whereas the more spontaneous medium of IM is generally quite tolerant of errors, but places a high premium on effective communication of interpersonal meanings. It will clearly take significant longitudinal research efforts to establish the learning potential of the various modes of Internet interaction.

### Activities: The Internet as Tutor

Ever since the Internet became popular for language learning in the mid-1990s, enterprising teachers have been putting up language activities, quizzes, and games. During the first few years, most online activities were actually a step back (pedagogically speaking) from the sorts of things teachers had been doing with actual software (such as Hypercard) since the 1980s. Online activities tended to be fairly mechanical, often based on blank-filling or multiple choice, with little meaningful feedback. The design challenges were considerable, but the technologies were not versatile and only minimally interactive. New web design technologies and advances in speed of access, audio and video compression, and more powerful web browsers have resulted in a greater variety of online language practice opportunities. These now include listening comprehension based on audio and video clips, animated writing tutorials for Japanese and Chinese, drag-and-drop vocabulary and phrase matching, and many others. In addition, feedback may be individually tailored, so that the level of the activity is adjusted in accordance with the responses of the student (e.g., Jim Cummins's 'e-lective' reading program).

In addition to activities designed for individual practice, the Internet also offers opportunities for collaborative work. Examples include the following:

- *WebQuests* – inquiry-oriented group projects (designed by Bernie Dodge of San Diego State University) that use Internet resources to investigate particular topics. Free websites exist (especially Dodge's original WebQuest page at SDSU) that facilitate the design of such projects as well as the sharing of results, e.g., in the form of final presentations.
- *Concordancing* – A concordance program searches texts or corpora of texts for certain words, word combinations, or phrases in context, making it an ideal tool for collaborative investigations

of vocabulary, grammar, or idiom usage. Sample concordance and corpus websites exist for a number of languages; in addition, the major search engines can also be used as concordancers of sorts: Typing in a particular word or string will bring up many examples of the particular items in question, which can then be investigated by students in groups and reported on. A large set of links and resources, as well as pedagogical advice, can be found on the website of Michael Barlow.

- *Project Poster* – A nonprofit web-based service that allows students and classes to quickly put together some text and images in the form of a simple website that can then be used for class presentations.

There are many other resources available on the Internet that can be used for students working in groups to engage in project-based learning. As one further example, the University of Iowa has an excellent website for phonology and pronunciation in English and Spanish, with animated diagrams and video clips of articulation. Language learners can use this website (and many others on a variety of language topics) to investigate, discuss, and practice aspects of pronunciation.

### Equality, Democracy, and the Internet

In various places above I have alluded to certain inequalities in access to and the use of technology in education. Such inequalities have generally been referred to as the "digital divide" (Warschauer, 2003). In the early days of technology use in education, there was a clear division between the traditional haves and have-nots in society in terms of hardware, software, and access. Thus, in the United States, affluent suburban schools were the first ones to get computers and Internet access, whereas inner city and rural schools were left behind. There was a fear that poor schools and minorities would once again miss out on equal opportunities for learning with the new technologies. As a result, a strong push was made in the United States to ensure that the digital divide would be bridged. Special programs were set up to provide disadvantaged schools and areas with heavily discounted computers and connections. One such program, initiated during the Clinton-Gore administration, is E-Rate, which provides broadband connections and equipment to underserved districts and schools at discounts of up to 90%. In addition, many grant proposal requests encourage (or require) the inclusion of technology in educational project proposals, thus allowing grant recipients to beef up the technological infrastructure of their institutions.

In the early years the Internet was heavily English-dominated. It was hard to find websites in other languages, and in fact the technologies to use scripts other than Roman (non-alphabetic, or so called 'double-byte' scripts such as Japanese and Korean, or right-to-left scripts such as Arabic and Hebrew) were primitive. But a common standard, Unicode, has become widespread, and this technology enables the encoding of any writing system. A related issue has been the worry that the English-dominated Internet would contribute to the increasing marginalization (and extinction) of minority languages. However, as Warschauer shows, the variety of websites in languages other than English has increased significantly. In 1997, 81% of websites were written in English, but in 2000 this percentage had dropped to 68% (Warschauer, 2003: 96). In addition, many websites are bilingual or multilingual, and online translation tools, such as Babelfish, exist that can automatically translate a website into another language (imperfectly, but in most cases comprehensibly).

According to *Technology counts* (2004), availability of computers and access to the Internet are now much improved in the United States, with just a few percentage points separating richer and poorer schools in terms of number of students per computer, and number of classrooms connected to the Internet.

Internationally, there are still vast discrepancies from country to country as well as from region to region within countries (this summary is based on data in *Technology Counts*, 2004). In Europe, Finland, Sweden, and Austria are among the leaders in school computer use, whereas France, Germany, and Italy have less access and connectivity. In Africa, many countries have few computers in schools, with South Africa and Egypt standing out as having respectively about 17.5% and 31% of schools equipped with computers. Asian countries also vary greatly in terms of access. Both South Korea and Japan have made enormous efforts to get computers into every classroom. Poorer countries such as Mongolia, Vietnam, and Laos are much farther behind. A similar situation pertains in Latin America, with Chile ahead of all other countries, and the poorer countries such as Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru (as well as most Central American countries) lagging far behind.

However, these numbers, interesting though they may be, do not tell the whole story. Number of students per computer or number of classrooms connected to the Internet tells us little or nothing about the quality of their use in education. It goes without saying that technology can be used well or badly, efficiently or wastefully, productively or destructively, innovatively or mind-numbingly. And

from this perspective, comparing the amount or even sophistication of technology across places and schools is of limited interest. Much more important is a comparison of what is done with the technology, and here reliable data are extremely hard to come by. Yet, there are numerous reports of vast differences in the pedagogical aspects of technology use between rich (middle-class, suburban) schools and poor (rural, inner-city, high-immigrant) schools. In the former you tend to see more open-ended applications, web and graphic design programs, and students engaged in creative projects. In the latter, you tend to see students working on so-called 'integrated learning systems' or a variety of basically 'drill-and-kill' CD-ROM programs, essentially lock-step language practice without much imagination or creativity involved. In the former, you tend to see more group work in an open classroom setting, in the latter it is more likely to be individual work in a computer lab or in a corner of the classroom. Thus, the digital divide may be perpetuated even if inequalities of equipment and connectivity are overcome, because of the lack of training of teachers and students with the technology and its creative use and because of a lack of upgrading of the curriculum.

There are a number of things that need to be done to overcome this second, far more insidious educational inequality. The first is teacher education. It has often been recommended that at least one-third of a technology budget should be spent on teacher professional preparation and inservice development. This recommendation is rarely if ever followed in practice. In most cases, once the equipment and software, and the building and wiring of labs are paid for, little money (if any) is left over for teacher training. The few workshops available (often offered by vendors) tend to be shallow and cursory, technology-oriented rather than pedagogy-oriented, and scarcely address the integration of technology into a meaningful and challenging curriculum. Even in CALL conferences, a majority of presentations focus on new technologies and innovations, rather than on solid classroom practices.

Now that many countries (India, South Africa, Brazil, South Korea, Japan, and so on) are engaged in a major push to make computers available in every classroom, early signs are once again that the issue of integrating technology into the curriculum is largely ignored or at best neglected. Unless a consistent policy is established of putting teacher training and curriculum development *before* computer purchasing and infrastructure (in budgeting terms), these countries will find that, to quote Larry Cuban's conclusion from surveys in the famed Silicon Valley, computers are "oversold and underused" (not to say,

“misused,” too). The following quote from Phil Agre expresses the dilemma well:

It is extraordinarily common for organizations to invest large sums in complex computers without any investment in training. Schools often invest their scarce resources in computers without any thought to the curriculum. In some cases, the responsible authorities are duped by claims that the systems are easy to use. In other cases, it is assumed that computers will pay for themselves by displacing staff, and therefore further investments in human capital seem like the opposite of that intention. In each case, what is neglected is what Kling (1992) calls the web of relationships around the computer. Computers are easy to see, but webs are not. (Agre, 1999)

Unless the issues of teacher preparation and curriculum development are addressed in an energetic fashion, inequalities in the innovative, equitable, and responsible use of technologies will persist regardless of how many work stations, applications, wires, or wireless networks schools are bombarded with.

## Future

The future of technology in language education is like the opening paragraph of Dickens's *Tale of two cities*: “It was the best of times, it was the worst of times . . .” The trend can go in either direction, the crucial element being what is to come first: quality of pedagogy and curriculum or the latest, fastest, glitziest hardware, software, and connectivity? As an educator with a long-standing interest in technology, I can only sustain a belief in its beneficial effects if I think that it can improve the quality of the educational experience of our students. I can only defend this belief because I have kept this mantra firmly in mind over many years:

- Pedagogy first
- Curriculum second
- Computers third.

In the end, it is up to the teacher and the student to define the role of technology in learning. There are many exciting examples of good and creative work already available, and surely many more to come, especially if teachers and students demand them and actively participate in their development. At the same time, there are strong commercial and administrative forces that will always try to tug the development toward more mechanical, mass-produced, test-oriented functions. It is important to realize the dynamics of instruction both at the micro and the macro levels, so that effective action can be promoted.

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- <http://amsterdam.nettime.org> – Amsterdam.
- <http://babel.uoregon.edu> – Babel.
- <http://www.digitaldividenetwork.org/> – Digital Divide Network.
- <http://www.ethnologue.org> – Ethnologue.
- <http://grow.aatg.org/index.html> – American Association of Teachers of German.

## Language Awareness

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The constitution of the Association for Language Awareness (ALA) defines LA as ‘explicit knowledge about language and conscious perception and sensitivity in language learning, language teaching and language use.’ Hence, LA has always extended into many areas, including translation (Bowker, 1999) and literature (Carter, 1999). Here we focus, first, on what is normally regarded as ‘grassroots’ and ‘classroom’ LA, centered on language learning and teaching, and, second, on pertinent broader social and applied contexts of language use, social attitudes, etc., and on some of the implications of globalization.

LA is generally seen as emerging in the 1970s, in the writings of Halliday (1971), and with the recommendations of the Bullock Report (DES, 1975) in the United Kingdom, drawing attention to underachievement in L2s in British schools. Some more enterprising teachers were soon independently establishing local projects to increase pupils’ knowledge of languages and language. Cameron (1993) refers to three types of LA program at this time: for pupils about to start L2 learning, for pupils in multilingual/multicultural classrooms, and as prelinguistics courses for pupils in higher classes. The National Council for Language in Education (NCLE) working parties (1978) and conferences (1981, 1985) brought valuable institutional support to these grassroots initiatives, and Hawkins (e.g., 1984) added an enduring theoretical framework, with proposals for LA as a ‘bridge’ between mother tongue L1 and L2 education, and between primary and secondary education, and also with broader social objectives, such as parenting. Further impetus came in 1989 with a British Association for Applied Linguistics Seminar on LA (an event organized to bring together language practitioners using the term for different purposes in a range of contexts), and in 1992 with the First International Conference on LA, at which the ALA and its journal *Language Awareness* were launched. ALA conferences have followed biennially at venues in the United Kingdom and overseas (to date, Canada, Ireland, Sweden, France, and Spain).

LA often has been identified with the United Kingdom, as above, but equivalent projects are increasingly found elsewhere. EU-funded projects involving networks across several countries have been particularly impressive – for example, the primary-school focused Evlang – ‘l’éveil aux langues’ project (Candelier, 1998). Labels used to translate LA

have occasionally aroused debate, as they can carry subtle distinctions, even within a single context (e.g., Gnutzmann’s [1997] list of German terms). Related English terms include *consciousness-raising* (CR) and *Knowledge about Language* (KAL). James (1996) proposes reserving CR for the identification of discrepancies between present knowledge and target knowledge, and employing LA for the metacognition of knowledge that one already possesses without previously realizing one had it. KAL has been employed in some U.K. government reports. Cameron (1993) points to the different origins of KAL and LA, and the confusion arising from assuming synonymy. These two terms in particular reflect the LA debate around the role of explicit learning and explicit knowledge in language learning.

LA is associated with discovery-focused pedagogy. Often, learners engage in small-scale investigations requiring reflection or talk about how languages work, how they are learnt, and how they themselves can best focus their own learning. Hence, the development of metalanguage (e.g., Jaworski *et al.*, 2004; Berry, 2005), awareness of strategies of learning and communication, critical evaluation of the process of language learning (e.g., Garrett and Shortall, 2002), and working toward more autonomy in learning and use (Little, 1997) also feature. Reflective approaches are extended to language teacher education (e.g., Wright and Bolitho, 1993; Walsh, 2003), and also teacher development. Hence, projects bridging ‘the space between’ English and Modern Foreign Language teachers have involved the teachers sharing reflections on their different perspectives and experiences (Pomphrey and Moger, 1999; Turner and Turvey, 2002).

Benefits attributed to LA are viewed across five broad and overlapping dimensions: performance, cognitive, affective, social, and power (James and Garrett, 1991). The performance dimension concerns whether knowledge gained from greater awareness of language facilitates improved language use and learning. The cognitive dimension relates LA to an ‘awareness of pattern, contrast, system, units, categories, rules of language’ (Donmall, 1985: 7), and to the development of an ‘analytic competence’ that extends beyond language learning: a role Hawkins (1984) suggests might earlier have been fulfilled by learning Latin. The affective dimension is usually considered in terms of attitudes, motivation and curiosity accruing from LA. Hawkins’s proposal for LA as a bridging subject to address poor achievement is directed as much at this dimension as the performance one. The social dimension is generally



seen in terms of social harmonization in contexts of language diversity, and of building better relations between ethnic groups. The power dimension aims at increased sensitivity and empowerment to counter the manipulative and oppressive use of language, and to understand and counter language ideology. LA work with its prime focus on this dimension is usually referred to as Critical LA (Fairclough, 1999). It will be clear that the success or failure of LA work, in terms of both short-term and more enduring impacts, needs to be judged on these dimensions. We now turn to consider LA in the wider social context, where the last three dimensions in particular feature strongly.

Although some LA projects in schools aim at changing attitudes toward languages and their speakers, other work has studied the broader social backdrop of attitudes and stereotypes itself. Whereas some of this survey work has drawn its data from teachers and students (e.g., Garrett *et al.*, 2003, in Wales; Lochtman *et al.*, 2004, in Brussels), other work has studied the views of nonlinguists generally, arguing (*inter alia*): '... the undeniable importance it has in the language professional's interaction with the public' (Preston, 1996: 72). LA-relevant work also has focused on specific contemporary issues in which language and communication can play a crucial role, from designing teaching programs to counter physician-patient communication barriers in HIV/AIDS medical interviews (Siny and Guex, 1997), and (to extend LA to communication and discourse awareness) understanding the communication complexities of HIV/AIDS campaigns (e.g., Perloff, 2001), to attitudinal studies of ageism in communication, and of 'good communication' between generations (e.g., Williams *et al.*, 2004).

Cameron (2000) has linked this general contemporary concern with 'good communication' with processes of globalization, which is increasingly referred to in other recent LA work. Some concerns itself with the increasing mobility of large numbers of people and the impact on language choice and use, the values attached to them, and social identities, whether they are tourists (Jaworski *et al.*, 2003), or recently immigrated communities (Yelenevskaya and Fialkova, 2003, in Israel) or their children who have grown up in the new community (Jørgensen and Quist, 2001, in Denmark), or people returning to visit locations of earlier family generations (Wray *et al.*, 2003, in Wales). Other work has explored the implications of the claim that, with the weakening of traditional social distinctions of class, sex, and age under globalization, traditional language situations and notions of standard language varieties have come under attack. Kristiansen (2001), for example, finds attitudinal evidence of a splitting in two of Standard Danish, with a

standard emerging for the media that differs from that valued in the educational system. But globalization also is viewed in terms of the commodification of discourse, the increasing marketization in our lives and institutions, including education, and of how our increasingly knowledge-based societies impact not only on our jobs but also on our personal relationships and identities across the lifespan. LA has a challenging role to play in such globalization processes, to better prepare us for pursuing our social identities, and for resisting organizational incursions into our everyday lives. To this end, Fairclough (1999) has argued the importance of promoting educational programs in critical discourse awareness.

*See also:* Bilingualism and Second Language Learning; Correctness and Purism; Educational Linguistics; Foreign Language Teaching Policy; Immigrant Languages; Language Policy in Multilingual Educational Contexts; Minority Language Education; Motivation and Attitudes in Second Language Learning; Multilingual Societies and Language Education; Nonnative Speaker Teachers; Non-standard Language; Second and Foreign Language Learning and Teaching; Standard Language; Traditions in Second Language Teaching.

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# Language Education of the Deaf

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Deafness has always existed, and for the last 240 years, it has merited the attention of formal education. According to Samuel Johnson in 1775, the problems were already solved.

... in Edinburgh ... a college of the deaf and dumb, who are taught to speak ... . The improvement of Mr. Braidwood's pupils is wonderful. They not only speak, write, and understand what is written but if he that speaks looks towards them and modifies his organs by distinct and full utterance, they know so well what is spoken that ... they hear with the eye (Johnson, 1775: 143–144).

In that statement, we have the whole of the mystery that has pervaded deaf education since Mr. Johnson's visit to Scotland. How is it that some deaf children appear to learn to speak, lip-read, read, and write, and the remainder, the majority, have stubbornly refused to respond to the efforts of educators? It was, and remains, a matter of schism, doctrine, and even deception concerning the methods and outcomes of the process through which deaf children pass.

One variable in the equation is hearing loss. It was not until the 1920s that hearing loss was reliably measured. Prior to that, deaf children were mixed with partially hearing children and with children who became deaf after the age when they had learned to speak. It was relatively easy to convince benefactors that a child's competence was the result of treatment in school.

A second variable is the nature of the schooling. At first, deaf children boarded at school, and later in cities they could be day pupils. By the late 1940s, there were special units set up in mainstream schools to cater to those children who were partially hearing. Latterly, on the bandwagon of civil rights and a general philosophy of integration, deaf children were placed directly in mainstream schools, sometimes alone, but supported by the provision of aids to hearing and by a visiting teacher.

A third variable is the use of hearing aids. Although widely available since the 1950s in most developed countries, they are relatively rare in developing countries. By early detection and application of hearing aids, many children deemed deaf in the past are now seen as partially hearing and are able to interact with hearing peers in a mainstream school. A more sophisticated and more effective version of hearing aid is the cochlear implant, an operation to implant a device in the inner ear to restore hearing.

A fourth variable, though insufficiently understood, is parental involvement. As with all human special needs areas, the extent to which the parents show an interest, offer home tuition, and are in a position financially to support the child's special needs, tends to create greater or lesser level of achievement.

In all cases, claims are made that attention to these variables will eradicate the problem of deafness. This has gradually narrowed the problem from being defined as comprising all those with a hearing loss to those who are deaf from infancy, in the provision of special education. The deaf population has 'changed' since 1775.

## Methods

In the absence of medical or technical solutions, education has sought remedies of its own. These have succeeded in polarizing the field for more than 200 years and in leaving deaf children with poor levels of achievement and language performance (Binet, 1910; Conrad, 1979; Powers *et al.*, 1998).

The German Method, in evidence in the late 18th century, emphasized the teaching of speech to the exclusion of gesture or signing. Teachers spoke to the deaf children and forbade them to sign. It became the oral method which dominated deaf education for nearly 200 years.

The French Method adapted the natural signing of deaf people to 'methodize' the sentence construction so that it might better reflect written and spoken French. Deaf children were allowed to sign to each other (something forbidden by the oral method), and their natural language communication was valued. American educational practice was greatly influenced by the French Method, and this was later to evolve into Total Communication (Denton, 1976) – a formal use of speaking, signing, and signed speech.

The British (or combined) Method, which Johnson saw, was primarily oral but used finger-spelling and allowed the children to sign out of class. By the late 19th century, this method had all but disappeared, as deaf teachers were removed by the change toward professionalization of teaching and the rise to dominance of a medically inspired, teacher training program in Manchester. For most of the 20th century, Europe used the oral method.

## Natural Language of Deaf Children

However, in the 1970s, on the basis of linguistic research in the United States and Europe, sign *language* began to be described, and deaf culture began

to be promoted by deaf people, by professionals, and then by hearing parents. Teachers began to teach through sign language and to create a bilingual framework.

First noted as early as 1644 in England, signed languages have now been identified and described in nearly every country in the world (Klima and Bellugi, 1979; Kyle and Woll, 1985; Schulmeister and Reinitzer, 2002 – see **Sign Languages of the world** (00243)). Sign languages are learned naturally in families with deaf parents (about 6% of all cases of childhood deafness). What became apparent was their complexity, flexibility, their ease of acquisition among deaf children in deaf families, and their potential for deployment in family intervention and education (Johnson *et al.*, 1989).

## The Situation Today

### Oral Approaches

There continues to be considerable debate on the methods for teaching deaf children. Surprisingly, perhaps, given the extent of problems reported by deaf people themselves (Lane *et al.*, 1996), oral education continues to be applied in many schools in most parts of the world. This is a function of the naturalness of native language use by the hearing educators and parents, and of the priority to normalize the child. The method has evolved from the former speech training exercises, drills, and compulsion to talk, toward a natural or aural method where emphasis is placed on hearing and communication. Watson (1998) says "... it is assumed that deaf children can utilise their hearing via hearing aids in order to develop the sounds of speech" (Watson, 1998: 72).

The system relies on early detection of hearing loss (preferably at birth) and the immediate provision of hearing aids, and then the monitoring of their use. It requires preschool programs and support systems usually found only in the developed world. It is said to require a considerable commitment from parents who have the primary responsibility to continue to provide speech experiences to the child even in the face of slow development (which is considered the norm). The advantage of the approach is that it allows a denial of deafness and assertion of the child's normality – because the primary aim is to make the child function in speech, reading, and writing as a hearing person – as Johnson originally described.

### Total Communication (TC)

Typically this approach involves teachers who speak and sign simultaneously (Baker and Knight, 1998),

even though the purists would argue that sign language (with its own grammatical structure) should be used alongside speaking and writing). Initially, this required the construction of artificial signs in order to allow the precise mapping of speech – i.e., sign language was thought to be limited in vocabulary. This remains a concern for hearing educators, and often there are committees set up to devise new signs for use in TC programs. Simultaneous communication requires that the teacher is able to sign all elements of words as they are spoken. Not only is this considered to affect the signing (i.e., to make it unintelligible), it is also claimed to affect the speech production of the teacher (Hyde *et al.*, 1998).

Because of the dominance of the oral approach, often deaf children arrive in TC programs later than is ideal and commonly as oral failures (this may even be claimed as a natural application of the oral approach whereby, if the children do not succeed, they still have the choice of a signing program later (Watson, 1998)). Teachers have to learn the signed *method* (although this often does not require learning of the signed *language* – only the signed speech variant).

For these reasons, TC programs in developed countries tend to have shifted toward bilingualism, which is now a major development area in deaf education worldwide.

### Sign Bilingualism

Instead of concentrating solely on the child's spoken language development, bilingual approaches emphasize the early mastery of sign language, while ensuring that the child has access to the spoken, heard, and written language of the society. This usually involves parents learning to sign, the presence of deaf role models, and contact with the deaf community (Young, 1999). At school, it involves policies to ensure equality of status of the two languages, curriculum access through and assessment in sign language as well as the written language, and staff training in sign language (Pickersgill, 1998). The underpinning of the approach is the extensive literature which supports bilingual education worldwide (Cummins, 2000).

For these programs to be effective, there has to be a shift in perception of the child from 'hearing-impaired' to 'culturally deaf' and thereby different from the parents and other family members. Advanced programs exist in Sweden (Ahlgren, 1990), in Denmark (Hansen, 1990), and there are descriptions of programs in Italy (Volterra, 1990), in Holland (Knoors, 1995), in the United States (Nover and Andrews, 1998), in Russia (Komarova, 1998), in Latin America (Skliar, 1997), and in China (Calloway, 2000).



Advantages in the programs are seen to be that they offer a major break from the approaches used in deaf education for 200 years and for the first time emphasize sign language information and the cultural experience of the child, that they provide a natural language framework, and that they are theoretically sound being based on extensive work on bilingual education in the spoken language field.

### Do the Methods Work?

Most proponents of these approaches tend to shift uncomfortably in the glare of research analysis, and in reality it is difficult to answer the question of effectiveness directly. A thorough review of deaf achievement by Powers, Gregory, and Thoutenhoofd (1998) found flaws in nearly all of the published research studies in this area. As with all educational research, the true results cannot be determined until many years after program implementation. Bilingual approaches are in the early stages of development. What is significant, however, is that for the first time, the deaf community is involved and deaf people are employed in preschool programs and in schools. Their native experience of learning and their knowledge of the visual world are extremely important in the education of the deaf child.

Typically, national examinations of deaf children at the end of their schooling show major problems in achievements in speech, lip-reading, and reading. However, even in oral programs, deaf children become fluent in sign language (even where there have been measures taken to prevent this). It would seem obvious that because education focuses on learning, the most effective language (i.e., sign language) should be used as a primary tool and that mastery of signed and then, spoken/written languages should be the priority.

See also: Bilingual Education.

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# Languages in Tertiary Education

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## Languages as Medium of Tertiary-Level Teaching: Overview

Of the some 6000 languages presently spoken worldwide ('living' languages), only a small fraction serve as the medium of teaching on the tertiary level, i.e., for tertiary-level teaching. More are used for secondary-level teaching, and a still larger portion for primary-level teaching. The number of languages that are studied as teaching subjects (as opposed to medium) is even greater, with probably larger numbers on the tertiary than on the lower educational levels. The teaching subjects comprise many of the living as well as some of the 'dead' languages, if one includes teaching for small groups of linguistic experts around the world. For a language to function as a tertiary-level medium requires its sufficient modernization (*Ausbau* – cf. Kloss, 1978: 37–60), especially availability of adequate terminology and texts, which in turn depends on the language's history and its community's technical advancement, economic strength and linguistic resolution.

A reasonably reliable source (Salzman, 2002) mentions, in its extensive (though incomplete) country-by-country list of tertiary institutions, 82 languages altogether for teaching on the tertiary level, of which 39 are used in more than one country. **Table 1** lists those 13 languages that are used in three or more countries with the number of countries given in each case. None of them is the sole tertiary medium in each single one of these countries but sometimes used only for special subjects or study programs. However, no less than 41 languages, i.e., half of the entire list,

**Table 1** Languages used for tertiary-level teaching in three or more countries

Language	Number of countries
English	103
French	42
Arabic	23
Spanish	18
German	15
Russian	10
Dutch	6
Portuguese	5
Chinese	5
Japanese	3
Italian	3
Armenian	3
Turkish	3

appear to be the sole tertiary medium in at least one country; but figures have to be taken with caution because of the incompleteness of data. The rest, again 41 languages, function only as the co-medium, presumably only for a limited range of scholarly or scientific fields. Some of the languages excluded from may, however, be used more regularly and in more scientific or scholarly fields than some of those listed in the table.

## Official Language and Medium of Teaching

All of the 82 languages functioning as the medium of teaching on the tertiary level are the official language of some country, mostly even the national official language. A few are only regional official languages, notably in India (Assamese, Dogri, Gujarati, Kannada, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Sindhi, Telugu), Russia (Chuvash, Komi, Tatar, Yakut), and Spain (Basque, Catalan [also Valencian], Galician). Not all the national official languages of countries function as the tertiary-level teaching medium, not to speak of the regional official languages. Those excluded are typically the languages of small communities on the one hand, whose members are, at the same time, bilingual in the language of a larger community, e.g., not Luxemburgish (Luxemburg) or Romansch (Switzerland). Thus, the speakers of Luxemburgish or Romansch are at the same time bilingual in French or German, through which they have access to tertiary education. A somewhat different case, on the other hand, includes the indigenous national languages of former colonial countries, which play no or only a marginal role alongside the former colonial languages which remain the main tertiary teaching medium, especially in anglophone and francophone Africa (cf. Ridge, 1999), but partially also in the Arabic-speaking countries (cf. Suleiman, 1999) and some Asian countries (for Malaysia, e.g., Kaur Gill, 2002: 103–118). It seems, however, safe to assume, that all nationally or regionally official languages are subjects of teaching (at least subjects of choice) on the tertiary level of their countries.

## Differences According to Disciplines and Levels of Teaching

It is a well-known fact that the number of languages for teaching natural sciences is more limited than for teaching the humanities (cf. Kloss, 1978: 46–55). Especially for graduate science courses, comprehensive teaching materials are only available in a small number of languages, while oral teaching extends to more languages. Rigorously speaking, English may even be the only 'fully equipped' language today.

From a less rigorous viewpoint, the languages for which reasonably comprehensive graduate science teaching materials are available are roughly those listed in Table 1, with some of them less equipped than others (Armenian, Arabic, Turkish) and a few even better equipped than some of those included in the table (e.g., Hebrew, Hungarian, Polish, Swedish). Advanced science teaching materials can, as a rule, only be produced by language communities, or countries, who themselves play a notable role in science research and who have a tradition to do so as well as an adequately modernized language. Otherwise, they have to make do with a 'foreign' language.

In the humanities and, to some extent, in the social sciences, a greater number of languages are employed for tertiary-level teaching than in the natural sciences. Here it is more likely for language communities, or countries, to use their own nationally or regionally official languages for various reasons: topics seem to be more immediately relevant for their own national identity and their own language community, and a respectable level of research seems to be easier, or less costly, to achieve than in the 'hard' sciences, which is why advanced teaching can interact quite directly with their ongoing own research.

### Recent Changes in the Role of English

Until a couple of decennia ago, countries such as France, Germany, Italy, and Japan offered all tertiary-level teaching, even in the natural sciences, in their own languages. This has, however, changed in recent years, with English being introduced as an additional language in all of these countries at least at some institutions and for special programs (cf. Ammon and McConnell, 2002, for European countries). It seems safe to say that nowadays all the non-English-speaking countries make at least some use of English for tertiary-level teaching, especially in the natural sciences and modern technologies but also, to a lesser extent, in the social sciences including economics. There are several reasons for this spread of English. One is intensification of global science communication that favors the use of one single language, naturally the one most widespread and used by the scientifically leading country (the United States). Most countries are eager to equip their own academics and students with skills in this language, which appear indispensable for successful global communication (cf. Crystal, 1997). Another reason for the introduction of English-medium teaching on the tertiary level is competition on the international academic market, especially the craving for foreign students and scientists or scholars (Van Parijs, 2000). The English-speaking countries reap huge benefits

from the preference of internationally mobile academics, not only in terms of money (e.g., tuition fees; cf. Kaplan, 2001) but also in terms of international connections including spread of own values and ideology. A major reason why they win the lion's share in this market is the English language, in which most academics or students have acquired skills in school and which they would like to further improve rather than acquiring skills in another foreign language. Countries such as France or Germany have reasons to believe that insistence on their own language would keep foreign academics and students out, which is why they started to introduce English for tertiary-level teaching. Their scientists and, to a lesser extent, their scholars have shifted to English as their preferred language of publication years ago (cf. Ammon, 1998).

It should be stressed that none of these countries plans to completely shift to English for tertiary-level teaching. On the contrary, official policies aim at containing English at the level of merely an additional language and at maintaining the local language as the primary teaching medium. Otherwise, fears are, foreign language studies and prestige of the local tongue would suffer. The possibility of studying in France or Germany still is considered an important motive for studying French or German as a foreign language. On the face of it, official policies try to prevent English from completely replacing the local language and becoming the sole tertiary teaching medium. These policies aim at limiting the function of English to improving the local academics' and students' skills in the language and to opening up tertiary institutions for English-speaking foreigners. Once the latter have entered, they are expected to learn the local language, too, and, in the course of time, to do part of their studies in it. As long as skills in the local language remain a requirement for successful studies, it appears worthwhile studying the language abroad, before entering the country, to avoid the burden of extra language learning alongside regular studies. Thus, negative effects of introducing English as a tertiary teaching medium on the departments of French or German abroad could perhaps be kept at bay. As much as such attempts appear in line with the country's own interests, officials are shy to rigorously insist on (for fear of being criticized of national selfishness), which is one of the reasons, among perhaps weightier others, why programs with English as the sole teaching medium tend to spread.

### Problems and Attempts at Alleviation

Countries such as France, Germany, and Japan fear that the use of English as their tertiary teaching medium might accelerate decline of studies of their

own language and, thus, to lose an important channel of their international relationships. They also tend to see it as a threat to their national identity, for which their own language is an important symbol. As a countermeasure they try, besides stabilizing their own language at home (cf. section 4), to establish own-language study programs abroad. Successful endeavors of this kind partially explain why languages such as French, German or Japanese function as the tertiary-teaching medium beyond the countries where they have official status. English often still remains, in fact, the preferred medium of teaching at tertiary institutes financed by non-English-speaking countries abroad, which have to be content with teaching their own language alongside English-medium studies, as, for example, at the German University in Cairo.

Whether introducing English as a tertiary-level teaching medium has, in the long run, more advantages or disadvantages for countries such as France, Germany, and Japan, is a question difficult to answer. The resulting better skills in English could very well help to break, in the long run, the often bewailed Anglo-Saxon monopoly of access to the most advanced scientific knowledge and publication channels (cf., e.g., Durand, 2001). A thorough success seems, however, only possible if the non-English-speaking countries could establish their forms of English, or 'Globalish' (cf. Ammon, 2003), as linguistically equivalent to native-speaker English. The home-school language gap (cf., e.g., MacLure, 1999) is usually less of a serious problem on tertiary than on lower educational levels, as it can be softened through preparatory language teaching at the lower levels.

### Foreign Language Requirements

A final remark seems in order on foreign language requirements for tertiary-level studies. They have, or are believed to have, various functions, a particularly important one of which is providing access to the literature or culture relevant for the subject of study. Thus, students of European or of Asian history are often required to study Latin or Greek or, respectively, Chinese or Sanskrit. Also, science students worldwide are required to study English nowadays. Conversely and conspicuously, foreign language requirements were abolished at American universities in the 1960s (controversially discussed in several contributions to *Science*, e.g., Ross and Shilling, 1966; Hartmann, 1967), although abolition was not complete: foreign language studies keep being required for certain subjects at most universities. But Ph.D.s in science including medicine can now be acquired without the knowledge of any foreign language at many American universities.

This of course forces scientists of another linguistic background to use English for contacts with their American colleagues. It is, finally, the unequal power of language communities that determines language choice in science, in research as well as in teaching.

*See also:* Education in a Former Colonial Language; Foreign Language Teaching Policy; Languages of Wider Communication; Lingua Francas as Second Languages; Linguistic Imperialism; Second and Foreign Language Learning and Teaching.

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## Minority Language Education

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### Definitions and Purposes

Minority language education is here defined as the school's use of a language (or languages) spoken by students whose heritage language differs from that of the more powerful members of society who usually exercise the most control over state schools. Although minority language education always includes the teaching of the minority language, its main purpose is to educate the minority group by using the heritage language as a cognitive and affective instrument to make sense of their world, and sometimes as a way to improve their mastery of the majority language. Minority language education is most often a component of an education that includes the majority language. Thus, minority language education is more specific and focused than, but usually is a part of, what has been termed bilingual/multilingual education.

Minority language education is important for individuals and groups, especially for the language minority community, but also for the majority community. All quality education builds on strengths, and the greatest strength children entering school possess is the language that they bring from home, the instrument they have used to communicate with others, especially with members of their family, and to make sense of their world. For language minority children, therefore, an education which includes their heritage language has effective benefits, enabling them to find continuity between their first learning context, the home, and the school, and making it possible for them to identify with teachers in ways that build on relationships they have with caregivers and friends. A heritage language education also enables minority children to find themselves in school, in the voices of the books they read, the songs they learn, the stories they weave. In addition, minority language education has sociocognitive benefits, enabling children to use the language they know best to develop their understanding of cognitively complex academic material (Baker and Jones, 1998; Cummins, 2000; Baker, 2001). With time, and alongside a quality education in the majority language, a minority language education enables students to reap some of the sociocognitive benefits that have been associated with bilingualism – greater metalinguistic awareness and divergent thinking (Bialystok, 2001).

In society, minority language education is important for both the minority group and the majority group. It provides minority groups with a way to

understand their culture and their history. It is empowering for the minority, offering them educational opportunities and building their capacity as educated citizens in majority society. If well done, it provides a vehicle for greater intercultural understanding. Finally, it conserves the language resources of a society and builds its capacity for multilingualism (Fishman, 1976).

After contextualizing the traditions and the controversies surrounding minority language education around the world, this article will (1) identify the different power-related dimensions that affect whether a minority language has the possibility of being successfully included in education, and introduce a scale that can be used to predict its ease and success; (2) describe the different ways in which minority language education has been organized, giving examples from different societies.

### Traditions, Continuities, Possibilities, and Controversies

Minority language education is not new and it has seldom been uncontroversial. Although common sense would dictate an education in the language of the student, the sociohistorical and socioeducational conditions of states often work against the inclusion of the minority language in state education systems. It is then the tension produced, on the one hand, by the understanding that students should be instructed in their home and community language, and, on the other hand, by the inability or unwillingness of the state to do so, for either political or economic reasons, that surrounds minority language education in controversy.

Minority language education has sometimes been established by educators themselves, many times without official state sanction or funds, and often in private venues. For example, frustrated by the difficulty of evangelizing in Spanish, the language officially sanctioned by the Spanish Empire, missionaries in the New World used the languages of natives during the first two centuries of the Empire. But in 1770, Charles III ordered that only Spanish be used in an effort to spur the spread of Spanish and eradicate the Indian languages (García, 1999). During the Franco dictatorship in 20th-century Spain, *ikastolas*, where Basque children were taught in Euskera (Basque), grew as an underground movement of resistance to schooling in Spanish only (Etxeberria Balerdi, 2001). In the United States, the languages of immigrants, especially German (Standard German), were used in schools throughout the 19th century.

But by the early 20th century, and in the wake of the xenophobia surrounding World War I, the practice had become controversial, and 23 states passed laws banning the use of languages other than English in education (Wiley, 1998). Examples of the use of indigenous languages in schooling children in countries in Latin America, beyond those of official bilingual intercultural programs, have been well documented by Hornberger (1997). And throughout the world, language minority groups themselves, especially those with religious affiliations, have organized minority language education programs, sometimes after-school and weekend supplementary programs, other times day schools. This is the case, for example, with the many yeshivas and Islamic schools in New York City, as well as with Mandarin (Mandarin Chinese) after-school and weekend programs.

There are also many examples of officially initiated and supported minority language education programs, although unfortunately many of these efforts continue to meet opposition. In the 20th century, as many African and Asian countries were achieving independence, minority language education was supported, especially by the UNESCO declaration that it is axiomatic to use the child's mother tongue in teaching reading. But the selection of which mother tongue to use as the medium of instruction, and the use of diverse children's mother tongues in the highly multilingual contexts of Africa, has proven problematic (Alidou, 2004; Webb, 2004). Likewise, the transitional bilingual education programs that were created by US federal legislation in the 1970s have recently undergone attack, and by the early 21st century Arizona, California, and Massachusetts had outlawed the practice (Crawford, 2004). The European Union, through the efforts of the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages and Mercator, supports the development of minority and regional language education, although more attention is often paid to the spread of international languages such as English (Truchot, 2003). It is in contexts where indigenous languages are protected by law and not considered a threat to the majority language that minority language education has gathered momentum and strength. This is the case of Maori-medium education in Aotearoa/New Zealand (May, 2004), of Welsh/Cymru in Wales (Jones and Martin-Jones, 2004), and of the regional languages of Spain, especially Catalan (Catalan-Valencian-Balear) (Artigal, 1993), since the advent of democracy. When minority language education leads to political and economic advantages, the majority also becomes interested in being included. The exemplar in this case is Quebec, where immersion programs engage the anglophone majority in French-medium instruction (Genesee, 1987).

In the 21st century, as globalization has spurred the movement of people, goods, and services across national boundaries, creating huge linguistic diasporas and the need for communication across languages and in many languages, minority language education has gained in importance, and also in complexity. In societies with high population mobility such as the United States, two-way dual language programs have been developed, involving language minority children with different degrees of proficiency in their heritage or majority language, as well as language majority children. Although problematic (see García, 2004; Valdés, 1997), these programs build on the interculturality of the multiple knowledge bases that shape the transnational/transcultural identities of students in the 21st century.

### **Power-Related Dimensions of Minority Languages and Their Access to Education**

The power-related dimensions identified in Table 1 affect the possibility that minority language education will be developed and successfully implemented with official support. Successful officially sanctioned minority language education depends on the will of the majority, often determined by the linguistic rights it is prepared to cede (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000), which are related to the historical status of the language (indigenous or immigrant), its economic value, and its uniqueness, that is, whether it is the sole minority language or is in competition with others. But beyond the majority's will lies the will of the minority itself, whether it considers the language important enough to its survival as a people (identity). There are then schooling factors that are important to consider regardless of the will of peoples – whether, as a result of its official status in other countries (political), there are teachers, books, and a rich literacy and literature tradition (literacy). Finally, the organizational factors of minority language education depend on the sociolinguistic status of the language (whether it has been maintained or has undergone shift) and whether there are many speakers of the same language in isolated schools (demographic).

Table 1 presents a rubric that enables states to determine whether implementation of minority language education would be relatively easy or very difficult. The higher the score, the more likely that minority language education can be implemented successfully and without too much effort. It is important to point out, however, that despite low scores, some language minority communities succeed on their own, and without external support, in running highly successful minority language education efforts.

**Table 1** Power-related dimensions for implementation of minority language education

Factors	Dimension	Score = 4	Score = 3	Score = 2	Score = 1
Majority will factors	Historical power	ML <sup>a</sup> is indigenous language of long standing	ML is indigenous but of more recency	ML is spoken by indigenous settlers and immigrants	ML is spoken only by immigrants
	Economic power	ML has economic value in local and global contexts	ML has economic value only in local context	ML has economic value in other contexts only	ML has no economic value
	Uniqueness power	ML is sole in community and has many speakers	ML has numerical majority, far beyond the other MLs	ML is one of many in community, but is numerically important	ML is one of many in community, and constitutes a small minority
Minority will factors	Identity power	ML and ethnic identity are deeply intertwined	ML is an important ethnic marker to most	ML is an important ethnic marker to some, but not to most	Ethnic identity has lost all link to ML
Schooling factors	Political power	ML has official status in many developed countries	ML has official status in at least one developed country	ML has official status only in developing countries	ML has no official status in any country
	Literacy power	ML has rich literary tradition and academic texts	ML is written but has few published works and few texts	ML lacks written standardization. Academic texts not available.	ML is not written
Organizational factors	Sociolinguistic power	ML is spoken by all or mostly all the ML community	ML is spoken by over $\frac{2}{3}$ of the ML community, both old and young	ML is spoken by approximately $\frac{1}{2}$ of the ML community	ML is spoken by less than $\frac{1}{4}$ of the ML community, mostly aged
	Demographic power	ML community is numerically strong and lives in very isolated communities	ML community is numerically strong and lives in somewhat isolated communities	ML community is demographically weak, although lives in somewhat isolated communities	ML community is demographically weak and lives in integrated communities

<sup>a</sup>ML = minority language.

## Organization of Minority Language Education around the World

Although, as stated above, minority language education is not new, it was in the 20th century, and specifically after the UNESCO declaration of 1953 supporting the teaching of reading in the children's mother tongue, that it was first considered a field of study. The organization of minority language education responds to the different sociolinguistic and sociopolitical needs of different societies and language communities. At least seven different organizational models of minority language education coexist in the world today, and examples of such models in different societies follow.

1. *Heritage language education models*, specifically supplementary (after-school and weekend) classes, are often run by the minority language community itself to maintain and develop the heritage language in the language minority community. Instruction is most often solely in the minority language. Programs of this type are found throughout the world.

2. *Developmental maintenance bilingual education (DMBE) models* are either private all-day schools organized and run by the language minority community itself or state-funded all-day schools. Instruction is in two languages, with some portion of the school curriculum or day taught in the majority language and the other taught in the minority language.

Sometimes, the more ethnically encumbered subjects (such as history and social studies) are taught in the minority language, and the other subjects are taught in the majority language. This is the case, for example, with the Hebrew day schools in the United States, which use Biblical Hebrew for the study of the Old Testament and the Commentaries, modern Hebrew to teach the history of Israel, and English to teach all secular subjects. This is also the case of schools in the Philippines, which reserve Filipino (Tagalog) to teach Philippine history and literature and use English to teach math and science (Gonzalez, 1998).

The strict compartmentalization and functional complementary of languages observed in the DMBE model of the Philippines contrasts sharply with that in

Wales. The purpose of the DMBE model in the Philippines was to spread Filipino (Tagalog) as a national language in a highly multilingual context, and thus it was formally protected. In Wales, however, Welsh and English are used to teach all subjects, with a great deal of instructional code-switching used to contextualize Welsh for those for whom it is not a mother tongue, as well as for those who have undergone language shift (Jones and Martin-Jones, 2004).

DMBE models do not always devote equal time to the two languages. Sometimes, as in the Cuban-American schools in Dade County, Florida (García and Otheguy, 1988), Greek day schools throughout the world, or the Frisian (Western Frisian) schools in Friesland (Zondag, 1988), the minority language is used as a medium of instruction only for literacy-related functions, and often for just one instructional period a day. Usually, the minority language is taught by a different teacher.

3. *Heritage immersion bilingual education models* have been developed in societal contexts where there has been a high degree of language shift. In an effort to reverse the language shift that had occurred in Aotearoa/New Zealand, the Kóhanga Reo movement established nursery schools completely run in Maori by the community elders. Those early immersion efforts have now been complemented by the establishment of *kura kaupapa* bilingual schools, following a developmental maintenance model (May, 2004). Likewise, immersion bilingual education models where language minority children are initially immersed in their heritage language are now prevalent in Scotland for Gaelic (Scots Gaelic), Ireland for Irish (Irish Gaelic), and Spain for Euskera (Basque), societies in which there has been a great deal of language shift. Immersion in the minority language is always followed by an education which balances the minority with the majority language.

4. *Bilingual intercultural education models* are prevalent in Latin America for indigenous groups who have traditionally received a poor Spanish-medium education. Bilingual intercultural education is available in Aymara, Guaraní (Guaraní) and especially Quechua/Quichua, among others, alongside Spanish. The purpose of such minority language education is to provide basic literacy to the indigenous population, while giving them the intercultural skills that enable them to interact in the Spanish-speaking world (López, 1995). Despite legislation supporting intercultural bilingual education, programs are few and often experimental in nature.

5. *Transitional bilingual education models* exist mostly in contexts with a high degree of immigration such as the United States, or in countries of Africa and Asia where minority language education lasts only until the child acquires the majority language. Transitional bilingual education models are an example of

subtractive minority language education and lead away from the minority language to the majority language.

6. *Two-way bilingual education models* provide language minority children with an education in their heritage language, while making it possible for language majority children to learn the minority language. Although these models usually keep the two linguistic groups separate during the period of emerging bilingualism, especially for literacy instruction, the recent programs developed in the United States insist on the linguistic integration of children at all times. This linguistic integration often works better for the acquisition of English than for the maintenance and development of the minority language (García, 2004).

7. *Language Awareness and Inclusive models* are organized in contexts where the minority language speakers are integrated throughout the school system and it is impossible to provide them with minority language education. It cannot be considered minority language education in its own right. Children in these models are encouraged to use the minority languages to read, find information, and write reports (García, 2000). Language awareness models specifically encourage children to compare and contrast their minority language to the majority one (James and Garrett, 1991). The teacher does not instruct in the minority language or about the minority language since she or he rarely has knowledge of the minority language.

## Conclusion

Minority language education is very important, but it is fraught with controversy and challenges. By using the scale provided here, educators will be able to determine the kinds of human and financial resources needed to implement minority language education successfully. Each society and community will have to determine the kinds of models that it can support. More minority language education is better than less, and its absence in a society is a sure sign that a large proportion of the school-age population is being excluded from a meaningful education.

*See also:* Bilingual Education; Education in a Former Colonial Language; Nonstandard Language; Standard Language.

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# Nonnative Speaker Teachers

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## Introduction

Although the statistics on the number of English users in the world vary widely depending on which scholars are reporting in the field, Strevens (1992) maintains that more than one and a half billion people use English around the world as a first, second, or foreign language. One fourth of the total users are native speakers, whereas the remaining majority use English as a second or foreign language. Kachru (1989) conceptualizes three concentric circles according to the different roles that English plays in different countries: (1) the Inner Circle, where English is spoken as the first language in countries such as the United States, Australia, the United Kingdom, and Canada, (2) the Outer Circle, where English is used as a second language in a multilingual setting in countries such as the Philippines, India, and Singapore, and (3) the Expanding Circle, where English is studied as a foreign language such as in Japan, Korea, and China. In the Inner Circle, it is estimated that 320–380 million people use English as their first language, whereas 150–300 million people use it as their second language in the Outer Circle. In the Expanding circle, 100–1000 million people are estimated to use it as a foreign language. To summarize, Kachru (1996: 241) states that “there are now at least four non-native speakers of English for every native speaker”. Similarly, Graddol (1999) projects that during the next 50 years the balance between native speakers and non-native speakers will shift critically with non-native speakers eventually overtaking native speakers.

Traditionally, English teachers in the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle have been considered as non-native speakers of English or teachers who share the same cultural and linguistic backgrounds with their students. As the number of English users increases in these two circles, the education of non-native English speaking teachers (non-NESTs) becomes critical. Braine (1999) states that the place of native and non-native speakers in teaching English has always been an issue since English was taught internationally, however, interest in non-NESTs is a fairly recent phenomenon. Since his seminal book, *Non-native educators in English language teaching* was published in 1999, there has been tremendous interest in non-native speaker issues among

researchers and practitioners in Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Language (TESOL). Although the issues related to non-NESTs have been studied widely, in this article three areas of research will be highlighted and discussed: (1) definitions of native and non-native speakers, (2) non-NESTs’ perceptions of their status and roles, and (3) professional development of non-NESTs. Based on the discussion over these areas, recommendations for future research also will be made.

## Definitions of Native and Non-native Speakers

Defining a native speaker and a non-native speaker has been a controversial issue in applied linguistics. Davies (1991) asserts that the definition of a native speaker tends to be circular in that the native speaker is defined as he or she who is perceived as NOT being a non-native speaker, whereas the non-native speaker is defined solely as being a non-native speaker. Some common characteristics associated with being a native speaker of a language, according to Rampton (1990: 97), include the following:

1. A particular language is inherited, either through genetic endowment or through birth into the social group stereotypically associated with it.
2. Inheriting a language means being able to speak it well.
3. People either are or are not native/mother-tongue speakers.
4. Being a native speaker involves the comprehensive grasp of a language.
5. Just as people are usually citizens of one country, people are native speakers of one mother tongue.

More recently, Davies devoted his entire book to demystify the construct of a native speaker both psycholinguistically and sociolinguistically. In his recent book, *The native speaker: myth and reality*, Davies provides six attributes of a native speaker (2003: 210–211):

1. Childhood acquisition: The native speaker acquires the L1 of which s/he is a native speaker in childhood.
2. Intuitions about idiolectal grammar (Grammar 1): The native speaker has intuitions (in terms of acceptability and productiveness) about his/her own language.
3. Intuitions about group language grammar (Grammar 2): The native speaker has intuitions about those features of which are distinct from his/her Grammar 1.

4. Discourse and pragmatic control. The native speaker has a unique capacity to produce fluent spontaneous discourse. . . . In both production and comprehension the native speaker exhibits a wide range of communicative competence.
5. Creative performance. The native speaker has a unique capacity to write creatively.
6. Interpreting and translating. The native speaker has a unique capacity to interpret and translate into the L1 of which s/he is a native speaker.

How does a L2 user compare with the native speaker in terms of these attributes? Can she/he become a native speaker of the target language? Using the same criteria, Davies asserts that all except the first criterion, 'childhood acquisition,' are contingent issues. In his own words, "The answer to the question of L2 learners evolving into native speakers of the target language must therefore be 'Yes': but the practice required, given the model of the children L1 acquirer who for five to six years spends much of his or her time learning language alone, is so great that it is not likely that many second-language learners become native speakers of their target language" (p. 212).

In his comparison of a native speaker and a non-native speaker, Medgyes (1992, 1994) considers the native and non-native categories as clearly impermeable. In other words, he maintains that a native speaker's linguistic competence constitutes an "advantage . . . so substantial that it cannot be outweighed by other factors prevalent in the learning situation, whether it be motivation, aptitude, perseverance, experience, education, or anything else" (1992: 342). The non-native speaker, by contrast, has to labor eternally under a "linguistic handicap" (1994: 103) while progressing along the interlanguage continuum. Medgyes sees native speakers as those who "have acquired English in comparison with nonnative speakers who are still acquiring" (p. 12). Even if they acquire "native-like" proficiency, non-native speakers still will be labeled as "pseudo-native speakers" (1994).

Cook (1999), by contrast, challenges the "comparative fallacy" (Bley-Vroman, 1983), in which a non-native speaker's performance is constantly compared with a native speaker's performance. He asserts that "the prominence of the native speaker has obscured the distinctive nature of the successful L2 user and created an unattainable goal for L2 learners (p. 185). In addition, Cook maintains that non-native speakers differ from native speakers in their knowledge of their L2s and L1s and in some of their cognitive processes; hence, we must stop imposing the native speaker norm on non-native speakers and treat them in their own right.

Similarly, Kachru and Nelson (1996) reject the notion of native and non-native dichotomy. They assert that the spread of English in its sociohistorical context has created different varieties of English, along with highly proficient speakers and professionals in English Language Teaching (ELT). To view them through the lens of the native versus non-native dichotomy is to accept "a linguistic caste system and maintain a monocultural and monolingual point of reference (p. 79).

### **Non-native English-Speaking Teachers' Perceptions of Their Status and Roles**

Due to the growing awareness of the large number of non-native teachers working in the ELT field worldwide, researchers started to examine their perceived status and/or roles in relation to native English-speaking teachers (NESTs) (e.g., Medgyes, 1992; Samimy and Brutt-Griffler, 1999; Seidlhofer, 1999; Tang, 1997). Some scholars retain the difference in NESTs' and non-NESTs' professional expertise (Medgyes, 1992; Reves and Medgyes, 1994; Arva and Medgyes, 2000). This dichotomous position, however, has been questioned by other scholars due to the complexity involved in ELT professional expertise (e.g., Brutt-Griffler and Samimy, 1999; J. Liu, 1999).

In a series of studies, Medgyes and his colleagues examined non-NESTs' unique features as ELT professionals in comparison to native teachers. Medgyes (1992), for example, investigated non-NESTs' perceived difficulties in the use of English and differences in teaching behavior between the two groups of teachers. The findings, through questionnaires obtained from approximately 220 native and non-native teachers in 10 countries, showed that most teachers viewed their teaching approaches as different mainly due to discrepancies in their linguistic competence. However, Medgyes also points out that non-NESTs have equal opportunities of becoming as effective as NESTs because the former possesses teaching strengths derived from being successful English learners. These strengths are, for example, to "serve as imitable models," "teach learning strategies more effectively," "anticipate language difficulties," "provide learners with more information about the English language," "show more empathy to their students," and "share the learners' mother tongue" (pp. 346–347). For implications, therefore, Medgyes suggests that the different roles in teaching practices between NESTs and non-NESTs should be acknowledged. He also encourages collaborative teaching between the two types of teachers to balance their respective strengths and weaknesses.

In a similar vein, Reves and Medgyes (1994) examined the relationship among non-NESTs' English proficiency, their teaching behavior, and their self-image as English teachers. They delivered questionnaires to 216 ELT teachers in 10 countries, among which about 90 percent of the participants were non-native teachers. Based on their findings, Reves and Medgyes argue that the factors such as "non-NESTs' teaching qualifications," "the time non-NESTs spent in an English speaking country," and "the frequency of non-NESTs' contact with NESTs" would affect non-native teachers' self-images and their ways of teaching (p. 357). The authors, therefore, emphasize the importance of non-NESTs' "frequent exposure to an authentic native language environment and proficiency-oriented in-service training activities" to improve their self-image (p. 364).

Arva and Medgyes (2000) further expanded the previous research and compared actual teaching behavior of five NESTs and five non-NESTs in Hungarian secondary schools. Unlike the previous studies, the data were collected through interviews and classroom observations. The researchers found several differences between the two groups of teachers which included the following: (1) NESTs had superior English language competence; (2) non-NESTs were more confident about grammatical knowledge; (3) NESTs lacked the ability to speak the students' native language; (4) NESTs adopted more flexible teaching approaches; and (5) NESTs supplied more cultural information about English speaking countries. Arva and Medgyes argue that these differences in their teaching behavior can be attributed to the linguistic discrepancy between non-NESTs and NESTs. Furthermore, they also maintain the position that each group of teachers is likely to have appropriate roles to play in teaching English. That is, for example, NESTs teach conversation classes, whereas non-NESTs take care of other components such as grammar.

To summarize thus far, Medgyes and his colleagues draw a clear professional distinction between NESTs and non-NESTs in relation to the teachers' linguistic competence. However, some researchers view such distinction as simplistic. Samimy and Brutt-Griffler (1999), for example, explored the perceptions of non-native TESOL graduate students as ELT professionals in relation to native teachers. Seventeen international students who attended a graduate seminar at a university in North America participated in this case study. The findings obtained through multiple data methods (questionnaires, classroom discussion, in-depth interviews, and autobiographical accounts) suggest that the participants perceived themselves differently from native teachers in their English

proficiency and in their teaching practices. However, they generally agreed that the question of "who is more successful [native or non-native speakers] depends on learner factors, teacher factors, and contextual factors" (p. 141). Moreover, some of the participants raised a question about the debate over the native versus non-native speaker dichotomy, and argued that major issues of EFL teachers involve the English education curriculum and professional development rather than the lack of native-like proficiency.

Similarly, Seidlhofer (1999) also expresses the danger of a simple transfer from "*competent speaker* to *competent teacher* based on linguistic grounds alone" and the needs to take "cultural, social and pedagogic appropriateness" into account (p. 237). She explains the "double" roles of non-NESTs in the Expanding Circle when they are required to negotiate among competing demands such as the global claims and local realities. Through a careful process of analyzing and mediating competing claims, she emphasizes that teachers can make local decisions for appropriate pedagogy in given contexts. She points out, therefore, that teachers as mediators need to be familiar with not only the target language but also local educational contexts, their students' requirements, and the current development in the research communities relevant to their professions.

J. Liu (1999) also examined non-NESTs' professional issues from the perspectives of seven TESOL professionals and the complexity involved in labeling native and non-native teachers. All participants in this case study were non-NESTs working at the university level in North America. The findings collected through individual interviews revealed that the distinction between the two types of teachers involves various factors such as "precedence in learning languages, competence in the learned language, cultural addition, social identity, and language environments" (p. 85). Moreover, the participants expressed concerns raised by the native versus non-native speaker dichotomy such as "the invisible power relations in the labels" (e.g. hiring process and teaching and learning in the language classroom) (p. 97). Based on the results, Liu argues against the rigid separation between native speakers and non-native speakers and suggests better understanding the complexity involved in the label.

Like Liu, several other researchers have also captured the power relations involved in the label in the Outer and Expanding Circles by investigating non-NESTs' professional identities with comparison to NESTs (e.g., Tang, 1997; Seidlhofer, 1999). Although in both Tang's and Seidlhofer's case studies, non-NESTs acknowledged their strengths as



non-native professionals such as their shared L1 with students and L2 learning experiences, they all clearly expressed their feelings of insecurity or inadequacy due to their perceived low proficiency of English. Both authors, therefore, point out that non-NESTs' self perception had a strong impact on shaping their identities as English teachers.

In summary, this section reviewed the literature examining non-NESTs' self-perceptions of their status and roles as compared to NESTs. The central question about the topic is whether non-NESTs or NESTs are better ELT professionals. Two positions seem prominent on the issue among the scholars. One of the groups of researchers maintains that the distinctive roles between native speakers and non-native speakers need to be acknowledged mainly due to their different language competence (Arva and Medgyes, 2000; Medgyes, 1992; Reves and Medgyes, 1994). The other group of researchers, on the other hand, denies such a sharp division based on linguistic competence because of the multidimensionality of ELT professionals that is shaped by sociocultural and linguistic contexts (Samimy and Brutt-Griffler, 1999) and the complexity that the labels have (J. Liu, 1999).

Few deny the critical role of English language proficiency that English teachers need to have and develop for their professions. In fact, as seen before, some studies examining non-NESTs' professional identities reveal their feelings of insecurity as ELT professionals because of their perceived lower English proficiency as compared to NESTs (Tang, 1997; Seidlhofer, 1999). However, given the various factors involved in ELT professionals, to judge teachers' expertise primarily by language competence as opposed to native speakers seems to be simplistic. In addition, such sharp distinction between the two types of teachers through language competence may demoralize both future and practicing non-NESTs. It also may obscure other similarly critical roles that they need to play as mediators in a given context. Therefore, to acknowledge the multidimensionality of teachers' professional expertise (linguistic, learner, teacher, and social and cultural factors) is critical for non-NESTs' professional success.

### **Professional Development of Non-native English-Speaking Teachers**

English language teachers have experienced high professional demands because of the diverse needs of English learners accompanied by the impact of globalization. To meet these demands, a number of prospective and experienced non-NESTs around the world participate in second language (L2) teacher

education programs. Given such circumstances, it is critical to understand non-NESTs' needs for their professional development, on the one hand, and how L2 teacher education programs must be transformed to meet their diverse expectations, on the other hand.

### **Non-native-Speaking Teachers' Professional Needs and Concerns**

The issues of non-NESTs' professional development have gradually received attentions among scholars in the TESOL field. The literature on the topic has revealed their specific professional needs and challenges. Drawing on the various studies on the topic, Kamhi-Stein (2000), for example, describes the four areas which non-NESTs perceive as their needs and concerns in their professions (p. 10):

1. low confidence and self-perceived challenges to professional competence
2. self-perceived language needs
3. lack of voice and visibility in the TESOL profession
4. self-perceived prejudice based on ethnicity or non-native status.

Kamhi-Stein has noted that non-NESTs' perceived low confidence may have an impact on those who are, in particular, studying in English speaking contexts. Samimy and Brutt-Griffler's (1999) case study, for example, reports that, although non-native graduate students considered themselves as successful teachers in their home countries, many questioned their professional competence because of the cultural, educational, and linguistic unfamiliarity involved in the study in the United States. Regarding "self-perceived language needs," several researchers in the TESOL teacher education programs both inside and outside the Inner Circle describe non-NESTs' concerns about the development of their English language proficiency for their professional success (D. Liu, 1999; Carrier, 2003; Murdoch, 1994; Cullen, 1994; Medgyes, 1999). Lack of non-NESTs' voices in the TESOL field is another serious concern (Carrier, 2003; Kamhi-Stein, 1999, 2000; Samimy and Brutt-Griffler, 1999; Thomas, 1999). Samimy and Brutt-Griffler's (1999) case study, for example, demonstrates EFL teachers' awareness of the need to contribute to the TESOL communities with EFL autonomy. Kamhi-Stein (1999) also describes the importance of encouraging non-NESTs to participate in professional conferences in order to raise their voices and status. In terms of "self-perceived prejudice," scholars describe non-NESTs' challenges inside and outside the Inner Circle, especially regarding their credibility as ELT professionals because of their ethnicity

and non-native status (e.g., Amin, 1997; Kamhi-Stein, 1999; Thomas, 1999; Hubbell, 2002). Amin (1997), for example, demonstrates five minority female teachers' perceptions of their students' ideal ESL teachers. The findings through interviews reveal that non-NESTs felt disempowered by their students' strong connection between white native speakers and ideal ESL teachers. In the Expanding Circle, Hubbell (2002) also discusses, in her autobiographical narrative, discriminations that she experienced because of her status as a non-NEST. One of them is an assumption made by administrators and colleagues that NESTs and non-NESTs are assigned different teaching roles, which are conversation classes and required courses respectively, regardless of non-NESTs' English proficiency.

Furthermore, the literature also depicts non-NESTs' concerns about a discrepancy between what they learn in L2 teacher education programs in the Inner Circle and what they may encounter in their teaching practices in their home countries (e.g., Li, 1998; D. Liu, 1999; Pacek, 1996). D. Liu (1999), for example, broadly points out cultural, socioeconomic, and educational differences between the two contexts, and then proposes three areas that the TESOL teacher education programs in the Inner Circle need to address for non-NESTs' professional needs. These areas include: (1) L2 acquisition theories and teaching methodologies relevant and applicable to the EFL contexts, (2) the development of teachers' English language proficiency for their teaching success, and (3) cultural knowledge of English speaking countries.

In addition, focusing on communicative language teaching (CLT), the currently promoted teaching approach in the Expanding Circle for its educational innovation, empirical studies also reveal the difficulties that non-NESTs encounter or perceive in implementing the teaching approach in their classrooms (Li, 1998; Pacek, 1996). Li, for example, examines South Korean secondary school English teachers' perceptions of CLT through questionnaires and interviews. Eighteen teachers who participated in the in-service teacher education program at a Canadian university expressed perceived difficulties such as teacher, student, educational system, and CLT factors to reconcile local realities and the demands expected by the teaching approach. Pacek (1996) also investigated the impact of the one-year U.K. in-service teacher education program sponsored by the Japanese Ministry of Education for Japanese secondary school English teachers to assess its usefulness and practicality. The foci of the program were the improvement of teachers' English proficiency, the understanding of theoretical concepts of teaching approach especially CLT and British culture and society, and its

educational system. Forty-three participants who answered the questionnaires expressed their experiences of pressure to mediate local expectations in Japan and what they had learned in the program despite the teachers' positive feedback on the program in general.

### **Attempts to Meet non-NESTs' Professional Needs in L2 Teacher Education**

Although the studies examining how L2 teacher education programs specifically incorporate non-NESTs' issues into the curricula are considerably dearth (Kamhi-Stein, 2000), several teacher educators propose their TESOL program models and/or suggest implications for L2 teacher education (e.g., Brutt-Griffler and Samimy, 1999; Carrier, 2003; Cullen, 1994; Kamhi-Stein, 1999, 2000; Samimy and Brutt-Griffler, 1999). In the Inner Circle, Samimy and Brutt-Griffler (1999), for example, introduce a graduate level seminar, entitled *Issues and Concerns Related to NNS Professionals*, that discusses issues of ELT professionals from different teaching contexts in the TESOL program. Central aims of this seminar were (1) to raise graduate students' critical awareness of the dichotomous discourse of non/native speakers, (2) to develop their identity as ELT professionals, and (3) to promote 'counterdiscourses' regarding cultural assumptions in the center community within the field of applied linguistics and L2 pedagogy. Based on the participants' experiences of a new sense of agency as ELT professionals in the seminar, Samimy and Brutt-Griffler propose more emphasis on "multidimensionality and expertise" than "nativeness or authenticity" in teaching methodologies (p. 142).

Kamhi-Stein (2000) also proposes a different approach, which integrates the discussion on non-NESTs' issues across the curriculum of the TESOL MA program. According to her, central to this "cross-curricular approach" is that both native and non-native student teachers come to understand international students' L2 learning experiences and challenges. Therefore, non-native teacher-trainees re-evaluate themselves as resourceful informants. The approach also aims at helping non-NESTs raise their status with NESTs. To achieve these objectives, Kamhi-Stein introduces activities in and outside the classroom across the curriculum of the program. These activities are reflection on trainees' L2 learning histories to understand their own knowledge and beliefs, web-based discussion to enhance their participation in class, collaborative projects between native and non-native teacher-trainees, and participation in professional conferences to discuss non-native issues.

Most currently, Carrier (2003) proposes "an introductory first semester course" for non-NESTs in

the TESOL program as “a first step” to meet their professional needs. Several key areas emphasized in the course include “contextually responsive teacher education content, training in a different school culture, competing with native English-speaking teacher trainees, self-confidence, and encouraging contributions by non-native teacher trainees to the field of English language teaching” (p. 242). Regarding the contextually responsive content, the course attempts to develop non-NESTs’ abilities to evaluate their acquired knowledge in the program for its applicability through assigned readings, class discussions, and course projects relevant to their teaching contexts. With respect to training in a different school culture, the focus is placed on non-NESTs’ development of “Western-style academic writing and oral presenting” (p. 245). According to Carrier, teachers’ improvement of language proficiency would lead to their self-confidence as ELT professionals and allow other teachers to hear non-NESTs’ voices in professional communities.

Furthermore, researchers also make implications for L2 teacher education in the Expanding and Outer circles to meet non-NESTs’ professional needs. The central topics of the scholarly discussion seem to be non-NESTs’ roles as mediators (Seidlhofer, 1999; Canagaraja, 1999) and their professional expertise, especially regarding language elements (Cullen, 1994; Murdoch, 1994; Medgyes, 1999). In terms of the former, Seidlhofer (1999), for example, stresses non-NESTs’ ‘double’ roles for appropriate pedagogies in a given context when they are required to reconcile the contradictory demands of global claims with the local reality. She then suggests that, in teacher education, EFL teachers need to be encouraged to consider what choices they can make to develop appropriate pedagogy in a given context and how teachers can cultivate their strengths of their double capacity. Canagarajah (1999) also emphasizes teachers’ ‘double’ roles of critically examining and negotiating the inherent tension between local and dominant expectations in the Outer and Expanding Circles. He situated his ethnographic study in “resistance theories” within the critical pedagogical paradigm – that is “there are sufficient contradictions within institutions to help subjects gain agency, conduct critical thinking, and initiate change” (p. 22). Canagarajah, for example, urges teachers to employ ELT teaching beyond the “communicative teaching methods” because of its insensitivity to the reflexivity and its potential role to reinforce the norm. In the reflexive and negotiated process of pedagogy, he argues that there is possibility for developing a “context-sensitive and culture-specific approach” to language teaching (p. 195).

Regarding the latter, the development of non-NESTs’ language proficiency, Cullen (1994), for example, argues that, given a circumstance in which CLT has been widely used around the world, teacher training programs need to take non-NESTs’ language demands into serious consideration. He introduces an in-service teacher training model, which integrates language elements with other components, especially methodology, by providing trainees with direct learning experiences as language learners. According to him, such a model is valuable because of its objective to meet teachers’ needs and its practice-driven approach. In addition, Murdoch (1994) also introduces a curriculum revision of the teacher education program in Sri Lanka to develop teachers’ English language proficiency levels. Among a total of 208 in- and pre-service non-NESTs participated in his study, many trainees viewed linguistic skills as the most important components in their professional expertise. Therefore, Murdoch suggests that teacher trainees’ language proficiency should be the priority of the teacher-training curriculum, especially in the early stage of the program, to reduce their anxiety caused by the lack of language ability.

As can be seen, non-NESTs have faced various challenges in their profession such as perceived low self-confidence, concerns regarding applicability of their acquired knowledge, and lack of their voices in the professional community. To help them become successful ELT professionals, however, several teacher educators in the TESOL field introduce different approaches to L2 teacher education. In the Inner Circle, these approaches include a graduate seminar discussing non-NESTs’ issues (Samimy and Brutt-Griffler, 1999), “the cross-curricular approach” (Kamhi-Stein, 2000), and “an introductory first semester course” for non-NESTs (Carrier, 2003). In the Expanding and Outer Circles, Cullen (1994) specifically suggests an approach integrating language elements across the curriculum. Other researchers discuss the importance of non-NESTs’ double roles as mediators for their professional development.

## **Conclusion**

The literature reviewed in this paper demonstrates that there has been recently a growing interest in the issues of non-NESTs such as the definitions of native and non-native speakers, non-NESTs’ perceptions of their status and roles, and their professional development. In the first area, although the definition of a native speaker is highly debatable and problematic, the underlying assumptions of existing pedagogical models in TESOL are primarily based on a native-speaker model. In terms of non-NESTs’ status and

roles, a body of literature explores their perception of their professional expertise in comparison to native teachers. Some scholars emphasize the differences in each type of professionals' teaching behavior mainly in relation to language competence and recognize non-NESTs' advantages and disadvantages as compared to NESTs. Other scholars, by contrast, consider such native/non-native dichotomy problematic because of the multidimensionality involved in their professions. Another body of the literature on non-native teachers' professional development examines their needs, challenges, and concerns, and further demonstrates several attempts made in the TESOL programs inside and outside the Inner Circle in order to meet non-NESTs' needs.

Thus, the existing literature on the three areas has provided us with great insights into the issues involved in non-NESTs. More research, however, needs to be conducted to further understand and handle various issues that they have faced. Based on the findings and discussions of the studies reviewed in this paper, the following future research questions can be suggested. First, instead of simply transferring the native speaker models to various teaching contexts, alternative pedagogical models need to be explored and field-tested. This research must be foremost, as the issue relates to the goals of English language learning and teaching both at the macro (e.g. national curriculum) and micro (e.g. school and classroom) levels in given contexts. Second, in the area of non-NESTs' status and roles, instead of dichotomizing ELT professionals based on native/non-native status, more research on what professional expertise is required to be successful ELT professionals in a given context needs to be studied. In so doing, the questions such as what the nature of English language learning as a subject is (Widdowson, 1994) and how non-NESTs can develop their unique roles as mediators must be explored. For non-NESTs professional development, more case studies in different social contexts need to be conducted to investigate their professional needs and concerns (Samimy and Brutt-Griffler, 1999). In addition, the question of what kind of trainings in the L2 teacher education programs will better develop non-NESTs' professional competence in the given contexts need to be explored. To do so, it is critical to examine prospective and currently working teachers' experiences of learning to teach in the contexts of L2 teacher education programs and schools. These studies will eventually help voice their concerns and needs related to their professions. Some scholars also point out that the studies in the field of L2 teacher education especially in the Expanding Circles are considerably scarce (Widdowson, 1997; Crandall, 2000). To develop

effective L2 teacher education programs for non-NESTs, more EFL teachers' voices need to be incorporated into the L2 teacher education field. Finally, to develop effective L2 teacher education programs for non-NESTs both inside and outside the Inner Circle, studies examining the applicability of their learning in TESOL programs also need to be explored.

*See also:* Communicative Language Teaching; Critical Applied Linguistics; Foreign Language Teaching Policy; Languages of Wider Communication; Motivation and Attitudes in Second Language Learning; Native Speaker; Nonnative Speaker Teachers; Politics of Teaching; Second and Foreign Language Learning and Teaching; Second Language Identity; Second Language Teacher Preparation; Teacher Preparation; Traditions in Second Language Teaching; World Englishes.

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## Oracy Education

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Spoken communicative competence is of vital importance in the establishment and maintenance of individual identities, in the development of communities of shared interest, in the resolution of conflict between and among individuals or groups, in learning to read (Wells, 2003), and underlying all of these, spoken communicative competence is central to learning to think (Barton *et al.*, 2000; Measures *et al.*, 1997; Mercer *et al.*, 2004; Snyder, 2003; Young, 2000). Communicative competence might thus be thought to be central to oracy education. Bearne *et al.* (2003: 1–2) argue, however, that the interest in communicative competence that began in the 1980s and 1990s has been overtaken by a new interest in technologies of control that do not necessarily engender learning:

In the 1980s and 1990s there were many studies in Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States about classroom interaction. In particular, Douglas Barnes, Jerome Bruner, and Gordon Wells were influential in prompting close attention to the role of language in group interactions. At that time, the idea of learners being encouraged to shape and build meanings for themselves, scaffolded by their teachers, indicated a particular stance toward pedagogy. Since that era, in which rich contributions to educational thinking were made, the term ‘interaction’ has gone underground; recently, however, it has been resurrected to denote a particular view of pedagogy. ‘Interactive teaching’ has currently come to have a new stipulative definition, one that assumes the teacher controls the interaction and that teaching will be organized through whole class arrangements. Rather than describing a dynamic exchange between partners in education, interactive teaching has taken on the flavor of transmissional teaching. Greater attention to talk and learning is welcome but tends to sideline the important interactions between, for example, reader/writer and text, or child and child.

Research on talk in classrooms in the new millennium focuses primarily on three areas:

- ‘behavior management’ – how to prevent students from engaging in ‘inappropriate’ talk, or to get them to speak in ways that fit within the discourses deemed relevant and appropriate for classrooms and for specific disciplines (Sage, 2002);
- special education – what to do with the ones who didn’t learn to talk or to talk properly (Martin and Miller, 2003; Pagliano, 2002); and
- multicultural education – how to teach students whose first language is not the language of the classroom (Heller, 2003; Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001; Kennar, 2003).

The questionable assumption underlying talk only being made relevant in the areas where there are perceived deficits, is that in the normal course of events children will naturally acquire spoken communicative competence in the absence of education in oracy. This is in marked contrast to the ways in which literacy is approached as vital to learning.

The new focus on technologies of control may lead to classrooms becoming places in which the communicative practices between teachers and students restrict rather than facilitate and foster spoken communicative competences. It is a matter of concern that students are not being taught how to engage in reasoned argument and how to constructively challenge established patterns of thought (Grundy, 1997). Students with oral competence are arguably better able to deal with ambiguity, to appreciate multiple perspectives, and to be open to alternative ways of seeing things and doing things (Grainger, 2003).

In the absence of attention to and work on forms of spoken language in the classroom and playground, speaking-as-usual establishes and maintains the power of dominant groups, in terms of class (Edwards, 1997) and also in terms of gender and ethnicity (Alloway and Gilbert, 1997; Alloway *et al.*, 2003; Bjerrum-Nielsen and Davies, 1997; Tannen *et al.*, 1997). And as Bjerrum-Nielsen and Davies (1997) point out, no simple set of guidelines will change these deeply entrenched patterns of speech through which status and power are established and maintained. The extent to which communicative competences and oral competences are regarded as natural is a problem here, because it makes invisible the central means by which the differences, which perpetuate patterns of advantage and disadvantage, are established and maintained.

Formal assessment of an oral component within first language in the secondary classroom is becoming common. In this assessment students must perform themselves as individual speaking subjects in front of an audience of their peers. Informal talk generally runs alongside classroom talk and is often defined as being at odds with classroom talk. Such talk is rarely made subject to serious pedagogical attention, other than to silence it. Scrimshaw (1997) observes that the

unsupervised 'talk' on computers may be leading to the entrenching of discriminatory actions and thoughts.

The relations between formal and informal talk in classrooms are complex. Alloway *et al.* (2003) observe that there is often a small group of dominant, powerful boys who are the noisiest members of their class, such noisy and impromptu oral contributions being seen as inappropriate by teachers in the classroom context. They are "noisy, disruptive and frequently off-task. Typical disruptive activities included hitting, punching, pulling out each other's chairs, walking around the classroom, calling out loudly to the teacher" (Alloway *et al.*, 2003: 356). Even when they thus address the teacher, their oral performances are not constituted as acceptable, and they may serve to intimidate both girls and non-dominant boys. Nondominant boys, for example, may be marginalized and silenced, feeling that they cannot engage confidently in nondominant masculinity in front of such dominant peers (Alloway and Gilbert, 1997; Alloway *et al.*, 2003; Paechter, 2000). These boys who engage in assertive forms of informal speech may profit from the inclusion of oral performance as part of their assessment (Harris, 1998), or they may reject public formal oral performance as 'feminine' (Gilbert and Gilbert, 1998). But even the dominant boys may perform poorly when asked to do formal assessable oral presentations if these are incompatible with their particular skills or their idea of themselves (Alloway and Gilbert, 1997; Alloway *et al.*, 2003).

Forms of speech such as those described above are often interpreted in individualistic terms and made punishable. Green and Dixon (1997) have shown that the mode of spoken interaction taken up by any individual stems from the presuppositions that are inherent in the communicative repertoire of their culture; speaking, interacting and interpreting particular contexts stem from cultures rather than from individuals. Davies and Kasama (2004), for example, show how preschool children's free play establishes and maintains detailed aspects of Japanese culture, particularly in terms of status hierarchies involving age and gender. Well before written language is accessible by them, children are actively acquiring through spoken language the understandings of status and power that their culture makes available to them. At the same time, Pagliano (1997) shows how inability to speak is often interpreted as lack of knowledge. Through a study of those who are unable to engage in oral discourse, Pagliano shows just how central spoken language and communicative competence are to the formation of identity.

Finally, there is a strong case to be made for the importance of teaching collaborative and exploratory

talk (Lyle, 1997; Westgate, 1997), where teachers give up their positioning as the authority and work with students to enable them to clarify their own understandings; of teaching joint reasoning talk (Pontecorvo, 1997), where teachers scaffold the development of students' understandings; and teaching skills for generating shared understandings through ongoing talk (Mercer, 1997; Rojas-Drummond and Mercer, 2004). As Young (2000: 546) says: "Conversation ... mediates collective validity judgements, carries forward social tasks, negotiates meanings, and ... comprises at the same time the constraints on these processes ... . The bringing into existence of new meanings, albeit adaptively valid ones, is a necessary feature of inquiry."

*See also:* Assessment of First Language Proficiency; Communicative Competence; Correctness and Purism.

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## Pedagogy of Languages for Specific Purposes

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The principal tenet of specific purposes language teaching (LSP) is that of ‘specificity’: each pedagogical situation and each group of learners is considered to be new and different. Ideally, a unique curriculum and collection of classroom activities is designed for each group of students and teachers in every new context. No single approach, no new or old orthodoxy, is appropriate for all pedagogical situations. Thus, central to LSP pedagogy must be the determination of the unique characteristics of each teaching/learning situation, and the exploitation of these characteristics for development of syllabuses, of classroom activities, and of evaluation and assessment.

Good LSP curricula and teaching require skills, research techniques and sensitivities that are not necessarily characteristic of ‘general’ language classrooms; for in LSP, the authentic world must be brought to the students, and they must learn to interact with the language as it is spoken and written in target situations. Thus, LSP teachers and curriculum designers are much more accountable than ‘general’ language teachers. They must be more flexible and willing to negotiate with both experts in the target situation and with the students, who are often quite familiar with the target language situation.

### Specific Features of Pedagogical Contexts

Several aspects of the ‘specificity’ focus required in LSP are critical to curriculum development and pedagogy. First is the role of the target language in the situation in which it will be taught, i.e., the sociolinguistic context. The broadest interpretation of this principle is that an LSP course in a foreign language situation will have to be taught differently from one in a second language situation. English for Academic Purposes (EAP) in China, for example, will have considerably different objectives and classroom activities than EAP in the United States, UK, or another English-speaking country. LSPs also differ in terms of client populations and target-language features. Immigrant workers in second language situations often study the languages of the workplace (also called ‘vocational languages’). In a foreign-language context, LSPs tend to be concentrated in academic

or international areas, the latter of which include professional languages for negotiation and trade and the languages of the air and sea.

Related considerations include the history and politics of a target language in a pedagogical context. In North Africa, for example, the history of the competition between French and English and the political implications for studying each language influence LSP situations in public secondary schools and universities. Since most languages of wider communication have been the tongues of colonial powers or of privileged classes, the LSP curriculum is often considered to be political and is often scrutinized for cultural and political content by government officials.

The nature of the students within a specified context is also a prime consideration. Their proficiencies and their experiences with the target language as well as their first language experiences and backgrounds are central to educational planning. For instance, professionals in business, engineering and the sciences already conversant with the languages of their professions in L1 should experience a considerably different curriculum from beginning students whose understanding of domain-specific language is limited. Students who can read and write proficiently in their first languages will be enrolled in courses quite unlike those for students who are semiilliterate.

Students and professionals enter an LSP program with theories of how language is learned, e.g., including memorization, reading aloud, or drilling. These theories must also be considered in the development of teaching plans. Related to the learners’ theories of language learning are their perceptions of the student/teacher role relationship. Some learners feel that the teacher is ‘the boss’ and should therefore be in sole control when it comes to determining what should be taught and how it should be presented. Other learners are comfortable with more consultative classroom organization, such as that found in collaborative learning, Whole Language Teaching and many communicative teaching environments.

There is a long history in LSP of examining students’ needs and expectations; these are central considerations in LSP curriculum development. They can be divided into three categories: cultural–educational, personal and individual, and academic/occupational. Some LSP practitioners argue that the personal and individual factors should be the primary focus of LSP teaching, that one must start with students’ present needs and interests, taking into account their anxieties and differences in learning styles, and emphasizing the pedagogical appropriateness of activities for specified learners.

Others argue that with professionals and advanced academic students, in particular, academic and occupational goals, often long-term, should be the primary considerations.

Additional concerns entail the preparation, theories and proficiencies of teachers within a given pedagogical context. Teachers who have been educated in linguistics or language teaching pedagogy are often able to cope with a syllabus that is much more demanding than teachers who have been prepared in literature or another field – or who have had little preparation. Many teachers, especially in a foreign-language context, follow a single theory of language teaching such as Grammar–Translation or ‘intensive reading.’ Others have heard about certain methodologies and practices such as ‘communicative language teaching,’ but do not understand the principles and theories on which these approaches are based. Plans for LSP teaching curricula must consider teachers’ backgrounds and theories; otherwise, the teachers may attempt to defeat the purposes of the curriculum designers.

In addition, there are many LSP teachers in the world whose proficiency in the target language is quite limited. Again, the choice of syllabus and language activities will have to be adapted for the language skills of the teachers, as well as for the students in the program.

Like students, teachers have visions of student/teacher role relationships. They, too, can believe that teachers are obligated to take the sole responsibility for classroom decision-making and learning. For these reasons, teachers must be an integral part of LSP curriculum development and training. If they do not accept the aims of a more learner-centered LSP program, for example, there may be conflicts between curriculum design intentions and classroom outcomes.

Another issue regarding teacher preparation and attitudes is unique to LSP: because all LSP teaching targets specific purposes settings and languages, many teachers are uncomfortable with their teaching assignments. In English for Specific Purposes (ESP), for example, the majority of the curricula deal with science and technology; however, most ESP (and LSP) teachers have been educated in the humanities. Some experts believe that the teachers’ fears can be overcome when they realize that their job is to teach about language and not about content. However, others are concerned that teachers who do not understand the concepts, methods and aims of the specific purpose community (for example, of science) may become estranged and return to what they know, for example, the teaching of ‘general’ English from an easy-to-follow textbook.

Besides taking the various actors (i.e., teachers, students, politicians) within the pedagogical context

into account, the LSP curriculum designers and instructors must study the nature of the oral and written language for which students are being prepared, and the role of the discourse identified in the sociocultural contexts in which students will be working or studying. Here, authenticity is the key to appropriate LSP pedagogy. There are differences of opinion as to the meaning of authenticity; however, in much of the world, the term refers to real, unmodified oral and written discourse taken from the context in which students will be using the target language. In order to understand the authentic nature of discourses, or genres, pedagogies must link the language produced with the communities in which it functions. The real-world role of a text or discourse and its purpose and audience must be integral to an understanding of LSP curricula.

Because of the specificity of LSP teaching, new curricula and approaches must be constantly developed. Thus, good LSP pedagogy varies widely from country to country, from professional and occupational to academic life, and, within a specific area, from school to school and class to class. However, no approach can be isolated from other language teaching or from second language acquisition research. It must be acknowledged that there are trends in LSP teaching, influenced principally by ‘general’ teaching methodologies, by technology, and by language processing and learning theories. It will be the purpose of the remainder of this discussion to identify and discuss some of these trends.

## Current Trends

### Learner-Centered Approaches

As was mentioned previously, attention to the nature of learners is central to modern LSP teaching, as it is to much of ‘general’ language instruction. In its most extreme form, a learner-centered approach is based upon the principle that learning is totally determined by the nature and will of the students (Hutchinson and Waters, 1987). When discussing learner-centered pedagogies, it is essential to examine the issues of learner prior knowledge, language processing, and conceptions of tasks that influence classroom practices.

Exploiting learners’ prior knowledge and experience is central to an understanding of a learner-centered pedagogy. Work in schema theory, based upon the connectionist view of language acquisition, has assisted teachers in developing pedagogies that draw upon students’ knowledge of the content of the lesson (content schemata) and of the structure of the authentic discourses (formal schemata)

(Carrell, 1983). When preparing for a language activity, students are given questions and activities that draw upon their often extensive first language schemata and experiences with the world, thus motivating interest and promoting familiarity with the demands of the task.

Learners also come to the classroom with specific styles for approaching learning, i.e., “cognitive, affective and physiological traits that are relatively stable indicators of how learners perceive, interact with and respond to the learning environment” (Reid, 1987: 87). Some researchers focus upon perceptual styles or learning channels: the visual, auditory, kinesthetic and tactile. Others are interested in ability to deal with ambiguity, noting that learners may be convergent, i.e., seeking closure or resolution (a style encouraged by math and sciences) or divergent, those who enjoy evaluation, criticism, and problem-solving (often students from the humanities and social sciences). Learners also have preferences for classroom organization, e.g., many of the learners in LSP contexts are field-independent, i.e., they would prefer to complete a project alone rather than in a group. In addition to styles, strategies for completing tasks are considered in a learner-centered curriculum. One of the most complete and well-developed systems of strategies appears in publications by Chamot and O’Malley (1986: 17). In their scheme, strategies can be divided into these categories:

Metacognitive strategies: including executive processes for learning, monitoring one’s comprehension and production, and evaluating how one has achieved an objective.

Cognitive strategies, in which the learner interacts with the material to be learned by manipulating it mentally or physically.

Social-affective strategies, in which the learner either interacts with another person in order to assist learning, or uses some kind of affective control to assist learning.

Closely related to the issue of strategies is that of language processing. From the 1980s, interest in the relationship between first and second language processing has grown, both in reading and in writing. Of particular interest are the studies of process transfer by second-language writers in specific purpose situations. For example, St John (1987) discovered that Spanish scientists writing in English were able to draw extensively from their prior knowledge of content and research article form. They were therefore able to concentrate upon their principal concerns: precise language and the development of specific article sections. These and others’ insights into the processing of written texts have led to curricula that prepare LSP students for reading and

writing by assisting them in activating the appropriate schemata, in drafting texts and revising, and in helping them to consider audience and purpose as they comprehend and produce text.

In learner-centered approaches, course design and teaching often become negotiated, dynamic processes, since needs, expectations, and student resources vary with each group and within a single course sequence. This does not mean that students are in total control, by any means. However, it does suggest that LSP teachers must take into account student learning styles, strategies and language processing approaches. And, since research indicates that students benefit from expanding their strategies repertoire and from developing a metacognitive awareness of their text processing, LSP teachers should assist students in becoming more flexible and more aware of their own learning styles and approaches.

### Genre-Based Approaches

Whereas some curricula begin with the nature of the learners and are designed to expand upon learner strategies and metacognition, others are sensitive to the discourse community in which the learners will be functioning, e.g., an international business, an academic department, a tourist agency, or a factory. In these genre-based curricula, the discourses from the target speech community are studied, preferably by the students themselves, in terms of text roles in the target context; for the structure, styles and purposes of discourses are defined by the communities in which they operate (see Swales, 1990).

A discourse community is a group of likeminded people with common goals and shared ways of looking at the world. Members communicate with one another through a variety of genres that serve the community’s purposes, e.g., faxes, e-mail, newsletters, research articles, reports, and memos. Though discourse communities may produce the majority of genres in a single language (e.g., English) in many of the sciences, members may share values and aims that are realized in a number of different languages.

In genre-based approaches, students are immediately exposed to exemplars of genres written in the target language from within identified discourse communities. Through instruction or induction, students identify the purposes, macrostructures and linguistic features of these genres and relate their findings to the purposes of the genres within the discourse communities.

How is this done in classroom practice? One example may suffice. In academic purposes settings, students (or teachers) can act as ethnographers, interviewing experts and collecting realia from the target setting. If the community is a group of international

agronomists, for example, students interview practicing agronomists to identify those genres that are central to the community, e.g., academic articles, dissertations, and newsletters. They compare various exemplars for a number of elements, e.g., macrostructure, grammar, lexicon, and metadiscoursal features. The discourses they have analyzed then become the texts for the LSP class, as students attempt to produce their own versions and to compare them with the texts by experts. Thus, in a genre-based class, the sequence of activities is (a) expert interviews, (b) collection of genres, (c) genre analysis, (d) preliminary conclusions about genres' purposes and features, (e) student genre production, and (f) evaluation by experts.

### Task-Based Approaches

'Task' is – and probably will remain – ill-defined in the literature, yet the concept has become increasingly important to LSP, for it meets criterial demands and can be suitable for either a learner-centered or a genre-based approach. In learner-centered curricula, tasks are seen either as learner actions or as learner representations of tasks. 'Doing' or action tasks are related in a manner much like the behavioral objectives of the 1950s: 'Learners will use Wh-questions in controlled drills,' or 'Learners will identify the main points of a text.' Though dated, these 'doing' tasks continue to provide structure and guidance for many curricula. A more current expansion on the 'doing' concept comes from the Notional-Functional language teaching advocates. For them, 'doing' can be divided into three categories: an action sequence, a notional-functional description, and a list of teaching points. An action sequence might be 'A person arrives at a party'; the description, 'Meeting strangers, introductions, first names,' and the teaching points would be "I'm Mohamed. She's Maria. I would like you to meet my wife" (Corbel, 1985: 78).

A learner-centered task definition of the early 1990s, 'task representation,' originates in the writing process literature. In this realization, the manner in which the learners mentally represent a task which they are given is central to learner success or failure. Thus, if learners misconstrue the audience or context for a writing task, they will find it difficult to produce an acceptable written product. Likewise, if the learners misread a text because their mental representation is not consistent with that of the text writer, their comprehension will not be complete.

Others speak of abilities rather than actions as central to task completion. They list as objectives phrases such as the following: 'Students will develop the ability to assimilate new concepts and information

associated with a specific subject,' 'They will be able to use linguistic resources to perform x task,' or 'They will understand particular modes of inquiry within a community.'

As can be seen from the last of the two definitions discussed, 'task' has become an important term both to learner processing studies and to understanding the demands of the target discourse community and its genres. Doyle (1979) has developed an appealing, global definition to guide pedagogues:

The term 'task' focuses attention on three aspects of students' work: (a) the products (or genres) students are to formulate, (b) the operations that are to be used to generate the product, i.e., the process, and (c) and the givens, the resources available to students in accomplishing the tasks (Doyle, 1979: 163).

These are some of the definitions of task that are influencing LSP teaching and curriculum development. Because of the plethora of definitions and because there is no agreement upon task difficulty or breakdown of tasks into mini-moves, introducing and sequencing of tasks in a curriculum is problematic. Nonetheless, task-based approaches, considered more authentic and holistic than national/functional or other alternatives, have been embraced by key figures in the LSP movement.

### Technological Influences

New definitions of literacy have begun to appear in the literature which will have a major impact in the twenty-first century upon the understanding of LSP teachers' roles and instructional aims. The computer is both widely available and can be used for many different purposes, including word processing. Because of this, it has become a necessary literacy tool in the lives of many LSP students, whatever their academic or professional/vocational goals. Thus, computer literacy, involving word processing and, in some cases, programming, is a fundamental aim in many LSP courses. Car mechanics must not only find the mechanical problems, but they must input the exact terms to cue an appropriate output. Businesspeople must read and exploit printouts, access bulletin boards, and make use of networks to communicate with their colleagues worldwide.

The technological demands of LSP settings include as basic a skill as typing and advanced skills in communication and programming. To meet these demands adequately, many LSP settings are computer labs in which students network to collaborate or peer review their writing, or use the computers to communicate with members of worldwide discourse communities.



## Evaluation of Curriculum and Teaching

In LSP, evaluation leads to change. The inadequate LSP curriculum is one that is overwritten or inflexible; the appropriate curriculum provides for change and input by all of those involved in its success. Because the curriculum must be specific to students' needs and their target discourse communities, teachers and students continually review the goals and purposes of their courses. Students are given opportunities to reflect upon the value of a particular classroom activity or text, in terms of their own learning styles and processes and their understanding of program goals. They can be asked, for example, whether they understood the purposes of what was being taught, whether they already know how to do an activity, whether an activity provided appropriate variety or focus, whether it assisted them in gaining understanding of the tasks they must perform, and whether they believe that they could transfer the task or use the texts in real world settings.

Teachers can also keep reflective evaluations, journals of what went well and what did not. They might ask themselves some of the following questions as they are involved in curricular revision: 'Were the needs assessments accurate and complete?' 'Were the needs assessments accurate and complete?' 'What do we still need to find out about students or about the target community?' 'Are the materials, methods, and activities appropriate to the newest assessment of student needs?' 'What changes should be made?' 'Are resources for teachers and students appropriate?' 'Where can we get additional resources?' 'Are learner strategies adequate?' 'What alternative strategies should we be encouraging?' 'Do learners attend regularly, apply themselves, and practice outside of class?' 'If not, why not?'

## Student Assessment

Student assessment is another issue that is central to the success of a curriculum, especially in ESP programs, which are highly accountable. Though testing is an area of LSP that has been generally neglected, much can be done to demonstrate student abilities and knowledge. One important area of assessment, especially in learner-centered curricula, is of self. Several types of self-assessment measures are suggested in the literature, depending upon the goals of the assessment process. There are, for example, self-assessments of writing or reading, in which students are asked to reflect upon the success of their approaches to particular texts. There are attitude and motivational assessments as well. Peer assessment is also central to the learning process; students

can be asked to consider criteria for discourses, then to evaluate the written or spoken work of their colleagues.

More traditional tests are for placement, proficiency and achievement, all of which are somewhat suspect within the LSP community. There are a number of reasons for these suspicions, the principal ones being that it is very difficult to test students on the real-world tasks that they will be performing in discourse communities for these tasks are very complex and task-graders are generally not target community experts. Nonetheless, tests do exist, principally because it is necessary to demonstrate student progress to clients and administrators. Perhaps the best-known and most universal LSP examinations are for English: the American TOEFL which is designed to predict general academic success, and the British Council ELTS modular test, in which various forms are available for students in a number of academic disciplines (e.g., physical, social, medical sciences).

Because specific purpose language teaching requires specific purpose testing, however, the best assessments take place at the local level. One promising area of assessment comes from the Portfolio Movement, an important contribution to the teaching of writing. Student portfolios, developed over time, contain student- and teacher-selected exemplars of work that is central to course objectives. Throughout the course, students reflect upon their portfolio entries, another method for self-assessment and evaluation of growth. One example of portfolio for general academic purposes students is this: through questionnaires and interviews with subject specialists, students and faculty determine the generic tasks that appear to cross disciplines and therefore to be required in some form by all the faculty, e.g., evaluative summaries, note-taking, critical responses to readings, and analysis of data. Then throughout the LSP course, students complete these tasks and select and reflect upon task examples in their portfolios. Teachers evaluate these tasks using specific, task-based criteria. When the term is over, the students have evidence for the academic faculty of their ability to perform the generic tasks assigned.

## Conclusion

Hutchinson and Waters, in their influential work (1987), speak of ESP (and LSP) as chance-taking approaches, the 'Wild West of ELT.' They also claim that LSP is the most demanding of language-teaching experiences for everyone involved. Because there are no orthodoxies as guides, teachers are faced with evolving curricular challenges. Because the teacher is obligated to prepare the students for the real world,

there are new realms of knowledge and skills that must be dealt with and individuals from target discourse communities (e.g., subject specialists) who must be consulted.

Though this article has touched upon some current trends in LSP, there are many LSP courses throughout the world that do not reflect these trends. In many foreign language settings, such as in China and Japan and in parts of Latin America, there continues to be a strong emphasis upon analysis of microfeatures of texts without concern for the discourse communities in which the texts are written. Pedagogies result that are more typical of the 1960s than of the late 20th century (Swales, 1985). In many parts of the world, learner-centered methodologies are not deemed appropriate, either by the political/educational leadership or by the students. Though the understanding of technology is vital in many areas of the developed world (e.g., in the European Community), its use has barely touched other regions. In some learning contexts, subject or professional specialists are easily accessible. In others, teachers with an LSP mandate are working in relative isolation.

Nonetheless, the ideal of LSP remains: a pedagogy must consider student styles, strategies, expectations and needs seriously. It must consider, as well, the target language use contexts, in order to develop a syllabus and teaching practices that are specific to a new learning situation.

*See also:* Languages for Specific Purposes.

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## Politics of Teaching

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### Introduction

This article examines the role of politics in applied linguistics and second language teaching. It begins with the traditional, mainstream understanding of the interface between politics and applied linguistics, i.e., language policy and planning, and moves from there to the rise since the 1990s of an alternative view of that interface, i.e., critical applied linguistics. The characteristics and positions of critical applied linguistics are outlined, and the major domains of applied linguistics such as international English and English for academic purposes are discussed from the perspectives of both mainstream and critical applied linguistics.

### The Politics of Mainstream Applied Linguistics

#### Language Policy and Planning

The branch of mainstream applied linguistics inextricably tied to politics and sociopolitical relations is language policy and planning (LPP). Indeed, as Kaplan and Baldauf pointed out, LPP may be considered the *ne plus ultra* of applied linguistics in society, or, as they put it, “linguistics applied” (1997: 307), and Kaplan has advocated an active role for applied linguists in the sociopolitical processes of LPP (2001: 9). Possible methods of political activism include forming interest groups, attending and participating in meetings of the board of education and/or the state assembly, writing position papers, serving as professional consultants, and working to inform and affect public opinion about language-based issues, e.g., through letters to the editor or websites – in short, utilizing whatever mechanisms for influence and change that one’s political system provides.

LPP deals with issues of language decision making, implementation, and evaluation at every level of society, from local to national, and these issues are always directly or indirectly political. They are directly political when local, state, or federal governments engage in formal debate and legislation in an attempt to mediate or resolve questions of language in society. But even when governments do not become formally involved in language policy, opting instead for a *laissez-faire* approach, language issues are nonetheless indirectly political because they affect the

lives of individuals and groups in all but the most linguistically homogeneous societies. In addition, it may be said that government nonintervention in matters of language is itself a language policy, though a tacit rather than a formal one, and, generally speaking, as societies with histories of governmental nonintervention become increasingly heterogeneous and/or find linguistic minority groups challenging the tacit language policy, governments will feel compelled by public pressure to deal directly with matters of language policy. This has been the case in the United States, which on one hand has no formal language policy at the federal level, but on the other hand has seen local and state governments legislate English as the official language.

A look at some of the typical questions asked in LPP clearly shows their inherent sociopolitical and socioeconomic nature, involving, as they do, crucial matters of national identity, linguistic advantage, educational opportunity, social relations, political participation, and fiscal resources:

1. What is/are/should be the national and/or official language(s) of the society?
2. What is/should be the role of minority language(s)?
3. Which language(s) should be taught in schools, e.g., the national/official language only? the native language(s) of linguistic minority groups? a language of international communication, e.g., English, Spanish, French?
4. What are/should be the goals of minority and foreign language instruction, e.g., equality of status between the majority and minority languages of the society? oral communicative competence in a foreign language or literacy proficiency only?
5. When does/should instruction in the minority and foreign languages begin, how much time during the school day is/should be devoted to language instruction, and how many years does/should it continue?
6. Are there sufficient numbers of trained teachers proficient in the languages of instruction to carry out the mandated policies? What are the plans and procedures for producing trained teachers?

Researchers employ a variety of techniques to investigate questions such as these, and despite the multidisciplinary nature of LPP, which draws from fields with their own research traditions and trends, e.g., anthropology, economics, education, political science, and sociolinguistics, we can identify some of the most common LPP research methodologies (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997; Baldauf, 2002):

1. Quantitative studies in the form of surveys and questionnaires in order to determine as accurately as possible the number of languages and dialects spoken in the society, and by how many people each one is spoken.
2. Discourse analyses of the uses and patterns of communication in the various linguistic communities, including patterns of literacy as well as speech. Discourse studies help to inform language-in-education planning for both linguistic majority and minority groups (Hornberger, 1995).
3. Historical analyses of the development, roles, and relationships of the languages in the society, since history and historical memories have a significant effect on the success or failure of LPP, e.g., Aboriginal languages *vis-à-vis* English in Australia.
4. Quantitative and qualitative studies of language attitudes among groups in the society. Attitudes need to be taken into account, particularly in language-in-education planning, in order to understand, for example, the hopes and desires of linguistic minority parents for their children, e.g., whether they want their children to be educated bilingually, or in the national/official/ dominant language of the society, and/or in a language of wider communication, such as English.
5. Longitudinal studies evaluating the processes and outcomes of LPP and language-in-education planning. Although both ideal and necessary, long-term evaluative studies in all areas of applied linguistics, including LPP, tend to be scarce. Only with the aid of longitudinal empirical studies, however, can adjustments and improvements in policy and planning be made.

To illustrate the complex sociopolitical, socioeconomic, and sociocultural realities of LPP, the language situation of the southeast African country of Mozambique will be described in brief in the next section.

**Mozambique** An independent country since 1975 after nearly five centuries as a Portuguese colony, Mozambique is a highly linguistically diverse nation, with 39 languages listed in the 2004 online database of *Ethnologue: languages of the world*. Almost all are Bantu languages, but the total also includes Portuguese, Chinese, and languages of India and Pakistan. No language is spoken by a majority of the population of over 16 million.

When Mozambique became independent in 1975, Portuguese continued as the *de facto* official language, since it was already the language of government and administration from colonial history. Only in the

1990 revised version of the constitution, however, was Portuguese formally declared the official language, not only because it was already unofficially in place in that capacity but because of its perceived national unifying effect on this highly multilingual nation ravaged by 16 years of civil war. Native speakers of Portuguese constitute approximately 3% of the population, and an estimated 40% speak and understand the language at varying levels of proficiency, a percentage corresponding to the estimated literacy rate. Portuguese is the language of instruction in the public school system, with English introduced as a required foreign language at the secondary level, and French offered at the secondary level only for certain specified university majors in the humanities and social sciences.

The rewriting of the constitution in 1990 also represented a significant turning point in the official language policy of Mozambique in that for the first time the issue of the country's indigenous languages was directly addressed: "The State shall value the national languages and promote their development and their growing usage as vehicular languages and in the education of citizens" (Lopes, 1999: 104). It is doubtful whether this clause would have been included had it not been for the ongoing debates and discussions about Mozambican languages in relation to Portuguese that took place in the Ministry of Education and the Office of the Secretary of State for Culture in the 1970s and 1980s. In addition, efforts by language professionals and others committed to the recognition of indigenous languages led to a conference in 1988 called the 1st Seminar on the Standardization of Orthography of Mozambican Languages, with a report of the meeting published the following year, and the subsequent influence on the writers of the revised constitution a year after that.

The wording of the clause in the constitution suggested two courses of action: (1) the development of the indigenous languages of Mozambique in the direction of literacy, e.g., vocabulary expansion, grammar usage, standardized spelling, etc.; and (2) the development and implementation of bilingual education programs to give all language groups in the society equality of opportunity. Both implications also pointed to the need for the services of linguists and applied linguists trained in methodology, materials development, and language-in-education planning.

However, the reality of the language situation in Mozambique has presented difficulties to this day in carrying out the goals expressed in the statement of the revised constitution. According to Lopes (1999), parents of school-age children want Portuguese and English proficiency for their children, not their native Bantu languages, for they see Portuguese and English as means to upward mobility; thus, "consciousness



raising and improvement of attitudes toward indigenous languages” (Lopes, 1999: 100) need to take place before bilingual education programs can be successfully implemented. In addition, Mozambique already suffers from a shortage of qualified teachers in the present Portuguese-based system, which raises a formidable obstacle, both in terms of human and fiscal resources, for the training of bilingual teachers in the indigenous languages of the country. Despite the difficulties, however, five bilingual education programs at the primary level were developed in the 1990s, as well as an adult literacy bilingual program for women. Both projects have drawn on the expertise of linguists and applied linguists for materials development and methodology, and while it is still too early to judge the outcomes of these programs, it is an encouraging sign that the indigenous languages and peoples of Mozambique are beginning to receive the official recognition and attention they deserve.

## **The Politics of Critical Applied Linguistics**

### **Critical Theory**

Critical applied linguistics is an alternative, oppositional approach to mainstream applied linguistics. It derives its name from critical theory, the umbrella term for the neo-Marxist-based work that originated in the 1930s at what has come to be known as the Frankfurt school, i.e., the Institute for Social Research at the University of Frankfurt, Germany. The members of the Frankfurt school themselves called their mix of theory, research, and philosophy ‘critical theory,’ for their intent was to critically analyze capitalist society, culture, and Western civilization, and to find ways of making a revised form of Marxism viable. The contemporary influence of the Frankfurt school reached its height in the 1960s and early 1970s, for example with the writings of Habermas (1972), and then the focus of attention in critical theory shifted to the work of French intellectuals, such as Foucault (1980) and Bourdieu (1991).

As an umbrella term, critical theory encompasses a broad range of concepts in areas such as linguistics, philosophy, literary theory, cultural studies, legal studies, and gender studies. Despite its diversity, however, we can identify some common core words and tenets borrowed from the vocabulary of Marxism, updated by theories of poststructuralism and postmodernism, reshaped by the realities of global capitalism and postcolonialism, and shared by critical theorists in all disciplines:

1. Ideology and the status quo. Critical theory starts with the assumption that societies are based on ideology, defined as the dominant

systems of values, beliefs, attitudes, preferences, and structures (social, political, economic, legal, educational, religious, etc.) in a society. What is often called culture in noncritical perspectives is subsumed under the all-encompassing term ‘ideology’ in critical theory, and to accept the ideology of one’s society is to acquiesce to the *status quo*.

2. Critique. In accordance with its name and origins, critique is the first analytic step in critical theory, the purpose of which is to deconstruct ideology, defined by critical theorists as all foundational principles, assumptions, and models of society.
3. Problematicization, contestation, power, transformation. Critique, which analyzes, leads to problematicization, which questions and challenges, and then to contestation, which resists and opposes. What is always critiqued, problematicized, and contested is power, for power relations in society inevitably mean hierarchy, with social, political, economic, educational, racial, ethnic, or sexual privilege for some and inequality for others. The ultimate goal of critical theory is social transformation, i.e., the elimination of inequality, through the work of “transformative intellectuals” (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1993: 45), and in this, critical applied linguistics is very much an outgrowth of critical theory.
4. Discourse(s). The concept of discourse was brought to the fore by Foucault (1980), and it refers to the construction and organization of systems of knowledge, meaning, and identity. Often used in the plural to reflect their multiplicity and not meant to be limited solely to the system of language, discourses are seen as assigning and mediating social values to all aspects of human interaction, e.g., speech, writing, images, gestures. In addition, according to Foucault (1980), discourses are systems of power and knowledge, which means that not only do we construct discourses but discourses construct us as subjects in dominant or nondominant power positions. Dominant discourses, however, can always be contested, and “the counter-discourse always projects, just over its own horizon, the dream of victoriously replacing its antagonist” (Terdiman, 1985: 56).

### **Language Policy and Planning**

Critical applied linguistics places politics at the center of its framework, but, unlike mainstream LPP, it rejects the traditional meaning of the word ‘politics,’ which is typically understood to be concerned with the activities and affairs of government and its associated institutions. Pennycook made the rejection explicit:

Language policy [is] sometimes taken to represent the political focus of applied linguistics [re] governmental decisions about the use and status of languages. Yet I want to resist this view that politics has to do with policy making or with the more formal domains of politics . . . (2001: 27)

Instead, politics is generalized to become synonymous with power, a key operative word in critical theory. This expansion of the concept of politics leads to the assertion found in every critical perspective that everything is political because power, and, with it, inequality, exist in all currently constituted social and institutional relations. Thus, Tollefson (2002: 4), was critical of mainstream LPP, while also acknowledging its widespread acceptance as the norm, for “too often accept[ing] uncritically the claims of state authorities” or, in other words, for not engaging in the problematization and contestation of linguistic power relations. For example, he did not accept the view that language policies are put into place “to enhance communication, to encourage feelings of national unity and group cooperation, and to bring about great social and economic equality” (2002: 5). Rather, he and other critical applied linguists, e.g., Luke and Baldauf (1990), argued that such assertions are merely covers for the *status quo*, and they criticize LPP for working within systems of dominant ideologies, thereby contributing to elitism, inequality, the privileging of Western-style models of development, and the repression or even extinction (“linguistic genocide,” Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000a) of multilingualism and multiculturalism.

One response by specialists in mainstream LPP to these charges has been that critical approaches critique, problematize, and contest LPP, but do not offer workable and productive alternatives to put in their place (Fishman, 1994). Another has been that the language policies that are actually carried out in societies are seldom based on knowledgeable language planning theory, thus creating a large gap between informed analysis on one hand, and sociopolitical, socioeconomic, and sociolinguistic practices on the other. Another response has been that, while LPP methods can be improved, the underlying issues “raised by this [post-structuralist and neo-Marxist] criticism cannot be fully rectified, even were society to be entirely overturned and rebuilt. Authorities will continue to be motivated by self-interest. New structural inequalities will inevitably arise to replace the old ones” (Fishman, 1994: 98). If so, there is always the danger of exchanging one powerful group for another, particularly if the new group in power bears resentments over its former subordinate position and is eager to settle scores.

Finally, there is the concern that ideological motivations in LPP can lead to unintended negative

consequences, or “unplanned language planning” (Eggington, 2002). Critical theorists who have accepted “the postmodern notion that ideologies of power inform and control every action, regardless of any attempts to create objective, or scientific, procedures in the language planning process” (Eggington, 2002: 410) are often unmindful of real world, human factors that can, and probably will, thwart an ideological course of action, to the detriment of the people it was designed to help. Eggington (2002: 410) cited the demand for “linguistic human rights” (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000b: 22) as an example of an “ideologically driven template”. Linguistic human rights takes the position that all linguistic minority children should be granted the right to learn and be educated in their parents’ native languages. As Eggington pointed out, the attempts to implement this ideology in the form of bilingual education programs have proven to be largely a failure because the ideological mindset behind them failed to foresee or take into account the human elements involved, e.g., the wishes of the parents for their children, the difficulties of training sufficient numbers of bilingual teachers, and the costs of establishing, maintaining, and ensuring quality programs.

## Second Language Teaching

**English as an International Language** Historically, applied linguistics has been linked to second language (L2) teaching; consequently, critical applied linguistics has also given considerable attention to the sociopolitical critique of L2 education, in particular the role and position of English as an international language. In mainstream applied linguistics, the global expansion of English tends to be seen as either beneficial or neutral (Crystal, 1997). The English-as-beneficial position points to the advantages of having a worldwide lingua franca for international communication, while the English-as-neutral position considers it a utilitarian phenomenon resulting from events and processes that have been decades, if not centuries, in the making – and a phenomenon that may not survive long term, as has historically been the case with other languages of wider communication, e.g., Latin.

For critical applied linguistics, English is the international language of communication not for historical and now commercial, scientific, technological, diplomatic, and travel reasons, but rather for ideological, imperialistic, hegemonic, capitalistic – in short, political – reasons (Pennycook, 1994). Viewing language as inextricably tied to power, class, and socioeconomic relations, critical applied linguists reject the idea that global English can be regarded as

either beneficial or neutral. In response to the former, they ask, “Beneficial for whom?” and their answer is that only the powerful and privileged elites in the world are advantaged by international English, whereas the less powerful or powerless are increasingly marginalized by not having access to English. In response to the English-as-neutral point of view, critical applied linguists assert that there is no such thing as a neutral position, and that accepting the role of English in the world without a struggle is “an uncritical endorsement of capitalism, its science and technology, a modernization ideology, . . . the Americanization and homogenization of world culture, linguistic culture, and media imperialism” (Phillipson, 1999: 274). An extension of the charge of imperialism is that in attaining linguistic dominance, English has contributed to the diminishment and death of other languages, as globalization, mediated above all through English, swallows up local cultures and languages, while educational systems throughout the world require students to study English at the expense of their local, indigenous languages.

Although English is currently the ascendant international language, indictments against the effects of its power can also be made against other major languages of the world. The dominance of Chinese (Mandarin Chinese), for example, has threatened the survival of at least 20 local languages in China. Spanish and Portuguese have contributed to the extinction or near-extinction of dozens of indigenous languages in Mexico and Central and South America. The power of Russian in Siberia has caused the disappearance of nearly all of the 40 local languages there. Moreover, Russian was so oppressively imposed on educational systems in the former Soviet Union that after its break-up one of the first acts of the newly independent eastern European countries was to replace Russian with English as a second language in the schools. And to this day France and Germany spend millions to promote French and German language and culture around the world. Whether through force of numbers, political and economic power, repressive measures, *laissez-faire* indifference, global competition, cultural marketing, or all combined, the pattern is unequivocal that the most widely spoken languages in the world have overwhelmed smaller languages in their spheres of power and influence.

This pattern is not set in stone, however, and there are indications of efforts to slow or halt the trend. As the realities of language endangerment and extinction have been increasingly publicized (e.g., by UNESCO), governments or official bodies have attempted to intervene on behalf of threatened languages through

language policy and planning. For example, the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages was established by the European Parliament in 1984 to protect the language rights of the more than 50 million people in the European Union who speak one of the 40 identified minority languages. As mentioned earlier, Mozambique as well as other African nations have worked to set up bilingual education programs in order to provide linguistic minority children with greater access to education in both their native language and the official language.

There is also the possibility that the dominance of English may become increasingly resented, and in response, the emerging condition may be the decline of global languages and the rise of regional languages, e.g., Arabic. In Africa, for example, “English is neither the only nor even the best means of communication. Throughout East Africa, Swahili is typically the first language that two strangers attempt upon meeting. In West Africa, [it is] Hausa” (Fishman, 2000: 1). Regional languages may meet the wider communicative needs of people more effectively and may provide a greater sense of identity for its speakers than any international language. Perhaps, too, replacing English with a regional language in schools could help reduce the resistance many students display to the requirement of English as a second language in countries such as Sri Lanka (Canagarajah, 1993b). If these scenarios are realized, the role of English as a world language could be narrowed to a few academic and technical specializations in which journals for international audiences would continue to be published largely in English, with abstracts translated into other major international and regional languages. “There is no reason to assume that English will always be necessary . . . for technology, higher education, and social mobility, particularly after its regional rivals experience their own growth spurts” (Fishman, 2000: 2).

**English for Academic Purposes** In mainstream applied linguistics, English for Academic Purposes (EAP) is a branch of English for Specific Purposes that came to prominence in the 1980s in response to the academic needs of the increasing population of L2 students enrolled in universities in which English was the medium of instruction. The goal of EAP is to help prepare L2 students for university study, usually in intensive programs of limited duration. It focuses on the development and improvement of academic language skills required for effective participation in undergraduate and graduate university programs, and to the extent possible, it is tailored to meet the needs of the students enrolled in EAP classes. Therefore, the first step in EAP is a needs analysis of the

students' academic goals and the types of language proficiency necessary to achieve them. Typically, EAP courses deal with (1) academic reading and the critical analysis of texts; (2) academic writing, both generally, e.g., the writing process, summarizing, paraphrasing, citing sources, and specifically, e.g., genre analysis or discipline-specific academic discourse such as the use of passive constructions in scientific and technical writing; (3) fluency and intelligibility of speech, e.g., small-group discussions, oral presentations; and (4) academic listening skills, e.g., gleaning the gist and key points of lectures. Because the intent of EAP is to help students succeed in an academic setting, it is often characterized as a practical or pragmatic approach to L2 teaching (Benesch, 1993; Santos, 2001).

In critical EAP, the pragmatism of mainstream EAP is politically critiqued from the top down, starting with institutional power relations between EAP students and the academy. Academic institutions are seen in critical EAP as inherently and inequitably hierarchical in structure, and both students and the EAP faculty need not only to be aware of the power relations as such but also to be actively engaged in modifying their subject positions within them. Indeed, the very concept of EAP has been contested for accepting "an unproblematic relationship between English and academic purposes" (Pennycook, 1997: 257) rather than helping "students articulate and formalize their resistance [to academic requirements], to participate more democratically as members of an academic community and in the larger society" (Benesch, 2001: 61). Mainstream EAP is criticized for assuming (1) that institutional academic demands of students are the same as the academic interests of students themselves, and (2) that the appropriate goal of L2 teaching at the university level is to acculturate students to academic discourse rather than to encourage them to problematize and work to change it.

Thus, for example, to accept needs analysis as the starting point in EAP is to risk maintaining and perpetuating institutional conditions in which subject matter courses and content are elevated to the highest status, while English is relegated to serving merely as a medium for content. Instead, critical needs analysis emphasizes the political nature of academia and deconstructs "who sets the goals, why they were formulated, whose interests are served by them, and whether they should be challenged" (Benesch, 2001: 43). Rather than a medium, English is seen as a discourse for contesting and countering existing power relations. As a replacement for needs analysis, therefore, critical EAP introduces the notion of rights analysis, which focuses on alternatives to the

academic *status quo* and posits that L2 students are entitled to more rights than they are accorded in determining the nature and substance of their academic experience in the university. "Rights... highlight academic life as contested... Rather than viewing students as initiates who must earn their place by adopting the discourse of faculty-experts, rights analysis assumes students are already members by virtue of paying tuition and taking classes" (Benesch, 2001: 62). In other words, instead of accepting as given the university's expectations of students, rights analysis emphasizes students' expectations of the university. EAP instructors are complicit in the marginalization of L2 students if they do not encourage them first to engage in a critical analysis of their positions as students *vis-à-vis* the faculty and the university, and then to exercise their rights by negotiating for change in their own academic interests.

What is also critiqued and contested is the academic discourse(s) that L2 students are typically socialized into in their EAP classes. Critical EAP challenges the academic language that L2 students are required to learn on the grounds that it also requires them to relinquish an essential part of their linguistic and social identities; more broadly, the academic knowledge they acquire in their majors or areas of specialization leads to the devaluation or destruction of the local knowledge they acquired in their native countries (Canagarajah, 1993a). In this way, dominant Western cultural traditions and knowledge threaten the survival of non-Western cultural traditions and knowledge, just as dominant languages threaten minority languages. An example of resistance to this domination can be seen today in France, where Arab language and culture is in conflict with French language and culture in the schools and the society. From the critical perspective, a resolution to the conflict is for minority groups to be encouraged "to construct alternate discourses that derive from a negotiation of the academic discourse and English [or French] language in light of their indigenous forms of knowledge, discourses, and languages" (Canagarajah, 1993a: 304). While acknowledging that educational systems might not welcome alternate discourses to academic conventions, Canagarajah argued that indigenous languages and knowledge systems should be considered equal to dominant academic discourses, and that ultimately, schools and universities will be enriched by accepting linguistic, intellectual, and academic pluralism.

The responses of mainstream EAP to the positions of critical EAP take several forms. One is that it is not L2 students themselves who are calling for challenge and change to the academic institutional structure of



higher education or to the dominant academic discourses and knowledge systems; rather, it is critical educators who consider power relations paramount in all institutional arrangements and who therefore take it upon themselves to work to raise the consciousness of their students so that they are made aware of their subordinate subject positions and will act to change them. Another is that it is unrealistic and perhaps undesirable to think that the accretion of generations of knowledge and discourse that go into the development of an academic discipline can, will, or should quickly give way to the kind of linguistic and intellectual modifications proposed by critical theorists, especially when students are usually not only willing but eager to be socialized into their chosen disciplines. A third is that the very presence of a critical mass of L2 students in higher education naturally and unobtrusively promotes pluralism in academia. Influence and negotiation are a two-way street, and just as Third World students are changed by immersion in Western intellectual traditions, so are Western universities changed by the linguistic, cultural, and intellectual resources that Third World students bring to them. The changes may at first seem minor or imperceptible, but over time they are felt and noticed, particularly in terms of language. Perhaps an appropriate analogy here is the way English as an international lingua franca has led to naturally occurring varieties such that we now talk about world Englishes – the plural signifying pluralism *par excellence*.

**Adult Second Language Teaching** The mainstream approach to adult second language teaching, which takes place in societies where the second language being learned and taught is the dominant/national/official language, is typically characterized as learner centered. Learner-centeredness is understood to mean that, since most adult learners have voluntarily chosen to attend language classes, their goals and desires for learning the language should be not only respected in the abstract but also acted upon by incorporating them into the syllabus and classroom practice, even in cases where the teacher may be philosophically opposed to the students' wishes, e.g., explicit instruction in grammar. Adult language learners are consulted as to (1) the content of the class based on common needs and interests, e.g., employment or housing issues; (2) the pacing of the course, i.e., when students feel they have reached a satisfactory level of understanding, proficiency, and practice for a particular concept or lesson, and are ready to move on; and (3) the degree to which the class is teacher centered, e.g., with explicit explanations, corrections, etc., or student centered, e.g., with pair work, group work, and other communicative activities.

A critical approach to adult language teaching rejects the mainstream view of learner-centered classrooms and its foundational assumption that adult learners “know what they want and what is ‘best’ for them, that giving learners choice is *in itself* empowering, and that the teacher should follow their lead” (Auerbach, 2000: 145). Learner-centeredness is also criticized for its unquestioning acceptance of the primacy of meeting students' needs and for implicitly supporting the ethos of opportunity and upward mobility that assumes an environment of individual choice and betterment. Instead, critical pedagogy in adult education – often called ‘participatory learning,’ after Freire (1970) – is based on the premise that empowerment and improvement in the lives of subordinate groups can come about only through an understanding of the inequitable power relations in society and subsequent collective action to change these oppressive conditions. Therefore, in keeping with the tenets of critical theory, the explicitly political goals of the adult language classroom, whether in Latin America, Africa, North America, or Europe, are (1) sociopolitical critique of students' lives, daily experiences, and circumstances in their communities *vis-à-vis* the dominant ideology and power relations of their societies; (2) problematicization, or Freirean problem posing, of these experiences and circumstances through critical reflection and discussion; and (3) strategies for collective social and political action to effect change through a democratic process and to try to provide marginalized groups with the means to work within their own systems for the betterment not only of their own lives but also of their communities.

In contrast to critical pedagogy at other levels of education, which has tended to avoid presenting specific pedagogical practices out of fear of becoming a prescriptive methodology, adult language teaching from the critical perspective has from the start provided examples and case studies of alternative rationales, curricula, and activities; moreover, these have been sufficiently detailed to allow interested teachers and other applied linguists to envisage what a critical classroom would actually look like in practice. Auerbach and Wallerstein (1987) were among the first to outline their work with adult ESL learners in the United States, and Auerbach (1992, 1996, 2000) has continued to present her principles and practices of participatory pedagogy. Drawing on the common issues in the lives of Latina women in Washington, D.C., Frye (1999) discussed the critical, participatory curriculum she developed for her ESL class. In Canada, Norton Peirce (1995) and Morgan (1998) gave accounts of critical approaches to teaching adult ESL in different settings in Ontario. Kerfoot

(1993) described the critical/participatory curriculum and materials developed by a nongovernmental organization for adult ESL programs around Cape Town, South Africa. And two volumes (Smoke, 1998; Sauve, 2000) have been devoted entirely to programs and practices in critical adult ESL.

It is interesting to note that, alone, among the branches of critical applied linguistics, adult language teaching has received no oppositional response from the mainstream. Why this is so is a matter of speculation, but it may speak to the general lack of interest and attention, even among professionals, both to adult basic education and to adult second language programs. Public funding for the development and maintenance of such programs is almost always inadequate, and the minority and/or immigrant groups in need of adult second language classes are typically viewed by the public with indifference or even hostility. Just as the students are socioeconomically and sociopolitically marginalized, so, too, are the mostly part-time language teachers who work with them. The combination of these circumstances contribute to, if not cause, the outlier effect for adult language education; adult second language learning and teaching seem to fly under the radar. However, it may also be that a critical/participatory approach to adult second language teaching is seen as the most appropriate for this student population, more than for any other. The sociopolitical critique of structural inequalities, the concomitant questioning of these inequalities, and the search for collective ways to work for social and political change may be the most realistic and effective way to structure adult second language classes.

## Conclusion

A political, and politicized, approach to applied linguistics and second language teaching has been variously described as “applied linguistics with an attitude” (Pennycook, 2001: 177), as a series of “social visions” (Norton and Toohey, 2004: 1), and as a pedagogy that is “in your face” (Santos, 2001: 182). As a relatively recent movement that began in the late 1980s, gained momentum in the 1990s, and continues into the 21st century, it is not clear whether critical theory and pedagogy will remain an oppositional, alternative perspective or whether it will gain currency in mainstream applied linguistics. It has attracted dedicated specialists who are drawn to its hope of sociopolitical transformation and who seek ways to realize that hope through localized practices in language education.

One of the hidden dangers of a critical approach is the possibility of an activist counterresponse from its

political polar opposite. Critical theory and pedagogy assume a shared **liberatory** vision; however, a shared conservative vision that is anything but liberatory is not out of the question. Indeed, Pennycook (2001: 29) touched on this very point when he acknowledged the possibility of “a potential position . . . that combines conservative politics and applied linguistics.” But instead of exploring the implications of such a potential, he dismissed it by saying, “Since conservatism is an anathema for my vision of critical applied linguistics . . ., I do not dwell on this possibility” (2001: 29). Whether too distasteful to dwell on or not, however, the possibility remains.

Finally, when speculating on the role of critical applied linguistics in the future, it is necessary to consider such factors as the number of students in teacher preparation courses who can be won over to an overtly political approach to language teaching; whether conditions they find in language programs in which they are hired to teach allow for or are conducive to critical approaches; whether their language students are accepting of or resistant to critical classroom practice; whether alternative teaching and learning materials are available or permitted; and the degree of individual commitment to critical pedagogy even in the face of indifference or opposition. In all likelihood critical theory will continue to be espoused; the question is whether critical pedagogy will be carried out on any but a relatively small scale.

*See also:* Applied Linguistics; Critical Applied Linguistics; Language Policy in Multilingual Educational Contexts; Writing in a Second Language.

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## Reading and Multiliteracy

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A rich vein of articles and books has recently offered new perspectives on reading and literacy, invoking such terms as 'multiliteracies' and 'multiple literacies.' In this piece, I will signal some of the debates and concepts in this emerging field, with particular reference to New Literacy Studies (NLS), both in terms of theoretical perspectives and of their implications in schooled contexts, as theorists and practitioners address the tensions and possibilities that arise when students and teachers apply such innovations to curricula and classrooms. While 'reading' has generally been seen in educational contexts as about decoding and much of the policy literature follows this line (cf. Snow, 1998), those researching literacy from a social practice perspective offer a broader interpretation of reading as well as of literacy that has profound implications for classroom practice.

Such reconceptualization begins from the problematizing of what counts as literacy at any time and place and asks 'whose literacies' are dominant and whose are marginalized or resistant. This query entails the recognition of multiple literacies, varying according to time and space but also contested in relations of power. To address these issues ethnographically, literacy researchers have focused on 'literacy events' and literacy practices,' the latter representing an attempt to handle the events and the patterns of activity around literacy but to link them to something broader of a cultural and social kind: part of that broadening involves attending to the fact that in a literacy event, we have brought to it concepts, social models regarding what the nature of this practice is and that make it work and give it meaning. This reconceptualizing of literacy has produced a wealth of 'ethnographies of literacy' (cf. Street, 1984, 2001; Barton, 2000; Baynham, 2004). The strength and significance of this approach and this considerable literature is attested by a recent spate of critical accounts that have addressed some of the problems that they raise, both in general and, more specifically, for educational applications.

An apt place to begin is with the contestations over the terms 'multiple literacies' and 'multiliteracies.' The notion of multiple literacies was coined in the early 1980s (Street, 1984) in order to make a contrast with a reified autonomous notion that dominated the field at that time, which assumed that there was only one thing called 'literacy' – which had a big 'L' and a little 'y': which was singular and autonomous in the sense that it was a factor that independently had

effects on other things. The idea of multiple literacies, then, was an important construct in challenging that autonomous singular literacy: literacies vary according to cultural contexts and uses and what is taught in schools as 'the' literacy is only one variety among many.

The concept of multiliteracies that has been put forward by the 'New London Group' (NLG) (Cope and Kalantzis, 2000) refers not to multiple literacies, associated with different cultures or contexts, but to multiple forms of literacy associated with different channels or modes, such as computer literacy or visual literacy. Kress (1997), a member of the NLG, has criticized the further extensions of multiliteracy into, for instance, political literacy, or emotional literacy, thereby using the term as a metaphor for competence. The NLG are more interested in channels and modes of communication that can be referred to as 'literacies.' For Kress, multiliteracy signals a new world in which the reading and writing practices of literacy are only one part of what people are going to have to learn in order to be 'literate' (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1990). They are going to have learn to handle the icons and the signs, the Word for Windows package with all its combinations of signs, symbols, boundaries, pictures, words, texts, images, etc. The extreme version of this position is the notion of 'the end of language' – that somehow we are no longer talking about language in its rather traditional notion of grammar, lexicon, and semantics, but rather semiotic systems that cut across reading, writing, speech, into all these other semiotic forms of communication. This collection, then, is what is signaled by the term 'multiliteracies': a rather different approach from that entailed by the 'multiple literacies' view outlined above.

These approaches are currently being debated not only in terms of the boundaries of the concepts but also in terms of broader theoretical and methodological issues. In terms of theory, for instance, Brandt (2002) recently commented on 'the limits of the local' evident, she believes, in the ethnographic approach to multiple literacies. She argues that NLS ought to be more prepared to take account of the relatively 'autonomous' features of literacy without succumbing to the autonomous model with its well-documented flaws: this approach would involve, for instance, recognizing the extent to which literacy does often come to 'local' situations from outside and brings with it both skills and meanings that are larger than the emic perspective favored by NLS can always detect. This recognition, of course, is exactly what many educationalists would argue regarding the



relationship between local literacy practices and those of the school. Likewise, Collins and Blot (2002) were concerned that, while NLS has generated a powerful series of ethnographies of literacy, there is a danger of simply piling up more descriptions of local literacies without addressing more general questions of both theory and practice. They proposed the terms ‘texts power and identities’ as a basis for comparative generalization, building on the descriptive capacity of the lenses offered by NLS to engender a more powerful set of generalizations about the uses and meanings of literacy practices. Those lenses were themselves sharpened by a number of contributors to an edited volume *Situated literacies* (Barton *et al.*, 2000). Gee, for instance, located the situated approach to literacies in relation to broader movements towards a ‘social turn’ that he sees as a challenge to the behaviorism and individualism that NLS has also pursued. Maybin, in the same volume, also links NLS to wider strands of social-critical work, offering a way of linking Foucauldian notions of Discourse, Bakhtinian notions of intertextuality, and work in Critical Discourse Analysis with the recognition from NLS of “the articulation of different discourses [as] centrally and dynamically interwoven in people’s everyday literacy activities.” Bartlett and Holland (2002) likewise proposed an expanded conception of the ‘space of literacy practices,’ drawing upon innovations in the cultural school of psychology, sociocultural history, and social practice theory. They are particularly concerned to harness NLS to broader concerns with identity and suggest three concepts: figured world, artifacts, and identities in practice. As with the other papers and books, they build these extensions and developments upon the basic tenets of NLS, using ethnographic case studies of literacy in practice.

Another update and extension of NLS is to be found in Hornberger’s edited volume (2002) in which authors attempt to apply her conception of the ‘continua of biliteracy’ to actual uses of reading and writing in different multilingual settings: ‘biliteracy’ is defined as “any and all instances in which communication occurs in two (or more) languages in or around writing” and is described in terms of four nested sets of intersecting continua characterizing the contexts, media, content, and development of biliteracy. A number of the authors, as in the Martin-Jones and Jones (2001) book, drew out the links of NLS to such multilingual settings. Peter Freebody’s recent account of the different ways in which ‘Critical Literacy’ has been construed (Freebody, forthcoming) offered a further, critical perspective on NLS and its implications for education. He argued that the meanings of CL vary according to

both “focus and method of study on the one hand and, on the other, the disciplines that have developed these approaches.” Thus:

- Linguists have generally taken the text as a semi-otically structured object, to be the prime unit of focus of critical literacy;
- Sociologists have generally focused on how language uses signal as the operation of social formations such as race, gender, and class, and how these formations in turn give shape to how we read, write, look, talk, and listen; and
- Anthropologists have taken cultural practices and the ways that different literate representations variously implicate and afford these.

Being rooted in anthropological approaches, although perhaps recently focused more in ethnographic methods from a range of sources, New Literacy Studies can be seen to focus more on practices than on texts and more on fine-tuned processes of identity construction than on gross categories of class, race, and gender. However, all three approaches would probably agree with Freebody’s general characterization of CL as concerned “with giving access to texts, transforming sociopolitical processes and” – most crucially for NLS – “developing the practical understanding that people are educated to become variously the objects and subjects (both the topics of and the readers and writers) of a selected tradition of representing reality in public and official forms.” How such traditions are constructed and reproduced and how individuals and social groups are inserted into them is a central focus of NLS – taking nothing for granted with respect to literacy and the social practices with which it becomes associated.

The effects of these critical engagements is that NLS is now going through a productive stage of theory building that first establishes and consolidates many of the earlier insights and empirical work, and second builds a broader and perhaps less beleaguered field of study that can appeal beyond the specific interests of ethnographers on the one hand and educationalists on the other, to those engaged in more general issues of identity, power, and textuality. The next stage of work in this area, then, is to move beyond simply theoretical critiques of the autonomous model of literacy and to develop positive proposals for interventions in teaching, curriculum, measurement criteria, and teacher education in both the formal and informal sectors, based upon these principles. It will be at this stage that the theoretical perspectives brought together in the ‘New Literacy Studies’ will face their sternest test: that of their practical applications to mainstream education. In a recent edited volume (Street, 2005), a number of

authors took on this challenge and attempted to follow through such practical applications of the NLS approach, in terms of the links between such theoretical debate and the work of teachers in school addressing literacy issues. Likewise, Hull and Schultz (2001) built upon the foundational descriptions of out-of-school literacy events and practices developed within NLS, to return the gaze back to the relations between in and out of school, so that NLS is not seen simply as 'antischolar' or as interested only in small scale literacies of resistance. They want to use the understandings of especially children's emerging experiences with literacy in their own cultural milieus to address broader educational questions about learning of literacy and of switching between the literacy practices required in different contexts. This issue was also addressed in current research by Baker, Street, and others applying literacy theory to the understanding of numeracy practices in and out of school (Baker and Street, 2004; Baynham and Baker, 2002).

Meanwhile, Larson's edited volume (2001) addressed the relationship between current policy initiatives that stress a more decontextualized view of literacy and the approaches indicated here, including NLS and 'critical' perspectives: the authors demonstrated the problems with the dominant narrow approach and attempted to construct more meaningful solutions. This theme was developed further in a forthcoming volume, *Framing literacies* (forthcoming), in which Larson and Marsh attempted to reconnect what we know about literacy learning to what we do. The book took three prominent theoretical frameworks, New Literacy Studies, Critical Literacy, and Sociocultural Theory, and illustrated what these frameworks look like in real case examples, articulating how the frameworks discussed work together to construct rich and complex contexts for literacy learning and progressive frameworks for research. Another volume in this genre, edited by Rowsell and Pahl (forthcoming), also attempted to make links explicitly between theory and educational practice. At a theoretical level, they attempted to combine the multiliteracies and the multiple literacies positions: "To meet the demands of our changing communicational landscape, we need to adjust our notion of literacy and its implications on how we produce texts in multiple settings, at different times, by different sets of actors." At the same time, they want to follow through the implications of this production for pedagogy and curriculum, and the authors in their volume provided examples of actual classroom practice where such shifts can be identified. The same two authors (Pahl and Rowsell, 2005) have also written a book for classroom teachers offering a practical guide to applying New Literacy

Studies within primary, secondary, and family literacy contexts. It aimed to offer ways to rethink, redefine, and redesign language and literacy in the classroom to meet the contemporary needs and skills of students.

All of these initiatives, then, make considerable demands on both theorists and practitioners in the area of language and education in general and of literacy and reading in particular, challenging dominant views of each term and its applications. From this perspective, reading is now located in the broader field of literacies, and the understanding of literacies is in turn contested between approaches from ethnography, critical theory, and sociocultural views of language and learning. Whichever position one takes in this fast moving field, it will no longer be possible to envisage either reading or literacy in the simple, unidimensional ways that have dominated schooling until now.

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## Remediation of Language Disorders in Children

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Disorders of language in children involve an inability to use the rules of form (syntax, morphology, phonology), content (semantics), or pragmatics (contextual use) to understand or produce messages. Rather than solely focusing narrowly on the disorder, the educationalist's remit encompasses the whole child's complex interaction with the environment, society, and culture. Remediation as such is only a partial goal.

Language disorders become significant when they result in serious disadvantage, particularly in learning and consequently in economic, social, emotional, and/or physical well-being. They range in severity from no recognizable receptive or expressive language, qualitative disorders where language is bizarre or meaningless, through to language delay, and interrupted or partial loss. Atypical language may occur in isolation or in a constellation of other factors. The overall effect will depend on the type and degree of language disorder, the age of onset, when identified, and the quality of intervention.

Despite more than 5% of the world's child population experiencing communication impairment serious enough to require specialist assistance, many children, particularly those in developing countries, do not have access to basic medical care, such as having their hearing or vision assessed and adequate prosthetic devices prescribed. Consequently many mild communication problems that could easily be rectified in childhood are left unattended, to assume debilitating proportions in adult life. At the global level, enormous inequalities occur in the types and quality of intervention available and this inequality is evident even in the wealthiest countries, especially those with indigenous populations.

Theories to explain how a child acquires language have helped shape program design for children with language disorders (Owens, 2005). Early 20th century studies concentrating on language form and learning theory gave rise to behaviorism (Skinner, 1957), a theory based on the assumption that all behavior including language is learned. With nurture the principal driving force, children learn language through modeling, imitation, practice, and selective reinforcement. Language problems, the result of faulty reinforcement, are therefore corrected by rearranging environmental events to provide more appropriate reinforcement. Behaviorist approaches tend to be considerably successful in limited, structured clinical

tasks, but are much less successful outside that narrow context in achieving communicative competence in the real world. Nevertheless, behaviorism remains an important ingredient in contemporary program design, especially in clinical settings and with children with severe to profound communication disorders, because it can be highly structured and unambiguous.

Chomsky's (1957, 1965) syntactic model of psycholinguistics argued that the child has an innate predisposition to use linguistic rules, particularly those of syntax. Language users generate sentences using what he referred to as a language acquisition device. In this theory, nature is paramount. Bloom (1970) narrowed the nurture–nature gap by contending that language development is predicated upon cognitive development and therefore semantics, not syntax, is regarded as being more important. Her semantic-cognitive model of psycholinguistics concluded that the child requires an active, sensorimotor involvement with the environment in order to employ language to encode existing knowledge. Dore (1974), Bruner (1975) and Halliday (1975) all stressed the importance of social exchange as the motivation behind language acquisition. They argued that language is both acquired and learned through the facilitative social interactions between caregiver and child. This emphasis on pragmatics and communicative purpose enabled interventionists to widen their approach by simultaneously considering both language training and learning context.

Sociolinguistic theorists consider a potentially larger communication unit, the discourse. Many differences observed among children's communication, previously thought to be disorders or incorrect language use, are merely differences that relate to the child's social and cultural background (Heath, 1986). Discourse analysis provides another level of insight into how language and context are intertwined.

The most far-reaching international change in the treatment of language disorders in children has been educational inclusion (McCormick *et al.*, 2003). At a micro-level, inclusion is about the inalienable human right of a child to attend their local school with same aged peers and to be catered for there in ways that match identified needs. Many countries have enacted this right into legislation, thereby providing hope to those who have been excluded from mainstream society because of their inability to communicate. (This has been all too common in the developing world.) At the macro-level, inclusion has transformed service provision by shifting the locus of control out of individual disciplines, such as speech language pathology and special education, into the mainstream arena.



The resultant, eclectic, broad-focus, inclusive approach has the potential (if properly resourced) to cater much more effectively for the diverse needs of individual children with language disorders, in the most culturally responsive ways possible. Transdisciplinary collaboration, where team members work together without traditional rigid specialization boundaries to assume roles that are determined by the prioritized communication needs of the child, has emerged as the preferred style of interaction. Team composition may change as the child grows but most often comprises the child (whenever possible), the parents or guardians, the speech language pathologist, educators (both regular and special), and other providers according to the particular needs and age of the child. Transdisciplinary teams use a written program planning document to collaborate in assessment, planning, and implementation. In the United States, for children aged from birth to 3 years, it is the Individualized Family Service Plan (IFSP), for school-aged children the Individualized Education Program (IEP), and for those 14 years or over, the Individualized Transition Plan (ITP), which prepares the student for independent, yet well integrated, adult community living. At an international level, documents such as the IFSP, IEP, or ITP facilitate ongoing collaboration. Desired learning outcomes are chosen by the child whenever possible.

For the speech language pathologist, inclusion has meant a move from clinic based one-on-one-therapy to also working in the child's day-to-day environment, such as in the child's home, out in the community, and in the classroom. It has similarly meant a move from solely relying on standardized psychometric assessment to inform the instruction/intervention process, to employing more naturalistic assessment measures. The focus away from objectivity alone to encompassing more holistic approaches has brought considerable benefits, but also considerable challenges, as it is dependent upon the adequate provision of resources (human, material, and temporal).

Together with inclusion, another equally important international development has been the emergence of early intervention. Early intervention involves the provision of specialist services to very young children deemed to have environmental, biological, and/or established risks of developing communication disorders, with the goal of minimizing risks and maximizing future potential. An example of this is early cleft palate surgery accompanied by speech therapy and family support. Researchers have identified key factors that may hinder children's language development or predispose them to developing language disorders. By identifying and treating these critical factors as early as possible, reductions occur in both the number of

children displaying long-term difficulties and the severity of these difficulties (Bailey *et al.*, 2001). Much early intervention focuses on promoting facilitative parent-child interactions. Through the IFSP, team members ensure the provision of ongoing high-quality programs. Instead of being marginalized, involving family members in the decision making frames them as part of the solution, not part of the problem, as in the past. Involving families in language intervention whenever possible is a highly effective strategy, which is supported by research and legislation.

Mostly intervention approaches involve a strong emphasis on early intervention, inclusion, and collaboration. They are then further tailored to fit the particular needs of individual students as elucidated above. The following section specifically considers children with hearing impairment, intellectual disability, profound multiple disabilities, impairments in communication and social reciprocity, and specific language impairment.

For children with hearing impairment, the screening of newborns ensures early identification and allows for the immediate provision of state-of-the-art technology, such as hearing aids, cochlear implants, and extensive speech language therapy. The earlier the provision, the better the outcome with spoken language and overall education (Tobey *et al.*, 2003). The three major approaches to teaching communication are oral communication, total communication (a simultaneous combination of both spoken and signed-first language), and the bilingual-bicultural approach (where the child learns the sign language of the local deaf community and its culture). This approach particularly suits deaf children of deaf parents. As no sign language has a written form, deaf children must learn a sound based language to become literate and to promote community inclusion.

Children with intellectual disability experience delays in language development with the delay roughly matching the severity of their impairment. Once again, intervention is best when it begins early, is a natural part of the child's world, involves learning by doing, and is concrete rather than abstract. Intervention follows normal developmental guidelines, involves lots of repetition and overlearning, with new information regularly highlighted and explicitly taught (Owens *et al.*, 2002). Particular attention must be given to help the child generalize language skills. For children with profound multiple disabilities, augmentative or alternative communication (AAC) systems may be required (Mirenda, 2003). Augmentative systems support speech and language, whereas alternative systems provide substitutes. These can be either unaided such as speech reading and gesture, which require expert knowledge; or aided such as

communication displays that consist of objects, photographs, words, numbers, or symbols; or electronic devices such as teletext captioning, voice recognition, and output communication aids; or amplification systems such as FM hearing aids. Although there are a number of different programs available, one that can be used by families and educators alike is a hybrid approach that combines aided-language stimulation with naturalistic language strategies and incidental teaching (Cafiero, 2001).

Impairments in communication and social reciprocity such as Autism Spectrum Disorders or Pervasive Developmental Disorders require ongoing intense early intervention that involves family members. Systematic intervention that builds on the child's strengths, focuses on pragmatic aspects of communication, and teaches for generalization is also recommended. A popular but demanding program, Applied Behavior Analysis, uses the child's interests to guide target selection and activities, thereby increasing the likelihood for skill generalization (Campbell, 2003). Grandin (2004) claims she employs a fivefold synergistic approach to manage her own autism consisting of learning social skills, micro-doses of medication, daily intense physical aerobic exercise, a gluten-free diet, and psychoeducation involving mentors to help her gain increased understanding and control of her own abilities.

Children with specific language impairment form a heterogeneous group who experience problems associated with phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. They do not have any identifiable disabilities, making it a diagnosis of exclusion. These children are usually late talkers, have delayed language development, and often experience literacy problems once they start school, hence the connection with learning difficulties. Often they miss out on early intervention because they have not been identified early enough and similarly miss out on early support in school for the same reason. Six popular clinical language intervention approaches are: imitation, modeling, focused stimulation, conventional recasting, expansion, and scaffolding (Leonard, 1988; Bernstein and Tiegerman-Faber, 2002). In the classroom, strategies employed include behavioral approaches, metacognition, reciprocal teaching, self-instructional training, focused instruction in reading and written expression, co-operative learning, peer tutoring, parents as teachers, micro-computers, and training in social skills.

In conclusion, the gradual shift in emphasis historically from attending to speech disorders to attending to language disorders (including those that relate to speech) has paralleled a change in focus from oral language to literacy (Neuman and Dickinson, 2002)

and from a concentration on the disorder to thinking about the whole child in complex interaction with the environment, society, and culture. Early intervention, educational inclusion, and family involvement using transdisciplinary collaboration are core strategies in the context of which therapy is provided for children with language disorders. Remediation is one arm of therapy but more important is the child's happiness and well-being. Therapy is by committed specialist teams that also include the child and the child's family. It is holistic and culturally sensitive. Technology is an important and developing adjunct. Communication support is a human right.

*See also:* Language Education of the Deaf.

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## Second Language Curriculum Development

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### Introduction

One problem that arises in discussing curriculum development with language educators from many different countries is that different terminology is used in various places around the world. Hence, this article will begin by defining some key terms. Language class and course will refer to the regular meetings of a relatively small group of language students usually over a defined period of time with a particular teacher. A language program will be defined as a collection of such classes or courses in a single institution (e.g., a language school, university, school district, or state). Language curriculum will refer to the selection and structure of the content and learning processes of a language course or program. Also, language curriculum development will be defined as any systematic effort to create or improve the selection and structure of the content and learning processes to fit the needs of the people in a particular language course or program.

Given those definitions, the purpose of this article is to provide an overview of what is known today about language curriculum development by discussing those factors in the literature that are seen as important in carrying out language curriculum development. To that end, the following six main headings will be used: (a) underpinnings of curriculum, (b) contexts of curriculum, (c) organization of curriculum, (d) information gathering for curriculum, (e) key questions in curriculum, and (f) outcomes of curriculum.

### Underpinnings of Curriculum

The underpinnings of curriculum development are the language teaching approaches in which students, teachers, and administrators believe as well as their overall philosophies of curriculum development.

### Approaches

Most teachers begin teaching a course with certain preconceptions and assumptions about what and how their students need to learn. These will be referred to here as approaches (after Brown, 1995a). For years, language teachers have drawn on a variety of disciplines (including psychology, linguistics, education, and other fields) in formulating their approaches.

One early strain of thought that emerged over the years was called the grammar-translation approach.

Based on humanistic traditions and prescriptive notions of grammar, teachers believed that languages were learned primarily in order to access the knowledge of the world (i.e., the great books). As a result, teachers felt that their students needed to learn prescriptive grammar deductively through reading, translation, and memorization of passages from important texts in whatever target language was involved. Note that this approach, like the others discussed below, continues to influence teachers today – at least in some places around the world.

The direct approach continued to be affected by the notions of prescriptive grammar. However, in reaction to the grammar-translation approach, the adherents of the direct approach felt that students needed to learn meanings directly (i.e., they needed to associate meanings directly with the appropriate objects, movements, and gestures) and therefore needed to learn inductively while using only the target language. In addition, oral skills (listening and speaking) typically took precedence over written skills (reading and writing).

Based on language teaching developments during World War II, the audiolingual approach drew on descriptive linguistics and behavioral psychology – especially the ideas of operant conditioning and behavioral modification. Students' learning needs revolved primarily around inductive learning of listening and speaking (before reading and writing) through habit formation based on stimulus–response exercises such as pattern, transformation, and substitution drills.

The cognitive code approach, which developed as a counterpoint to the audiolingual approach, was based on the belief that language learning is a set of dynamic cognitive processes, not just a set of habits that must be formed. Thus, students were believed to need active participation in their own cognitive processes by consciously learning the structures and using the language.

The communicative approach concentrated on developing the students' communicative competence including the use of different registers and styles needed in different situations. It was also felt that students needed to be able to formulate meanings that were important to them in their own lives. This approach advocated the use of both inductive and deductive learning based on the best available knowledge (drawn from the analysis of natural discourse) about grammar, semantics, pragmatics, etc., as this knowledge applied to the particular communicative needs of a particular group of learners for reading, writing, listening, or speaking. This approach is currently the most influential one around the world – at least from a theoretical perspective.



Naturally, the five major approaches listed above are not the final and definitive listing. Other prominent approaches defining what and how students need to learn may have been overlooked here, and new and exciting ways of defining students' language learning needs are likely to evolve in our dynamic field. Perhaps content-based instruction (Brinton *et al.*, 1989) will emerge as *the* important approach, or maybe some other as yet unpublished approach will emerge. The main point is that approaches describe a set of options in which all language curriculum developers must take an interest.

### **Philosophies**

Brown (1995a) discusses four philosophies that can underlie curriculum development: the discrepancy, democratic, analytic, and diagnostic philosophies. The discrepancy philosophy takes the view that students' needs are the differences, or discrepancies, between what they can actually do and what the teachers think they should be able to do. For example, teachers may want their students to be at a high level of academic English ability so they can succeed in an American university, but observe that they are currently at a low level.

The democratic philosophy takes the view that students need to learn whatever the majority of the group thinks they should learn. Whether this group is defined as the students themselves, their teachers, program administrators, or the language school owners, the democratic philosophy leads to teaching the students whatever the majority of the group thinks appropriate.

The analytic philosophy takes the view that students will learn better whatever they need to learn next in the hierarchy of language development. Thus, this philosophy might lead to a curriculum based on what is known about language learning and the hierarchy of language development steps.

The diagnostic philosophy takes the view that students need to learn whatever would prove harmful by its lack. This philosophy might lead to curriculum that includes the important language skills necessary for students to survive on a day-to-day basis in the target language community.

### **Contexts of Curriculum**

The contexts of curriculum have to do with the many possible levels at which it can occur, but also have to do with the purposes of the curriculum development process.

#### **Levels**

Curriculum development can take place at many levels, including at least international, national,

state or province, county, school district, multiprogram, program, and classroom levels. The scale is obviously different for the various levels and the complexity of getting things accomplished can grow exponentially with increases in the numbers of people and the sizes of egos involved, depending also, of course, on the political realities of the situation (for more on this issue, see Brown, 1993).

### **Purposes**

One of the factors in curriculum development that is often overlooked is the wide variety of purposes the process can serve. Naturally, curriculum development can help create sound pedagogy. However, it can also have residual effects that provide renewed purpose for the program, foster leadership, help maintain or gain control of resources, furnish necessary political structures, help give a voice to different constituencies, build consensus, resolve conflict, adapt to change, change practices, plan future policies and curriculum projects, ameliorate working conditions, foster professional growth, and provide knowledge for the whole field. Any or all of these purposes can provide motivation for curriculum development.

### **Organization of Curriculum**

In organizing curriculum, different aspects may need sorting out. Most commonly, organizing course content and organizing people are the two areas that need most attention.

#### **Organizing Course Content**

Syllabuses are defined here as the different ways of selecting and organizing the overall order of course content whether that be viewed as course materials or the associated teaching. In other words, it is the process of deciding what should be included and what should come first, second, third, etc.

Structural syllabuses focus on grammatical forms. Many textbooks and classroom materials have been organized around grammatical structures. The rationale is that those structures that are important in the language should be selected and then sequenced from easy to difficult (or sometimes, from frequent to less frequent). The grammar-translation and direct approaches tend to be organized around structural syllabuses.

Situational syllabuses are based on the idea that language does not exist in a vacuum but rather is found in a particular context or situation. Textbooks based on a situational syllabus tend to be organized around a variety of different situations. One text designed for Asian refugees in the United States might have lesson titles such as *An Evening at School*, *At the Employment Office*, *At the Bank*, etc.

Topical syllabuses are similar to situational ones, but are organized around various topics or themes instead of around situations. Thus, materials designed for junior college ESL students in the United States might have lesson headings such as The Two Party System, Women's Liberation, Rising Crime, etc.

Functional syllabuses are typically organized around categories of semantic language uses, or things we do with language, called functions (after van Ek and Trim, 1991). For instance, an adult school English course in Utrecht, Holland might be designed to teach general-purpose social English and be organized around language functions such as Greeting, Seeking information, Inviting, etc.

Notional syllabuses are organized around conceptual categories called general notions (again, after van Ek and Trim, 1991). General notions include abstract concepts such as Shape, Position, Direction, Quantity, etc. This type of organization is related to the functional syllabuses in that notions sometimes serve as a general set of categories within which functions are also organized. Notional syllabuses are much less common than functional ones, but nonetheless have existed for some time.

Skills-based syllabuses are organized around language skills that the students will need in order to use the language. For instance, in a reading course, the skills might include Guessing Vocabulary from Context, Using Prefixes, Roots and Suffixes, Skimming, Scanning, etc.

Task-based syllabuses are organized around different types of tasks that students might need to accomplish with language in their real lives. Such tasks might include Giving and Following Directions, Filling out Forms, Writing a Check, etc.

Sometimes, syllabuses are mixed. For example, situational and topical syllabuses were mixed in my first college Spanish language textbook resulting in a mixture of situations (e.g., *en un restaurante español*, *en un hotel mexicano*) and topics (e.g., *fiestas*, *los deportes*). More often, syllabuses are layered. In the example above, the mixed situations and topics were together layered over a structural syllabus that flowed through all the chapters.

### Organizing People

As pointed out in Brown (1993), Toffler (1991: 187-194) lists seven different strategies for organizing the people in any kind of institution. A pulsating organization is one that regularly expands and contracts in response to changes in the need for its products or services. Many educational institutions are pulsating in the sense that they contract in the summer and expand during the school year; their summer schools are often pulsating in the opposite direction.

A two-faced organization operates with two separate chains of authority that change depending on the circumstances. For instance, a language program might operate with an authoritarian structure during the curriculum planning process, but on a more egalitarian basis once teaching begins.

A checkerboard organization allows for two points of view to be represented throughout the organization such that the management is structured with interlocking roles in the hierarchy for the people representing the two alternative viewpoints. For example, binational language programs often adopt this sort of structure (e.g., the GELC (Guangzhou English Language Center) program described in Brown, 1995a).

A commissar organization promotes the flow of information through two main channels throughout the organization. For instance, the China program mentioned in the previous paragraph had some of this sort of organization as well, with one line of communication to the PRC Ministry of Education and another going to UCLA in California.

A buro-baronial organization is a bureaucracy that includes small feudal-like baronies with 'lords' who rule over people who function like serfs. This was of course the structure of feudal societies wherever they existed in the world, but ironically appears to also be the structure of most universities.

A skunkworks organization is one in which a team of people is assigned a loosely defined goal to reach or problem to solve, provided with the required resources, and left alone to work on their own outside any other existing organizational structures.

A self-start team is similar to the skunkworks organization, but is self-organized. A group of people comes together to deal with a common goal or problem. The group then finds its own resources and proceeds to work together, perhaps on a computer network, outside any other existing organizational structures.

All in all, Toffler's seven ways of organizing people in institutions seem to describe rather well the options that we need to consider in curriculum development.

### Information Gathering for Curriculum

Information gathering for curriculum development involves different types of information, various focuses of information, and a number of information-gathering tools.

#### Types of Information

**Quantitative information versus qualitative information** One continuum of information types might be labeled with quantitative information at one end

and qualitative information at the other (for more on this, see Brown, 2004b). Quantitative information is typically countable and therefore usually gathered using instruments that produce numerical results in the forms of test or quiz scores, grades, student rankings, the numbers of students in each class, etc. Qualitative information is more likely to be based on observations that are not readily quantified such as student diaries, teacher journals, faculty meeting minutes, classroom observations, interviews, etc.

**Objective needs versus subjective needs** Another continuum of information types can be labeled with objective information at one end and subjective information at the other. Theoretically, objective information is not biased by the observer and is based on clear-cut, observable data gathered about the situation, the learners, their present proficiency, their language goals, etc. Subjective information is generally more difficult to defend because it may be biased by the observer or object of study. Such information may be about the students' or teachers' feelings, wants, desires, beliefs, and expectations (Brindley 1984: 31) and therefore may be particularly skewed by the points of view of the observers and the observed. This is not to say that such points of view are not important for curriculum developers to know about.

Curriculum development should probably be based on all types of quantitative and qualitative information as well as objective and subjective information. Striking a balance is the trick, a trick that will depend in part on the focus of the information being sought.

### **Focuses of Information**

**Situation information versus language information** Situation information will typically center on the political and other human aspects of curriculum, especially about the social, psychological, and physical contexts and constraints in which learning is taking place. Such information may be related to the personal, pedagogic, administrative, financial, logistic, cultural, or other factors that impact on a curriculum.

In contrast, language information is about the target linguistic behaviors, goals, and objectives of the program. Language information would logically include details about things like the students' reasons for learning the language, the present abilities of the students with regard to those reasons, the conditions under which the language will likely be used, etc.

**Information about linguistic content versus learning processes** Other focuses for information may involve the linguistic content that students must learn as opposed to the learning processes that they go through to learn that content. The linguistic content

viewpoint focuses on curriculum information about the content that will be taught such as phonemes, morphemes, structures, utterances, functions, discourse markers, etc. The learning process viewpoint is more likely to focus on factors that will affect the students' learning such as motivation, self-esteem, attitudes, learning strategies, learning styles, etc. This distinction between linguistic content and learning processes is far from new. It corresponds roughly to Widdowson's (1981: 2) concepts of 'goal-oriented' versus 'process-oriented' views of language learning needs; Brindley's (1984: 31–32) 'language content' and 'learning content' duality; Nunan's (1985) 'content' and 'methodology' parameters; and White's (1988: 44–61) 'Type A What is to be learnt' and 'Type B How is it to be learnt' syllabuses. Regardless of the terminology used, responsible curriculum developers will need to gather and use information about both linguistic content and learning processes.

### **Information-Gathering Tools**

Curriculum developers will also need to gather the information using the appropriate tools. As discussed in Brown (1995a: 45–59), these tools come in six basic forms. Existing information might involve examining a particular institution's records or the records of several institutions, reading the literature of the field related to the particular type of curriculum involved, making phone calls, writing letters, sending e-mail messages, etc. Tests of all kinds can be used to assess the abilities of the participants in a program, whether they be for criterion-referenced diagnostic, progress, or achievement purposes, or for norm-referenced aptitude, proficiency, or placement purposes. Observations tend to take the forms of case studies, diary studies, behavior observations, interactional analyses, inventories, etc. Interviews often involve individual face-to-face interviews, telephone interviews, or group interviews. Meetings are useful for getting advice from people on curriculum issues, for resolving conflicts between interest groups, or for getting feedback from participants. Questionnaires can be used to gather relatively large-scale biodata information, self-ratings, opinions, or judgments on various aspects of a curriculum. The trick with all these information-gathering tools is to select and use only those from the long list of possibilities that will provide a balance of information types and lead to addressing the various focuses necessary in curriculum development.

### **Key Questions in Curriculum**

The key questions in curriculum are who, what, and how, all of which are important questions related to

the mechanics of getting things done in curriculum development.

### Who? – Stakeholders

Who should be involved in curriculum development? The best answer to that question is: any stakeholders (i.e., any people who have a reason to care whether it succeeds or fails) should be involved. Of course, the degree and manner of involvement will probably vary from group to group, and the roles that they will play may vary as well: some groups may serve as important sources of information, whereas others give advice, and still others would be most useful for reviewing the results of the curriculum development process and giving feedback. Some groups may serve two or more of these functions. The potential groups of stakeholders would naturally include the students, teachers, and administrators who are most intimately involved in the curriculum, but other groups may also be important, such as parents, future employers, future professors, higher authorities in the institution, politicians, and the public (for more on stakeholders, see Brown, 1993).

### What? – Components

The components discussed here are taken from Brown (1995a) and are the main curriculum components typically listed in the systems approach to curriculum development (for more on the systems approach, see Dick *et al.*, 2000). This list describes both a set of steps that can be taken to develop a curriculum and a set of components for the revision and maintenance of an already existing curriculum. The basic components are needs analyses, goals and objectives, testing, materials, teaching, and program evaluation.

**Needs analysis** Needs analysis in language curriculum is often seen as the process of identifying the language forms that students ultimately will need to use in the target language. However, since the needs of the teachers, administrators, employers, institutions, etc. also have some bearing on the language learning situation, many other types of quantitative and qualitative information of both objective and subjective types must be considered in order to understand both the situation and the language involved as well as information on the linguistic content and the learning processes. Needs analysis is defined here (after Brown, 1995a: 36) as “the systematic collection and analysis of all subjective and objective information necessary to define and validate defensible curriculum purposes that satisfy the language learning requirements of students within the context of the particular institutions that influence the learning

and teaching situation.” (For recent work on needs analysis, see Brown, 1995a; Iwai *et al.*, 1999; Witkin and Altschuld, 1995).

**Goals and objectives** One logical outcome of a needs analysis is the specification of goals and objectives. Goals are general statements about what needs to be done in order to satisfy the students’ needs. In contrast, objectives are relatively precise statements of the content and/or skills that the students will have mastered by the end of each course. Objectives can take many forms and will probably differ in terms of their degree of specificity even within a particular program. Objectives are often drawn from or related to taxonomies of various types (for more on taxonomies and objectives, see Brindley, 1984; Brown, 1995a; van Ek and Trim, 1991).

**Language testing** Meeting the needs of the students and addressing the resulting goals and objectives may necessitate a fair amount of test development for a variety of different purposes. From a norm-referenced perspective (i.e., a standardized testing perspective), it may be necessary to decide who should be admitted to the program by using proficiency tests; for students already in the program, it may be necessary to place students in different levels of study using a placement test. From a criterion-referenced perspective (i.e., a classroom testing perspective), diagnostic testing may be needed at the beginning of a course to determine the students’ relative strengths and weaknesses vis-à-vis the course objectives, and achievement testing will undoubtedly be necessary for purposes of grading or deciding who should pass or fail each course (for more on the distinction between norm-referenced and criterion-referenced testing, see Brown, 1995a, 2004a, or Brown and Hudson, 2002; for classroom testing ideas, see Brown, 1998).

**Materials** Having done needs analyses, and having developed goals and objectives, as well as the appropriate tests, curriculum developers are in the remarkable position of being able to deal logically with materials. Adopting, adapting, or creating materials is relatively easy in a curriculum that has well-developed needs analyses, objectives, and tests. In fact, deciding which strategy to use, that is, adopting, adapting, or creating materials, will itself be made easier. Can existing materials be adopted to fill the needs of the students? Or should existing materials be adapted so they meet the students’ needs as expressed in the curriculum objectives? Or, if there are no existing materials that will work, should the materials be created from scratch? (For more on materials development, see Brown, 1995a; Byrd,



1995; McDonough and Shaw, 2003; Tomlinson, 1998, 2002.)

**Teaching** In any curriculum, teachers need support in the sense that they may need the following: orientation to the program when they arrive; observation and feedback; in-service training opportunities; incentives to engage in professional development; and so forth. Failure to provide these sorts of teacher support can lead to low morale, teacher burnout, and attrition. In contrast, a high level of teacher support will help them grow professionally, which, in turn, can lead to better morale and less teacher burnout. To some degree, teacher support may entail involving them intimately in the curriculum development and revision processes. All in all, teacher support should be designed to help teachers do what they do best—teach. (For more on teaching issues, see, e.g., Brown, 1995a; Pennington, 1995; Richards and Lockart, 1994).

**Program evaluation** Brown (1995a: 218) defined program evaluation as “the systematic collection and analysis of all relevant information necessary to promote the improvement of a curriculum and to assess its effectiveness within the context of the particular institutions involved.” This definition is very similar to the one provided above for needs analysis. Indeed, it is fair to say that program evaluation is a sort of ongoing needs analysis—one based on considerably more and better information. A needs analysis is usually conducted in the beginning stages of curriculum development, whereas program evaluation can take advantage of all the needs analysis information, but can also use all the information gathered in the processes of developing objectives; writing and using the tests; adopting, adapting, and creating materials; and supporting teachers. Such a continuing process of evaluation makes possible the assessment of the quality of all the components of a curriculum once it is in place, as well as the maintenance of that curriculum in an ongoing manner (for more on language program evaluation, see Alderson and Baretta, 1992; Brown, 1995a, 1995b, 2001; Brown and Rodgers, 2002; Lynch, 1995, 2003; Rea-Dickins and Germaine, 1992, 1998).

### **How? – Logistics**

Even under the best of conditions, curriculum development will take a great deal of time and effort. Indeed, if curriculum development is viewed as an on-going process of development and maintenance, it will never be totally finished. Hence, curriculum developers should think in terms of setting up

structures that will foster continued curriculum development. At some level or other, the logistics of curriculum development must involve at least the following seven steps:

1. Finding and marshalling resources;
2. Setting up structures to help teachers do their teaching;
3. Providing political structures and leadership that will help the teachers to work together and pool their abilities;
4. Dispensing the available resources equitably;
5. Buffering the teachers from external negative forces so that they can get on with curriculum development projects;
6. Representing the curriculum to the outside world;
7. Starting the whole process over again with Step 1.

In short, effective curriculum development must supply suitable logistical structures and safeguards so that those who are closest to the students will be able to investigate their needs, set goals and objectives, develop tests and materials, and teach, and then, continuously revise all of the elements through on-going program evaluation procedures. It is essential to provide logistical structures that will promote the purposes of the curriculum and, at the same time, provide enough freedom so that teachers can focus on their teaching.

### **Outcomes of Curriculum**

Finally, in thinking about the outcomes of curriculum, we must consider the audiences involved, dissemination of the results, and the benefits to be derived.

#### **Audiences**

The issue of audiences involves deciding who should receive information about the results of any curriculum development efforts. They will typically be subgroups of the stakeholders, or groups of those people who need to be informed about the curriculum development, or need to be influenced, or impressed with all the hard work. Some groups may need a complete and detailed report of the results, whereas others may need only an ‘executive summary’ of one or two pages. The potential audiences would probably include at least the students, teachers, and administrators at the institution, but might also include higher authorities at the institution, politicians, the public, etc.

#### **Dissemination**

As mentioned just above, it may make sense to have reports of different lengths for different audiences.

<b>UNDERPINNINGS OF CURRICULUM</b>		
<p><b>Approaches</b> Grammar-translation Direct approach Audiolingual Cognitive code Communicative</p>	<p><b>Philosophies</b> Discrepancy Democratic Analytic Diagnostic</p>	
<b>CONTEXTS OF CURRICULUM</b>		
<p><b>Levels</b> International National State or provincial system Country or school district Multi-program Program level Classroom level</p>	<p><b>Purposes</b> Create sound pedagogy, Provide purpose, Foster leadership, Control resources, Furnish political structures, Give a voice to different constituencies, Build consensus, Resolve conflict, Adapt to change, Change practices, Plan future policies and curriculum development, Ameliorate working conditions, Foster professional growth, Provide knowledge to the field</p>	
<b>ORGANIZATION OF CURRICULUM</b>		
<p><b>Course Content</b> Structural syllabus Situational syllabus Topical syllabus Functional syllabus Notional syllabus Skills-based syllabus Task-based syllabus</p>	<p><b>People</b> Pulsating organization Two-faced organization Checkerboard organization Commissar organization Buro-baronial organization Skunkworks organization Self-start team</p>	
<b>INFORMATION GATHERING FOR CURRICULUM</b>		
<p><b>Types of Information</b> Quantitative vs. qualitative Objective vs. subjective</p>	<p><b>Focus of Information</b> Situation vs. language Linguistic content vs. learning processes (Syllabus type A or type B)</p>	<p><b>Information Gathering Tools</b> Existing information Tests Observations Interviews Meetings Questionnaires</p>
<b>WHO, WHAT, AND HOW OF DOING CURRICULUM</b>		
<p><b>Who? – Stake Holders</b> Students, Teachers, Administrators, Parents, Future employers, Future professors, Higher authorities, Politicians, Governmental agencies, The public, &amp; any other stake holders...</p>	<p><b>What? – Components</b> Needs analysis Goals and objectives Testing Materials Teaching Program evaluation</p>	<p><b>How? – Logistics</b> Marshal resources, Set up structures for teaching, Get teachers working together, Dispense resources equitably, Buffer teachers from external forces, Represent the organization to outside world, Start the whole process over again</p>
<b>OUTCOMES OF CURRICULUM</b>		
<p><b>Audiences</b> Students Teachers Administrators Higher authorities Politicians The public</p>	<p><b>Dissemination</b> Faculty meetings Curriculum documents Newsletters Conferences Journals Books</p>	<p><b>Benefits</b> Sound pedagogy, Better leadership, Maintenance &amp; control of resources, Better political structures, Stronger voice for different constituencies, Consensus on important issues, Resolution of conflict, Adaptation to change, Better practices, Rational planning for future policies and curriculum, Amelioration of working conditions, Professional growth, More knowledge for the overall field</p>

**Figure 1** The many facets of language curriculum development.

It can also make sense to deliver oral reports to some audiences, written reports to others, and combined oral/written reports to still others. For instance, a full hour-long oral presentation and a detailed handout might be appropriate at a full faculty meeting, whereas a short oral report might be better for the university president (accompanied by a written executive

summary for later perusal), and then further written dissemination might be needed in the form of a full-length written curriculum document for the curriculum developers within the program. Other forms of dissemination might also be useful. A news release sent to local newspapers can be useful for informing the public of curriculum development efforts

or a short article written for institutional or professional newsletters will let colleagues in other language programs know about the curriculum development project. Or, for even wider dissemination to the whole language-teaching field, presentations at professional conferences or articles in relevant journals and books might be useful.

### Benefits

The results of any curriculum development project should be used in a variety of ways to benefit the course or program. Yes, it can be used to create sound pedagogy, but also to foster better leadership, gain control and maintain control of resources, create better political structures, afford different constituencies a stronger voice in the program, help build consensus on important issues, resolve conflicts, help in adapting to change, create better practices, promote rational planning for future policies and curriculum, ameliorate working conditions, foster professional growth for teachers and administrators, and provide more knowledge for the field as a whole. Notice that these benefits have brought us full circle to the purposes of curriculum development listed much earlier in this article, which were exactly the same. Clearly, then, the very purposes of curriculum development offer benefits well beyond the development of sound pedagogy for the students.

### Conclusion

In short, curriculum development involves at least the six major categories of curriculum activities listed in this article, which included a total of 15 curriculum facets and almost 100 individual subparts (see Figure 1). It is important to recognize that all of these categories of activities, facets, and subparts may interact with one another; that is, choices made with regard to one subpart will affect the choices that can be made with respect to other subparts. All of this can seem rather daunting if not framed clearly in terms of the tremendous benefits that can accrue from doing curriculum development.

*See also:* Assessment of First Language Proficiency; Communicative Language Teaching; Traditions in Second Language Teaching.

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## Second and Foreign Language Learning and Teaching

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Not that long after the execution of his brother, Vladimir Lenin was himself banished to Siberia because of his political activities. In Imperial Russia, Lenin knew that the sequence of punishments for political offenses was first imprisonment, then banishment to Siberia, then banishment abroad, and then, execution. He was on step 2 of this sequence. He also knew that after his period in Siberia he would not cease his political activities and that the next stage would very likely be banishment outside Russia. Anticipating this possibility, he had evidently decided that his countries of choice for banishment would include Britain, and therefore it would be sensible to prepare himself, in Siberia, by learning English. Accordingly, he devised his own method. First, he tabulated and learned all the nouns. Then he went on to the verbs, the adjectives, the syntactic rules, and so on. He concluded that this systematic approach would enable him, on arrival in London, to converse with the locals. As it happened, he was amazed to discover that not only could he not converse well, he could not converse at all, and still less understand what people said! This chapter will explore factors that are relevant to the learning of a language, as well as the teaching that can promote such learning. It will review research into the nature of learning and acquisition and then go on to consider current views on the nature of language instruction. These reviews may shed light on the alternative courses of action that Lenin might have adopted.

### Learning and Learners

We will consider language learning first, since it has a more fundamental role. A number of preliminaries are unavoidable here. First, there is the issue of a critical period for language, that is, a period during which acquisition is different from other learning processes. It will be assumed that there is such a critical period. Robert DeKeyser has demonstrated clear age-on-arrival effects for ultimate level of proficiency for Hungarian immigrants to the United States, that is, the younger the arrival, the higher the eventual performance. This research is far-reaching in its consequences. It implies that subsequent (second) language learning is mediated by general cognitive processes, an interpretation that has important consequences for instruction especially.

The second underlying issue concerns the concept of a focus-on-form. Michael Long has argued

consistently that when learners engage in interaction, it is natural to prioritize meaning, with the result that form does not obviously come into focus. As a result, for effective learning to occur, it is necessary to *contribute* a focus-on-form, but in such a way that meaning is not compromised or distorted. A focus-on-form approach is consistent with current conceptualizations within cognitive psychology regarding the functioning of limited capacity attentional and memory systems. We cannot attend to everything, and so attention has to be directed selectively, and memory resources, especially working memory, have to be used efficiently.

The third underlying issue is over whether what is learned (the representation issue) is implicit or explicit, and indeed whether the learning process is itself implicit or explicit (the transition issue). Allied to this is the question as to whether something that was initially explicit, e.g., a language rule or a structural pattern, can become implicit, or vice versa. The implicit-explicit distinction has largely replaced the earlier contrast between learning (explicit) and acquisition (implicit), and this realignment has been associated with a greater influence from contemporary psychology, and a strong interest in operationalizing the difference between implicit and explicit learning. Where people stand on this issue also has an important impact on different views of instruction.

Finally, by way of preliminaries, there is the question of the stages through which learners pass. It is useful to think of:

- Input processing strategies and segmentation
- Noticing
- Pattern identification, restructuring and manipulation
- Development of control
- Integration and lexicalization

Learners, of course, may be at different stages in this sequence for different parts of their developing language systems.

Each of these stages raises issues regarding the nature of second language learning. Bill VanPatten has argued that learners can benefit from being taught how to process input more effectively in order to focus on form. At the next stage, Dick Schmidt has developed the concept of noticing, arguing that before some aspect of language structure can be learned, it first has to be noticed, preferably with awareness. For Schmidt, the gateway to subsequent development is attentional focus, since it can permit deeper processing. In taking this position, Schmidt is arguing against Krashen's ideas on naturalistic learning and

the acquisition-learning distinction. Clearly, though, whether noticing triggers explicit or implicit processes, the next stage in development is that the element that is noticed should become the basis for the learner identifying some sort of structural regularity in the language. This might be a new pattern, or the complexification of an existing pattern, and is the phase that accounts for development in the interlanguage system.

To perceive a structural regularity in the target language, however, does not mean that it can be used. Interlanguage development may sometimes be sudden and complete, but most accounts of second language learning assume that first insight has to be followed by a process of gradually increasing control over a new form. During this process, it is assumed that slow, effortful, and attention-demanding performance, which may also be error-prone, is progressively replaced by less conscious, easier, automatic, and fast performance. In this, the skilled control that is achieved over language performance resembles learning that occurs in other domains. Researchers have been interested in exploring the conditions that can enhance this development optimally, as well as describing the course and speed of such learning. A number of researchers, such as Nick Ellis, use general laws, for example, the power law of practice, to describe such learning.

In previous years, it was generally thought that the development of a high degree of automatization and control would have been the end-point of the learning process. In the last twenty years or so, linked perhaps with the development of corpus linguistics, there has been a greater realization of the importance of formulaic sequences and idiomatic language. That is, rather than prefabricated language being a minor part of the psycholinguistic abilities of the speaker, they are now seen as pervasive and vital for real-time communication. It is assumed that highly competent language users rely on formulaic language to ease the processing or computational burden during ongoing language production, and to sound native-like.

Having explored these preliminaries at a more explanatory level, there are a number of theoretical accounts relevant to the nature of second language development. Obviously the first to consider here is Universal Grammar (UG). Researchers influenced by this approach take a range of different positions, for example, full transfer/full access, vs. for example, residual access through previous parameter settings. Basically, all approaches assume the importance for second language learning of the continued existence of a Universal Grammar but differ over the impact that L1 learning has on this development. Lydia White proposed that it would be more appropriate

to consider the role of UG in second language development as constraining the problem space, and requiring that L2 grammars be consistent with it, rather than expecting the L2 grammar to follow a deterministic path. In any case, in terms of relevance for instruction, there is the issue that UG researchers, necessarily, investigate features of language that are thought to be revealing about the operation of UG. In the main, these features, for example, the 'empty category principle,' the 'overt pronoun constraint,' do not follow the priorities of others, for example, language teachers. Second language research may therefore be more revealing for Universal Grammar than Universal Grammar is for language teaching.

An interesting contrast to UG that has emerged in recent years is William O'Grady's 'general nativism.' In this, there is acceptance, as with UG (which O'Grady terms 'grammatical nativism'), that human beings are 'wired' to perform learning tasks in a certain way, but O'Grady proposes that this nativist capacity is general in nature, rather than a module specialized for language. He suggests that the more general propensities (a) to operate on pairs of elements, and (b) to combine functors with their arguments at the first opportunity, are sufficient to account for the nature of language development and the structures that emerge. It is too early to evaluate this approach as yet, but it is interesting that there are slight affinities between it and that of another theorist, Manfred Pienemann and 'processability theory.' Drawing upon lexical functional grammar and Levelt's processing model, Pienemann takes as fundamental a performance-based incremental approach to language generation. He offers a different set of processing procedures and routines to O'Grady, for example, lemma access, the category procedure, etc., but he, too, then makes predictions about sequences in second language development. So in either case, the nature of the grammar that results, is seen as the consequence of processing procedures.

In contrast, there have also been proposals in recent years to account for second language development through connectionist architectures. These are networks of associations, involving several layers to connect inputs and outputs, i.e., containing hidden layers that serve as general-purpose learning devices. They are implemented through computer software, and this software can 'learn' and be tested. For example, it could take the input of a simple verb form in English and the output would be a past tense form. Such networks can be trained to produce highly accurate past tense outputs, for example, including characteristic mistakes that second language learners make. There is nothing specifically linguistic about the networks, so they are used to support the claim

that specialist modules are not required for languages to be learned. The best known example of a connectionist network applied to second language learning is the competition model. This uses cues such as animacy and word order to predict how well learners with different L1/L2 combinations will learn how to assign subject and object roles in sentences.

The approaches to learning covered so far have focused on individual mental structures and processes. But other approaches have been more concerned to situate learning within a social context, and to explore the potential that interaction provides to give learners useful data. One example of this is Long's interaction hypothesis. Assuming the inadequacy of input alone (i.e., positive evidence), Long focuses on the provision of negative evidence, i.e., evidence that a mistake has been made. He proposes that such evidence can be obtained within natural interaction. In particular, he proposes that particular sorts of interactive encounter, i.e., those in which there is negotiation of meaning, leading to feedback moves such as confirmation checks, comprehension checks, clarification requests, and especially interlocutor recastings of the L1 speaker's utterance, provide timely and personalized negative evidence without compromising the (vital) naturalness of communication. This approach is located within Long's proposals for the importance of a focus-on-form, since form is brought into focus incidentally through these conversational devices, enabling learners to attend to it and perhaps, at a later stage, incorporate the effects of such feedback into their interlanguage. There have been questions as to whether there is immediate uptake of recasts that are offered, but Cathy Doughty argued that immediate uptake may not be the most effective way to detect the influence of recasts on subsequent development.

Also concerned with interaction, but from a radically different perspective is sociocultural theory (SCT). Drawing on Vygotskian theory, the emphasis here is on the collaborative, unpredictable meanings that will develop through conversation, with each partner making contributions that can be taken up and extended by their interlocutor. Jim Lantolf argued that this is a fertile ground for second language development, and sociocultural theorists claim that tasks that generate lower negotiation for meaning indices (e.g., a discussion task) may provide other more useful scaffolding for language development, since they push learners to build meanings collaboratively, and to engage in more extended turns. Indeed, developing the notion of interaction, Merrill Swain has proposed that output is vital for second language learning since it pushes learners to do things like notice gaps in their interlanguage; to explore and

test out hypotheses; and to attain a metalinguistic level of processing.

We turn now to consideration of learner characteristics and differences. The remainder of this section on learning will cover language learning aptitude, motivation, language learning strategies, and personality. Earlier conceptions of foreign language aptitude, strongly associated with J. B. Carroll, proposed that there is a specific talent for language learning, consisting of four components; phonemic coding ability (the capacity to analyze sound so that it can be better retained); grammatical sensitivity (the ability to identify the functions that words fulfill in sentences); inductive language learning ability (the ability to take a sample of a language and extrapolate to further language); and associative memory (the capacity to make links between items in memory). This view of aptitude, underpinning older aptitude test batteries (for example, the Modern Languages Aptitude Test), was reasonably successful, since these batteries led to correlations of around 0.40 between aptitude and achievement test scores. It has not, however, had great recent influence, partly because it has been argued that this conception of aptitude is irredeemably linked to instruction, indeed particular forms of instruction, such as audiolingualism, rather than to informal and acquisition-rich contexts.

More recently, however, a reassessment of aptitude has taken place. A new aptitude battery has been developed, CANAL-F. The battery incorporates cumulative, thematized learning within the sequence of subtests. Aptitude has also been reconceptualized and linked with second language acquisition processes, following the stages outlined above (noticing, pattern identification, etc.), and this sequence can also be related to the constructs that are said to underlie CANAL-F, such as selective encoding (noticing) and selective transfer (inductive language learning ability and pattern restructuring). Complementing this, there have been studies that have linked aptitude information to acquisitional contexts. These studies have shown that aptitude generates correlations with informal and implicit learning conditions as well as explicit ones. Indeed, reviews of the available evidence demonstrate that predictive relationships emerge in both informal and formal settings.

Motivation has seen an even greater diversification of research. This area has been dominated by the work of Robert Gardner, whose analysis of motivation in terms of integrative and instrumental orientations has been fundamental. He has continued to publish and to extend his model of second language learning. However, some earlier reviews of his work that called for a widening of the research agenda have led to different perspectives. There have been proposals for

slightly different conceptualizations of motivational orientation, but essentially still within the Gardner framework (for example, proposals for knowledge, travel and friendship orientations, and suggestions that a world ‘modernity’ orientation is relevant).

There has also been a widening of the theoretical framework for motivation, with greater connections with mainstream psychology. For example, one perspective emphasizes linguistic self-confidence, which links with willingness to communicate research (WTC). This explores the reasons that underlie a learner’s readiness to actually engage in communication. There have also been some studies on motivational attributions, and these indicate the richness of attributional thinking on the part of language learners and the impact such thinking can have on the maintenance of motivational strength. Such studies also indicate how qualitative methodologies can be applied to the motivational arena.

Perhaps the greatest change in motivation research concerns the temporal dimension. Many have argued that motivation needed to be related more clearly to the classroom, and conceptualized dynamically, rather than in terms of static, unchangeable orientations. Zoltan Dornyei, for example, uses action control theory as a way of achieving this. He argues that one needs to explore influences before a task is done (for example, motivational orientations), different influences on motivational levels while a task is done (stimulating activities), and also the post-actional stage, where learners reflect after learning on the degree of success they have achieved, and its likely explanations, such as a personal lack of effort. Such posttask reflection may lead learners to make attributions that will influence future motivational levels. Interestingly, Gardner’s latest research also explores the issue of the malleability of motivation, and how some aspects of the Gardner model, such as integrative orientations, do not seem malleable, while other areas, such as attitudes towards the teacher, are.

Learning strategies research has continued to be researched intensively. Some early problems with this area continue to cause difficulty. One of these is the categorization of learning strategies, and area about which Ellis suggested: “definitions of learning strategies have tended to be *ad hoc* and atheoretical.” In response to this, Zoltan Dornyei and Peter Skehan suggested that one should operate with four main classes of strategy:

- Cognitive strategies
- Metacognitive strategies
- Social strategies
- Affective strategies.

They also draw attention to the way that within mainstream psychology, there has been a movement away

from learning strategies and toward the term ‘self-regulated learning,’ which more generally captures the learners’ conscious and proactive contribution to enhancing their own learning process. Interestingly, though, there has been recent evidence based on a confirmatory factor analysis in an attempt to distinguish between the various models that classify learning strategies, and this suggests that Rebecca Oxford’s six-factor model (the above four, plus a separation of cognitive into cognitive and memory, and the addition of compensatory) best satisfied the data.

Perhaps the one other learner difference area where there has been interesting progress has been that of personality. Some researchers have tended to dismiss personality as the source of empirically-verifiable correlations with language learning achievement. However, if one focuses on extroversion, it appears that applied linguists tend to have done two things (a) they have not been conversant with current theories of personality, or of associated standardized forms of personality assessment, and (b) they have tended to focus on possible relationships between personality variables and learning. When personality assessment is carried out using contemporary and validated personality inventories, results are clearly more stable. In addition, consistent correlations emerge between such extroversion–introversion measurements and foreign language performance – not with learning but with, for example, tests of speaking.

## Teaching

Some twenty-five years ago, when second language acquisition research first began to have an impact, the value of instruction itself came under question, since direct evidence of its beneficial effects was slender, and it was proposed that exposure to language (and incidental learning) was sufficient for interlanguage development to occur. An important review article by Michael Long, “Does second language instruction make a difference?” responded to these issues and evaluated the available research on instructional effectiveness. Long’s work was a meta-analysis – he evaluated, reanalyzed, and synthesized a wide range of studies and argued that the balance of evidence suggests that instruction does make a difference, and is associated with faster learning, and higher ultimate attainment. More recently, a major updated and extended meta-analysis has been published that demonstrates instruction does have an appreciable effect on performance; that explicit instruction produced larger gains than an implicit approach, which was, in turn, significantly greater than for control group conditions; and that instruction is durable in its effects.



What John Norris and Lourdes Ortega, in this updated meta-analysis, did not set out to do is provide a detailed justification of how instruction works, or, what specific aspects of instruction generate the differences that are found. Consequently, it is not easy to point to evidence of optimal learning environments – we simply know that having instruction compared to not having instruction is a good thing. How this lack of a fine-grained understanding of the effects of specific instructional types will be resolved is not clear. One approach is to continue to use research designs that do explore methodological comparisons that would be recognizable by teachers. Alternatively, the question may need to be posed differently. As Cathy Doughty recommends: “Rather than at the level of ‘method,’ the operationalization of instructional treatments is now considered best analyzed psycholinguistically in terms of input-processing enhancements that facilitate L2 learners’ extracting forms and mapping them to meaning and function.” She discusses a range of techniques that might achieve this, examining them in terms of degree of obtrusiveness, and also relating them to the functioning of limited capacity attentional functioning.

The preceding discussion means that explorations of language teaching options cannot be conducted simply in relation to evidence. But of course teachers need to act, and any broader research findings and theories about learning are going to be only one of the influences on such actions. We will next consider the major issues that motivate debates about teaching. Most fundamental of all, perhaps, are the topics of syllabus and methodology. The former concerns what is taught, and is traditionally approached in terms of the units of teaching, as well as their sequencing. The latter is concerned with how whatever is taught is taught. As we shall see, there have been changes with respect to each of these, although it is a moot point as to whether these changes are more characteristic of the ‘chattering classes’ of language teaching professionals rather than what happens in most actual classrooms.

Until relatively recently – the early 1970s – there seemed relatively little controversy in syllabus or methodology. The units of syllabus were seen to be language forms, and their sequencing was subject to reasonable consensus. True, the criteria that were used to establish syllabus ordering were not entirely convincing (for example, buildability, frequency), but there was considerable agreement about a high proportion of the ordering that was characteristic for the teaching of English, at least. This consensus was challenged during the 1970s and 1980s, and alternative proposals were put forward, with alternative units, such as functions and notions and lexical

elements, and alternative classroom activities such as tasks and procedural syllabuses. Most radical of all, perhaps, was Candlin’s proposals for retrospective syllabuses, where the syllabus that is taught is the result of negotiation between the teacher and learners, building on the distinction between the plan for teaching and the classroom reality of what actually happens, which are not going to be the same thing, Chris Candlin has suggested that one can only really say what a syllabus has been *after* a course has taken place. There were also vigorous attempts to develop specific purpose syllabuses based upon the analysis of learner needs.

Interesting issues have also been raised about the feasibility and limitations of planning courses, and whether it is even worthwhile to use course books. There seemed to be strong moves to use meaning-units as the basis for teaching, and to bring the learner more centrally into decision making. But what is interesting is how this debate has lost vitality. Now there is much less debate on these issues, and, paradoxically, the solution has been something of a consensus to use forms of what are called ‘multi-syllabuses,’ where the early pages of a course book or syllabus document will contain a table indicating how structural units, functional units, context, themes and tasks are meant to exist in harmony, so that the syllabus can claim to comprise all the potential syllabuses in one. Even so, it would appear that some of the strands in a multisyllabus are more equal than others, and it is no surprise that the most dominant of these is the structural core.

There have also been discussions regarding what should be done within classrooms, and what methodologies are better. Significant reviews are available of the major contrasting methodologies, such as grammar translation, audiolingualism, functional-notional, and communicative approaches. Grammar-translation emphasizes written language and the use of rules (and exceptions) to construct sentences in a deductive manner. Grammar is preeminent and item-based vocabulary learning is extensive. Audiolingualism, in contrast, emphasizes the spoken language and teaches this inductively through stimulus-response-influenced pattern practice. Functional-notional and communicative approaches share a much greater emphasis on meaning and the use of (more) authentic materials. Functional-notional approaches use itemized meaning-units as a syllabus basis and are usually concerned with language use and contextualized teaching. Even so, there is the possibility that functional-notional approaches, although using meaning units, can be associated with fairly traditional practice-oriented methodologies.

Functional-notional approaches were really the foundation for the development of a communicative

approach to language teaching, which is now regarded as the orthodoxy in many parts of the world. Communicative approaches come in two strengths: weak and strong. The weak form is compatible with multisyllabuses and gives communicative activities an important role, since it is assumed that learners will need to work on the development of communicative competence, and that they will not be able to do this without engaging in realistic communication of individual meanings. This goes well beyond the production phase of the three Ps, and requires authenticity of language use and genuine interaction. However, the weak form can be associated with optimism that teaching materials can blend structure, function, and communicative activity to promote balanced and integrated progress. The strong form of communicative teaching, now associated with task-based approaches, regards task itself as the primary unit and then sees language as following the demands of the task, so that the role of the teacher is to respond to whatever language the task generates as important. Jane Willis described a methodology for approaching instruction in this way, in which a language focus is the last phase in teaching, after some new language has been made salient by the need to do a task.

Of course, these are not the only methodologies that have been used, and there are other 'fringe' approaches. There are also, for example, total physical response, the silent way, suggestopedia, and community language learning, although it is interesting to note that while each of these has its devotees, it can be argued that they are becoming even less central (cf. the change in the amount of coverage in the first and third editions of Harmer's *The practice of communicative language teaching*).

The debates over methodology have been intense. In an attempt to make progress in these debates, in which distinctions between syllabus and methodology were not always clear, it has been proposed that it is fruitful to look at these issues in terms of approach (underlying theory), design (syllabus considerations), and procedure (methodology) and what goes on in the classroom, in order to characterize a broader concept of 'method.' In an ideal world, an approach to language teaching should balance all these things, but in practice, one of the three might dominate, somewhat at the expense of the others. Hence, with audiolingualism, the focus is on procedure, as well perhaps as approach, but there is much less to motivate design. In contrast, one could argue that functional-notional approaches emphasized design, but with less emphasis on approach and procedure.

It is interesting now to reflect on these debates and the intensity they used to provoke. Two issues stand

out. First, prevailing practice would generally be seen as a communicative approach to language teaching, or at least this is what would be said, even if what happens in any particular classroom might not indeed be communicative language teaching. The approach has become the general orthodoxy. Second, and probably more important, we have seen the emergence of the course book series. We are now in a position where the production of course book materials is big business and associated with the commitment of very considerable resources. These resources are directed at the preparation of the course book proper, the extensive piloting of material, the development of a wide range of supplementary and ancillary materials (including websites), even the development of associated tests. One consequence of these developments is that the role of the teacher is changed. There is less reason for teachers to devise their own materials and it is much more possible simply to 'teach the book' as the course book's ubiquitous multisyllabus is followed.

An interesting way of exploring changes in language teaching is a comparison between two editions of the same book, Jeremy Harmer's *The practice of English language teaching*. In addition to a great deal of common ground, there are some interesting changes. First, there is something of a retreat from grander ideas on syllabus and methodology, to a greater concern for techniques at a more micro level, and issues connected with classroom management. Interestingly, there is more emphasis on how to handle mistakes and how to provide feedback. Second, there is greater coverage of language itself, and of how it may now be studied through corpus analysis so that more realistic language is used. Third, there is a greater concern with course books. Coverage is provided about course book selection and how to work with a course book, changes that reflect the point made earlier regarding the greater domination of course book series presently. Finally, there is very significantly increased coverage of the role of technology in language learning, with complete chapters devoted to teaching using video, and educational technology. This last development is undoubtedly going to grow enormously in importance. There are now increasing numbers of books about the use of computers and the internet in language teaching, and leading journals such as *English Language Teaching Journal* contain regular sections detailing useful Web resources.

Language teaching, happily, still has some active areas of disagreement and debate. There are interesting proposals regarding process syllabuses, where the role of the learner in negotiating what will happen in the classroom is recognized and fostered, even to the

extent of allowing learners to influence the nature of assessment. This work nicely complements applications of sociocultural theory to second language acquisition, which also regards the joint construction of meanings as fundamental (although in this case more because it facilitates acquisition itself). Process syllabus proponents are perhaps more interested in the rights of learners to influence their instruction as well as the broader societal benefits that follow from learners who learn how to take personal responsibility in this way.

A second area for lively exchange concerns the role of tasks in language teaching methodology. Two sub-questions are relevant from this debate. First, there is the issue of how predictable tasks are in terms of the effects of task types and task implementation, for example, pretask planning, on the language that is produced. One response is to doubt any predictability because learners will negotiate their own interpretations in ways that reflect their own interests and desires, whereas another is to research these factors in the hope of providing evidence to assist teacher decision-making. Second, there is the issue that tasks have been attacked because it is proposed that what should really be the focus for teaching is grammar. In this view, tasks might be permissible as a form of language use after more conventional grammar teaching has taken place. It has been suggested that they should not be used as the unit of language teaching, or even regarded as a means to enable interlanguage to change and develop. In contrast, others argue that tasks provide a way for acquisition processes to be brought into the classroom and become the basis for learner-driven development.

A final area of debate within methodology concerns the issue of appropriateness. There have been general debates about the connections between language teaching – especially English language teaching – and imperialism. The argument is that the teaching of English is not a neutral activity, but contributes to the perpetuation of existing international power structures, and implicitly the downgrading of local cultures and power. At a much more specific level, Adrian Holliday has argued that there has been insufficient attention paid to local needs and to the different conditions that operate in many language teaching contexts, and that another form of imperialism is the way methodologies devised in one set of circumstances are assumed to be relevant for wholly different contexts. At the broadest level, he contrasts two contexts and the imbalance between them. The first concerns approaches to language teaching developed for favorable circumstances (for example, Britain, Australasia, and North America, which he

refers to, using the relevant initials, as BANA), a context in which individuals often pay fees for their instruction, are studying voluntarily, and in relatively small groups with good resources. In contrast, the second context, referred to as TESEP (*Tertiary, Secondary, Primary*) relates to state school education in the rest of the world, where there are usually large classes, with less favorable resourcing, different home-school relations, and learners who have no choice but to be in a classroom. They are also likely to be heading for a testing system that is less communicative in nature. Methodological options appropriate in the former context do not generalize easily to the latter, so more attention needs to be paid to local cultures, realism about local resourcing, and local educational traditions.

## Conclusion

As the first section of this chapter indicated, the field of second language acquisition research has made a range of interesting contributions to our understanding of how languages are learned. There are alternative accounts available and regular research output. It can even be argued that the two subfields of acquisition/learning processes and learner differences are coming together for the first time, to the mutual benefit of each. We have also seen that language teaching is an area with considerable vitality. Teaching is still strongly influenced by language description, but the consensus communicative approach has meant that a range of activities focusing on meaning are also central, and that the quality of materials available (if not always their accessibility) has improved dramatically.

As a final point, it is worth making the observation that although the two areas of learning and teaching might reasonably be expected to have strong relationships with one another, in practice, they do not. Learning/acquisition tends to have a research emphasis, and while it does have relevance for teaching, this requires some extrapolation. Teaching, in contrast, while not without interesting research work, nonetheless emphasizes other criteria in establishing and justifying its procedures. It would be desirable to see this separation reduce in the future, for the benefit of both.

*See also:* Acquisition of Second Language Phonology, Morphology, and Syntax; Communicative Language Teaching; Foreign Language Teaching Policy; Grammar; Interlanguage; Motivation and Attitudes in Second Language Learning; Second Language Identity; Second Language Teaching Technologies; Traditions in Second Language Teaching.

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## Second Language Teacher Preparation

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### History and Developments

Until the 18th century, the teaching of a second language (SL) was in the hands of governesses and language masters, self-taught experts who had developed particular skills of passing their mother tongue on to others. This tradition may account for the high value that has customarily been attributed to native speakers as particularly competent teachers of a second language. The assumption that a native speaker's competence can be considered a quasi-natural and sufficient preparation for language teachers has only recently been called into question (Medgyes, 1994).

The first forms of organized and more systematic teacher preparation emerged at the end of the 19th century, when governments first began to control and regulate education. The preparation for teaching modern languages at first followed the example of teaching Latin and classical Greek, defining the academic study of literature and language as the knowledge base of teachers. Because the study of second languages was then considered to be the privilege of the educated elite, SL teachers predominantly worked in the upper secondary school and in university-bound educational systems or at universities.

The canonization of literature and language studies as the almost exclusive basis for teacher preparation has received growing criticism since the 1960s, when the need for cross-cultural communication as a consequence of worldwide migration and globalization required that many more citizens be able to communicate with speakers of different languages and cultural backgrounds worldwide (Block, 2004). English has become the international language that has established itself alongside local languages in multilingual contexts. This is why in the 1960s and 1970s second languages, mostly English, were introduced to all European citizens in secondary schools as a mandatory part of the curriculum. By the beginning of the 21st century, almost all European countries have mandated SL programs in the primary schools, and most schools require their students to have studied at least two foreign languages by the end of grade 10, with English being the first SL in almost all cases. The Council of Europe (2001) has taken a leading role in promoting and supporting the education of plurilingual citizens by defining plurilingual competence as a prerequisite for European citizenship. It views "users

and learners of a language primarily as 'social agents,' i.e., members of society who have tasks...to accomplish" (Council of Europe, 2001: 9).

However, the need for SL education is not just a European, but is also a worldwide phenomenon resulting from massive migrations, the spread of communication technology, and economic globalization. This context provides the background against which initiatives to re-conceptualize the knowledge base of language teacher education need to be understood. What a number of critics have put forward since the 1960s has received growing support: teacher education programs often fail to provide the relevant knowledge base that would enable student teachers to prepare their learners adequately for the tasks outlined above and to support them in coping with the complex demands of SL classrooms.

Just as teaching second languages is a highly diverse activity bound to a particular place in time and realized under specific institutional affordances and constraints, so is the preparation of teachers subject to those constraints. One needs to distinguish, for example, between (1) contexts in which, as in most European countries, the state is responsible for teacher education and in which SL learning represents a core (i.e., mandatory) component in school curricula and (2) contexts in which SL learning has the status of a selective subject with little academic prestige. It matters whether the SL is introduced in the primary school as one mandatory subject to be later followed by a third language and whether a student's career depends on achievements in language learning or whether a SL may (or may not) be chosen as an elective. It makes a difference whether the language taught is the dominant language of the school's culture or whether it is a foreign language. Traditionally, European SL teachers not only share their learners' common and/or native language but have themselves also been through the process of learning at least one other language, which makes them bilingual or, more often than not, plurilingual. Preparing teachers who can tap a vast resource of personal and collective language learning experiences will certainly be different from preparing those who lack such experiences. Since it is impossible to take these particularities into account when discussing teacher preparation in the following sections, we focus our arguments on the general issues, principles, and developments of SL teacher preparation.

### SL Teacher Education: Defining the Knowledge Base

To this day, little is known about why certain teacher education programs are more effective than others.

People have been learning to teach languages for a long time, but only a few have tried to understand the processes or the knowledge and experience that underlie effective teacher preparation: “Thus, most conventional practices in language teacher education have operated like hand-me-down stories, folk wisdom shared as ‘truths’ of the profession with little other than habit and convention on which to base them” (Freeman, 1996: 351). What we do know, however, supports personal anecdotal observation: The dominant teaching formats at many universities are transmission oriented and, therefore, contradict current ideas of student-centeredness and communicative, task-based methodology, as outlined in Legutke and Thomas (1993) or Ellis (2003). Program components lack a coherent curriculum framework, and to a large extent they fail to integrate courses in education, psychology, or sociology, for example. The practicum, if provided at all, often remains an alien element among university courses. Only in recent years has there been a growing interest in re-conceptualizing the knowledge base for SL teacher education (Richards and Nunan, 1990; Richards and Lockhart, 1994; Freeman and Johnson, 1998), which has resulted in an investigation of teacher learning and development in authentic SL learning contexts (see Appel, 1995; Freeman and Richards,

1996; Appel, 2000; Schocker-v. Ditfurth, 2001; Caspari, 2003; Tsui, 2003).

**Taking Account of the Complexity of SL Teaching and Learning**

Despite this growing interest in SL teaching, we must acknowledge that the “knowledge base is hardly as clearly defined or as widely held as it is in other professions such as law, medicine, accountancy, and architecture” (Freeman and Johnson, 2004: 121). This is because the subject matter for SL teaching covers a heterogeneous field and involves different disciplines, research approaches, contexts of practice, learners and teachers, and social settings. However, unless we *do* agree on a clear idea of what SL teachers need to know and how professional knowledge, skills, and attitudes are developed, the field of SL teaching will not establish itself as a professional, recognized field of study nor will we be able to improve its implementation. The situation becomes even more complex if we include the many changes that have occurred in the last 50 years in the way we view language, language acquisition, the language learner, language teaching methods, and the language teacher. These changes are shown clearly in a historical review undertaken by Larsen-Freeman (1998; see Table 1).

**Table 1** A historical review of language teaching

<i>Linguistics</i>	<i>Language acquisition</i>	<i>Language learner</i>	<i>Language teaching</i>	<i>Language teacher</i>
Structural	Habit formation Behaviorism	Mimic	Dialogues Patterns Practice Drills	Performer Model Conductor Cheer leader Knower
Generative	Rule formation (cognitivism)	Cognitive being	Inductive and deductive Exercises	
Social/functional	Interactionism	Social being	Role plays Information Gaps Problem-solving tasks Cooperative learning	Facilitator
Discourse/text/corpus	Constructivism	Meaning-maker	Process writing Language Experience Whole Language Content-based	Negotiator
Critical	Experiential	Political being	Critical Pedagogy Participatory approach Problem posing	Advocate

From Larsen-Freeman, 1998: 4.

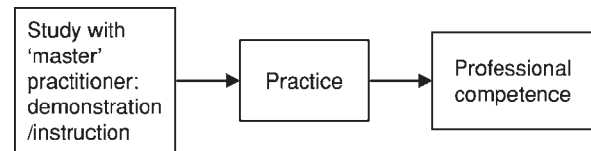
Larsen-Freeman is surely correct in arguing that all of these approaches have some merit, but that none of them reflects the whole picture. This is why she reached this conclusion: rather than search for the one right point of view, “we must redirect the nature of our inquiry to search for wholeness—for more complete understanding of the many facets that comprise these basic constructs in our field. Being aware of the complexity has tremendous implications for how we train teachers” (Larsen-Freeman, 1998: 4). Therefore, as a first step, we need to prepare our student teachers to enable them to understand the complexity of SL teaching and learning in authentic contexts of practice.

### Basing Teacher Education on Teaching and on the Person Who Teaches

There is a traditional misconception that all it takes to become a competent SL teacher is to know about relevant publications. Yet, professional action in dynamic situations of practice, such as in a classroom, is characterized by such features as uncertainty, complexity, uniqueness, instability, and value conflict (Schön, 1983). This is why teachers cannot be adequately prepared for their job just by reading relevant disciplinary knowledge. Following Schön (1983) and Freeman and Johnson (1998), we argue that the knowledge base must focus on the activity of teaching itself and on the contexts in which it is done. It must also focus on the person who teaches, because unless knowledge (from whatever source) becomes part of student teachers’ ideas of their professional selves, it will not contribute to the quality of learning second languages: SL teachers generate their own personal theories on SL learning that are based on their own language learning experiences and their experiences in particular teaching contexts. Therefore, it would be wrong to assume that teachers can be viewed as mere consumers of ideas that have been developed outside language classrooms in related disciplines and may simply be transmitted to them. In the following sections, we ground this basic assumption on relevant research, drawing on learning-to-teach studies and studies on the nature and development of expertise in SL teaching and learning.

**The Teacher Learner: How Do Student Teachers Learn to Teach?** The views on what counts as professional education can be classified into three major models, according to Wallace (1991). They are described in chronological order, along with the contributions made to each model by research into learning to teach.

*Craft Model: Learning as Imitation of a ‘Master Teacher’ or the Expert Teacher as Model* In the craft model, the student teacher learns by imitating the techniques of an experienced professional



**Figure 1** The craft model of professional education. From Wallace, 1991: 6.

practitioner and by following his or her instructions and advice. Professional competence is seen as the passing on of expertise from generation to generation. This model is shown in **Figure 1**.

The drawback to this model is obvious: It does not capture developments in dynamic societies, where change is a basic feature. However, the relevance of the idea of teachers as models should not be dismissed completely. We know from various learning-to-teach studies that student teachers begin their education with images of teaching that they have acquired during their own (language) learning experiences as students (Kagan, 1992; Johnson, 1994). Lortie (1975) termed this process “the apprenticeship of observation.” This apprenticeship shapes student teachers’ dispositions regarding how to act in the classroom, even if contrary to whatever cognitive knowledge they may have encountered during teacher education. Unless student teachers encounter practice situations in which they experience convincing alternative practices by observing an expert teacher, these imprints are very resistant to change (see results in Schocker-v. Ditfurth, 2001). Student teachers find readings on new approaches to teaching convincing, in regard to their theoretical rationale, but not credible because they cannot imagine how to apply the alternatives about which they read. This is why Fullan is correct in writing that “(t)he main reason for the failure of teacher programs is that they are based on extremely vague conceptions. Having an ideology is not the same as having conceptions and ideas of what should be done and how it should be done” (Fullan, 1993: 109).

Student teachers need to see how it can be done in order to be able to develop alternative and more appropriate images of teaching. Therefore, teacher educators need to be positive role models from whom students gradually learn by appropriating the mutually agreed-upon purposes and corresponding practices. However, this concept of ‘teacher as model’ must not be confused with the mechanical imitation of behavior, which characterizes behaviorist-based teaching. Instead, it is understood in the Vygotskian sense of learning as relational imitation, expressed in his concept of “the zone of proximal development” (Vygotsky, 1978).

*Applied Science Model: Learning as Application of Knowledge* The applied science model is probably

still the most prevalent model underlying teacher education programs. According to this model, practical knowledge may be developed by the application of scientific knowledge that is conveyed or transmitted to student teachers (in lectures, for example) by those who are experts in the relevant areas. It is up to the recipients of this knowledge to apply the scientific findings by putting them into practice (see Figure 2).

This classical research-development-dissemination (RDD) model of innovation assumes that there are general solutions to practical problems, that these solutions may be developed outside practical situations (at universities, for example), and that solutions can be translated into teachers' actions by means of publications, training, administrative orders, and the like (Schön, 1983). This model ignores the knowledge that student teachers have acquired during their many years as (language) learners (see above), and it does not capture the nature and development of professional competence. It assumes an almost complete separation between research and practice and between those who think and those who do. Through

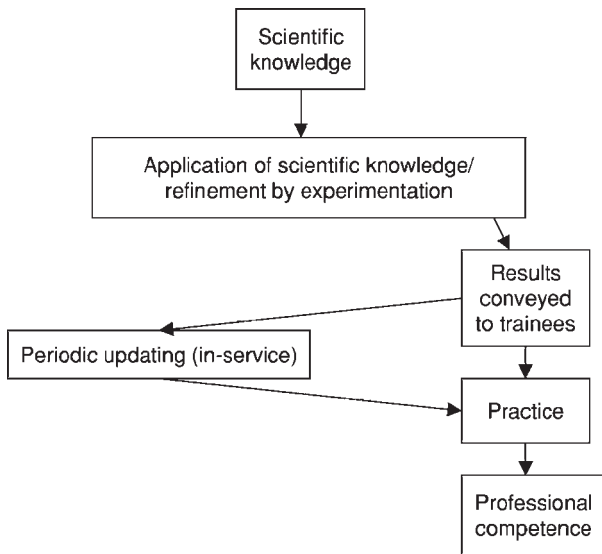
this division of labor, a hierarchy of different kinds of knowledge is established, which reflects a mistrust of practitioners who are then reduced merely to applying what has been predefined in the academic and administrative power structure above them.

However, not all the research meant to provide a deeper understanding of SL teaching and learning is relevant for teachers. Appel (1995: xi) illustrated this point when he described how he perceived the relevance of research when he was a novice teacher:

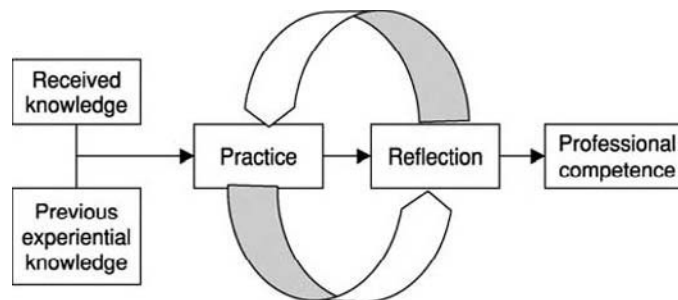
“Everyday life at school was not about research. Research is controlling the variables; teaching is being controlled by them. At my workplace [secondary school SL classroom] no factors could be isolated. On the contrary, they were hopelessly muddled. Research was about keeping things separate. Life meant everything at once... Research was about being rigorous and consistent. Life was about survival by any available means.”

*Reflective Model: ‘Reflected Practice’ to Develop Appropriate Practical Knowledge* When teacher educators refer to professional knowledge, they often talk about research-based disciplinary knowledge, which usually forms the basis of teacher education programs for SL teachers. However, it would be impossible to cope with the complex demands of SL classrooms on the basis solely of a conscious application of principles alone, as has been suggested by the applied science model. This idea of teaching as decision making does not capture the whole picture. To be able to cope in complex contexts of practice, another type of knowledge, which Wallace (1991) has called “experiential knowledge” and which Schön (1983) has described as “tacit knowledge in action,” is relevant: to be able to cope with the sheer complexity and fluidity of classroom interaction, teachers need routines that will allow them to act competently in a classroom (see Figure 3).

Routines are part of a teacher’s practical knowledge. They have been built up through frequent repetitions, and they are executed largely unconsciously. This is why practitioners are often unable to describe their practical knowledge. Because student teachers



**Figure 2** The applied science model of professional education. From Wallace, 1991: 9.



**Figure 3** The reflective model of professional education. From Wallace, 1991: 15.



cannot fall back on corresponding routines, they find it hard to manage the complexity of processes in SL classrooms. It is, therefore, important that they develop their experiential knowledge in authentic practical contexts, so that they gain the opportunity to develop appropriate routines and to put their personal practical theories to the test by putting them through a continuous cycle of action and reflection, as this model suggests. We agree with Tsui (2003: 257) who argued that it is necessary for teachers to be able to articulate this tacit knowing-in-action because the ability to reflect on one's teaching and to share and develop it with the professional community is an aspect of expertise in teaching. Therefore, student teachers need opportunities to develop expertise both by observing expert teachers and by doing their own classroom-based teaching projects.

However, student teachers "are not empty vessels waiting to be filled with theoretical and pedagogical skills. They are individuals who enter teacher education programs with prior experiences, personal values, and beliefs that inform their knowledge about teaching and shape what they do" (Freeman and Johnson, 1998: 401). When teaching for the first time, these prior experiences find expression in classroom routines that they have established as part of their 'apprenticeship of observation.' A learning-to-teach study from the German context (Schocker-v. Ditfurth, 2001) was able to clearly identify the origin of some of these routines (such as the opening of lessons, the use of linguistic markers to lead in a new activity, or even the use of gestures to allocate talking time to students) as being rooted in their own language learning experiences as students. In discussions about their videotaped lessons with their tutor, student teachers became aware of the fact that they had acquired these routines from their former language teachers' repertoire, which they had copied unconsciously while simultaneously rejecting them intellectually.

### **The Context: What Is the Role of the SL Learning Classroom in Teacher Education?**

As we have already demonstrated, it is crucial to include the SL learning classroom into teacher education for various reasons. From studies into teacher knowledge (Appel, 2000) we know that the appropriateness of materials and tasks depends on the perceived value that teachers and their learners associate with them. It is their interactions in the classroom that determine what is made available to be learned. This concept is expressed in the idea of the SL classroom as a 'culture' with particular features that affect the contents and structure of communication: a language class "is an arena of subjective and intersubjective realities which are worked out,

changed, and maintained. And these realities are not a trivial background to the tasks of teaching and learning a language. They locate and define the new language itself...and they continually...mold the activities of teaching and learning" (Breen, 1985: 142). This is why Breen's distinction between *task-as-work plan* and *task-in-process* is crucial: Teachers need to be aware of the processes that a task triggers with their learners because the quality and efficacy of a task depend on its use during teaching and learning. Freeman and Johnson are, therefore, correct when they described schools as "powerful places that create and sustain meanings and values... Thus, it is misleading to see them merely as settings in which educational practices are implemented.... Instead, ... schools and classrooms function as frameworks of value and interpretation in which language teachers must learn to work effectively" (Freeman and Johnson, 1998: 409). The centrality of the classroom has been confirmed by a recent study on the expertise of ESL teachers (Tsui, 2003): teachers' conceptions and understanding of teaching are grounded and developed in their specific contexts of work. Moreover, their knowledge may not be delineated as separate domains of knowledge; rather, these knowledge domains are 'intermeshed' (Tsui, 2003: 247).

### **Published Knowledge: What Disciplines Constitute Relevant Subject Matter?**

It probably comes as no surprise that attempts to agree on a common definition of what counts as relevant disciplinary knowledge and subject matter for SL teaching and learning have largely failed. The recent commentaries on re-conceptualizing teacher education in the *TESOL Quarterly's* forum (see Yates and Muchisky, 2003; Freeman and Johnson, 2004) are indicative of this state of affairs. Before we turn our attention to the practical consequences this complexity has on organizing learning in teacher education, we give a brief survey of the relevant disciplines as defined in Bausch *et al.* (2003). We subscribe to Freeman and Johnson's (2004: 125) view of SL teaching as not being a discipline but rather, very much like education, "a field of activity" that draws on various disciplines. These disciplines include linguistics, SL acquisition, philosophy of education, learning theory and psychology, literary studies, and cultural studies.

- *Linguistics*: Linguistics describes languages as systems of human communication. This discipline covers many different areas of investigation; for example, sound systems (phonetics, phonology), the study of the basic meaningful forms in language (morphology), sentence structure (syntax), meaning systems (semantics), and how language is

used in social contexts (pragmatics, discourse analysis, sociolinguistics). Student teachers need to know not only linguistic subject matter knowledge about the language but also the pedagogical content knowledge (Calderhead, 1991) and the skills it takes to be able to mediate the language to learners. For example, they need to know about and be able to use appropriate interactive strategies, strategies to mediate the meaning of words, appropriate (corrective) feedback to learners, and appropriate language use in tasks. “(A)ny description of the English languages content must be understood against the backdrop of teachers’ professional lives, within the settings where they work and within the circumstances of that work” (Freeman and Johnson, 1998: 405). Student teachers need to experience and make sense of what language is, how it is learned, and how this knowledge leads to certain instructional activities that support their learning (Freeman and Johnson, 2004).

- *SL Acquisition*: SL acquisition research investigates how second or foreign languages are learned. Researchers approach the question from different perspectives, but agree that language learning is a dynamic and multidimensional process, which is why sociocultural approaches to researching language acquisition seem more appropriate (on the relevance of SL acquisition theory for language teachers, see Ellis, 2003; Freeman and Johnson, 2004).
- *Philosophy of Education*: Philosophy of education discusses the general principles and purposes of human education, of which the learning of foreign languages is a part. One of these principles, for example, is learner autonomy, which is characterized as the motivation to take charge of one’s own learning. To do so, learners need to be able and willing to act independently and in cooperation with others – an attitude that should be fostered in SL classrooms as well.
- *Learning Theory and Psychology*: This discipline describes how and why people learn. For example, it investigates the cognitive differences in the ways individuals learn (= learning styles) and highlights the need for teachers to take these differences into account. It focuses on the relationship between language learning and the age of acquisition or factors affecting the motivation to learn (see Cameron, 2001). This discipline investigates group dynamics and teacher and learner roles and identities.
- *Literary Studies*: This discipline discusses the nature of literary texts as one form of communication. It explores the factors that constitute this type of communication, such as the author, the written text, and the reader.
- *Cultural Studies*: This discipline analyzes cultural phenomena and the way they represent cultural

meaning. It looks at how representations of cultures are defined by issues of race, gender, and class and incorporates a historical perspective into the analysis. It also considers the process of relating different cultures (intercultural learning).

## Principles for Designing and Evaluating Teacher Education Programs

Teachers have to cope with complex demands in SL classrooms. Research on the nature of teaching and findings from learning-to-teach studies suggest that teacher education is best organized according to the following three principles.

### Research Approach to Learning: Developing a Multiperspective View on the SL Classroom

To help them understand the complex dynamics that determine language learning in SL classrooms, student teachers learn to develop a research approach to SL learning. They learn to integrate the relevant perspectives on learning and teaching. These perspectives include three domains of knowledge: relevant published knowledge, student teachers’ own perspectives on language learning, and the perspective of the practical context.

### Experiential Learning: Developing Action-Oriented Models for SL Classrooms

Teacher preparation courses are organized in a way that allows student teachers to experience the very processes that they are supposed to initiate with students in their prospective classrooms: the way learning is organized in these courses corresponds with the conditions of learning they are supposed to create in their prospective classroom. For example, when a course explores the potential of project work for SL learning, student teachers cooperate in teams, choose a research question, use various resources to do their research, discuss and publish the results of their projects, use the target language as their language of communication, and evaluate selected aspects of the process and the product of their cooperation according to mutually negotiated criteria. In doing all of this, they experience the advantages and the drawbacks of cooperative learning. It is hoped that, in this way, they will gradually appropriate the multiple skills that this complex SL learning environment entails.

### Experimental Learning: Developing Context-Related Competencies through Cooperation in Cross-Institutional Projects

The ability to develop a research approach to language classrooms implies that teacher preparation

needs to overcome the traditional separation of the institutions of school and university. The tradition of language teaching at schools often follows the structure of a textbook and a routine sequence of presentation, practice, and production. This organization of the language learning process often clashes with less controlled, learning-centered approaches to SL teaching and learning, such as the task-based approach (Ellis, 2003). Student teachers need what has come to be called ‘dynamic qualifications’; that is, competencies and value judgments, which are the basis for any innovation to be successful. Such competencies include an appreciation of problems that one has identified during the learning process and student orientation, the ability to evaluate one’s work, an experimental attitude to practice, and the ability to cope with controlled risks (see Schocker-v. Ditfurth, 2001). This approach is in line with Tsui’s research on teacher expertise. It is a characteristic of an expert teacher to be oriented to ‘problematization’; that is, the ability to identify and define problems and then to tackle them (Tsui, 2003: 272). For example, student teacher preparation courses that are suitable for developing this attitude focus on the use of technology for SL learning, during which student teachers develop innovative materials and tasks for SL classrooms in cooperation with teachers who are not used to integrating technology in their classroom; or they evaluate textbooks against criteria of task-based language learning, develop alternative tasks, and discuss their findings with the publishers of these textbooks. These examples show that, up to a point, student teachers are proactive persons, agents of change, who develop certain aspects of classroom language learning for a particular and clearly defined context (Schocker-v. Ditfurth and Legutke, 2002).

## **Models of Teacher Education Environments**

### **Practicum as a Core Component of a Teacher Education Environment**

The most radical implementation of a research approach to teacher education is realized within the framework of a practicum. The practicum is no longer simply an addition to the general teacher preparation course work, but rather constitutes its core component. The relevant course work devoted to introducing future teachers to issues of SL teaching, design of materials, and language analysis feeds into the practicum and/or derives its major content from the practicum experience (Schocker-v. Ditfurth, 2001).

In a first sequence of task-driven activities, student teachers are introduced to problematized

fundamental constructs and issues of SL learning from published knowledge. They then connect these constructs to their own language learning experiences as language learners in school, thereby exploring their particular apprenticeship of observation. Second, student teachers explore some of these constructs and issues through classroom observation, which, together with the literature discussed in the first phase, provides the basis for interviews of the teachers observed. This approach triggers discussions on the relevance of the constructs; the appropriateness of content and processes for specific groups of language learners; and the choice of materials, tasks, and means of assessment, and the like. Pedagogical content knowledge, therefore, is not misunderstood as prescriptive knowledge to be applied in practice. Rather, through the learning tasks, a personal and critical reflection on the relevance of the pedagogical content knowledge is fostered, supporting the emergence of a personally plausible and contextually acceptable theory of SL learning. During the last third of this type of integrated practicum, student teachers pursue one personally relevant research question that they try to answer by taking into account both published knowledge and their teaching experience. They are also encouraged to include the view of their learners and the teacher. Using a variety of methods of data gathering and appropriate modes of data analysis, they finally prepare a public presentation of their findings for those students who will follow them in a new cycle of teacher preparation.

### **Learning Environments with a Classroom-Based Research Component**

In this type of learning-to-teach environment, a university course is a core component that is extended by contact with a number of foreign language/second language classrooms in which teachers participate in the teacher preparation work through face-to-face encounters and/or through the Internet. At the same time, the student teachers become part of the school classroom for some time through personal participation and regular communication with the teacher and the SL learners. Student teachers working in self-directed and cooperative groups prepare theme-centered project scenarios that they put into practice in their partner classrooms while pursuing a clearly defined set of appropriate research questions. During the implementation phase, student teachers become responsible for a small group of SL learners (up to five learners) at a time.

What is important in this type of learning environment is that the student teachers learn to navigate various discourses. Seminar discourse requires

student teachers to interact with teacher educators, their fellow students, and also their team members on the content and processes of their projects and the appropriate research approach. This discourse, conducted in the target language, is enriched by input from cooperating teachers. At the level of classroom discourse, student teachers have to interact with their partner teachers and with the groups of SL learners they are responsible for during the implementation of their projects. At this level of discourse, student teachers can explore the differences between what seems predictable and doable at the level of seminar discourse and what often proves to be highly unpredictable, and sometimes questionable, in the classroom. Such a research-oriented learning environment counteracts established teacher preparation practice, which exposes students to constructs and theories without giving them a chance to experience its relevance and reflect on its potential for SL learning.

#### **Learning Environments with an Indirect Research Component**

The environment with a classroom-based research component described above is very demanding for all parties involved when compared to established teacher preparation coursework. In addition, the systematic cooperation with schools and teachers that it requires is not always easy to realize. Consequently, an alternative is for student teachers to work with classroom data gathered in previous projects. All the data generated – that is, video data from classroom projects, interviews with teachers and students, and log-files of the communication between cooperating teachers and teacher students – can be explored as a means of grappling with and understanding the complexity of language classrooms. As in the previous learning environment, students are simultaneously exposed to appropriate and relevant published knowledge, providing conceptual frameworks to be used when trying to make sense of the data or to be reassessed in view of the classroom data.

#### **Learning Environments Using Participant Observation in Classrooms and/or Video Documents**

A further mode of research-oriented teacher preparation can be realized by systematically integrating task-based classroom observations that include the multiple perspectives of the teacher and his or her SL learners. The explorations and presentations of student teachers' perspectives on classrooms in action can be jointly compared to interpretations offered by the teacher and learners. Such interpretative work,

again further enriched by published knowledge, can be an important step toward helping student teachers develop their professional selves as teachers.

The models outlined above are not mutually exclusive, but rather are fundamental building blocks of any teacher preparation program, which supplement each other to contribute to the education of student teachers on their journey to becoming professional SL teachers.

### **Perspectives and Developments**

To do justice to the complexity of the factors involved in language learning, it is necessary to foster a multiperspective view on teacher education, which currently does not define mainstream teacher education practice. In addition, there is a need to think of ways to individualize learning, to take into account differing degrees of experience and commitment of student teachers, thus fostering their engagement in understanding the learning process and promoting critical reflection. A teaching portfolio documenting students' reflections on their learning processes, which some universities have started to introduce, is certainly a possible means toward these goals. What Freeman and Johnson formulate for the teaching of English as a second language (TESOL) and the preparation of teachers of English applies to SL teaching in general: strengthening and improving TESOL presupposes a conceptual clarity about what constitutes TESOL as a field of activity. "Such clarity calls for a more profound and reasoned understanding of what language teachers need to know to do what they do, how these skills and knowledge are learned in professional preparation and through professional development, and how they are practiced with students in classrooms" (Freeman and Johnson, 2004: 125). Such profound and reasoned understanding needs to include substantial research into the beliefs and practices of all components of teacher preparation: Applied linguists, experts in SL acquisition, and professors of literature and cultural studies have always reasserted the importance of their disciplines for teacher preparation without ever having engaged in the research of their own practice – their own classrooms – that are designed, managed, and maintained to contribute to the preparation of teachers (Bartels, 2002).

*See also:* Communicative Language Teaching; Interlanguage; Nonnative Speaker Teachers; Second and Foreign Language Learning and Teaching; Second Language Curriculum Development; Teacher Preparation; Traditions in Second Language Teaching; World Englishes.



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## Second Language Teaching Technologies

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Recent progress in technology-enhanced language learning has been concentrated in two broad areas: Multimedia and Information Technologies (IT, also commonly known as ICT, Information and Communication Technologies). Information Technologies came about as the result of advances in computer networking, which fundamentally changed the flow of information at every level of our society. IT became critical in order to manage the vast amount of information. Arising from the continuous developments in computer processing power and increasing storage capacities, digitization of different types of media has proliferated, resulting in vast archives of text, audio, graphics, photographs, and video stored in digital form. Computers became powerful enough to integrate these media in the digital form and to handle them seamlessly in a user-friendly manner. Audiocassettes and videotapes are rapidly giving way to digital formats, including CDs, DVDs, and digital media computer servers. More digital cameras are being sold than traditional film-based cameras. The majority of consumer-grade video camcorders now use the digital formats. Language learning venues are also going through a transition. Language students of the 1960s and 1970s diligently visited the audio language laboratory, for class meetings and for homework and self-study. This picture changed and broadened with the advent of the microcomputer and the Internet. Audiotape language laboratories were replaced by media centers that delivered a wide range of audio, video, and multimedia computer resources. The expansion of language learning spaces continues as students use their own computers for their learning without needing to go to computer laboratories. This shift in the learning environment is a direct result of the diminishing size of computer hardware, ubiquitous connectivity to the Internet, and the ever-increasing availability of wireless network connections.

Language teachers have always exploited any technology that would allow them to bring the language and culture alive for their students. Currently, technology serves a variety of functions: a multimedia information and reference channel for exploring the culture and language; a tutor that provides information, practice, help, and instant feedback in a self-paced environment; an assessment tool; a productivity-enhancing means of composing,

revising, and disseminating written production; and a way for teachers and learners to communicate and work collaboratively. Older tried-and-true technologies are never instantly replaced by newer ones, but rather they coexist for an extended period of time – not only for reasons of software availability, but because they genuinely work better for the instructional need or for the instructor's approach to teaching. The next section focuses on the major developments and advances that have emerged during the past 10 years and that have influenced the use of technology in language learning and teaching.

### Key Developments in the Last Decade

Most successful technology-driven developments in education have paralleled general trends in the corporate and the consumer market. The language profession is no different from other academic disciplines in exploiting the 'generic' tools that have emerged for business and consumers as a result of the Internet, including World Wide Web pages, computer conferencing, and training or learning management systems. In fact, when compared with Computer-Assisted Language Learning (CALL) applications of the 1980s and early 1990s, these generic tools have been embraced with much more enthusiasm than we have ever witnessed with any technology of the past. Whereas the period from 1984 to 1994 in CALL development was characterized by custom programs anchored to local workstations equipped with multimedia peripherals (random-access audio devices, videodisc players, CD drives), many contemporary CALL ventures are moving toward a web-based model of anytime, any-place connectivity to digital resources of all kinds – text, graphics, sound, photos, and video – and more online human-to-human interaction, both synchronous (in real time) and asynchronous (at delayed intervals).

A shift similar to the shift from custom programs to more generic tools is seen in the learning environment. Dedicated language laboratories have been replaced by more general-purpose computer laboratories. Technological advances in hardware, such as higher processing speed of computer chips and increasing capacities of storage devices, have made this shift possible. As the wireless networks become widespread and individuals carry their own computers, many of the learning activities that happened in room-based computer laboratories will inevitably shift to personal portable devices of all kinds, including handheld computers and multipurpose cellular phones.

### **Exponential Growth of the Internet and the World Wide Web**

Without any doubt, the technological advance that has had the greatest impact on the teaching and learning of foreign languages is the exponential growth of the Internet and the World Wide Web. Although the Internet and the Web are frequently used as interchangeable terms, a stricter distinction can be made. The Internet refers to the network of the physical connections and protocols that link computers to one another (an invention attributed to the U.S. government), as distinguished from the Web, which is the Internet-based phenomenon that came into being in 1990, when Tim Berners-Lee created the World Wide Web at a lab in Switzerland by establishing the notion of the Universal Resource Locator (URL), which together with hypertext markup language, forms the basis of current resources accessed by browser applications, such as Internet Explorer. The Internet has spread to many parts of the world, saturating developed nations and increasingly penetrating countries traditionally at the margins of technological growth. This growth can mean significant access to native speakers and native language and cultures for students in a wide range of target languages except those spoken primarily in areas where speakers have neither a tradition of written language nor a culture of computer usage.

English dominated the Web at the beginning and currently accounts for approximately one-third of the online language population. However, if trends continue as they have in the past several years, the online language populations on the Internet will continue to shift toward a better language balance as Internet technology pervades all regions of the world, especially Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America. Due to the growth of the Web, personal computer operating systems have become much friendlier to a wider range of languages including nonalphabetical languages and right-to-left languages. (See the section below on Unicode for character handling.)

The Web offers a wealth of authentic linguistic and cultural artifacts usable at many moments in instruction, both during and outside of class, and at all levels. The acceptance of the Web into the foreign language profession was smooth and swift because it was strongly content-driven and no hardware changes were necessary. In fact, no past instructional technology or application has resonated so completely with our profession and been embraced in so short a time as has the Web, not only because of content and ease of use, but because of the potential for building varied communities of learners through good connectivity.

### **Computer-Mediated Communication**

In the early 1990s, the few instructional language projects using the Internet were limited primarily to asynchronous (delayed response) e-mail exchanges and synchronous (real-time) class discussions on local area networks (LANs). During the past decade, the Internet blossomed as a mature communication medium – one even better suited to the instructional goals of language learning. Thus, from the first electronic communication experiments has emerged a new multifaceted domain known as computer-mediated communication (CMC), comprising both synchronous and asynchronous communication modes. In addition to traditional e-mail and LAN-based class discussion, the possibilities now include Instant Relay Chat (IRC) text messaging, graphical chat with sound, threaded discussion, MOOs (Multiple user domain-Object Oriented, environments based on interactive online gaming software), and Internet-based audio and video teleconferencing systems, all of which make possible authentic language learning experiences and radically different learning communities in which language learners are connected to native speakers of their target language.

Since many forms of CMC require text in the electronic form, learners must learn to type in the target language. Though typing in alphabetical languages is a relatively simple task, the issues of typing in non-alphabetical languages are more complex. Teaching students how to use the input systems for languages such as Chinese and Japanese efficiently enough for them to communicate in a spontaneous fashion constitutes a significant inhibition to online communication in these languages. In fact, the instructional use of word processing and the Internet has an impact on the instruction of the orthography by redefining what constitutes the writing ability. In other words, students may not have to be able to write a large number of characters by hand.

Synchronous online exchanges have recently been the object of a great deal of research – analyzing the nature of the language/discourse in CMC, the importance of task in language production, and the nature of the social or intercultural interactions as they occur in this medium. A number of notable experiments in CMC involving foreign language classes in the United States and English learners in Europe have revealed the challenges and benefits of connecting language students with native speakers of the target language. Pennsylvania State's Telecollaboration Project, MIT's Cultura Project, and Vassar's Moossiggang all demonstrate that students are motivated by these collaborative exchanges and engage in productive learning activities that promote authentic use of the language, using the language for authentic communication rather than as

the object of study. Despite the reported successes of such projects, significant problems persist: crosscultural misunderstandings, unequal access to technology, mismatches of school calendars, differences in student motivation and rewards leading to disparate levels of commitment, and sound methods of assessment.

### Course Management Systems

Course Management Systems (CMSs), also commonly known as Virtual Learning Environments and Learning Managements Systems, have made a major impact on all disciplines at postsecondary institutions. These e-learning systems are designed to provide a flexible, multifaceted environment for creating online course materials. They have been used to supplement face-to-face learning as well as to deliver classes that are conducted completely online. Among these electronic learning environments, WebCT and Blackboard dominate the market in the United States, Europe, Asia, Australia, and other parts of the world. These 'e-learning' systems combine various modalities under one umbrella: dissemination of course information and content (multimedia materials, links to websites, quizzing), grade book, threaded discussion, and chat – all with password-protected access. Many language teachers who were never attracted to computer technology in the past have found such systems useful because they allow students to engage in meaningful language learning activities outside of class, working either individually or in groups. In addition, they make use of CMSs to manage routine course-administration tasks.

### Distance/Online Learning

Much of online learning takes place as an aspect of hybrid environments that combine face-to-face classroom instruction and activities with online exploration and activities. At some institutions, a significant number of face-to-face classroom meetings have been replaced by online exercises and assignments as a cost-saving measure. Other initiatives have a more positive spin toward exploiting online technology. One interesting example of an online language program to supplement regular instruction and to develop and research the best practices for distance learning is Hilde's Witchy World (*Hildes Hexenwelt*), developed by Uschi Felix (Monash University). Hilde's Witchy World is an experimental distance learning resource for second-year German that is based on a constructivist approach to language learning.

Although technology-enhanced distance language learning as an alternative to face-to-face classroom instruction has been a long-established tradition in Europe, this has not been the case in the United States until very recently. In the United States, schools and

universities have begun to look toward joint distance education arrangements, primarily for the less commonly taught languages that cannot be offered economically at a single institution, especially for advanced levels. Through recent projects in Swahili, Yoruba, Arabic, and Hindi, practitioners are beginning to discover how best to deliver online instruction in these languages to students from several institutions. Typically, distance language learning courses utilize a range of technologies to deliver instruction and connect learners and instructors, including Web-based multimedia materials, real-time chat, threaded discussion, and videoconferencing (technology that allows participants at two or more sites to see and hear one another), along with more traditional offline materials, such as textbooks and audio and video on cassette or disc. Instruction is usually offered synchronously, which helps foster a sense of learner community and provides interactive communicative experiences among learners.

Videoconferencing or teleconferencing itself has changed a great deal in recent years. Once restricted to expensive satellites and dishes, video teleconferencing with multisite audio and video communication has moved to the domain of the Internet. Early basic Internet conferencing applications, such as CU-SeeMe and Netmeeting, have been expanded and improved to provide audio and video communication integrated with other shared media- and computer-based programs. With such technology, it has become possible to offer distance language instruction with a highly interactive face-to-face feel. As with other media-intensive Internet applications, 'bandwidth' (high-speed, high-capacity network connections) is an important and limiting factor and current videoconferencing systems tend to experience periodic problems of audio and video dropouts when Internet traffic is heavy. However, as the bandwidth expands, the capability of teleconferencing technology will improve and become a more viable conduit for language learning.

Even in the traditional arena of language laboratories, there has been a transformation from analog systems to online digital environments. Currently, the market is dominated by language laboratory software run on LAN-based systems as well as browser-based virtual classroom systems for real-time teacher-led learning environments for distance education applications.

### Concordancing Programs and Corpora

The instructional use of concordancing programs and corpora for language learning has continued to represent a noteworthy area for development. Originally a discipline largely unrelated to language instruction, corpus linguistics has increasingly been linked



to second and foreign language research, yielding a new area of inquiry to inform language teaching and learning practice. Computer software tools – concordance programs – for searching large collections or corpora of natural language (from print or spoken sources) can be used both for autonomous learning activities and for diagnostic and research ends. For example, corpora consisting of texts written by learners of English as a Foreign Language have been useful in systematically identifying errors consistently made by speakers of given languages, allowing teachers to design curricular strategies that specifically address known problems. In other languages, the corpora of authentic texts are being used to allow students to explore texts to draw conclusions about lexical usage and structural patterns.

### **L2 Phonology and Speech Recognition**

Pronunciation training is an area where technology has been used effectively. When a computer makes a digital recording of a learner's utterances, software analyzes the voice and gives visual feedback in the form of spectrograms and pitch contours. This type of technology was originally developed for speech pathology and phonology research. Computers have become powerful enough to process the sound in real time as the student's voice is recorded.

Speech recognition is another type of speech technology that has been in practice as a dictation tool for professional writers and translators and for persons with disabilities. Such applications are often speaker-dependent systems designed for native speakers. They require 'training' the system to understand accurately the voices of particular individuals. Once trained, the system works remarkably well, converting continuous speech into written text. On the other hand, speech recognition systems for language learners do not require training and thus are speaker-independent. This type of system needs to perform automatic speech recognition to determine the acceptability of voice input. There are some pronunciation training programs available commercially for vocabulary, but the recognition of continuous speech produced by language learners remains difficult, and reviews of those programs by language experts are still mixed. Once this technology evolves further, speech recognition systems have the potential to provide objective feedback for acceptable pronunciation.

### **Unicode**

As computer use spread globally, devising a system of uniform character representation emerged as a pressing issue. Unicode constitutes a significant development in managing characters when multiple languages need to be supported on a computer. Unicode

originated in the 1980s at Xerox as a part of a project to develop a multilingual word processor. As described on their website (<http://www.unicode.org>), the objective of Unicode is to provide a unique number for every character of every language, no matter what the computer platform or program. Recent versions of common operating systems support Unicode. In the character set menu of popular Web browsers, Unicode is available under the names UTF-8 and UTF-16. Once Unicode is widely adopted and standard Unicode fonts become available, Unicode will vastly improve and simplify multilingual computing.

### **Issues and Concerns**

There is always great disparity between predictions for technology in education and the reality of its implementation, between technological advances and the successful use of technology for language learning and teaching, and between language acquisition theory and classroom practice. Added to these perennial problems, CALL developers now also grapple with a number of thorny issues that complicate the implementation of Information and Communication Technologies in language learning.

### **Coping with Change**

The trend in much of instructional technology for language learning and teaching is to make use of existing networks and generalized tool software – exploiting the power of sophisticated environments, backed by corporate resources that ensure continued support for their products. Thus, the emergence of course management and e-learning systems, Internet-based conferencing systems, and multimedia presentation and development tools (used by teachers and students alike) has stimulated a move away from custom-programmed applications that characterized CALL in the 1980s and 1990s. The popularity of the Web, with its wealth of authentic materials and its promise of any-time, any-place availability, has had a profound effect in overshadowing custom stand-alone applications. Most new development is aimed at Web delivery and e-learning, rather than traditional distribution by CD-ROM or other physical media delivered in a traditional bricks-and-mortar institutional setting. As a result, many complex and sophisticated projects do not attract the necessary resources to migrate programs from old platforms and systems to new ones, and many developers are undergoing a painful process of reinventing old CALL wheels in more undeveloped and restrictive browser-based delivery environments. Web-based CALL templates produced by academic or government groups (such as the Hot Potatoes suite of templates developed by Stewart Arneil and Martin

Holmes at the University of Victoria or the MALTERD system developed by Paul Bangs and supported by Spain's Ministry of Education) expend great effort and resources to remain viable as platforms and browsers change and evolve.

### **The Downside of the Web**

The Web has proven to be both a blessing and a curse to language teachers and learners. The wealth of authentic material from and about world cultures available via the Web can constitute information overload for language learners, causing them to struggle to keep their bearings through endless jumps through hyperspace as they attempt to discern good information from bad. There is a tendency to trust the Web as a source of true and accurate information, and often students will naïvely read and quote information as gospel, when, in fact, it is of questionable accuracy. Teachers' efforts to create flexible, up-to-the-minute instructional content on the Web too often fall into neglect, resulting in permanently out-of-date relics, with links that point to pages that have disappeared completely.

### **Software Development Standards**

Because of the open nature of the Web and the resources required for the development of sophisticated software tools and courseware, accessibility, intellectual property rights, reusability, and interoperability have arisen as meaningful issues for developers and educators. In the United States, major ventures have been developing standards for specifying and managing 'learning objects,' defined as identifiable individual elements of instructional materials, in the interest of sharing content and ensuring the continued viability of tools and content as changes in platforms occur. Two major initiatives in the development of learning object standards, IMS (Instructional Management System) and SCORM (Sharable Content Object Reference Model), have champions among some software and course management system developers, but objectively they have had little impact on most instructional software for languages developed by either local academic projects or publishers. Major course management systems, including Blackboard and WebCT, claim conformance to IMS and SCORM standards so that learning objects can be moved to different or upgraded systems, but, in reality, the definition of conformance varies considerably from product to product.

### **Practice Linked to SLA Theory and Research**

In the next decade, greater effort will doubtless be made to link Second Language Acquisition (SLA) theory and research to practice. Technology figures

into many solutions to issues raised by current SLA research, including motivation, learner styles and preferences, awareness, authenticity, interaction, feedback, and the social and cultural contexts of language learning. Unfortunately, the field of CALL has not traditionally been the target of rigorous research, partly due to the ever-changing nature of technology. Taken at face value, technology offers many benefits: access to enhanced content, multiple modalities for interaction and communication, opportunities for active learning, potential for feedback and tracking of learner progress, support for diverse learning styles, and increased time spent in productive language learning activities. However, the future of sophisticated, effective applications of technology to language learning depends on applying the theoretical research framework of SLA to CALL development. The research can inform principled development of software and activities with regard to issues of design, effectiveness, outcomes, and learner variables, answering questions such as what forms should feedback take and under what circumstances, what effect does task type have on language production, how do outcomes differ in program-controlled vs. learner-controlled learning systems, and so forth. Much of the research to date, for better or worse, compares the use of CALL with face-to-face instruction. As the domains of SLA theory and CALL become more intimately linked, there will be a greater emphasis on researching technology-based applications in their own right, rather than as alternatives to standard classroom practices.

Furthermore, research on SLA can be conducted in computer-based environments, which provide controlled environments for tracking or recording research data. Many insights about the process of language learning and about language learners will be gained by conducting research using technologies that can completely and accurately capture learner interactions and moves for thorough analysis.

### **Technological Standards**

Few technologies have become standardized worldwide, so we have long been obliged to deal with differences in the way things work in different parts of the world through transformers, plug converters, multistandard devices, and the like.

Problems with different world television broadcast standards, something we hoped would disappear with digital video technologies, have not only persisted, but will certainly not be resolved for some time to come. In the realm of DVDs, the three major broadcast standards we grappled with for playback of video from foreign countries – PAL, SECAM, and NTSC – have been reduced to two – PAL and NTSC – but we now suffer from the additional complication

of six regional codes, added to the disc to prevent playback of a DVD produced in one region of the world from playing on a device produced in another region of the world, purportedly to protect the rights of the original producers. Moreover, DVD technology continues to evolve toward different compression standards and new hardware.

Computer-based digital video has fared no better, with a number of competing proprietary standards for encoding (storing and compressing) video, including MPEG, QuickTime, Real, and AVI, each with its own playback requirements on the local workstation. Nevertheless, the power of video as a teaching medium drives us to adjust to all the technological challenges in the interest of bringing lively, motivating examples of language and culture to our students.

The profession is still fairly far from making a complete transition from established analog and digital formats, primarily VHS cassettes and DVD, to online digital video. The enormous bandwidth required for reliable, high-quality playback of digital video has impeded progress toward widespread delivery of centralized server-based instructional video. Reliably transporting data-intensive video streams through many common computer conduits – busy shared networks, wireless connections, and phone modems – remains a challenge, but one that will be resolved as communication technologies evolve.

### **Teacher Preparation and the Changing Role of the Teacher**

It is often claimed that in new student-centered, technology-rich models of language instruction, the role of the teacher changes from the primary deliverer of instruction at the front of the class to that of an instructional designer and mentor. However, the majority of today's language teachers continue to be the 'sage on the stage' rather than the 'guide on side' envisioned by educational reformers. One of the greatest barriers to this transition is in the lack of effective teacher preparation in using technology for language learning. In order to make full use of technology tools, both preservice and in-service language professionals need to receive appropriate training. It is essential that language professionals not only become familiar with available technology, but feel at ease using various tools. A number of projects, large and small, are trying to define the necessary components and levels of such training (e.g., National Educational Technology Standards (NETS), Information and Communication Technology for Language Teachers (ICT4LT)). Based on the results of these projects, many institutions of higher education offer courses on educational technology or technology modules as a part of language teaching methods courses.

### **Old Wine in New Skins**

Another issue that relates to the lack of teacher preparation in technology is the issue of effecting real changes in the way teachers teach and students learn with technology. When confronted with new technologies, the first impulse has been to transfer old media (especially print) onto computers without imagining new models of presentation and interaction. If one eliminates the posting of print materials and delivery of digital video and audio as an alternative to cassette and disc formats, there is much less innovative use of technology in language teaching and learning than we would like.

As noted above, the recognized need for language teachers to be knowledgeable about technology and CALL applications has resulted in courses and workshops on CALL and teaching with technology for both preservice and in-service teachers. However, despite heightened awareness of technology and the opportunities for change in pedagogical models for language learning, such change is slowed by attitudes, beliefs, and ingrained practices. Thus, we have many isolated experiments with radical technology-driven changes in language teaching and learning, but little movement in the overall profession toward unified methods of language learning with technology.

### **Importance of Infrastructure**

The patterns of use of language learning technology are dictated to a great extent by institutional infrastructure. The ideal technology infrastructure features a variety of venues equipped with up-to-date technology to meet the various needs of students and teachers in the complex process of language instruction: presentation classrooms, computer classrooms, and media centers with stations for individual work and small group rooms for collaborative activities. These spaces are linked to high-speed networks, both wired and wireless, for access to the Internet and they provide access to a panoply of software and digital resources. Support personnel are available to provide assistance to users and to coordinate and maintain resources. To complement these institutional models, learners and teachers increasingly count on personal technologies and connections that enable them to tap into the virtual resources available within traditional educational institutions.

### **Professional Factors That Affect Technology and Language Learning**

#### **General Trends in Language Education**

The current use of language learning technology has been shaped by a number of significant trends in

language education. The profession has become oriented toward a more holistic approach to language education that moves beyond learning the forms of the language to attaining both language proficiency and developing crosscultural insights and strategies for effective communication with other people. Performance-based assessment is favored over assessment of factual knowledge and discrete skills. Collaborative group work is valued as an effective learning strategy to provide authentic language experiences. The concept of students as lifelong learners influences us to broaden language curricula with an eye toward development of critical thinking skills in a multidisciplinary context. We have begun to favor student-directed, student-centered learning models over teacher-directed instruction and we are making greater efforts to accommodate different learner styles and strategies and to reach all language learning populations – learners with disabilities, adult learners, and learners in remote locations.

Multimedia and Information and Communication Technologies have an important role to play in all of these trends. Teachers have come to rely increasingly on the richness and depth of authentic multimedia materials for all levels of language learning to challenge students and help them cope with the language and culture that they will confront in the real world. Much of current software design reflects the trend away from the focus on development of discrete skills – reading writing, listening, speaking, culture, grammar, vocabulary – and information, toward an integrative or process approach that encompasses more natural experiences that support the development of multiple skills.

### **Standards for Foreign Language Education and Technology**

Looking toward the new millennium, organizations set out to articulate general principles and measures for language education, including the use of new technologies. The most robust of these standards initiatives is the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, an extensive reference that presents guidelines for the development of course materials (syllabi, curriculum, instructional materials, and assessment tools), describes what knowledge and skills learners must acquire to communicate in a language and function effectively in the cultural context of the target language, and defines levels of proficiency for language learners at all stages of learning. Specific references to technology are interwoven throughout the document and focus on exploiting new Information and Communication Technologies to promote ‘plurilingualism and pluriculturalism,’ enable pan-European links and exchanges,

and support national and international structures to facilitate autonomous language learning and distance education. These references also focus on training teachers to be competent and confident users of technology for instruction. Though media types addressed in the Framework include a variety of text, video, and audio resources in a number of different formats, computers and computer skills predominate throughout the Framework for delivery of content in the classroom and laboratory, for individual self-instruction, and for conferencing that permits group activities.

In similar fashion, the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) produced their National Standards for Foreign Language Education, which identified general goals, standards, and progress indicators for language education as well as provided sample activities and learning scenarios. Predictably, the use of a variety of technologies, both traditional and computer-based, is supported in the Standards as a means of strengthening the linguistic skills needed to communicate effectively, interacting with peers and others in the target language, and developing knowledge and understanding of other cultures.

### **Professional Organizations and e-Journals**

One measure of the professionalization of the field is the growing number of national and international organizations that are devoted to technologies and language learning, particularly CALL. These organizations promote the effective use of technology in language learning and serve as conduits for the exchange of expertise and information among professionals. They generally offer a variety of services to their members: conferences, workshops, special interest groups, journals, electronic discussion lists, and special print and electronic publications. The directory of these organizations includes IALLT (the International Association for Language Learning Technology), CALICO (the Computer-Assisted Language Instruction Consortium), EUROCALL (the European Association for Computer-Assisted Language Instruction), APACALL (Asia-Pacific Association for Computer-Assisted Language Learning), and PacCALL (Pacific Computer-Assisted Language Learning Association). These groups have attracted memberships that are broadly international, out of which have grown joint initiatives such as WorldCALL, a periodic worldwide CALL conference supported by many organizations, and FLEAT (Foreign Language Education and Technology), a periodic conference sponsored jointly by IALLT and the Japan Association for Language Education and Technology.

For reasons of economy as well as ease, breadth, and timeliness of dissemination, electronic journals



have appeared as respected alternatives for peer-reviewed publication of scholarly work. The premier e-journal for CALL is *Language Learning and Technology*, a refereed journal for second and foreign language educators that is delivered via the Web free of charge. Other journals offer electronic options (in addition to the printed version) to members and to institutions. For example, CALICO has journal articles from 1983 through 2000 available online, and electronic subscriber services provide access to *System*, a journal for educational technology and applied linguistics.

### **The Future**

Predicting the future of language learning technology is a risky, even foolhardy, undertaking. Pronouncements about the success, failure, or future of any given technology tend to sound absurd 10 or 20 years later. However, based on the past lessons and current trends, some general assumptions about technology and language teaching and learning can be made. The transformation of media to digital forms is certain, as is the move toward greater portability of technology and ubiquitous wireless connectivity to the Internet. As Nicolas Negroponte, chairman of MIT's Media Lab, has said, "We're entering a period where we will be eating, wearing and breathing computers" (*Wired News*, 11 May 2004). But how long it will be before humans can have natural, open-ended conversations with computers or whether realistic virtual-reality language learning environments will ever emerge is anyone's guess. As new technologies emerge, language professionals, inspired by the appeal of the technology and by intuitions based on pedagogical experience, will examine and experiment with them, adopting those that prove fruitful for language learning. Under ideal conditions, the efficacy of adopted technologies will then be confirmed by testing and research.

See also: Computer-Assisted Language Education.

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### **Relevant Websites**

- <http://www.apacall.org/> – APACALL (Asia-Pacific Association for Computer-Assisted Language Learning).
- <http://calico.org/index.html> – CALICO (Computer-Assisted Language Instruction Consortium).
- <http://www.eurocall-languages.org/> – EUROCALL (European Association for Computer-Assisted Language Learning).
- <http://iallt.org/> – IALLT (International Association for Language Learning Technology).
- <http://jaltcall.org/> – JALTCALL (Special Interest Group of the Japan Association for Language Teaching).
- <http://pacall.org/> – Pacific CALL (PacCALL).
- <http://ilt.msu.edu/> – *Language Learning and Technology* (electronic journal).
- <http://www.unicode.org> – Unicode Consortium.

## Teacher Preparation

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Teacher education has always been closely bound up with the certification and recognition of qualified teachers, and language teacher education shares with other subject areas a close link to structures and practices laid down by governments. But two main characteristics distinguish this field from teacher preparation in other subject areas: first, it has been an unusually international practice as foreign language teachers tend to be more closely in touch with foreign ideas than their colleagues; second, the rise of English to its current position as the main language of international communication has led to a concentration of research and theory on untypical native-speaking teachers and the requirements of one particular market. Because of this demand, teacher education has taken place outside state-supported institutions as well as inside them.

This article surveys the history and current practices in second-language teacher education, using illustrations from a range of countries to characterize what is at the beginning of the 21st century a surprisingly integrated international practice. It uses as its baseline practices in Britain, because these have provided the most widely diffused models for the organization of teacher education.

### The Origins of Teacher Education

Current models of teacher education reflect the export of Western European models of education to most parts of the world. Organized training of teachers is a product of the rise of mass education in Europe from the 19th century onward, though there were earlier roots in provision by religious groups for support of teachers in their schools, and some degree of apprenticeship of a less formal kind was common before the 19th century. At first, there was an assumption that advanced education could be left to the expertise of graduates with their advanced subject knowledge, but as state education extended, the need for cadres of primary school teachers (who were drawn from those with much lower professional qualifications) resulted in the establishment of systematic provision for the training of pupil teachers.

In the period following the Industrial Revolution, the pressure to improve the education of greater and greater numbers of young people was frustrated by the shortage of competent teachers. The Lancaster

System, where the older pupils taught younger ones according to a carefully designed complex procedure laid down by Joseph Lancaster (1778–1838), was perhaps the most notable example of an attempt to pull education into some kind of administrative structure. Similar systems were in use in India by the end of the 18th century, and the systems of model schools and elementary training that were associated with these provided the foundations for the greater involvement of the state toward the middle of the 19th century.

In Britain, this was largely the product of a struggle between the established church and the government for control over the training of primary and infant teachers. Although Parliament voted money to support the founding of colleges, the vast majority of the 30 training colleges established by the middle of the 19th century were associated with the church. The curriculum embraced English grammar and literature, but no foreign or classical languages. With modifications, this provided a model for training which was accelerated after the 1870 Education Act introduced the idea of compulsory education. It was only in the same period that any training for secondary teachers began to be provided, again building on fragmentary work by religious bodies. Some of this was attached to universities, and a system of state-supported, but often religious-run, training for all levels persisted until the end of the 20th century.

### The Emergence of Language Teacher Education

In the British tradition, foreign languages were not part of the primary curriculum, and until the 1960s were often considered suitable only for academically able students in the grammar schools and the independent fee-paying schools of the private sector. But such schools did not always expect their teachers to have training other than the subject-knowledge provided by their degree course. It was the introduction of comprehensive schooling, with all pupils from one area going to the same secondary school and receiving a variety of subject choices that encouraged the move to teacher training for all secondary teachers.

The rise of education as an organized higher education discipline is conventionally dated from the 1950s to the 1960s, though earlier provision, particularly in the United States, offered further sources of ideas and practice. The 1960s also saw a substantial expansion of general higher education provision.

Up to that time, some secondary teachers had been trained in universities, obtaining the one-year Postgraduate Certificate of Education (PGCE) following their degrees in their specialized subject, and then obtaining teaching posts in grammar schools. Separate colleges provided certification for primary teachers and for teachers in the non-academic secondary schools (Secondary Moderns).

Thus, teacher education was being redefined and recreated through the 1960s and 1970s. Colleges concerned with primary education tended to be staffed by holders of postgraduate Master's degrees from the universities in academic disciplines related to education, so the system became increasingly integrated on the new model. The main academic studies in these education programs were history, sociology, psychology, and philosophy of education. These were to accompany the practical competence arising from experience in schools ('teaching practice') and some understanding of the curriculum and teaching materials for trainees' own particular subject. But as the 1970s turned into the 1980s and the liberal consensus crumbled, governments stressed greater accountability and demanded greater control of the curriculum. So the academic subjects tended to be squeezed out in favor of work more closely directed to the content of the curriculum, which was increasingly subject to external government control. Skills in assessment (increasingly important when greater accountability was demanded) and a greater proportion of practical teaching experience was also insisted upon. At the same time, though, practices for secondary education varied from country to country. In mainland Europe, some countries, such as France, moved away from centralized models toward greater teacher autonomy at the same time as Britain was centralizing more substantially. Briefly, in the 1990s, there was government commitment to foreign languages for all learners, but that policy was retreated from as the new century arrived. In Britain, in 2004 all teachers were expected to 'deliver' a curriculum defined by the government, the details of which kept changing as a result of pressure for improvement. Such pressures result in government-sponsored initiatives that receive special funding and concentrate on particular areas of the curriculum such as literacy or numeracy. Language teacher education within Britain has been affected by the increased external control at the same time as governments have reduced their commitment to foreign language education. Overall, in state education, teachers in 2004 had reduced autonomy compared with 20 years before, and language teacher educators, whose funding is dependent on government sources, have to fit in with the policy of the government in power.

## **Language Teacher Education Since the 1960s**

### **State Education: English-Speaking Countries**

The big expansion in teacher education late in the 20th century coincided with a major expansion in linguistics as a discipline. In part, the claims that Chomskyan linguistics represented a decisive break with the past chimed well with the claims that teaching was entering a new and revolutionary state of expansion and influence. For language teachers, particularly, the 1960s seemed to herald a period of influence and usefulness. In Europe, the increasing success of the European Community (later European Union (EU)) gave a new emphasis to language learning, led by the influential publications of the Council of Europe which began to appear toward the end of the 1960s. Throughout the English-speaking world, initiatives through bodies such as the United States' Peace Corps and the British Council (for example, the 1962 Aid to Commonwealth English [ACE] program), heralded an expansion of English teaching throughout much of the world. The 1960s saw the foundation of international organizations for language teachers such as Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) (1966) and International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language (IATEFL) (1967), of applied linguistics associations (BAAL, the British Association for Applied Linguistics, was founded in 1967), of bodies such as CILT (Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research, 1966) in London, following the Center for Applied Linguistics (1959) in Washington. All were directly implicated in aspects of language teacher education.

Language teacher education in the state sector typically followed the pattern of teacher education for other subjects. Initial training followed one of two main patterns, being either concurrent with the learning of the main subject to be taught, or consecutive to this. Concurrent patterns, which enabled the main subject study to be closely geared to the needs of schools, would be found in Britain in B.Ed. degrees taking four years. Subject study was accompanied by educational study and by experience teaching in a school, largely based around a block placement over a period of several weeks or even months in the same school. In contrast, the consecutive pattern had the advantage of not separating teachers from other graduates in their main subject studies. Following completion of a normal degree program, a one-year PGCE program would offer educational theory, curriculum work, and teaching practice, sometimes followed by a probationary full-time period in a school before final certification was awarded. This pattern offered the

additional advantage that, in periods of difficult teacher supply, trainees did not have to choose education courses or an education career at the beginning of their university studies.

Initial teacher education was subject to control from local or central government, for it performed two complementary functions. Not only did it provide the training in the knowledge, skills, and attitudes necessary for effective teaching, but it also provided formal certification by the recognizing authority to practice as a teacher in state education. One effect of this dual role was that there remained constant tension between the autonomy of the higher education institution and the desire to influence the procedures and contents of the courses by those who funded and provided official recognition for the certificate. For this reason, structures were constantly changing, and the organization of initial teacher education rarely lasted more than a decade without some major restructuring being imposed. For language teaching, the situation was further confused by the power of the English as a Foreign Language (EFL) model. World English teaching was a powerful influence on teacher education in most languages throughout the second half of the 20th century. This was partly because of the power of the market, with publishers offering wide ranges of materials, some of which were truly innovative, and with the funding of major projects on grammars, dictionaries, and databases in response to the profit opportunities available in the EFL sector. But government initiatives and the international demand for higher-level training did create research opportunities within universities that were less easily available in educational work for most other subject areas.

The TESOL effect in English-speaking countries thus made language teacher education untypical. Private and public sector procedures influenced each other. While training to teach might be embedded in a state system, it might also be geared toward teaching outside the country of origin. The PGCE at the University of London Institute of Education, for example, emerged from the training of colonial education officers, and never had an entirely comfortable relationship with training for second-language teaching for minority language communities in the United Kingdom, and by the 1980s was training many people for private sector language work, or for careers in the British Council directing teaching activities.

The specific ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) part of the course had broadly similar contents from course to course across continents. For example, a survey of the commonest elements in TESOL methods courses in 22 North American

institutions (Long, 1983) found the following (number of courses in brackets):

1. Historical overview of teaching methods (19)
2. Teaching speaking skills (18)
3. Curriculum/syllabus design (18)
4. Teaching techniques (18)
5. Innovative/unconventional teaching methods (17)
6. Materials (17)
7. Teaching writing skills (16)
8. Teaching listening skills (15)
9. Teaching reading skills (15)
10. Teaching grammar (14)
11. Language testing (12)
12. Teaching vocabulary (11)
13. Teaching culture (10)
14. Linguistics and language teaching (10).

Similar lists could be found describing the methodology component of training courses in East Africa, India, Britain, and elsewhere any time between the late 1960s and the 1990s.

Throughout this period, attempts were made to bring language teacher education generally more closely into line with the increasing wealth of research findings on language acquisition and learning. One of the few surveys to attempt to cross the lines between training for different languages, including the teaching of first languages (Brumfit, 1988) argued that primary and secondary schools should develop practices that brought all languages together in a coordinated policy for language development. But in practice, the increasing pressure of government control meant that foreign languages were marginalized rather than strengthened and the motivation to coordinate all language activity disappeared.

#### **State Education: Other Countries**

Many of the academic pioneers of language education outside Europe contributed directly to teacher education. In Japan, for example, Palmer (1922) on general principles of language teaching and Hornby (1954) on sentence patterns published significant work used on training courses; in India, West (1953) developed major new directions, building on Thorndike's American work (1932) on vocabulary and word levels. In Sudan and Uganda, Bright (Bright and MacGregor, 1970) integrated much of the earlier work and responded to contemporary developments in linguistics. Throughout what became the British Commonwealth, substantial contributions were being made to the development of language teaching theory and practice with most of the books and materials aimed at the training of teachers. But foreign language teaching throughout the 20th century was an international activity (though as the work in Japan indicates,



such activity even early in the century was not confined to the future Commonwealth). Directly and indirectly all these figures were influenced by the European Reform Movement (Passy, 1899), while later international training reflected the influence of scholars such as Fries (1952) at Michigan. In the latter part of the century, international collaboration in the Council of Europe (Trim *et al.*, 1973) was a major influence on Languages for Specific Purposes and the Communicative Movement, while figures such as the Bulgarian Lozanov (1978) were significant in the discussion of Humanistic Approaches (Stevick, 1976).

The developments under British colonial influence largely reflected the structures of British teacher education, but until independence was looming, education systems tended to be for a relatively small elite (India and Pakistan providing the main exceptions), and often, especially for language teaching at the higher levels, to rely on expatriate native speakers of English. Colleges and universities in emergent Asia and Africa trained teachers, using mostly the concurrent model but occasionally, as in Uganda and Zambia, the PGCE structure, which in those countries trained both local and expatriate teachers. The Teachers for East Africa scheme, for example, funded jointly by Britain and the United States, trained local teachers together with British and Americans at Makerere in Kampala, and also recruited already trained teachers from overseas to supply the expanding education systems of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania in the 1960s, the period immediately before and after independence in those countries.

In European countries, although teacher education originated in the 18th and 19th centuries, it was not until late in the 20th century that training became compulsory for all teachers in most countries. Compulsion also increased self-awareness: the end of the century saw a massive increase of empirical research on processes both of teaching and teacher education. Some procedures such as 'action research' were explicitly aimed at a training model, seeing empirical study as primarily concerned with improving good practice within the teacher's own institution. Whatever research model predominated, training now became more closely tied to empirical findings, and there was an assumption that a researching approach might be desirable for good teachers. In Hungary, The Netherlands, and Lithuania, for example, a research project is a formal part of the portfolio for initial training.

At the beginning of the 21st century, European teacher education was predominantly carried out in universities, though in France training institutions were directly affiliated with the Ministry of Education. In most countries, such a ministry was directly

responsible for recognizing teacher education qualifications, though perhaps through a quasi-independent body as in the United Kingdom and Hungary. The number of languages for which a teaching qualification could be obtained exceeded ten in Austria, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Finland, and France, but English was the main training language offered. Courses were generally between three and five years in length if they were concurrent with the undergraduate program; postgraduate courses varied from one to two years in length. In many countries, intercultural communication was taught in addition to language skill-maintenance, but a minority of countries offered neither in the training program itself and relied on the degree main subject courses for such provision. Some programs in, for example, Austria, France, and Germany provided opportunities for study abroad as part of the course. While all courses addressed language teaching methodology, with almost all of them including information technology, only about two-thirds provided explicit metalinguistic study for teachers. Assessment procedures varied widely, and might be, at least partially, by external state examination (e.g., Austria, France, Germany), by public lecture (French-speaking Belgium), by competitive examination (Romania), by separate language proficiency examinations (Austria, Hungary), by attitude and participation in the courses (Ireland, Norway, Sweden). Almost all countries included a block teaching practice (Greece and Cyprus providing exceptions), while some had official training schools attached to universities (Austria, Finland). Course content centered on communicative teaching methodology, but varying emphases on such issues as the role of the Internet, distance learning, Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), and bilingual teaching ensured that distinctive national and institutional differences remained.

To give an example of a specific program, the Spanish *Certificado de Aptitud Pedagógica* (CAP) ran from October to April in the Education Institute of each university. In 1996 from October to January general theory was provided either by correspondence or by about 120 contact hours' attendance. In February and March, about 60 hours of practice in state secondary schools was provided. A short dissertation was submitted by the end of May which provided a description of the school, a detailed account of the subject grouping within which the student had taught, and a detailed account of two lessons taught.

In most countries, then, pre-service language teacher education is constrained by the structure of general teacher education but shares a strong internationally determined agenda, so that the assumptions

of communicative language teaching, for example, are, at least in principle, applied to many different languages. It is probably fair to say that language teachers are trained as teachers (who teach language), rather than as language specialists (who are teachers). At post-experience, in-service level greater concentration is possible, but the proportion of state teachers who regularly attend long advanced courses has never been high, and the best-organized in-service programs, as in Germany, have tended to concentrate on short courses.

### Private Sector Provision

Private sector provision of teacher education presents a much more varied picture, for it is subject only to the discipline of the owners of private language schools. It is a fair generalization that most private language schools work with either untrained or state-trained teachers, but the international English teaching profession, particularly in the last two decades of the 20th century has worked hard to offer a clear route for qualification even among those teachers who do not have state qualifications. Private sector qualifications were generally distinguished by their concentration on language teaching skills to the exclusion of the more general education theory and background provided by state training.

A pioneer in this field was the British-based group, International House, led by its Director, John Haycraft (1926–1996). He initiated in the 1960s and 1970s an intensive short induction course for would-be teachers which integrated the processes of teaching and guidance from experienced teachers, working together in the language school, usually with volunteer students who received free extra classes. With the help of many creative teachers, he devised a distinctive style of language teaching, relying on exciting and active oral work with smaller classes than would be found in state institutions. Even state-trained teachers needed the adjustment provided by these courses as they shifted their focus to adults in smaller classes. Private language schools, many of whom ran similar courses as English language teaching expanded, fed their trainees into a national range of qualifications set up initially by the Royal Society of Arts (RSA) and later incorporated into the portfolio of the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (UCLES), which had for years run language examinations for Commonwealth schools and for the international EFL sector. The RSA ran a part-time diploma program, the equivalent of about ten weeks full-time, which corresponded approximately to the subject-specialist part of a state PGCE. Another London-based body, Trinity College, runs a similar course,

and a range of more-or-less specialized offshoots of these diplomas, for teachers of young children, for multicultural education, for non-native-speaking teachers, etc., have developed to cater to the expanding demand. In practice, the ten-week equivalent certificate has come to be recognized as the basic initial teaching qualification, though teachers who wish to progress in their careers have often moved on to university diplomas and masters courses to extend and deepen the more theoretical components of their initial training.

To illustrate the range of provision that was developing, a snapshot of the early 1980s may be helpful. At that time, courses of the initial four-week type, aimed at English native-speakers, were found in 19 centers in Britain and 3 overseas. In addition, many universities and colleges ran short summer courses of similar length.

The RSA 10-week diploma was offered at 51 centers in Britain and 41 overseas. In addition 26 centers in Britain offered the RSA Diploma for teaching English as a Second Language in the United Kingdom, aimed at settled minority language speakers. An unpredictable number of colleges of education and universities also offered a limited option in EFL as part of their conventional state education training (though these did not survive the tightening of central control over the teacher education that emerged over the following decade). An official state-supported PGCE in EFL/ESOL could be taken at universities in Aberystwyth, Bangor, Leeds, Leicester, London (both at the Institute of Education and St. Mary's College, Twickenham), Manchester, and Sheffield. Courses of this kind were all closed when the government withdrew funding in the early 1990s, but many of their graduates had careers at home and abroad weaving in and out of public and private sector institutions.

In the late 1980s, there was substantial pressure to rationalize this diversity and proliferation of courses. The term *Certificate in EFL* could embrace anything from a two-day course from an unrecognized language school to a one-year full-time course at a university. While language schools had established bodies for recognition of basic standards, this had not prevented many schools from thriving outside ARELS (Association of Recognised English Language Schools), and many attempts to establish control of teacher education qualifications failed to achieve consensus. BATQI (British Association of Teacher-Qualifying Institutions) started in 1990, but neither it nor its partial successor the British Institute of English Language Teaching successfully brought together public and private sectors into an agreed-upon framework. It has been left in effect for the Cambridge Examinations to provide the *de facto*

backbone for initial training in the private sector, with courses including Certificates and Diplomas for Teaching EFL to Adults and for Overseas Teachers of English, and the Cambridge Examination in English for Language Teachers. Initial training for ESOL is no longer available outside the private sector.

### **Continuing Professional Development**

This article has so far concentrated on the initial training of language teachers, though reference has been made to post-experience provision when relevant. Whereas initial training has a fairly definable curriculum, with much consensus on what is required of competent teachers (in terms of classroom management, curriculum, and assessment needs, etc.), and specifically of language teachers (in methodology and materials), the position with continuing professional development is much more varied. Such provision performs a range of different functions:

1. to augment or substitute for unsatisfactory or non-existent initial teacher education
2. to update teachers' professional knowledge by introducing developments since their initial training
3. to extend the repertoire of pedagogic skills to fields for which they were not initially trained (e.g., heading a department, organizing an IT provision, etc.)
4. to develop individuals' personal education, enabling them to make more coherent sense of their accumulated professional craft-knowledge
5. to allow opportunities for the development of specific curricula or teaching materials that are needed for a changing professional scene
6. to reward loyal and long-serving teachers with time to reflect and develop.

Some of these provisions may be combined, but it is clear that the different needs of employers and the state, of individuals for personal development, and of the teaching institution from which individuals come may sometimes conflict. Arguments for in-service provision have often centered on which of these needs justifies the expenditure of scarce funding.

In many countries, continuing professional development saw an expansion in the 1970s, as educational fashions passed rapidly from country to country, particularly within supranational bodies such as the EU. In-service provision sometimes consolidated the work of teachers' associations that had been active for years before, as in Spain. Elsewhere, provision was laid down in hope (Portugal passed a law in 1973 stating that teachers had a right to continuing professional development provided by

the state, but the revolution a year later meant that such provision did not begin to appear until after 1986).

Nonetheless, whether it is to an in-school, half-day class or a local government-organized, one-day conference, a week with a government-funded advisory group, or a full year or more to complete a taught Master's program, some sort of post-experience provision is likely to be within the reach of many language teachers. With regard to short courses (up to one month long), it is worth noting that there is a thriving private-sector-based market in introductions to new and exciting methods of teaching, sometimes drawing upon recognized traditions, such as humanistic language teaching, but more often relying on adaptation of ideas derived from these and other sources by institutions (for example the Pilgrims School in Canterbury) who have made a reputation as exciting innovators.

In some countries and regions, continuing professional development has been built in to the official career progression route. A survey of provision in a number of countries published in 1994, for example, reported that in most states of the United States teachers had to accumulate 150 credits every five years in order to have their license to teach renewed. Credits could be obtained from evening courses, summer seminars, lectures, workshops offered by professional associations, or by universities.

Longer courses, and particular Master of Arts programs, require slightly more extended comment, not least because they provide an internationally recognized qualification which is widely used as a prerequisite for entry to management, teacher education, inspectorate, and higher education posts. Such courses perform different functions in different societies. Countries that provide postgraduate initial teacher education sometimes attach such training to Master's degrees, and there are currently moves in several universities in Britain for parts of the PGCE to be given M.A. degree equivalence.

Historically, though, M.A. courses in Applied Linguistics or English Language Teaching (ELT) in the English-speaking world have concentrated on the following broad areas:

1. general theory, history of linguistics, etc.
2. general issues of language description (e.g., syntax, semantics, discourse analysis, pragmatics, phonology/phonetics, writing)
3. pedagogical issues (e.g., communicative language teaching, curriculum design, assessment, languages for specific purposes, information technology and language learning, teaching materials)

4. sociolinguistics/sociology of language (e.g., sociolinguistics, language and power, English as a world language, language policy, language and gender)
5. psychology and language (e.g., psycholinguistics, first and second language acquisition and learning).

Courses addressing initial teacher education concerns may include a practicum, but many courses expect several years of prior teaching experience before they admit students to the course.

### Relationship with Research, etc.

Attitudes toward research have shifted radically as teacher education has become more established. Even for academics, research in the mid-20th century often related to the foundation disciplines rather than directly to the practice of teaching. Thus philosophers, historians, and psychologists of education practiced research, but those directly concerned with teaching in classrooms were far less likely to do so. The research that directly impinged on language teaching might derive from descriptive work on grammar and vocabulary studies but it rarely addressed pedagogic procedures in detail. Partly this was a result of the limitations of available technology. Observation schedules such as Flanders Interaction Analysis were cumbersome to use and subjective until the advent of easy audio- and video-recording. But there was also developing increased dissatisfaction with the impressionistic nature of much methodological discussion. Influential textbooks such as Billows' *The Techniques of Language Teaching* (1961), as well as the practice in many institutions, reported on the ideas and hunches of successful and often inspiring teachers. Attempts to systematize the whole process appeared (Mackey, 1965), but extensive empirical studies of practice in the normal classroom had to wait until the 1970s to become widespread. Only in the last quarter of the century were practitioners able to begin the process of basing their interpretations of successful practice on evidence drawn from observations in a variety of different settings. It is fair to observe that, as science, language teaching pedagogy is still in its infancy, for there simply have not been enough studies in a wide enough range of settings for reliable comparisons to be made between practices with different types of learner, teacher, or educational setting. While it is true that both teaching and teacher education now have stronger empirical bases than in the past, there has been a failure to replicate, or even associate, local studies with those elsewhere, which has limited the effectiveness of the studies that

have been produced. It will be the work on teacher thinking, on classroom practices, and on processes of teacher learning and development that will determine the structure of teacher education in the next few decades.

*See also:* Applied Linguistics; Assessment of Second Language Proficiency; Communicative Language Teaching; Culture in Language Teaching; Foreign Language Teaching Policy; Fries, Charles Carpenter (1887–1967); Hornby, Albert Sidney (1898–1978); Language Assessment Standards; Nonnative Speaker Teachers; Passy, Paul Édouard (1859–1940); Second and Foreign Language Learning and Teaching; Traditions in Second Language Teaching.

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## Teaching of Minority Languages

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### Focus and Nomenclature

Europe has a rich diversity of languages (Haarmann, 1975). This fact is usually illustrated by reference to the national languages of Europe. However, many more languages are spoken by the inhabitants of Europe. Examples of such languages are Welsh and Basque, or Arabic and Turkish. These languages are usually referred to as minority languages, even when in Europe as a whole there is no one majority language because all languages are spoken by a numerical minority. The languages referred to are representatives of regional minority (RM) and immigrant minority (IM) languages, respectively.

RM and IM languages have much in common, much more than is usually thought. On their sociolinguistic, educational, and political agendas, we find issues such as their actual spread; their domestic and public vitality; the processes and determinants of language maintenance versus language shift towards majority languages; the relationship between language, ethnicity, and identity; and the status of minority languages in schools, in particular in the compulsory stages of primary and secondary education. The origin of most RM languages as minority languages lies in the 19th century, when, during the processes of state formation in Europe, they found themselves excluded from the state level, in particular from general education. Only in the last few decades have some of these RM languages become relatively well protected in legal terms, as well as by affirmative educational policies and programs, both at the level of various nation-states and at the level of the European Union (EU) (see 'Beyond Bilingualism' below).

There have always been speakers of IM languages in Europe, but these languages have emerged only recently as community languages spoken on a wide scale in northwestern Europe, due to intensified processes of migration and minorization. Turkish and Arabic are good examples of so-called 'non-European' languages that are spoken and learned by millions of inhabitants of the EU member states. Although IM languages are often conceived of and transmitted as core values by IM language groups, they are much less protected than RM languages by affirmative action and legal measures in, for example, education. In fact, the learning and certainly the teaching of IM languages are often seen by speakers of mainstream languages

and by policy makers as obstacles to integration. At the European level, guidelines and directives regarding IM languages are scant and outdated.

Despite the possibilities and challenges of comparing the status of RM and IM languages, amazingly few connections have been made in the sociolinguistic, educational, and political domains. In the Linguistic Minorities Project of the early 1980s, which was restricted to England, an observation was made which still applies to the situation today: "The project has been struck by how little contact there still is between researchers and practitioners working in bilingual areas and school systems, even between England and Wales. Many of the newer minorities in England could benefit from the Welsh experience and expertise" (LMP, 1985: 12). In our opinion, little has improved over the past decades, and contacts between researchers and policy makers working with different types of minority groups are still scarce. Examples of publications which focus on both types of minority language are the dual volumes on RM and IM languages by Alladina and Edwards (1991), and more recently the integrated volumes by Ammerlaan *et al.* (2001) and Extra and Gorter (2001).

As yet, we lack a common referential framework for the languages under discussion. As all of these RM and IM languages are spoken by different language communities and not at statewide level, it may seem logical to refer to them as community languages, thus contrasting them with the official languages of European nation-states. However, the designation 'community languages' is already in use to refer to the official languages of the EU, and in that sense occupied territory. From an inventory of the different terms in use, we learn that there are no standardized designations for these languages across nation-states. **Table 1** gives a nonexhaustive overview of the nomenclature of our field of concern in terms of reference to the people, their languages, and the teaching of these languages. The concept of 'lesser-used languages' has been adopted at the EU level; the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages, established in Brussels and Dublin, speaks and acts on behalf of 'the autochthonous regional and minority languages of the EU.' **Table 1** shows that the utilized terminology varies not only across different nation-states, but also across different types of education.

There is much published evidence on the status and use of RM languages, both in Europe and abroad (e.g., Gorter *et al.*, 1990). Baetens Beardsmore (1993) focused on RM languages in western Europe, whereas the focus of Synak and Wicherkiewicz (1997), Bratt-Paulston and Peckham (1998), and Hogan-Brun and

**Table 1** Nomenclature of the Field*Reference to the People*

- nonnational residents
- foreigners, *étrangers*, *Ausländer*
- (im)migrants
- newcomers, new Xmen (e.g., new Dutchmen)
- cocitizens (instead of citizens)
- ethnic/cultural/ethnocultural minorities
- linguistic minorities
- allochthones (e.g., in the Netherlands), allophones (e.g., in Canada)
- non-English-speaking (NES) residents (in particular in the USA)
- *anderstaligen* (Dutch: those who speak other languages)
- colored/black people, visible minorities (the latter in particular in Canada)

*Reference to their Languages*

- community languages (in Europe versus Australia)
- ancestral/heritage languages (common concept in Canada)
- national/historical/regional/indigenous minority languages versus nonterritorial/nonregional/nonindigenous/non-European minority languages
- autochthonous versus allochthonous minority languages
- lesser used/less widely used/less widely taught languages (in EBLUL context)
- stateless/diaspora languages (in particular used for Romani)
- languages other than English (LOTE: common concept in Australia)

*Reference to the Teaching of These Languages*

- instruction in own language (and culture)
- mother tongue teaching (MTT)
- home language instruction (HLI)
- community language teaching (CLT)
- regional minority language instruction versus immigrant minority language instruction
- *enseignement des langues et cultures d'origine* (ELCO: in French/Spanish primary schools)
- *enseignement des langues vivantes* (ELV: in French/Spanish secondary schools)
- *muttersprachlicher Unterricht* (MSU: in German primary schools)
- *muttersprachlicher Ergänzungsunterricht* (in German primary/secondary schools)
- *herkunftssprachlicher Unterricht* (in German primary/secondary schools)

Source: Extra and Yağmur (2004: 19).

Wolff (2003) was on RM languages in central and eastern Europe. Given the overwhelming focus on mainstream language acquisition by IM groups, there is much less evidence on the status and use of IM languages across Europe as a result of processes of immigration and minorization. In contrast to RM languages, IM languages have no established status in terms of period and area of residence. Obviously, typological differences between IM languages across EU member states do exist, e.g., in terms of the status of IM languages as EU languages or non-EU languages, or as languages of formerly colonized source countries. Taken from the latter perspective, Indian languages are prominent in Great Britain, Maghreb

languages in France, Congolese languages in Belgium, and Surinamese languages in the Netherlands.

Tosi (1984) offered an early case study on Italian as an IM language in Great Britain. Most studies of IM languages in Europe have focused on a spectrum of IM languages at the level of one particular multilingual city (Kroon, 1990; Baker and Eversley, 2000), one particular nation-state (LMP, 1985; Alladina and Edwards, 1991; Extra and Verhoeven, 1993a; Caubet *et al.*, 2002; Extra *et al.*, 2002), or one particular IM language at the European level (Tilmatine, 1997 and Obdeijn and De Ruiter, 1998 on Arabic in Europe, or Jørgensen, 2003 on Turkish in Europe).

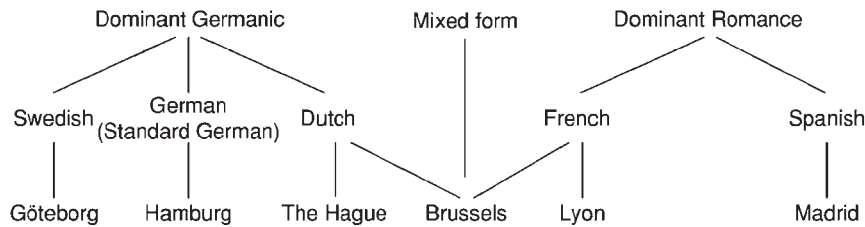
A number of studies have taken both a crossnational and a crosslinguistic perspective on the status and use of IM languages in Europe (e.g., Husén and Opper, 1983; Jaspaert and Kroon, 1991, Extra and Verhoeven, 1993b, 1998; Extra and Gorter, 2001). Churchill (1986) offered an early crossnational perspective on the education of IM children in the OECD countries, whereas Reid and Reich (1992) carried out a crossnational evaluative study of 15 pilot projects on the education of IM children supported by the European Commission.

## Crossnational Perspectives on Community Language Teaching

Across Europe, large contrasts occur in the status of IM languages at school, depending on particular nation-states, or even particular federal states within nation-states (as in Germany), and depending on particular IM languages being national languages in other European (Union) countries or not. Most commonly, IM languages are not part of mainstream education. In Great Britain, for example, IM languages are not part of the so-called national curriculum, and they are dealt with in various types of so-called complementary education in out-of-school hours (see e.g., Martin *et al.*, 2004).

Here we present the most salient outcomes of the Multilingual Cities Project (MCP), a multiple case study in six major multicultural cities in different EU member states (Extra and Yağmur, 2004). The aims of the MCP were to gather, analyze, and compare multiple data on the status of IM languages at home and at school. In the participating cities, ranging from northern to southern Europe, Germanic and/or Romance languages have a dominant status in public life. **Figure 1** gives an outline of the project.

Being aware of crossnational differences in denotation (see **Table 1**), we use the concept of community language teaching (CLT) when referring to this type of education. Our rationale for using the concept of CLT rather than the concepts of mother tongue



**Figure 1** Outline of the Multilingual Cities Project.

teaching or home language instruction is the inclusion of a broad spectrum of potential target groups. First of all, the status of an IM language as a ‘native’ or ‘home’ language can change through intergenerational processes of language shift. Moreover, in secondary education, both minority and majority pupils are often *de jure* (although seldom *de facto*) admitted to CLT (in the Netherlands, for instance, Turkish is a secondary school subject referred to as ‘Turkish’ rather than ‘home language instruction’; compare also the concepts of *enseignement des langues et cultures d’origine* and *enseignement des langues vivantes* in French primary and secondary schools in **Table 1**, respectively).

In all countries involved in the MCP, there has been an increase in the number of IM pupils who speak a language at home other than or in addition to the mainstream language in primary and secondary education. Schools have largely responded to this home–school language mismatch by paying more attention to the learning and teaching of the mainstream language as a second language. A great deal of energy and money is being spent on developing curricula, teaching materials, and teacher training for second-language education. CLT stands in stark contrast to this, as it is much more susceptible to an ideological debate about its legitimacy. While there is consensus about the necessity of investing in second-language education for IM pupils, there is a lack of support for CLT. IM languages are commonly considered sources of problems and deficiencies, and they are rarely seen as sources of knowledge and enrichment. Policy makers, local educational authorities, school principals, and teachers of ‘regular’ subjects often have reservations or negative attitudes towards CLT. On the other hand, parents of IM pupils, CLT teachers, and IM organizations often make a case for including IM languages in the school curriculum. These differences in top-down and bottom-up attitudes were found in all the cities and countries investigated.

From a historical point of view, most of the countries show a similar chronological development in their argumentation in favor of CLT. CLT was generally introduced into primary education with a view to family remigration. This objective was also

clearly expressed in Directive 77/486 of the European Community, on July 25, 1977. The directive focused on the education of the children of ‘migrant workers’ with the aim ‘principally to facilitate their possible reintegration into the Member State of origin.’ As is clear from this formulation, the directive excluded all IM children originating from non-EU countries, although these children formed a large part of IM children in European primary schools. At that time, Sweden was not a member of the European Community, and CLT policies for IM children in Sweden were not directed towards remigration but modeled according to bilingual education policies for the large minority of Finnish-speaking children in Sweden.

During the 1970s, the above argumentation for CLT was increasingly abandoned. Demographic developments showed no substantial signs of remigrating families. Instead, a process of family reunion and minorization came about in the host countries. This development resulted in a conceptual shift, and CLT became primarily aimed at combating disadvantages. CLT had to bridge the gap between the home and the school environment, and to support school achievement in ‘regular’ subjects. Because such an approach tended to underestimate the intrinsic value of CLT, a number of countries began to emphasize the importance of CLT from a cultural, legal, or economic perspective:

- from a cultural perspective, CLT contributes to maintaining and advancing a pluriform society;
- from a legal perspective, CLT meets the internationally recognized right to language transmission and language maintenance, and acknowledges the fact that many IM groups consider their own language as a core value of cultural identity in a context of migration and minorization;
- from an economic perspective, CLT leads to an important pool of profitable knowledge in societies which are increasingly internationally oriented.

The historical development of arguments for CLT in terms of remigration, combating deficiencies, and multicultural policy is evident in some German states, in particular North Rhine-Westphalia and Hamburg.



In most other countries in our study, cultural policy is tied in with the mainstream language to such an extent that CLT is tolerated only in the margins. Cultural motives have played a rather important role in Sweden. It should, however, be noted that multicultural arguments for CLT have not led to an educational policy in which the status of IM languages has been substantially advanced in any of the countries involved in our study.

Derived from Extra and Yağmur (2004), we give a crossnational overview of nine parameters of CLT in primary and secondary education that were taken into account in each of the six countries involved. CLT for primary school children came to an abrupt nationwide end in the Netherlands in 2004 as being ‘in contradiction with integration,’ and the information presented is therefore in retrospect.

### Target Groups

The target groups for CLT in primary schools are commonly IM children, defined as such in a narrow or broad sense. Narrow definitions commonly relate to the range of languages taught and/or to children’s proficiency in these languages. The most restrictive set of languages is taught in Spain, i.e., Arabic and Portuguese only, for Moroccan and Portuguese (-speaking) children respectively. A wide range of languages is taught in Sweden and Germany. The Netherlands, Belgium, and France take/took an intermediate position. Sweden and France demand from the target groups an active use of the languages at home and a basic proficiency in these languages. Special target groups in Sweden are adopted children; in Germany, ethnic German children from abroad; and in France, speakers of recognized RM languages. Sweden has the most explicit policy for access to CLT in terms of ‘home language’ (nowadays, back to ‘mother tongue’) instead of socio-economic status. The target groups for CLT in secondary schools are commonly those who participated in CLT in primary schools. *De jure*, all pupils are allowed CLT in the Netherlands, independent of ethnolinguistic background; *de facto*, most commonly, a subset of IM pupils takes part. CLT for secondary school pupils is almost nonexistent in Belgium, and limited to Arabic and Portuguese in a few secondary schools in Spain.

### Arguments

The arguments for CLT are formulated in terms of a struggle against deficits and/or in terms of multicultural policy. Whereas the former type of argument predominates in primary education, the latter type predominates in secondary education. The vague

concept of ‘integration’ utilized in all countries under discussion may relate to any of these arguments. Deficit arguments may be phrased in terms of bridging the home–school gap, promoting mainstream language learning, promoting school success in other (‘regular’) subjects, preventing educational failure, or overcoming marginalization. Multicultural arguments may be phrased in terms of promoting cultural identity and self-esteem, promoting cultural pluralism, promoting multilingualism in a multicultural and globalizing society, and avoiding ethnic prejudice. Whereas in the Netherlands and Belgium deficit arguments dominate(d), multicultural arguments tend(ed) to play a greater role in the other countries. Deficit arguments for CLT are almost absent in secondary schools, and multicultural arguments are commonly favored in all countries.

### Objectives

The objectives of CLT in primary schools are rarely specified in terms of language skills to be acquired. The vague concept of ‘active bilingualism’ has been a common objective in Sweden, whereas in Germany and Spain, reference is made to the development of oral and written language skills, language awareness, and (inter)cultural skills. In none of these cases have more particular specifications been introduced. In contrast, the objectives of CLT in secondary schools are commonly specified in terms of particular oral and written skills to be reached at intermediate stages and/or at the end of secondary schooling.

### Evaluation

The evaluation of achievement through CLT may take place informally and/or formally. Informal evaluation takes place by means of subjective oral and/or written teachers’ impressions or comments, meant for parents at regular intervals, e.g., once per semester or year. Formal evaluation takes place using more or less objective language proficiency measurement and language proficiency report figures, e.g., once per semester or year. Informal evaluation may occur in lower grades of primary schooling, formal evaluation in higher grades (e.g., in Sweden). In most countries, however, no report figures for CLT are provided throughout the primary school curriculum, and report figures for ‘language’ commonly refer implicitly to proficiency in the mainstream language. If CLT report figures are given (e.g., in France), such figures commonly do not have the same status as report figures for other subjects. The evaluation of achievement through CLT in secondary schools takes place formally through assessment instruments and examinations. Here, report figures may have a regular or a peripheral status. The former holds in particular for Sweden, Germany, and the Netherlands.

### Minimal Enrolment

Minimal enrolment requirements for CLT may be specified at the level of the class, the school, or even the municipality at large. The latter is common practice only in Sweden, and the minimal enrolment requirement for children from different classes/schools in Sweden is five (2003/2004). Secondary schools in Sweden may also opt for CLT if at least five pupils enroll; four pupils are required in the Netherlands. All other countries are more reluctant, with minimal requirements for primary school pupils ranging between 10 and 20 (Germany, Belgium, France), or without any specification (the Netherlands and Spain). In the latter case, enrolment restrictions are commonly based on budget constraints.

### Curricular Status

In all countries, CLT at primary schools takes place on a voluntary and optional basis, provided at the request of parents. Instruction may take place within or outside regular school hours. The latter is most common in Sweden, Belgium, and France. Germany, the Netherlands (until 2004), and Spain allow(ed) for two models of instruction, either within or outside regular school hours, depending on the type of language (in Germany), the type of goal (auxiliary or intrinsic in the Netherlands), and the type of organization (in integrated or parallel classes in Spain). The number of CLT hours ranges from 1 to 5 hours. If CLT takes place at secondary schools, it is considered a regular and optional subject within school hours in all countries under consideration.

### Funding

The funding of CLT may depend on national, regional, or local educational authorities in the country/municipality of residence and/or on the consulates/embassies of the countries of origin. In the latter case, consulates or embassies commonly recruit and provide the teachers, and they are also responsible for teacher (in-service) training. Funding through the country and/or municipality of residence takes/took place in Sweden and the Netherlands. Funding through the consulates/embassies of the countries of origin takes place in Belgium and Spain. A mixed type of funding occurs in Germany and in France. In Germany, the source of funding is dependent on particular languages or organizational models for CLT. In France, source countries fund CLT in primary schools, whereas the French ministry of education funds CLT in secondary schools.

### Teaching Materials

Teaching materials for CLT may originate from the countries of origin or of residence of the pupils.

Funding from ministries, municipalities, and/or publishing houses occurs in Sweden, Germany, and the Netherlands, although limited resources are available. Source country funding for CLT occurs in Belgium and Spain. In France, source countries fund teaching materials in primary schools, whereas the French ministry of education funds teaching materials in secondary schools.

### Teacher Qualifications

Teacher qualifications for CLT may depend on educational authorities in the countries of residence or of origin. National or statewide (in-service) teacher-training programs for CLT at primary and/or secondary schools exist in Sweden, Germany, and the Netherlands, although the appeal of these programs is limited, given the many uncertainties about CLT job perspectives. In Belgium and Spain, teacher qualifications depend on educational authorities in the countries of origin. France has a mixed system of responsibilities: source countries are responsible for teacher qualifications in primary schools, whereas the French ministry of education is responsible for teacher qualifications in secondary schools.

The presented overview of given parameters shows that there are remarkable crossnational differences in the status of CLT. There are also considerable differences between primary and secondary education in the status of CLT. A comparison of all nine parameters makes clear that CLT has gained a higher status in secondary schools than in primary schools. In primary education, CLT is generally not part of the 'regular' or 'national' curriculum, and, therefore, becomes a negotiable entity in a complex and often opaque interplay between a variety of actors. Another remarkable difference is that, in some countries, CLT is funded by the consulates or embassies of the countries of origin. In these cases, the national government does not interfere in the organization of CLT, or in the requirements for and the selection and employment of teachers. A paradoxical consequence of this phenomenon is that the earmarking of CLT budgets is often safeguarded by the above-mentioned consulates or embassies. National, regional, or local governments often fail to earmark budgets, so that funds meant for CLT may be appropriated for other educational purposes.

The higher status of CLT in secondary education is largely due to the fact that instruction in one or more languages other than the national standard language is a traditional and regular component of the (optional) school curriculum, whereas primary education is mainly determined by a monolingual *habitus* (Gogolin, 1994). Within secondary education, however, CLT must compete with 'foreign' languages that

have a higher status or a longer tradition. It should further be noted that some countries provide instruction and/or exams in nonstandard language varieties. In France, for instance, pupils can take part in examinations in several varieties of Arabic and several Berber languages (Tilmatine, 1997); Sweden offers Kurmanji-Kurdish as an alternative to Turkish. From mid-2004 on, the EU has been expanded with the inclusion of the national languages of 10 new EU countries. This leads to the paradoxical situation that the national languages of, for example, the three Baltic states are supported by more positive action ('celebrating linguistic diversity') in multilingual Europe than IM languages such as Turkish, spoken by many more people across Europe.

CLT may be part of a largely centralized or decentralized educational policy. In the Netherlands, national responsibilities and educational funds are gradually being transferred to the municipal level, and even to individual schools. In France, government policy is strongly centrally controlled. Germany has devolved most governmental responsibilities to the federal states, with all their differences. Sweden grants far-reaching autonomy to municipal councils in dealing with educational tasks and funding. In general, comparative crossnational references to experiences with CLT in the various EU member states are rare, or they focus on particular language groups. With a view to the demographic development of European nation-states into multicultural societies, and the similarities in CLT issues, more comparative crossnational research would be highly desirable.

### **Beyond Bilingualism: Dealing with Multilingualism at School**

In Europe, language policy has largely been considered a domain which should be developed within the national boundaries of the different EU nation-states. Proposals for an overarching EU language policy were laboriously achieved and are noncommittal in character (Coulmas, 1991). The most important declarations, recommendations, or directives on language policy, each of which concepts carries a different charge in the EU jargon, concern the recognition of the status of (in the order mentioned)

- national EU languages;
- 'indigenous' or RM languages;
- 'nonterritorial' or IM languages.

On numerous occasions, the EU ministers of education declared that EU citizens' knowledge of languages should be promoted (Baetens Beardsmore, 1993). Each EU member state should promote pupils' proficiency in at least two 'foreign' languages, and at least

one of these languages should be the official language of an EU state. Promoting knowledge of RM and/or IM languages was left out of consideration in these ministerial statements. The European Parliament, however, accepted various resolutions which recommended the protection and promotion of RM languages and which led to the foundation of the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages in 1982. Another result of the European Parliament resolutions was the foundation of the European Mercator Network, aimed at promoting research into the status and use of RM languages. In March 1998, the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages came into operation. The charter is aimed at the protection and promotion of RM languages, and it functions as an international instrument for the comparison of legal measures and other facilities of the EU member states in this policy domain (Craith, 2003).

Bilingual education in national majority languages and regional minority languages has been an area of interest and research for a long time (Baker, 2001). More recently, local and global perspectives are taken into consideration that go beyond bilingualism and focus on multilingualism and multilingual education. Apart from national majority and regional minority languages, the focus is commonly on the learning and teaching of English as a third language, and in this way on promoting trilingualism from an early age (Cenoz and Genesee, 1998; Cenoz and Jessner, 2000; Beetsma, 2002, Ytsma and Hoffmann, 2003).

As yet, no affirmative initiatives have been taken in the European policy domain of IM languages. It is remarkable that the teaching of RM languages is generally advocated for reasons of cultural diversity as a matter of course, whereas this is rarely a major argument in favor of teaching IM languages. The 1977 guideline of the Council of European Communities on education for IM children (Directive 77/486, dated July 25, 1977) is now outdated. It needs to be put in a new and increasingly multicultural context; it needs to be extended to pupils originating from non-EU countries; and it needs to be given greater binding force in the EU member states.

There is a great need for educational policies in Europe that take new realities of multilingualism into account. Processes of internationalization and globalization have brought European nation-states to the world, but they have also brought the world to European nation-states. This bipolar pattern of change has led to both convergence and divergence of multilingualism across Europe. On the one hand, English is on the rise as the lingua franca for international communication across the borders of European nation-states at the cost of all other national languages of Europe, including French. In spite of

many objections against the hegemony of English (Phillipson, 2003), this process of convergence will be enhanced by the extension of the EU in an eastward direction. Within the borders of European nation-states, however, there is an increasing divergence of home languages due to large-scale processes of migration and intergenerational minorization.

The call for differentiation of the monolingual *habitus* of primary schools across Europe originates not only bottom up from IM parents or organizations, but also top down from supranational institutions which emphasize the increasing need for European citizens with a transnational and multicultural affinity and identity. Multilingual competencies are considered prerequisites for such an affinity and identity. Both the European Commission and the Council of Europe have published many policy documents in which language diversity is cherished as a key element of the multicultural identity of Europe – now and in the future. This language diversity is considered to be a prerequisite rather than an obstacle for a united European space in which all citizens are equal (not the same) and enjoy equal rights (Council of Europe, 2000). The maintenance of language diversity and the promotion of language learning and multilingualism are seen as essential elements for the improvement of communication and for the reduction of intercultural misunderstanding.

The European Commission (1995) opted in a so-called White Book for trilingualism as a policy goal for all European citizens. Apart from the ‘mother tongue,’ each citizen should learn at least two ‘community languages.’ In fact, the concept of ‘mother tongue’ referred to the national languages of European nation-states and ignored the fact that mother tongue and national language do not coincide for many inhabitants of Europe. At the same time, the concept of ‘community languages’ referred to the national languages of two other EU member-states. In later European Commission documents, reference was made to one foreign language with high international prestige (English was deliberately not referred to) and one so-called neighboring language. The latter concept related commonly to neighboring countries, never to next-door neighbors.

In a follow-up to the first European Year of Languages, proclaimed in 2001, the heads of state and government of all EU member states gathered in 2002 in Barcelona and called upon the European Commission to take further action to promote multilingualism across Europe, in particular by the learning and teaching of at least two foreign languages from a very young age (Nikolov and Curtain, 2000). The final Action Plan 2004–2006, published by the European Commission (2003), may ultimately lead to an inclusive approach in which IM languages are no longer denied

access to Europe’s celebration of language diversity. In particular, the plea for the learning of three languages by all EU citizens, the plea for an early start to such learning experiences, and the plea for offering a wide range of languages to choose from open the door to such an inclusive approach. Although this may sound paradoxical, such an approach can also be advanced by accepting the role of English as a lingua franca for intercultural communication across Europe.

Against this background, the following principles are suggested for the enhancement of multilingualism at the primary school level:

1. In the primary school curriculum, three languages are introduced for all children:
  - the standard language of the particular nation-state as a major school subject and the major language of communication for the teaching of other school subjects;
  - English as a lingua franca for international communication;
  - an additional third language chosen from a variable and varied set of priority languages at the national, regional, and/or local levels of the multicultural society.
2. The teaching of these languages is part of the regular school curriculum and subject to educational inspection.
3. Regular primary school reports provide, formally or informally, information on the children’s proficiency in each of these languages.
4. National working programs are established for the priority languages referred to under (1) in order to develop curricula, teaching methods, and teacher training programs.
5. Part of these priority languages may be taught at specialized language schools.

This set of principles is aimed at reconciling bottom-up and top-down pleas in Europe for multilingualism, and is inspired by large-scale and enduring experiences with the learning and teaching of English (as L1 or L2) and one language other than English (LOTE) for all children in the state of Victoria, Australia (see Extra and Yağmur, 2004). When each of the above-mentioned languages should be introduced in the curriculum, and whether or when they should be subject or medium of instruction, should be spelled out depending on particular national, regional, or local contexts. Derived from an overarching conceptual and longitudinal framework, priority languages could be specified in terms of both RM and IM languages for the development of curricula, teaching methods, and teacher-training programs. Moreover, the increasing internationalization of pupil



populations in European schools requires that a language policy be introduced for all schoolchildren in which the traditional dichotomy between foreign language instruction for indigenous majority pupils and home language instruction for IM pupils is put aside. Given the experiences abroad (e.g., the Victorian School of Languages in Melbourne, Australia), language schools could become centers of expertise where a variety of languages are taught, in particular if the number of children requesting instruction in these languages is low and/or spread over many schools. In line with the proposed principles for primary schooling, similar ideas could be worked out for secondary schools where learning more than one language is already an established practice. The above-mentioned principles would recognize multilingualism in an increasingly multicultural environment as an asset for all children and for society at large. The EU, the Council of Europe, and UNESCO could function as leading transnational agencies in promoting such concepts. The UNESCO Universal Declaration of Cultural Diversity is in line with the inclusive views expressed here, in particular in its plea to encourage language diversity, to respect the mother tongue at all levels of education, and to foster the learning of several languages from the youngest age.

See also: Bilingual Education; Immigrant Languages; Multilingual Societies and Language Education; Minority Language Education.

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# Traditions in Second Language Teaching

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## Introduction

Learning a language in addition to one's first, or native, language has its roots in prehistory, when tribes encountered other tribes whose language differed from their own and a need to communicate arose, perhaps to exchange goods, form alliances, or ask directions. With no written records on which to rely, we can only conjecture as to how that learning happened. However, it would not be unreasonable to assume that it occurred in much the same way as uninstructed (sometimes called 'informal' or 'natural') language acquisition happens today, given similar communicative needs. Instructed (or 'formal') second language learning, however, has a long and varied tradition that may or may not have been based on communicative necessity, depending on the particular historical context in which it occurred. Traditions in language teaching reflect a mix of earlier, established techniques combined with innovative influences justified by contemporary ideas in philosophy, religion, and later, psychology, in addition to cultural norms and values. A fascinating aspect of language teaching is that particular themes continued to recur throughout its history, down to the present day.

The following overview of language teaching traditions traces their history from classical Greece and Rome to the 20th century. The perspective is Western European based on the role of Latin and, to a lesser extent, Greek in the curriculum. This is not to suggest that other, non-Western traditions do not contribute to our understanding of historical practice. For example, the oral tradition associated with non-Western educational approaches can provide important insights into second-language teaching and learning. Unfortunately, research on the teaching of second languages within and from the non-Western perspective – as opposed to the teaching of Western languages in the non-Western context – is an area that remains largely unexplored in academic research. Reagan (1996) provides a general overview of non-Western educational traditions, including the teaching of first, but not second, languages.

## Early Greek Education

Greeks during the 6th century B.C. held two conflicting views of education in the schools of Athens and in those of Sparta. Although the Athenian model formed

the basis for the Western tradition, it is nonetheless interesting to review the Spartan model to see which aspects were shared between the two.

## Schools in Sparta

Sparta was a military state established in the 8th century B.C. The Spartan citizen lived for the welfare of the state, of which he was the property, and individuals had no importance apart from the state. Contact with foreigners was discouraged; in fact, free travel outside the state was prohibited. The aim of education was to develop character, not intellectual capacity, and thus to create obedient, courageous, disciplined citizens who were physically fit and loyal to the state. Girls received no formal education; they learned at home the ideals of the state and of home-making. They also studied gymnastics to enhance physical fitness, essential for healthy reproduction. Boys became wards of the state at age 6 years, when they left their family homes and moved into military barracks in units of 64 peers. They would not live in a home situation again until marriage at age 30 years. A state official, the *paidonomos*, supervised education, with the aid of assistants who conducted the actual training. At age 18 years, young men became cadets, at which time they began a 2-year period of training in military strategy and tactics, followed by a 10-year obligatory military conscription. On successful completion of service, men were granted full citizenship.

The Spartan curriculum consisted of extreme physical training, sports, and military drill, motivated by competitiveness and harsh discipline. Training in literature was limited to accounts of military heroism. Language teaching, first or second, was not part of the curriculum. In fact, the adjective 'laconic' derives from the geographical name Laconia, of which Sparta was capital, to describe the terseness of speech for which its citizens were famous.

## Schools in Athens

In contrast to education in Sparta, the aim of education in wealthy and cultured Athens, victorious in the Persian War (479 B.C.), was to produce a well-balanced individual, intelligent and of strong moral character. Although the state supervised and regulated elementary education, it did not financially support it. Each school was independent and privately operated by a teacher. Education was not compulsory. On the other hand, a 2-year period of military training, *ephebia*, beginning at age 18, was mandatory. Only sons of free citizens were educated; girls received their education at home from their mothers.

From ages 7 to 14, boys studied reading, writing, music, and gymnastics, with different teachers for each subject. Reading instruction began with learning the alphabet. Children sang an alphabet song and formed the letters with their bodies while the rest of the class guessed the letters and words.

All teachers were male, and each pupil was accompanied by a *paedagogos*, a male slave who served the mixed functions of nurse, chaperon, and tutor throughout the school day. The elementary school teacher was among the lowest-status occupations in Athens. Itinerant teachers provided instruction beyond the elementary school, offering curricula dependent on their interests and expertise: grammar, composition, rhetoric, literature, music, mathematics, astronomy, or physics. When military training became voluntary, it was replaced by higher education in philosophy, rhetoric, and science, offered through private academies.

### Plato and the Academy

A military hero from an aristocratic and wealthy family, at age 20, Plato became a student of Socrates, studying with him for almost 8 years until he witnessed his teacher's trial and conviction in 399 B.C. Disillusioned with Athenian democracy, Plato left Athens, only to return in 387 B.C. and purchase a recreation grove dedicated to the god Academus, wherein he opened a school, the Academy. Plato charged no tuition, relying on the donations of wealthier students to support the enterprise. Both men and women were welcome to study at the Academy. However, only advanced students – those who had already studied geometry – were accepted. The teaching method was lecture-based, with some elements of Socratic dialogue. The curriculum included higher mathematics, astronomy, music, literature, law, history, and philosophy. Plato's epistemology (theory of the nature of knowledge) viewed knowledge as a recalling of ideas that are innate in the soul. He believed that man does not arrive at truth through the senses or by experience. Instead, he must turn inward, looking inside himself. In this way, he can arrive at innate truths through reason. 'Education,' literally 'to draw out of' derives from the idea that learning is the recollection, or remembering, of what is already known and that exists within.

Plato's philosophy, translated into education theory, held that all children should be educated to the limits of their abilities, and that the state, rather than the family, should provide that education. The aim of education was to produce individuals (rulers, warriors, workers, and civil servants) who were oriented to their role in society and whose characters were disciplined to control their animal appetites;

that is, to subordinate their senses to reason. Until ephebia at age 18 years, education was devoted to the study of mathematics, literature, poetry, and music. Plato recommended that elementary-level learning be as close to play as possible and that higher levels of learning develop students' critical thinking skills and their ability to use abstract reasoning.

### Aristotle and the Lyceum

Aristotle became the most famous of Plato's students in the Academy. At age 41 years, he became tutor to Alexander, son of King Philip of Macedon, who would later become known as Alexander the Great. At age 50 years, Aristotle returned to Athens and, following in the footsteps of his famous teacher, purchased property and opened a school. The property, dedicated to Apollo Lyceus, provided the name for the school, the Lyceum. The Lyceum became known for its work in natural sciences and was the site of the first zoo and botanical gardens in the Western world. Aristotle's keen observations of nature – honed over the years by examining samples of animal and vegetable life brought back from Alexander's conquests – became the world's chief source of scientific knowledge for the next 1000 years. Aristotle's teaching style consisted of a morning walk through the gardens with his regular students, during which they exchanged and discussed ideas. School became known as 'peripatetic,' or 'walking about.' After eating lunch with his students, Aristotle gave public lectures on politics, literature, and philosophy. The students organized themselves and performed the administrative duties of the Lyceum. All students were expected to engage in historical or scientific research, much of which formed the basis for Aristotle's propositions.

Like Plato, Aristotle believed that man is a rational animal: an animal because he possesses a body with physical needs and appetites, and rational because he has a soul. Unlike his teacher, who held that man is born with preformed ideas, Aristotle proposed that man is born devoid of knowledge, a *tabula rasa* ('blank slate') and that he formulates ideas as a result of contact with material objects. Whereas Plato would have defined learning as 'education,' learning for Aristotle was a matter of instruction ('to put into'): a process of putting knowledge into an empty, but receptive, mind.

The aim of education under Aristotle was to produce a good man; that is, to change a man who is not good by nature to one who controls his animal activities through reason. Both his intellectual and his physical abilities should be developed to their fullest potential. Women were viewed as inferior to men, and their proper functions, as wives and procreators, were fulfilled in the home through training in the domestic arts and gymnastics. Even among men,



education was aristocratic; that is, limited to the sons of citizens. The curriculum was not to serve any vocational function, as such activities were the provenance of slaves. Reading, writing, mathematics, natural science, physical education, and humanities (rhetoric, grammar, poetry, politics, and philosophy) formed the curriculum. Because man learns from nature, by habit, and by reason, the teacher's function consisted of organizing the material in a logical manner. Repetitive drill was used to reinforce what was understood by reason, and correct habit formation was essential in the learning process.

The opposing ideas of Plato and Aristotle, in simplified terms of 'education' versus 'instruction,' or of innate knowledge as opposed to knowledge derived from experience, had a profound influence on Western education, including traditions of language teaching. Twenty-first century debates surrounding the extent to which language acquisition is a function of innate human faculties or a result of environmental factors continue to capture the attention of linguists and to influence teaching practice.

## Roman Education

In the Roman Republic (508–146 B.C.), education took place at home. Mothers or older relatives tutored young children. Strict obedience was valued. Children were expected to acquire an elementary knowledge of reading and writing. Instruction, whether in literacy or in the trades and professions, was through apprenticeship; that is, through example and imitation. Education was largely vocational, not erudite.

The Roman conquest of Macedonia and Greece (201–146 B.C.) had a powerful influence on Roman society and education. The acquisition of the new territory brought thousands of well-educated Greeks to serve as slaves in Roman households, where they became the teachers of Roman youth. Greek language, culture, and philosophy, including principles of education, spread. The Greek language was so commonly used among educated people that one could address the Roman senate in Greek and be understood. The inclusion of jokes and plays on Greek words in Roman theater provide evidence that even lower classes of Roman society were familiar with the language. By the beginning of the 3rd century B.C., Greek was the language of prestige and culture among educated and upper-social class Romans, existing alongside Latin in a bilingual society.

Considered more practical in orientation than the Greeks, the Romans viewed education as a means to an end: It conferred prestige, but more important, it led to higher status and, thus, to better marriage prospects and more opportunities for advancement.

The system of formal education in Rome in the first century B.C. was divided into four levels. The first, or elementary, level the *Ludus* (meaning 'games' or 'play'), enrolled children from ages 7 to 12. In it, the *magister* ('teacher') taught reading, writing, and arithmetic. Despite its name, the *Ludus* was infamous for its harsh discipline, and teaching was primarily by rote. Children depended on memory to learn. Elementary schools were open to children of all free families, boys and girls alike. In this sense, Roman education was more public than the Greek. (Girls' public education, however, ended at this level.) Romans debated the advantages of public versus private school for their children, and upper-class families employed private tutors for their children. The second level of formal schooling was the Grammar School, enrolling students ages 12 to 16. 'Grammar,' from the Greek *grammatike* ('letter'), was the art or technique of writing, not the compendium of rules that the term implies today. The students who attended Grammar School did not typically come out of the *Ludus*. Rather, they were students who had been privately instructed at home for their elementary education. Both Latin and Greek grammar schools were available, and students could attend one or the other, or both. It is important, from a language learning perspective, to remember that the grammar schools used Latin or Greek as both the content of the curriculum and the medium of instruction, in what we would consider today an immersion-type setting. Young people who attended them would have already been at least functionally competent in the language, having learned to understand, speak, and probably read it at home from a private tutor. The teacher, or 'grammarians,' taught grammar (composition) by means of literature, primarily through lecture. Lecture (literally, 'reading') consisted of the teacher's reading aloud of literary texts and providing comments. The texts provided both the content of the lesson and the form that students were to imitate. Students took notes and memorized lectures. From ages 16–20 years, students attended the School of Rhetoric, where they learned how to use language effectively through the continued study of grammar, argument, and speech (or oratory, literally 'pleading from the mouth'). The chief purpose of the school of rhetoric was to train students to be successful public speakers. The last and highest level of schooling was the University. Two universities were established in the early years of the Roman Empire: one in Athens and the other in Rhodes, both Greek-language institutions. In addition to higher learning, attending the university would have been a study abroad experience. Students who attended the university could be anywhere from 21 to 45 years old. The principal subject was

philosophy, but other subjects included law, mathematics, medicine, architecture, and rhetoric. The well-educated Roman was bilingual in Latin and Greek.

### Quintilian

One of the most well-known and influential educators in Rome was Quintilian (35–96 A.D.). After training in rhetoric and pursuing a career in law and politics, he was appointed the first state professorship of rhetoric in Rome. Quintilian authored the *Institutio Oratoria* ('Education of the Orator'), a 12-volume series that covered wide-ranging topics in education from pre-school to advice for the practicing orator. His advice was that of a distinguished politician and orator regarding the education of boys from upper-class families who were destined to become future leaders. From that perspective, the primary objective of education was to train students to be effective and persuasive public speakers who would then be good public servants. Self-discipline, moral integrity, and social conscience were highly valued attributes. In an age that lacked print media, an esteemed man who could sway public opinion with his oratorical skills held incomparable value for the state. A command of spoken language in conjunction with a background in its literature, history, poetry, music, and philosophy was the mark of a well-educated citizen.

Many of Quintilian's educational principles would be recognized in modern guidelines for practice. Among other things, he advocated that curricular content must be appropriate to the child's ability level (a better predictor for success than age alone); individual differences, both intellectual and physical, among students must be taken into account, with aptitude being an important factor in determining success; a system of rewards to promote learning is more effective than one of punishment; learning cannot be forced, rather, interest, motivation, and persistence are better served through a pleasurable instructional experience; content should be relevant to contemporary situations, and activities should deal with the practical application of that knowledge; and public education is more beneficial than private for the development of social skills.

With regard to language learning in particular, Quintilian suggested that spelling should reflect pronunciation and that games should be used to encourage learning. He advocated the use of wooden blocks in the shape of letters as a way for young children to learn the alphabet and spelling. Above all, he maintained that earlier is better, especially where language is concerned. He recommended that children learn Greek first and Latin second, as the latter would be learned anyway in the context of daily life. Because he believed that learning derives from instruction,

he warned that care must be taken to expose children only to excellent and accurate models of language use, both with regard to their caregivers and to the texts they read. Errors, once inscribed on the wax tablet that was the metaphor for the child's mind (Aristotle's *tabula rasa*), were considered difficult, if not impossible, to erase.

### Latin Grammars

Aelius Donatus (4th century A.D.) and Caesariensis Priscianus (end of the 5th to the early 6th century A.D.) were Roman grammarians who wrote Latin grammars. Donatus's short grammar, *Ars minor*, was so widely used that any elementary grammar book became known as a 'donat.' It presented the parts of speech in a question and answer format ("What is a noun? A part of speech that signifies by its case a person or thing specifically or generally.") Examples from literature illustrated forms and correct usage. It also contained lists of commonly made errors (alongside the correct forms) and figures of speech. Donatus referred to students' errors as 'barbarisms,' and it is likely that many of them were incorrect spellings based on language they had learned only from dictation, in addition to influences from Vulgar Latin (i.e., the language commonly spoken by the people), which was quite different both from the classical, literary language that students learned in school and from non-Latin dialects. Priscian's grammar, *Institutiones grammaticae*, meant to follow the *Ars minor*, was an 18-book treatise on all aspects of Latin grammar, phonology, morphology, and syntax, filled with quotations from Latin authors. For many students, the examples from Priscian's grammar constituted their only exposure to Latin literature.

The curriculum that Rome had adopted from Greece, namely, grammar, rhetoric, dialectics, mathematics, astronomy, music, and philosophy, remained unchanged for centuries throughout Western Europe. It was a system of education founded on the study of language and designed for students who were already functionally proficient in the language – Greek or Latin – before they began to study it formally.

### Education in the Medieval Age

When Germanic tribes invaded, fractured, and conquered the Roman Empire, many of them accepted the culture of Rome and Greece, including Christianity. As a consequence, the Roman church emerged as a dominant influence in Western Europe. The aim of education changed from the development of the educated citizen to the preparation of a man of God, in anticipation of the afterlife. The focus of education turned away from the practical affairs of the world,

from sense experience, from physical education, and from external reality. Truth was viewed as absolute: it was not discovered through experimentation but delivered through faith, and it was found only within the Church. Because pupils were inclined toward evil, as a result of original sin, they had to be disciplined and undergo physical punishment to control their evil inclinations.

The spread of Christianity created a conflict between Christian theology and ancient philosophy in education. Liberal thinkers wanted to maintain what was beautiful from the ancient authors, preserving their culture in a Christian form. Theologians were ambivalent in their attitude toward Latin and Latin authors. On the one hand, the Bible and church services were in Latin, so all clergy needed to learn the language. On the other hand, Latin literature, which had served as the model and the method for language teaching, was pagan and a source of possible moral corruption. Because of this, the classical authors were no longer considered appropriate content, especially for young people. Scripture and the writings of the early Church fathers replaced them as models for learning Latin.

Three types of schools predominated during the Middle Ages: the catechetical school, the cathedral school, and the monastic school. Catechetical schools provided an elementary level of education consisting of fundamental doctrines of faith. They were designed for catechumens, that is, possible converts to Christianity, and they provided only what was essential in Latin; namely, the memorization of prayers and scripture passages. The monastic schools, in contrast, trained boys to become monks. They retained the Roman curriculum of the seven liberal arts, divided into the trivium – grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics, or logical argumentation – and the quadrivium – arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy. The cathedral schools prepared clergy and sought to provide advanced knowledge of scripture, doctrine, and ritual. This instruction was combined with the study of grammar, rhetoric, literature, geometry, history, and philosophy. Boys who did not intend to become either priests or monks but who wanted a general education attended either the cathedral or monastic schools, where they studied the liberal arts as ‘externs.’

Monks were members of a religious order, or community, who vowed dedication to lives of chastity, obedience, poverty, farming, and teaching. They were workers, not contemplatives. The curriculum of the monastic schools, therefore, stressed practical skills. Latin, too, was learned for utilitarian purposes: reading and singing to participate fully in the ritual activities of the church, writing to copy manuscripts (but not necessarily to understand them), rhetoric to

be able to teach and preach effectively, and arithmetic to calculate the dates of Easter.

An early church figure, Jerome (340–420 A.D.), having completed a classical education in Rome and then studied theology, asceticism, Hebrew, and scripture, translated the Bible from Hebrew and Greek into Latin. This was the first Latin bible, known as the Vulgate. It became the official version of scripture for eight centuries. Jerome also founded a monastery and a monastic school in Bethlehem. In a letter dated 403 A.D., he offered advice to a mother on how to raise her infant daughter, much of which can be traced to Quintilian. Jerome stressed the importance of good models and advocated early play with alphabet blocks. He warned against allowing errors to occur and suggested that to ensure accuracy from the very beginning, the mother should guide her daughter’s hand as she wrote on a wax tablet or traced letters carved in a board, “so that her efforts confined within these limits may keep to the lines traced out for her and not stray outside of these” (Ulich, 1954: 165). Errors are to be strictly avoided, as “An unused jar long retains the taste and smell of that with which it is first filled” (166). Jerome also advised that the girl learn both Greek and Latin from the very beginning to avoid a non-native-like accent: “For, if the tender lips are not from the first shaped to this, the tongue is spoiled by a foreign accent and its native speech debased by alien elements” (167). Finally, he suggested that the ideal solution would be to send the girl to a monastery.

Another early Church father, Augustine, in his *Confessions*, provided an account of his language-learning experience. He claimed that language developed out of a need to communicate and that he learned his native language by associating sounds and gestures with objects. He then collected these ‘signs’ and used them to convey his own meanings and desires. Augustine did not know Greek before he went to school and suffered because of it, causing him to hate the language: “The difficulty of learning a strange language did sprinkle as it were with gall all the pleasures of those fabulous narrations. For I understood not a word of it, yet they vehemently pressed me and with most cruel threats and punishments to make me understand it.” He compared that experience to learning his first language, without fear or torment, but simply by listening to people talk to him and attempting to convey his own meanings, concluding that “a free curiosity hath more force in children’s learning of languages, than a frightful enforcement can have” (147). By his own admission, Augustine loved classical Latin literature, but he criticized the amount of time and effort spent on it and particularly disliked grammar: “men care more to observe the rules of grammar than the laws of God” (149).

## The Rise of Universities

Moslem influence during the 11th and 12th centuries, with access to Greek texts in translation, stimulated renewed interest in classical learning. Scholars traveled to Spain and southern Italy to peruse the tremendous libraries that the Arabs had built. In addition, the growth of cities provoked a need for professional training in law and medicine. The university had its informal beginnings where teachers and students came together to learn and debate, much as they had done in Plato's Academy. For their own protection from interference by secular or Church authorities, teachers and students found it necessary to incorporate themselves; hence, the term 'universitas' (guild or corporation). The University of Bologna was the earliest – established in 1088 – and specialized in law; the University of Salerno specialized in medicine, and the University of Paris specialized in the arts.

At the university, one could attain three levels of degrees: the bachelor of arts, the master's, and the doctor's (from the Latin *docere* 'to teach'). The bachelor of arts degree entitled one to continue for a higher degree. The master's and doctor's were earned through the defense of a thesis, demonstrating one's scholarship. The curriculum for the bachelor's degree remained the seven liberal arts. Because of a continued lack of books in the Medieval period, the method of instruction was still by lecture, delivered by either a master's or doctor's candidate who read something he had written and provided commentary. There was no minimum age for attending the university, and it was not unusual for students to be as young as 12 years old.

As in earlier times, a thorough knowledge of Latin was essential for the successful completion of studies at the bachelor's level and a prerequisite for more advanced study. By this point in time, however, Latin was no longer any student's first language. So, to ensure that students would acquire proficiency in Latin, not only for conducting research and writing but also as a means of spoken communication, students were required to use Latin as all times, in and out of class, even in the 'colleges' (student residences): "It has been decreed that the speaking of Latin shall be strictly observed in all the colleges and lodgings, not only by the simple students but also by the bachelors, according to the statutes, . . . on penalty of a certain fine to be imposed" (Seybolt, 1921: 72). Students were encouraged to report their peers who didn't speak Latin outside of class. In fact, some students were appointed language spies, called 'wolves,' who recorded the names of students who used the vernacular (their native language) instead of Latin. The students whose names appeared on the lists were summoned and fined.

For conventional and religious purposes during the Medieval Age, Latin remained the language of school

even as it became further and further removed from students' linguistic reality outside the classroom. Students did not possess a functional command of Latin; it was not used by the vast majority of people in the wider community. Latin was a foreign language. Most students did not use it readily and had to be forced to speak it.

## Revival of Classical Studies

With the rediscovery of classical authors, there was a renewed enthusiasm for the *studia humanitatis*; that is, the classical Latin education including literature and history. The proponents of the new learning, the humanists, advocated more than just the correction of manuscripts: They proposed a revival of classical learning and culture. They sought to institute Latin as the language of wider communication, much the way that English is used today. The school curriculum, then, continued to be devoted to the liberal arts, but with the insistence that texts of the ancient authors form the content of the curriculum. Students would, once again, learn language in conjunction with content, through exposure to excellent models, and not as a system of abstract rules. The most prominent educators of the day – Vittorino da Feltre, Guarino Guarini, Desiderius Erasmus – exhorted that learning should be pleasant, that harsh discipline was unnecessary and counterproductive, and that errors are artifacts of a developing grammatical system and not a sign of linguistic or moral decay. New attention was paid to the surroundings and comfort of the pupils, as evidenced by Vittorino da Feltre's delightful boarding school, the *Casa Giocosa* (the Playful House), where children learned Latin and Greek in an Italian countryside villa while enjoying fresh air, simply prepared food, and lots of physical exercise and outdoor games. Erasmus, the Dutch humanist, not one to mince words, put it boldly when he wrote in his treatise *On the right method of instruction*,

I have no patience with the stupidity of the average teacher of grammar who wastes precious years in hammering rules into children's heads. For it is not by learning rules that we acquire the power of speaking a language, but by daily intercourse with those accustomed to express themselves with exactness and refinement, and by the copious reading of the best authors" (Woodward, 1921: 163–164).

## Rise of the Vernacular Languages

The humanists' best efforts notwithstanding, they failed in their quest to establish Latin as the universal language. A combination of economic, religious, political, and scientific developments worked against



them. As nations formed across the European continent, national languages solidified national identities. Increasing criticism of the abusive power of the Catholic Church stigmatized the use of Latin by association. Although Latin prevailed for a while longer as the language of scholarship and international relationships, it began to lose ground as the vernacular languages grew increasingly powerful. Scientific discoveries began to be published in the vernacular. Galileo published his treatise on planetary movements in Italian, not Latin. The rise of a middle class of merchants and bankers legitimized the vernaculars as media of communication. Parents needed to be convinced of the value of having their children devote so much time and effort to learning Latin. Perhaps the event that had the most significant effect on the language teaching was one of the greatest inventions of all time: the printing press, which allowed for the mass production of books. For the first time, students had easy and relatively inexpensive access to texts. They no longer needed to commit everything to memory or to laboriously copy reams of commentary and lecture notes. Moreover, it wasn't long before the Latin texts were readily available in translation, either interlinear or in side-by-side columns. Such innovation had the obvious effect of eliminating the need for students to struggle through the Latin text to understand its meaning. They could simply read it in their native language.

In addition to his condemnation of the excesses of the Catholic Church, Martin Luther was also a proponent of widespread literacy education. He advocated free elementary education for all children in Germany so that they would be able to read the Bible and thereby attain salvation. Philip Melanchthon functioned as Luther's mouthpiece for educational reform. On the basis of his observations in schools, Melanchthon proposed a three-level system. The plan remained basically humanist, with the innovation that children should first be taught (level 1) in the vernacular before proceeding to the Latin grammar school (level 2) and the conventional course of study, followed by the university (level 3). The rules and regulations that Melanchthon outlined, however, suggest anything but a golden age for learning: those for the university students prohibit a long list of weapons that students were not to bring to their classes, along with curfews for evenings in the pubs and recommendations to students on how to organize their time effectively.

In England, Sir Thomas Elyot authored the first book on education written and printed in English language, the *Boke named the Governour* (1531). While still advocating the learning of Latin, he argued that English could be used just as well as Latin

for scholarly purposes. The Spanish scholar and humanist Juan Luis Vivès (1492–1540) held that language is a living entity, not a static one, and that its use defines its grammar. He proposed that Latin should also be treated as a living language and not simply in imitation of Cicero. Vivès also advocated the use of the vernacular in teaching boys, even though he wrote his treatise in Latin. However, Pietro Bembo (1470–1547), in Italy, not only urged the use of the vernacular but wrote in Italian to praise the Italian language. Bembo was instrumental in establishing as the literary standard the Florentine dialect found in the literary masterpieces by Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio.

### The Jesuits

The Catholic Church responded to its critics by calling the Council of Trent (1555) to initiate reforms from within. Its program (the Counter Reformation) depended on the education of clergy and laity. Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556) founded the Society of Jesus, the Jesuits, using a military model: Members would be soldiers who fought for the cause of religion. The Jesuit system of education, although criticized for its elitism, has enjoyed tremendous prestige and esteem since its founding in 1540. The graduate of a Jesuit school was expected to think clearly and logically, express himself eloquently and effectively in speech and in writing, and possess erudition. The *Ratio studiorum* ('Plan of Studies') was the Jesuits' exhaustive description of their educational model. Again, it was a liberal arts curriculum, based on and devoted to the study of Latin. In the lower grammar school, students spent almost 25 hours per week on the study of Latin. Ignatius himself advocated the learning of Latin through literary texts, with Latin as both the medium and the content of instruction. Students were admonished to use Latin at all times. The use of the vernacular was strictly limited, allowed only for the purpose of learning to deliver sermons in it when necessary. Extensive teacher training, rigorous organization, and a carefully prescribed curriculum were hallmarks of the Jesuit system. Despite a lengthy and highly supervised period of training, the least prestigious position was held by the teacher of grammar.

### Toward the Modern Era

The esteem with which the Jesuit system was held provided impetus for the Protestants to design a educational system that could compete with it. In opposition to the elitist nature of the Jesuits, the educational reforms proposed by Johannes Comenius included public education for all, regardless of aptitude or intelligence: "a sieve, if you continually pour water through it, grows cleaner and cleaner,

although it cannot retain liquid” (Comenius, 1657: 67). A renewed emphasis on observation, experimentation, and reasoning within the scientific paradigm of the day was realized in Comenius’s curriculum by a focus on direct experience and learning through the senses. He advocated that pupils study things before words and that teachers organize materials into a natural order, by presenting ideas incrementally, beginning with the known and gradually introducing the unknown, and by recycling material at increasing levels of complexity throughout the curriculum (what he referred to as “the concentric method”). He was also strongly in favor of repetition, explicit error correction, and accuracy from the very beginning: “the first attempt at imitation should be as accurate as possible, that not the smallest deviation from the model be made. . . . For whatever comes first is, as it were, the foundation of that which follows. If the foundation be firm, a solid edifice can be constructed upon it, but it be weak this is impossible” (Comenius, 1657: 199–200). Although his treatise, *The Great Didactic* (1657) contains many contradictory statements, Comenius’s textbooks were his claim to international fame. His major contribution to education is his pioneering use of illustrations as an integral, not merely decorative, element in language textbooks. He, too, advocated elementary instruction in the vernacular school, followed by the Latin school.

Even the most ardent proponents of vernacular education, although advocating education for all, restricted it to the elementary level. Thus they ensured rudimentary vernacular literacy and religious education for the common people. Secondary schools (gymnasias, grammar schools, lycée, academies) were still based on the Latin model and remained the intellectual territory of the elite: boys from well-to-do families who could afford to send them off to school to be trained in the liberal arts.

Vernacular education at the elementary level predominated in the 17th and 18th centuries, whereas the commonest type of secondary school remained the traditional Latin school. The ‘naturalistic’ movement in education reflected the major philosophical points of Romanticism and naturalism; namely, an emphasis on emotion as opposed to reason, an intense interest in nature and intuition, and the belief that the closer man remains to his natural state, the more authentic he is. Rousseau (1712–1778) authored a treatise on education in novel form, *Émile*, in which he proposed that man is by nature good, but becomes spoiled by the restraints of society and formal education. This position was in direct opposition to the notion that man is born evil and must be saved by God’s grace. In line with his philosophical position, Rousseau recommended the elimination of schools altogether.

*Émile*, however, influenced the ideas of Johann Basedow (1723–1790) in Germany, who established an experimental laboratory school, the *Philanthropium*. His methodology abolished rote memorization, advocating instead the use of games and a natural, immersion-type approach to teach language, even Latin: “They [the youngsters] played the ‘Command’ game. You see, it is this way: first, they all stand in a row like soldiers, and Herr Wolke [the teacher] is the officer who commands in Latin, and they must do everything he orders. For instance, when he says *claudite oculos*, they close their eyes tightly: or, *circumspicite*, they peer around in all directions” (Cole, 1965: 429–430) Basedow’s curriculum emphasized the importance of the vernacular as the language of instruction and led, ultimately, to the elimination of the Latin grammar schools.

### The Lesson of Tradition

When the connection between language and content was severed, Latin became a subject in the curriculum, like science or music, rather than its foundation. Moreover, as it no longer functioned as a means of communication – other than to read ancient texts that were readily available in translation – it served no utilitarian purpose and so could be abandoned for the sake of including more practical subjects in the curriculum. The learning of language for a practical purpose presupposes certain social and economic conditions; for example, international politics, evangelization, commerce, travel, and globalization. In the 20th century, ‘living’ modern languages replaced Latin in the curriculum, but interestingly, although the language changed, the teaching methodology did not. The legacy that the teaching of Latin left on the early–20th-century curriculum was one of a system of abstract grammatical rules and translation, despite centuries of reformers’ advice to the contrary.

In an attempt to create successful classroom conditions for language learning, educators returned, perhaps unknowingly, to the last, most confident era of language teaching – the ideal method – in the tradition of Comenius and the Jesuits. Many methods were introduced: The Silent Way, Suggestopedia, Community Language Learning, and the Berlitz Method. Audiolingualism, a language teaching method popular in the United States in the 1960s, promised to produce competent second-language users through the use of pattern practice, with lots of repetition and absolute accuracy from the beginning. The presentation of language was so rigorously prescribed that learners were not allowed to make mistakes or form bad habits. Touted as a ‘scientific’ method-based partially on principles of behaviorism in

psychology – it prompted schools to make huge investments in language learning laboratories, where students donned headphones, listening and repeating what they heard on tapes. Needless to say, the method did not produce the results it had promised. Unfortunately, it did produce a generation of learners who were convinced that they were incapable of learning language and a cadre of school administrators who were reluctant to invest in future language learning schemes.

The communicative language teaching movement that became popular in the 1970s emerged in opposition to the grammar translation practice of teaching Latin, behaviorist approaches, and any rigidly prescribed method. Proponents of the approach argue that learners acquire language through the interpretation, expression, and negotiation of meaning, rather than through the study of grammatical rules, translation, or mimicry. Others propose immersion education or content-based instruction to maintain the connection between language and content, in a way similar to the bilingual system in early Rome. Others seek to recover the humanist tradition and the centrality of literature in language teaching. Those who take a fully vocational approach suggest curricula designed to teach Language for Special Purposes. Rhetoric and argumentation have resurfaced in Language for Academic Purposes courses.

Consonant with a society that values scientific over humanistic endeavors, some applied linguists look for a scientific orientation to language learning. Such approaches place a renewed emphasis on providing learners with models, in the form of ‘input.’ Research continues to investigate the extent to which earlier is better, especially with regard to the acquisition of native-like pronunciation. Other linguists take a more philosophical approach and seek to discover universal truths about language and its acquisition, fueling the debate about whether language derives from innate faculties of the human mind or environmental factors.

Language teachers, having never heard of Quintilian, Jerome, or Vittorino da Feltre, readily embrace the role of affect in language learning to explain why it is important to create an environment that is conducive to learning. They consult language teaching manuals that suggest the use of concrete objects, body movements, and illustrations to convey meaning and to support language development. They include authentic texts in the curriculum to provide models of real language use, although the glossing of text may take the form of hyperlinked text, rather than interlinear translation.

Whether, when, and how to deal with learner’s errors remains a concern, as well as how to focus learners’ attention on form, without losing sight of

meaning. How much and what kind of grammar instruction might enhance learning is still under discussion.

Language teaching tradition reveals that true innovations may be rare, but when confronted with the necessity of implementing instruction that leads to successful language learning, the voice of tradition still echoes in contemporary practice.

*See also:* Communicative Language Teaching; Interlanguage.

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## Translation Pedagogy

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### Introduction: From Pedagogical Translation to Translation Pedagogy

Two rather different educational settings are likely to come to mind if we think of translation pedagogy. In foreign language classes in many parts of the world, pedagogical translation into the mother tongue has traditionally been used to practice and demonstrate comprehension of foreign language structures and lexical items, whereas inverse translation activities, in which students produce texts in a foreign language on the basis of a native-language original, are geared toward having learners practice and demonstrate their ability to actively use those structures in linguistic production. Translation as a pedagogical tool has moved in and out of fashion as a teaching and testing technique in foreign language classrooms for many decades, and the debate for and against this practice still rages today.

There is an essential difference between this type of pedagogical translation, however, and the variety in which professional translators are engaged. In the former, there is no real linguistic gap to be bridged, no target reader who needs the translated text in order to comprehend a message in a language she or he does not understand; there is no client and there is no real communicative situation. This kind of translational activity might perhaps best be seen as a type of transcoding, where the translator essentially manipulates contrasting structures in two languages.

The consensus view in translation studies today is that professional translation, on the other hand, is a complex cognitive, social, and often technical process of interlingual and intercultural communication. In this article, the approaches, strategies and techniques for helping future nonliterary translators to acquire the necessary professional language mediation skills to accomplish such communicative tasks for professional purposes comprise translation pedagogy.

### The Setting for Learning: Translator Education Programs

Although on-the-job learning and lifelong learning are key features of a translator's education today, translators of pragmatic (e.g., nonliterary) texts around the world often receive their initial training in

university-level programs (both undergraduate and graduate). Pym and Caminade (1995) estimated that there were close to 300 such programs, and the number is still rising. In Europe, most of the first university programs for the training of translators were established in German-speaking countries. The University of Heidelberg set up the very first one in 1930. This was followed by programs in Geneva (1941), Vienna (1943), Graz (1946), and Innsbrück (1946) – all of them notably subsumed within philology departments (Snell-Hornby, 1998: 31). The interpreting school in GERMERSHEIM (later to become the interpreting and translation faculty of the University of Mainz) was founded by the French occupational forces in 1947, and the Saarbrücken program was started in 1948. Similar institutions were founded throughout Western Europe within a short period, including schools in Antwerp, Brussels, Mons, Copenhagen, Aarhus, and Trieste. Then in 1957, the *Ecole Supérieure d'Interprètes et de Traducteurs* (ESIT) and the *Institut Supérieur d'Interprétation et de Traduction* (ISIT) were established in Paris.

Following a series of meetings between representatives of the translator training schools in Geneva, Heidelberg, Paris, GERMERSHEIM, Saarbrücken, and Trieste, the *Conférence Internationale Permanente d'Instituts Universitaires de Traducteurs et d'Interprètes* (CIUTI) was founded. In 1995, this international association of translator education institutions had 21 members. CIUTI both acknowledges the status of its members and contributes to their standing and prestige in the translation world. And yet, as Snell-Hornby points out, it is particularly the older institutions (which were formed as appendages to philology departments) that still suffer from their second-class status, essentially as language schools where translation competence was long equated essentially with foreign language competence (Snell-Hornby, 1998: 32).

This brings us back to translation pedagogy: when translation is understood essentially as a type of foreign language competence, it is hard to justify the need for a special pedagogy of translation. Hence, there have to date been few concerted attempts to develop systematic approaches to translation pedagogy. This is reflected in the fact that, despite the existence of nearly 300 translator education institutions around the world, there are still no degree programs for the training of translator educators. Attempts by CIUTI to develop translation pedagogy in conjunction with other international institutions have yet to bear fruit. Without suitable institutional settings for the systematic development



of pedagogical approaches, strategies, and techniques, paradigms for translation pedagogy have been slow to emerge. There are signs, however, that an awareness of the extreme importance of language mediation in today's global village is helping to bring about change for the better in this regard. The popularity of the summer courses in translation teaching at the Monterey Institute of International Studies, the Universities of Tarragona and Rennes (Gabr, 2001), and most recently the University of Vic reflects the interest on the part of practicing and prospective translation teachers in learning about and contributing to the advancement of translation pedagogy.

Partly as a result of the long-standing dependency of the major translator education programs on philology departments, the focus of attention in the early translator training programs was initially placed on translation competence – the ability to produce a text in one language on the basis of a text written in another language, with literary and cultural studies playing a separate and superordinate role in the educational process. Over the past decade or more, a shift has been gathering momentum in the direction of developing translator competence – that is, the superset of skills that translators can be expected to need in professional life today, including: linguistic but also interpersonal, (inter)cultural, technical, subject-matter, entrepreneurial, and research subcompetences.

### **The Emergence of Translation Pedagogy – Toward the Development of Translator Competence**

Until translation studies began to take an interest in translation as a communicative process, there was essentially no difference between the pedagogical translation activities known to foreign language learners the world over and translation pedagogy as applied in the classroom for the training of professional translators. Aptly described back in 1977 by Ladmiraal as a “*performance magistrale*” (instructional performance), the standard procedure was to have students translate a text at home, bring their faulty versions to class, and have them dissected by the teacher sentence by sentence, with different students offering sentences taken from their respective translations for review.

From this very limited pedagogical basis, translation pedagogy as a subfield of translation studies has begun to evolve over the past decade into a varied and complex subfield of translation studies. There are three major reasons for this trend: (1) advances in translation

theory, (2) the application of findings from educational research to the teaching of professional translation skills, and (3) the advent of the personal computer and related technologies as essential tools for professional translators.

### **Advances in Translation Theory**

For some of the most influential translation theorists in the 20th century (such as Georges Mounin; Wolfram Wilss, at least in his earlier works; and John Catford), translation was essentially a type of linguistic process based on principles of contrastive linguistics for two languages. As translation theory evolved, however, the consensus view expanded to include cultural, interpretive, interpersonal, cognitive, and even technical factors as well. With the advent of the functionalist approach in translation theory, with major proponents such as Katharina Reiss, Hans Vermeer, Christiane Nord, Hans Hönl, and Paul Kussmaul, the function or purpose of translated texts as communicative tools moved into the center of attention, where it remains today.

Although this article lacks space to even outline the great variety of factors that have been investigated to date, it is fair to say that translation studies as a field has moved radically in the direction of embracing an integrative approach to translation that sees itself as a multidiscipline with virtually no aspect of the communicative process being outside its scope of reference. Perhaps one of the most overriding shifts in translation theory has been from the static to the dynamic: from seeing the translation process as one of establishing equivalence between original and translated texts to seeing it instead as one of cognitive, social, and communicative action. Results of think-aloud studies on the mental processes involved in translation, focusing primarily on the interplay between intuitions and strategies, suggest that mental process research can be a fruitful source of knowledge about how experts and novices translate differently. Such research may well make valuable contributions to translation pedagogy in the future, for example in specifying a role for strategy and creativity training.

In any event, against the backdrop of the modern understanding of translation, translation pedagogy can no longer be reduced to a simplistic *performance magistrale*, where a teacher can be expected to transmit the knowledge necessary to achieve linguistic equivalence. As in all other domains of human activity, the skills and knowledge needed to act need to be developed through the authentic practice of that professional domain. Partly as a result of the equivalence-to-action shift in translation theory, there is an ever-increasing awareness that translation students must be actively engaged in the development

of individually adapted skills for dealing with the myriad unforeseeable combinations of factors that they will face in their professional work.

### **The Application of Findings from Educational Research to the Teaching of Translation**

Dramatic changes are beginning to take place in the domain of translation pedagogy as the result of educational research in general and foreign language education research in particular. Although the philological orientation of the early translator education programs may well have inhibited the transfer of educational research findings to translation pedagogy, the increased awareness of the multidisciplinary nature of translation and also the increased involvement in translator education of scholars with experience in other pedagogical domains are breathing fresh life into stifling chalk-and-talk translation classrooms (Colina, 2003; González Davies, 2003, 2004; Kiraly, 1995, 2000; Malmkjær, 1998).

Two increasingly popular pedagogical approaches reflect the increasing application of educational research findings to translation pedagogy. The first is objectives-based instruction, with its special emphasis on the specification of the aims of instruction, the sequencing of tasks and authentic classroom activities (Delisle, 1984; González Davies, 2003, 2004; Hurtado Albir, 1999; Nunan, 1993). Instead of the mere distribution of knowledge, the objectives-based classroom favors the negotiation of knowledge between students and between students and teachers. Instead of random text selection at the whim of the teacher, this approach emphasizes the consistent use of carefully structured syllabi with stated aims and objectives that take into account specific stages of learning.

The other innovative approach is based on constructivism, a family of educational philosophies that has already been applied to a wide variety of educational domains and that is based on the concept that learners essentially construct their own understandings of the world, rather than ingesting ready-made understandings from others, such as teachers. An interpretative and potential applications of a social constructivist approach to translation pedagogy, based on the Vygotskian view that the mental construction process is essentially a social one, are outlined in Kiraly (2000). In a social-constructivist classroom, students construct knowledge and skills through group interaction. Although the earliest stages in the educational process may closely resemble transmissionist teaching, the teacher gradually proceeds to 'scaffold' the instructional process, transferring considerable responsibility for learning to the learners themselves. Starting with consciousness-raising activities, instruction proceeds to simulated

small-project work and then authentic projects carried out by the students collaboratively but quite independently of the teacher, who may serve as a resource person and project coordinator. This process is intended to promote students' initiation into the professional world (Kiraly, 1995, 2000; Little, 1991).

Perhaps the most striking change in classrooms from the application of both the objective-based and the social-constructivist approach is the shift toward student-centered learning. Although the chalk-and-talk transmissionist approach may still be the rule in many translator education centers, what might be called cooperative or collaborative approaches involving extensive group work and a systematic transfer of control from the teacher to the learners in the educational process are becoming increasingly popular. Many teachers are seeing their role gradually evolve from that of lecturer to include that of facilitator, advisor, and resource person, from being a 'sage on the stage' to a 'guide on the side.' As for classroom activities and procedures, both of these approaches combine real-life and pedagogical activities, task- and project-based teaching, and portfolios for assessment purposes (González Davies, 2003, 2004; Hurtado Albir, 1999).

### **Technology and Translation Pedagogy**

Some of the most significant changes in the translator's profession over the past 30 years have been the advent of computer-based tools, the impact of globalization, and high-speed, worldwide communications. Whereas translators in the early 1980s were still typing their translations into typewriters and mailing them or delivering them to clients, most translators now work with up-to-date personal computers and transmit their texts almost instantly around the globe. No longer restricted to print dictionaries and texts for reference materials, translators today work extensively with search engines, parallel texts, and glossaries that can be updated at will. They not only process basic texts, but must also work with spreadsheets, desktop-publishing programs, and terminology management programs. Media translation has become increasingly computerized, and software localization comprises an entire subdomain of professional translation. Complex translation memory systems are increasingly becoming the order of the day for translators in many parts of the world (Austermühl, 2001).

A related shift in translator education has been away from an emphasis on general translation skills toward those specifically needed for the translation of specialized or technical texts. With economic globalization and the advent of software and Internet localization, translator trainees are increasingly in need of research skills, technical

knowledge and competence in the use of translation technologies including translation memories and terminology management programs. The curricula of translator education programs have adapted to keep pace with changes on the market, and pedagogical approaches specifically for the training of technical translation skills are starting to emerge as well (Gonzalez Davies, 2003).

The advent of modern electronic tools has not only increased the pace of the translation process, it has also expanded the range of tasks that the translator can be expected to fulfill as well as their professional opportunities. In addition, technological advances and the global village phenomenon have contributed to the crumbling of barriers in international communications and the global marketplace. This in turn has led to an increased awareness of cultural and textual differences as well as of the implications of these advances for the translator's work. Finally, as Kaiser-Cooke (2003) has clearly demonstrated, we have reached a stage in the history of translation studies where translation theory, pedagogy, and practice can inform each other.

The rapid pace of change in the translation profession is certainly having a major impact on translation studies curricula and also on pedagogy to an increasing degree. Perhaps more than for translation skills *per se*, it is self-evident that learners need hands-on experience to develop skill at manipulating the electronic tools that are vital to the profession today. Instructors in the area of computer-aided translation are often experienced translators themselves and see the necessity for practice-oriented work to develop computer proficiency. Although computerized classrooms still lend themselves to transmissionist instruction, with a single computer and LCD display that can allow the teacher to remain in the focus of attention, of especial interest in the future will be efforts to turn the computer-based learning environment into a collaborative learning environment (Király, 2000: 123–139; González Davies, 2004). Thanks to the low cost and ready availability of high-speed digital communications, distance learning and blended learning are also beginning to expand pedagogical options in translation pedagogy (Pym, 2002).

## Conclusion

In theory, translation pedagogy has already come a long way from its early exclusive reliance on the lecture format to transfer translation competence from teachers to students. Although in practice the transition process is slow, the writing is on the wall. Translation studies has established itself as an

independent, yet multidisciplinary field of study. The 300 translator education programs now need to devote increased attention to the numerous albeit piecemeal attempts to make the development of translation-related skills a process of increasing linguistic, technical, and social competence and professionalism. As the title of a recent volume of articles on translation pedagogy reflects, translation pedagogy needs to open the door to the ivory tower (Baer and Koby, 2004). It needs to begin communicating with professional translators on the market as well as researchers and scholars in other fields, and it needs to investigate teaching approaches and techniques to determine the role that state-of-the-art pedagogy can contribute to a field of human endeavor that is both ancient and at the cutting edge of intercultural and interpersonal interaction.

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### Relevant Website

<http://accurapid.com/>



## Vocabulary Program for Second or Foreign Learners

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### What Vocabulary?

There are numerous vocabulary counting programs that change texts into frequency lists of vocabulary and show how much text is covered by frequency-ranked lists. What these counts show is that a relatively small number of words account for a very large proportion of text. The 270 function word types (176 word families), such as *one, a, the, because, in, must*, cover about 44% of the running words (tokens) found in most texts. These function words, however, make up a small proportion of the frequent words of English. Among the highly ranked items are words such as *time, say, day*. The most frequent 2000 words of English, which include most of the function words, are the essential widely used words of the language. They are important no matter what use is made of the language, and they cover a large proportion of spoken and written text. They also represent a feasible learning goal for an English course of 800 to 1000 hours.

For learners with academic purposes such as study through the medium of English in senior high school or university, the next important vocabulary learning goal is academic vocabulary. The best researched list of these words is the Academic Word List (Coxhead, 2000), which consists of 570 word families arranged into ten sublists with sublist 1 containing the most frequent widest-range items. There are well-researched tests available (Schmitt *et al.*, 2001; Nation, 2001) called the Vocabulary Levels Tests, which can be used to quickly determine which level of vocabulary learners need to focus on. The main distinction to be made when interpreting the results of the test is between the high frequency words (the first 2000 words and the Academic Word List) and the low frequency words (3000 level onward).

### How Should Words Be Dealt With?

The high frequency/low frequency distinction is an important one when planning a vocabulary program. This is because from a teaching perspective these two groups of words should be dealt with in different ways. The 2000 or 2570 high frequency words deserve classroom time. This is because of their high frequency and wide occurrence. This classroom time can involve direct teaching of these words, doing activities designed to teach and practice these words, and deliberate learning of these words. Low frequency words on the other hand do not deserve classroom

time. This is because there are so many of them and because of their low frequency of occurrence. When learners know the high frequency words, they need to begin learning low frequency words. However, the teacher should not be spending valuable classroom time teaching those low frequency words. Instead, the teacher should spend time teaching the four most useful strategies for dealing with these words, namely the strategies of guessing words from context clues, deliberate learning using word cards, helping memory by using word part analysis, and dictionary use.

The opportunities for teaching and learning high frequency vocabulary can be divided into four strands. The meaning-focused input strand involves opportunities for learning through listening and reading where learners are already familiar with 95–98% of the running words in the listening and reading input. The meaning-focused output strand involves opportunities for learning through speaking and writing. The language-focused learning strand involves giving deliberate attention to vocabulary learning through activities such as intensive reading, using word cards, preteaching of vocabulary before doing communicative activities, and the deliberate learning of vocabulary strategies. The fourth strand is the fluency development strand where learners do not learn new vocabulary but practice making the best use of words they already know. Each of these four strands deserves roughly equal time, and most of the remainder of this description of the role of vocabulary in language education will focus on how each of these strands can be put into practice.

### Learning Vocabulary Through Listening

The conditions needed for the meaning-focused input strand are that learners should be focused on understanding what they are listening to or reading, they should already know at least 95% of the words and phrases in the input, and thus there is a small number of unfamiliar language features that can be understood through context clues. This means that at each level of a learner's language-proficiency development there needs to be material at an appropriate language level. Thus, it is essential to use specially written or simplified material where the vocabulary level is controlled in a planned way. An enormous amount of such material already exists in English, largely in the form of graded readers. Some of these can be used for listening activities in much the same way as a story is presented in weekly or daily installments on the radio. Another important source of listening input is the teacher's classroom instructions and interaction

with learners. If these are carried out using high frequency vocabulary, then they become an important opportunity for vocabulary learning.

Most graded readers are fiction, and in addition to these, it is important to have nonfiction text as input. A useful activity that suits nonfiction material and that can help vocabulary learning is information transfer (Palmer, 1982). In such activities, listening input is changed into a diagrammatic or semi-diagrammatic form such as a labeled flow diagram or a completed information table. For example, the teacher describes the journey taken by a group of people and learners mark the route on a map. Similarly, while listening to a physical description of say a flowering plant, the learners complete a four-part table by filling in the names of the parts of the plant, where the parts are located, what they are like, and what job they do.

Another important source of vocabulary learning through meaning-focused input is through conversational interaction, and this will be looked at when we look at vocabulary learning through speaking.

### Learning Vocabulary Through Reading

A well-designed, well-managed extensive reading program is an effective way of building vocabulary knowledge. It is important to realize that there are various kinds of vocabulary learning going on in extensive reading, representing different strengths of knowledge. An experiment by Waring and Takaki (2003) used three different kinds of vocabulary tests for each of the target words in a graded reader – (1) a recognition test (Which of these words occurred in the text?), (2) a multiple-choice test of word meaning, and (3) a translation test. The most difficult test, the translation test, showed small amounts of learning, but the other two tests showed increasingly larger amounts of learning. Thus, extensive reading provides opportunities for various degrees of learning for different words.

A good extensive reading program has the following features (Nation and Wang, 1999). It provides plenty of interesting material where each learner can read already knowing about 98% of the running words in the text. It encourages learners to read at least one book every two weeks. It encourages learners to read at least three books at the same level before moving up to the next level. It encourages learners to deliberately learn most of the general purpose unknown vocabulary that is met in the texts. It provides opportunities for learners to talk and write about their reading, being careful not to let reporting activities have the effect of reducing the amount of time spent reading. Extensive reading

programs have many beneficial effects in addition to increasing vocabulary knowledge (Elley, 1991).

### Deliberate Vocabulary Learning

All research comparing deliberate, decontextualized vocabulary learning with vocabulary learning from context has found that given the same amount of time, deliberate learning always results in more learning. This, however, should not be seen as an argument against learning from context but as part of the argument in favor of having deliberate learning as a component of a well-balanced course. In this part of a course, learners should study vocabulary using word cards (small cards with the target word or phrase on one side and its first language translation on the back). Although initially this kind of learning can be done in class time, it is best if it is done largely out of class when the learners have a few minutes of free time such as when traveling on the subway, waiting for a bus, or during TV commercials. Research provides useful guidelines for such learning.

1. Use small cards, not notebooks. Using cards allows the word or phrase to be put on one side and the translation on the other, which allows retrieval to occur, that is, looking at the word and then attempting to retrieve its translation from memory. Seeing both words together does not allow the possibility of retrieval. Using cards also allows the order of the words to be easily changed to avoid serial learning.
2. Increasingly space the repetitions. That is, go through the pack of cards once and then do something else for five or ten minutes then go through the pack again. Then wait for half an hour before going through them again. Then wait two or three hours, and so on.
3. Use memory techniques such as the keyword technique (Nation, 2001: 311–314), word part analysis, study of etymologies, and visualization with the words that are difficult to remember. Skillful use of a dictionary to find a word's frequency of occurrence, to work out the core meaning of the word, and to see its range of senses, typical uses, and various forms also helps learning.
4. Make sure that the words in a pack do not have closely related meanings, that is, that there are not pairs of opposites or synonyms, or members of a lexical set such as articles of clothing, fruit, days of the week, or numbers. Learning such related items together makes learning 50% to 100% more difficult (Nation, 2000).
5. Say the words or phrases to yourself when looking at the cards and get help with the pronunciation of

difficult words. Pronounceability is a major factor affecting vocabulary learning.

6. It is good to use translations of words when learning their meanings. The first language translation is a simple, clear way of communicating the meaning of a word, and research has shown such translations to be effective. As learners' proficiency develops, they will gain more accurate and elaborated representations of meaning.

Deliberate learning should become the responsibility of each learner, but learners may need encouragement and training in applying the guidelines.

### **Deliberate Vocabulary Teaching**

The most obvious place for direct vocabulary teaching is as part of intensive reading. Intensive reading involves the teacher and the learners working carefully through a short text looking at a range of language features and content issues relevant to the text. From a vocabulary perspective, dealing with unknown words in intensive reading can involve preteaching some words before reading the text, quickly giving the meaning of some words, ignoring some, spending a lot of time on others, using the text as an opportunity to give training in the strategies of guessing from context, word-part analysis, and dictionary use, and altering the text to get rid of some low frequency words. The decision about which of these things to do for a particular word should depend on whether it is a high frequency word or a low frequency word, its importance for the message of the text, and the nature of the word itself and its context in the text. For example, preteaching should be done with high frequency words that are important for the message of the text, and that are not easily guessed from context. Low frequency words do not deserve this kind of attention in teaching. Altering the text should be a way of getting rid of low frequency words that are not important for the message of the text.

A small amount of deliberate teaching can occur in listening activities, and this has been shown to have a positive effect on vocabulary learning (Elley, 1989). Feedback on learners' spoken and written output is yet another opportunity for deliberate vocabulary teaching.

Deliberate vocabulary teaching also includes training learners in the use of the vocabulary strategies of guessing from context, learning from word cards, word part analysis, and dictionary use. These strategies require a repeated investment of time over several months so that learners reach the stage where it is easier to use the strategy than not to use it. For the guessing strategy, this can involve focusing one by one on the types of clues that are available from the

immediate context and the wider context, having learners work with the teacher, then in pairs, and finally alone, and working with time pressure to develop fluency in using the guessing strategy. These strategies deserve a lot of classroom time because they can be used to cope with thousands of low frequency words.

### **Learning Vocabulary Through Speaking**

The meaning-focused output strand of a course involves learning vocabulary through speaking and writing. One of the most powerful factors affecting vocabulary learning through speaking is negotiation of meaning. Negotiation occurs when learners deliberately explain language items as a result of a breakdown in communication. The likelihood of negotiated words being learned is high, but negotiation still only accounts for a small proportion of the words learned through spoken communication activities. Most vocabulary learning in such activities occurs through guessing from context.

The way speaking tasks are designed can have a major influence on what and how much vocabulary is learned through such tasks. Vocabulary learning is helped if the written input to the task contains the target vocabulary, if performing the task requires the use of that vocabulary, if there are repeated opportunities in the task for the vocabulary to be used, and if the task requires the learners to use the vocabulary in at least a slightly different way from the one in which it occurred in the written input to the task. It is not difficult to design speaking tasks that meet these requirements.

### **Learning Vocabulary Through Writing**

Communication through the Internet has increased the opportunities for learning vocabulary through writing. There is evidence that written Internet discussion can include negotiation of vocabulary.

Productive information-transfer activities where learners turn diagrammatic representations such as graphs, plans and maps, and lists into connected written text provide good opportunities for vocabulary learning. The same design features described for speaking also apply in the design of writing tasks. Other writing activities that make use of written input such as synthesizing information from several texts can also be important sources of vocabulary learning.

In general, useful writing activities will involve the use of written or spoken input in getting information to write about.

Feedback on written work may also be an effective way of expanding vocabulary knowledge and collocational knowledge (which words go with

which words). This feedback can be directed toward vocabulary choice and collocations.

### Fluency Development

The fourth strand of a course is its fluency development strand. The vocabulary goal of this strand is to help learners make the best use of the vocabulary that they already know. Activities that fit within this strand do not aim to teach new words but aim to strengthen and enrich knowledge of words that are already partially known. Fluency activities have the following characteristics. They involve no unknown vocabulary, grammatical features, or discourse features. There is pressure or encouragement during the activity to perform at a faster than typical speed. The activities are message focused in that the learners aim to produce or comprehend messages, and, finally, they involve a large quantity of language use. Fluency activities are needed in each of the skills of listening, speaking, reading, and writing.

At the word or phrase level, fluency activities can focus on numbers, time sequences (yesterday, tomorrow, last week), greetings, and any set that needs to be used without a great deal of thought. In such activities, the teacher says words or phrases quickly while the learners point to what is being said. Such activities can also be done productively with the teacher pointing at pictures or symbols and the learners having to quickly produce the appropriate phrase. Other more advanced fluency activities include the 4/3/2 activity (giving the same talk in a decreasing timeframe to a new listener), speed reading, and ten-minute writing where learners write each day for ten minutes concentrating on quantity of writing rather than on quality.

### Monitoring and Encouraging Progress

The learning of any individual word needs to be seen as a cumulative process with both strength of knowledge and richness of knowledge of each word growing with repeated receptive and productive encounters with a word. Because there are many aspects to learning a word and many degrees of strength of knowledge, there is a wide variety of vocabulary measures available, and each one needs to be seen as a means of providing at least a slightly different view of learners' vocabulary knowledge (Read, 2000). The choice of a vocabulary test item needs to be based on a careful consideration of what kind of knowledge needs to be measured. Factors to consider when choosing a particular test format include, (1) the kind of knowledge that needs to be tested, (2) the likely strength of the knowledge (using a demanding test to

test knowledge that is likely to be partial or weak will not provide a useful measure), (3) the time available and the number of items that there should be in the test, and (4) the language proficiency and test-making skills of the test makers and test markers. To reach an adequate degree of reliability, most vocabulary tests need to have at least 30 items.

Well-researched vocabulary measures include a variety of vocabulary-richness measures which look at the range of vocabulary used in a piece of writing (Malvern *et al.*, 2004), interview measures that explore knowledge of the meanings of words and their use (Nagy *et al.*, 1985; Wesche and Paribakht, 1996), multiple-choice depth measures which look at collocations and meaning components (Read, 1998), and multiple-choice, matching, and translation items which focus on word meanings.

Vocabulary testing can have a variety of goals. Because vocabulary knowledge is such a fundamental part of language proficiency, vocabulary tests have often been used for wider goals.

1. Placement in a language program. Measures such as the Vocabulary Levels Test (Schmitt *et al.*, 2001), the Eurocentres 10KA (Meara and Jones, 1990), and the vocabulary levels dictation test (Fountain and Nation, 2000) have often been used as part of a wider battery of tests to assign learners to the appropriate proficiency level group in an intensive English program.
2. Diagnosis of vocabulary strengths and weaknesses. The Vocabulary Levels Test was designed to see what levels of vocabulary learners already knew and to indicate the next level to focus on in teaching and learning.
3. Encouragement of learning. Some programs use weekly vocabulary tests to encourage learners to do deliberate vocabulary learning. These tests can involve each learner giving the teacher a list of ten of the new words they have been working on, and then the teacher writes a symbol next to each word indicating what the learner has to do with each word in the test. For example, S can mean write a sentence containing that word, C can mean write two collocations for the word, M can mean explain the meaning of the word, and so on (Smith, 1996).
4. Monitoring progress. Vocabulary tests that are focused on the learning done in a course (achievement tests) may be used to measure progress through the course.
5. Measuring proficiency. Measures of total vocabulary size, and measures of particular vocabulary levels such as the Academic Word List, may be used to see where learners are in their vocabulary growth.



## Encouraging Autonomy

Like most learning, vocabulary learning will be most effective if learners take control of and responsibility for their learning. This involves knowing what to learn, knowing how to learn it, and being motivated to do this learning and to put it to use.

This is not easy to achieve, and the few studies on vocabulary in this area indicate that most learners do not take an organized approach to their learning (Moir and Nation, 2002). One way of encouraging autonomy is to introduce a negotiated syllabus where the teacher and learners share the decision making about the various aspects of the course on a continuing basis. These aspects may include what vocabulary to learn, what vocabulary activities to do in class and how much time to spend on them, what vocabulary tests to use, and what homework to set. The goals of a negotiated syllabus are to make the course as sensitive as possible to the changing needs of the learners and to get the learners to feel ownership of the course.

## Principles of Vocabulary Learning and Teaching

The vocabulary component of a language course will be more effective if it is based on well-supported principles that are clearly known by both teachers and learners. A short list of such principles should include the following.

1. The sequence of vocabulary learning should move from high frequency vocabulary and special purposes vocabulary to low frequency vocabulary.
2. High frequency vocabulary and special purposes vocabulary should get attention across the four, roughly equal, strands of teaching and learning vocabulary: meaning-focused input, meaning-focused output, language-focused learning, and fluency development.
3. With low frequency vocabulary, teachers should focus on the strategies of guessing from context, learning word cards, using word parts, and using the dictionary.
4. Learning activities should be designed to encourage thoughtful processing of vocabulary through retrieval, generative use, and the use of mnemonic devices where needed.
5. Learners should be helped to take responsibility for their own vocabulary learning.

Vocabulary growth is a critical aspect of second language proficiency development, and as such it needs to be properly supported by a principled, well-thought-out component in a language course.

*See also:* Learning Second Language Vocabulary; Listening in a Second Language; Reading in a Second Language; Second and Foreign Language Learning and Teaching; Second Language Corpus Studies; Speaking in a Second Language; Writing in a Second Language.

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## **V. APPLIED SOCIOLINGUISTICS**

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# Bilingualism and Second Language Learning

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## Introduction

There is a widespread perception in monolingual societies, particularly in the United States, that bilingualism is a rare and exceptional occurrence in communication. By contrast, from a global perspective, bilingualism is a world-wide phenomenon. In fact, global communication is often carried out through a speaker's second, third, or even fourth language. According to David Crystal (1997) approximately two-thirds of the world's children grow up in a bilingual environment which, in turn, leads to adult bilingualism/multilingualism. However, childhood bilingualism is not the only reason for adult bilingualism. A host of different factors (such as marriage, religion, education, linguistic plurality of a particular region, migration, jobs, government policies, urbanization, etc.) also lead to adult bilingualism. How, then, do humans become bilingual? Is adult second-language learning different from child-language learning? Is bilingual-language acquisition different from monolingual-language acquisition? Is early bilingualism different from late bilingualism? Does second language learning have adverse cognitive effects on children? And how are two (or more) languages represented in the brain? This chapter attempts to answer these and other questions concerning bilingual language learning and use.

## Key Concepts

Before discussing language development among bilinguals, it is crucial to give an overview of key fundamental concepts concerning language development in children and adults. Also, it should be mentioned that the term 'second language learning' is used in a wider sense to include the learning of any additional language during a period ranging from childhood to adulthood. An additional language may be a language of the country or spoken outside the country (i.e. foreign language).

## Acquisition vs. Learning

A child's process of learning languages is different from an adult's process. A child can learn any language relatively effortlessly, while the same task becomes rather challenging for adults. For this reason, some second language researchers (Krashen, 1985) distinguish between two types of mechanisms in language development: a subconscious process

resulting in tacit knowledge of the language (i.e., 'language acquisition'), and a more conscious process (i.e., 'language learning'). While children go through the former process, adults undergo the latter in their quest to become bilingual.

## The Critical Period Hypothesis and Its Biological Basis

In addition to degree of effort, it has been frequently observed that even very proficient bilinguals fall short of being perfect bilinguals. In spite of the complete mastery of syntax, their speech is marked by traces of the first language accent. Similarly, it is also shown that in spite of considerable effort and motivation, the ultimate attainment of some grammatical structures by adults is seldom achieved. To explain these and other differences in language acquisition and recovery from aphasia Lenneberg (1967) proposed the "critical period hypothesis," which is sensitive to age. This hypothesis claims that there is a period in the maturation of human organism, lasting from two years to puberty, in which nearly effortless and complete language acquisition is possible. Afterwards, this hypothesis notes, language learning requires more effort and motivation, largely because of a loss of brain plasticity resulting in the completion of the lateralization of the language function in the left hemisphere. Recent research claims have additionally shown that there are different critical periods for different grammatical structures of language. Since the accent (phonetics and phonology) of a second language is the most difficult to attain, the critical period for phonetics and phonology (approximately from five to seven years) is earlier than that for morphology and syntax. See Johnson and Newport (1991) and Bhatia and Ritchie (1999) for details.

## Access to Universal Grammar (UG)

Children are born to acquire human languages. Regardless of gender, race, ethnicity, or nationality, every normal child is capable at birth of acquiring any human language. In theoretical studies following from the Chomskyan mentalistic framework, this innate ability is termed the access to universal grammar (UG). In this case, a child has full access to universal grammar, whereas an adult has either limited or no access. These and other universal principles of grammatical structures and principles of learning largely lead a child's language development. The role of parental input then becomes to trigger an appropriate value for innately given or set parameters, specific to the language to which the child is exposed. One such parameter, called the 'head parameter,' describes



how a child does not have to even learn the specific word order of his/her language, but only has to choose between already specified values – head-initial or head-final – based on the nature of the input language. Children begin to learn to set parametric values even from the one-word stage. A Japanese child learns to choose the head-final system, whereas an English-speaking child chooses the head-initial value. These principles are generally referred to as a child's language acquisition device (LAD).

### **Input and Learning Environment: Natural vs. Unnatural Settings**

Usually children become bilinguals or multilingual in a natural way. A normal child can become a fluent bilingual by the age of five, for instance, without any formal training. In the process of acquiring a language, the role of input (motherese, etc.) or imitation is important but limited. Children do not learn a language by mindlessly imitating the input provided by mothers or caretakers. That is, while the role of parental input cannot be ruled out, language acquisition studies show that neither motherese nor imitation plays a significant role in a child's language development. Instead, this burden is carried by the child himself/herself. Research on child-language acquisition reveals that the child learns the language by using the 'rule formulation strategy.' For instance, an English-speaking child learns on his/her own that by the addition of the inflection '-ed' to a verbal stem, one generates the corresponding past tense form of the verb. In this process, the child over-generalizes and produces utterances such as 'I go-ed' [go-PAST]. Even after being corrected [i.e. provided negative evidence] by the mother or caretaker that the child meant 'I went' [go.PAST], the child still does not reject the rule s/he has formulated in his or her mind and which s/he still produces in utterances such as 'I went-ed' [go.PAST-PAST]. The role of the adult is thus to prevent the child's grammar from overgeneralization. In other words, the child has an innate capacity to acquire languages in an environment which is termed a 'natural' environment, whereas, by contrast, adults and school-age children learn language in formal settings such as schools and colleges through a formal instructional method.

### **Defining and Measuring Bilingualism**

What is bilingualism and who is bilingual? Defining and measuring bilingualism is a very complex task due to the number and types of input conditions, biological, socio-psychological, and other non-linguistic factors that can lead to a varying degree of bilingual competencies. In short, there is

no widely-accepted definition or measures of bilinguals.

Instead, a rich range of scales, dichotomies, and categories are employed to characterize bilinguals. If a bilingual can understand but cannot speak a second language, such an individual is called a receptive bilingual, whereas a productive bilingual demonstrates a spoken proficiency in two languages. If the second language is acquired in a natural setting before the age of five that individual is termed an early bilingual, in contrast with a late bilingual who learns his second language after the age of five either in home or in schools. Labels such as fluent vs. non-fluent, functional vs. non-functional, balanced vs. unbalanced, primary vs. secondary, and partial vs. complete refer, either to a varying command in different types of language proficiency (e.g., spoken, listening, writing, etc.), or an asymmetrical relationship (dominance) between two languages. A compound vs. coordinate bilingual refers to the way two languages are processed in the brain. The list is by no means exhaustive. Other major distinctions such as simultaneous vs. sequential are discussed in the next section. Similarly, bilingualism can be viewed from individual, societal (attitudes towards bilingualism), and political (i.e., government policies toward bilingualism) perspectives.

In general, a bilingual person demonstrates many complex attributes rarely seen in a monolingual person. For that reason, a bilingual is not equivalent to two monolinguals, but something entirely different. This working definition of bilingualism is offered by Bloomfield (1933), who claimed that a bilingual is one who has a native-like control of two languages, i.e., a balanced bilingual (see Grosjean 1982 or Edwards, 2004 for more details).

### **Patterns and Mechanisms in Bilingual Language Development**

Providing either a natural environment or inputs in monolingual/dominant language speech communities is not a challenging task. The same is also true for those societies where social and political systems are conducive to bilingualism. For instance, in India, where bilingualism is viewed as natural, approved by society, and further nurtured by government language policies, linguistic groups and communities do not need to take any special measures to assure that their children receive input from two languages. In sharp contrast, in societies where bilingualism is not valued or where the language of a minority is distinct, it becomes imperative for families to plan meaningful strategies to ensure the smooth exposure to the family language. One such strategy that families employ in

this second setting, described by Bhatia and Ritchie (1999) as “discourse allocation,” restricts the use of one language to one social agent or social setting and the other language to other social situations. The various manifestations of such strategies are the following: (a) one-parent/one-language (e.g., the child’s mother speaks one language and, the child’s father speaks the other. This strategy was employed by Leopold (1939–1949) in his classic study of bilingual language development of his daughter, Hildegard; (b) one-place/one-language (e.g. speaking one language in the kitchen and the other elsewhere); (c) a language/time approach; and (d) a topic-related approach. Although the discourse allocation approach is better than providing no input and thus raising a monolingual child, it leads to different patterns in bilingual language development than developing bilingualism in a natural setting. For instance, during the early stages of Hildegard’s bilingualism, she developed a rule that fathers speak German and mothers speak in English.

### Childhood Bilingualism

Other factors such as age and amount of exposure to the two languages also result in differences in the pattern of childhood bilingualism. The distinction between simultaneous and sequential bilinguals in research on bilingual language acquisition is based on age and the degree of exposure to two languages. When the child is exposed to two languages to more or less the same degree from birth onward, the pattern of language development is referred to as simultaneous, whereas sequential bilingualism describes the attainment of one language first and the second language later, preferably before the age of seven. Similarly, the term late bilingual is used for those sequential bilinguals who acquire their second language at a relatively younger age than adults learning a second language. Although there is unanimous agreement among researchers about the validity of the simultaneous and sequential bilinguals, there is no consensus among scholars about the exact line of demarcation between the two. See McLaughlin (1984) and De Houwer (1995) for either theoretical or methodological grounds.

One of the most intriguing aspects of the childhood bilingualism is how children learn to separate the two languages, particularly in a natural setting (i.e., a simultaneous bilingual) in initial stages. After all, when parents provide input, they do not tag or prime their input with a language identification label. Even if parents go to the absurd length of identifying the language of each word or sentence they use, these labels are semantically empty for

children. Furthermore, bilingual parents unwittingly make the task of separating the two languages even harder for children because of their normal tendency to mix two languages. In short, a child is provided with three distinct types of linguistic inputs: two languages, each in an unmixed/pure form, and one with a mixture of two languages. Given this state of affairs, how does the child learn to separate the two languages in question? This task is not challenging for a monolingual child because only one language serves as a source of input. The two hypotheses which attempt to shed light on this question are the unitary system hypothesis and the dual system hypothesis.

According to the unitary system hypothesis (Volterra and Taeschner, 1978), the child undergoes three stages before s/he is able to separate two input languages. During the first two stages, the child experiences confusion. During the first stage, s/he is unable to distinguish the two lexicons and grammars of the linguistic systems. At this stage, they have a single lexicon made up of items drawn from the lexicons of both languages. Hence, no translational equivalents or synonyms are found in their vocabulary. Volterra and Taeschner claim that their two bilingual subjects at the ages of 1 year 10 months and 1 year 6 months had a hybrid list of 137 words with no translational equivalents. During the second stage, the child slowly learns to separate the two lexicons, but is still unable to separate the grammatical systems. Cross-linguistic synonyms emerge, but the child applies the same set of syntactic rules to both languages. It is only during the third stage that the child becomes capable of separating the two sets of vocabularies and grammars. Findings of recent research reveal that the unitary system hypothesis cannot sustain the scrutiny of the succeeding research and the evidence motivating the three stages of bilingual language development is full of shortcomings and contradictions both on methodological and empirical grounds.

The dual system hypothesis states that bilingual children, based on their access to Universal Grammar and language specific parameter setting, have the capacity of separating the two grammars and lexical systems right from the beginning. A wide variety of cross-linguistic studies (e.g., different input conditions – one parent/one language and mixed input condition; and different word order types) lends support to this hypothesis. For instance, in a study devoted to the language development of a Hindi-English bilingual child, it is clear that at age 2, the child is capable of developing two distinct lexicons using a syllabification strategy. At the age of 1 year 7 months, two different word orders develop – SVO [subject-verb-object] for English and SOV for Hindi.

For a more detailed treatment of the shortcomings of the unitary system hypothesis and the strengths of the dual system hypothesis, see Bhatia and Ritchie 1999: 591–614.

Another fascinating feature of bilingual speech is that, not only are bilinguals capable of keeping the two linguistic systems separate, but they often mix them either within a sentence or inter-sententially. This behavior is often termed ‘code-mixing’ or ‘code-switching’ in sociolinguistic literature. Depending upon the theoretical and empirical objectives of their research, some researchers do not distinguish between the two terms and use them interchangeably; for those researchers who distinguish between the two, the code-mixing refers to intra-sentential mixing while the term code-switching refers to the intersentential mixing in bilinguals. Both bilingual children as well as adults show this behavior. What explains this behavior of language mixing? Earlier research attempted to explain it in terms of the language deficiency hypothesis: it was claimed that bilinguals in general and children in particular have language gaps. As claimed by the unitary system hypothesis the lack of synonyms compels them to mix the two lexical systems during stage I. Similarly, stage II yields the mixing of two language systems due to confusion. In other words, the lack of proficiency in either one language (i.e., the absence of balanced bilingualism) or both languages (i.e., semi-bilingualism) leads to mixing.

The language augmentation hypothesis is capable of offering deeper insights into the bilingual mixing behavior. As it has been shown earlier in the discussion of the dual system hypothesis, children do not go through the initial stages of treating the two linguistic systems as if they were one system, but begin to distinguish them immediately. The consideration of optimization leads bilinguals to mix language with an aim to get maximum mileage from the two linguistic systems at their disposal. An analogy drawn from the beverage industry further explains this point. The separation of juices (e.g., apple vs. orange juice) renders two distinct tastes. However, if one mixes the two juices, the result is a new taste, a distinct from the two pure juices. The same is true of bilingual language mixing. Research on the linguistic and sociolinguistic motivations for language mixing both in children and adults shows that such considerations as semantic domains and semantic complexity (an item less complex or salient in one language), stylistic effects, clarification, elaboration, relief strategy (i.e., a linguistic item is temporarily unavailable in one language), interlocutor’s identification, discourse strategies of participants/topics, addressee’s perceived linguistic capability and speaker’s own linguistic

ability, and other complex socio-psychological reasons, such as attitudes, societal values, and personality, prompt bilinguals to mix two languages. The list of motivations is by no means exhaustive (see Bhatia and Ritchie, 1996, for more details).

### **Adult Bilingualism: Second Language Learning**

In contrast to sequential childhood bilingualism, adults who learn a second language after they have learned their mother tongue experience the learning of a second language as a laborious and conscious task. As pointed out earlier, unlike children who are able to universally and uniformly acquire native competency in their mother tongue, adults rarely achieve native-like competency in their second language. Depending on the level of their motivation and hard work, adults can learn a second language with varying degrees of competence. However, there comes a point during the second language learning that even the most talented learner cannot bypass the stage of ‘fossilization.’ This stage is marked with second language errors which no amount of training can correct. For these reasons, second language (L2) learning is viewed as fundamentally different from first language (L1) acquisition. The hypothesis which aims at accounting for these differences between the child and the adult language is termed the fundamental difference hypothesis.

In spite of the asymmetrical relation between L1 and L2 learning, one should not draw a conclusion that there is nothing in common between the two. What is common between L1 and L2 learners is that both undergo stages of language development. In other words, like L1 learners, in the process of grammar construction, L2 learners undergo stages of development: the intermediate stages of grammar development between the initial stage and the ultimate stage are termed interlanguage grammars. Take the case of the development of negation in English L1 and L2 learners. The grammar of negation in L2 learners of English shows the same stages of development as in L1 English learners – Stage I: the sentence-initial placement of negation; Stage II: preverbal placement of negation with no auxiliary verb; and Stage III: preverbal placement of negation with an appropriate auxiliary verb.

### **Native Language Influence and Dominance**

An important way in which L2 learning is different from L1 learning is the influence of the mother tongue on second-language learning. The mother tongue or L1 plays an important role in the process of L2 acquisition. Research on grammatical errors of L2 shows that L2 learners transfer the grammatical rules – phonetic, phonological, morphological, and syntactic

rules – of L1 to their second language. An English-speaking learner of Hindi has difficulties in hearing and producing a four-way contrast between Hindi aspiration and voicing contrast (i.e., unvoiced unaspirates, unvoiced aspirates, voiced unaspirates, and voiced aspirates).

It would be a gross simplification to claim that L2 learners transfer all grammatical features of L1 to L2. Adult learners possess a relatively higher level of logical and cognitive ability than do children; therefore, these qualities color their second language learning. For instance, English-speaking learners of Hindi will not translate there in these sentences:

1. There is a chair in the room
2. The chair is over there

in an identical way (i.e. by choosing the remote locative adverb in both cases). Similarly, it would be an oversimplification to claim that childhood bilingualism is free from the dominance relationship between the two languages. Not only does the mother tongue influence second language acquisition in children, it also affects their school achievement.

### Approaches to Second Language Learning

In adult language acquisition research, the term second language is used in a wider sense to include both the acquisition of a second language which may or may not be foreign to a country. However, in the context of language teaching the distinction between the two is made to highlight major differences in the learning aims, teaching methods, and the achievement levels to be attained.

A number of approaches have been developed to facilitate the learning of second/foreign languages. Some of the following are notable:

1. Grammar-translation method: Following the tradition of teaching classical languages such as Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit, this method places emphasis on memorization and rote learning. Learners memorize nominal and verbal paradigms of the second language and translate L1 into L2 or vice versa. Very little emphasis is placed on developing spoken proficiency in the foreign language, while reading and written comprehension receives overwhelming importance. This method is perhaps the oldest method of language teaching which dates back to the 19th century.
2. The direct method: Also known as oral or natural methods, it departs from the grammar-translation method in three important respects: one, memorization receives a back seat in the learning of the second language; two, special emphasis is placed on acquiring spoken and listening competencies;

and three, the introduction of the target language is free from any reference to the native language of learners. Native language is never used as a tool to explain either grammar or other intricacies of the target language usage. This model attempts to simulate the native speaker environment of the target language. However, in actual practice there are severe constraints on replicating the natural setting of the native speaker's learning environment in an actual classroom setting.

3. The audio-lingual method is a byproduct of World War II during which the United States experienced an urgent need to quickly train its troops in foreign languages for overseas military operations. An emphasis is placed on spoken and listening competencies, rather than on written ones.
4. The structural method: In order to speed up the acquisition of foreign languages, insights of structural linguistics were applied to language teaching. This method exposes learners to different structural patterns and transformation drills.

Audio-lingual structural models assume that L2 is acquired through imitation. The discussion in the key concept section shows the limitation of this model. A number of other methods such as the natural approach and 'suggestopedia' have been proposed, but the fact remains that no method has a grip on the complexity involving learning a second language.

### Bilingual Education: Additive vs. Subtractive Bilingualism

Teaching children a school language, particularly if the school language is different from the child's home language, is one of the major challenges for bilingual education programs. Bilingual education programs in America aim at minority students learning English. Such programs have attracted a great deal of controversy on the basis of their merit and outcome. While there is rapid growth of bilingual education programs in the United States, the aim of such programs is not always to introduce additive bilingualism which ensures the maintenance of the child mother tongue, while learning the school/dominant language. A large number of bilingual education programs in the United States aim at subtractive bilingualism. In other words, while they offer children a transition to learning the school/majority language, in that process they do not ensure the maintenance of the child's mother tongue.

In contrast, the language policies of bilingual nations such as India, Canada, and Switzerland are very conducive to the promotion of language rights for minority languages. The government of India, for instance, favors the advancement of linguistic



diversity and pluralism by the introduction of the Three Language Formula, which calls for trilingualism in education. In addition to learning two national languages, Hindi and English, students are expected to learn a third language beyond their native tongue. For example, in northern India, students are expected to learn one of the four Dravidian languages (Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, and Malayalam) from southern India.

While bi- or multi-lingual education programs like India's do not view bilingualism in general and the maintenance of minority languages in particular as a threat to national integration, this is not the case with bilingual education in the United States. U.S. educational policies are not conducive to linguistic and cultural diversity.

A notable feature of the Canadian bilingual education program is termed the language immersion program. Introduced in the 1960s in Quebec, the program was introduced at the request of the English-speaking minority to provide their children a high level of proficiency in schools in the dominant language of the region, French. Children were immersed in schools in the second language of students (i.e., French) in which children used their mother tongue to communicate with a bilingual teacher who would reply in French. This process leads children from what Cummins (1981) calls basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) proficiency to cognitive-academic language proficiency (CALP) in the school language. BICS refer to the language proficiency level of students with restricted vocabulary and simpler syntax, whereas CALP requires a type of proficiency suitable for academic pursuits – a developed vocabulary and sufficiently complex syntax suited for abstract and analytical thinking. The success of the Canadian language immersion model continues to generate enthusiasm and controversy in bilingual education in the United States.

### **Socio-Psychological Factors**

Successful language learning not only depends on teaching methods but also on learners' motivation, intelligence, opportunities, and other factors, such as their attitude toward the target language and culture. Keeping in mind the motivation and the learners' attitudes, there are two types of learners: instrumental and integrative learners. Instrumental learners, who learn a language for the purpose of gaining external rewards (monitory gains, good jobs, etc.), however, tend to be less successful learners than integrative learners, who have a positive attitude toward the culture of the target language. Psychological factors such as the affective filter (Krashen, 1985)

either inhibit or promote the learning of a second language: negative influences such as anxiety, lack of self-confidence, and inadequate motivation can create serious obstacles to successful language learning. Due to a lack of self-esteem and a higher level of performance anxiety, minority children tend to raise the affective filter, which results in the reduction of comprehensible input. Consequently, it takes a toll on their progress in language acquisition. Similarly, since adults show more self-consciousness than children, they put themselves in a disadvantageous position in terms of language acquisition.

### **Effects of Bilingualism**

Does bilingualism have an adverse linguistic and cognitive effect, particularly on children? Earlier research in the United States pointed out that exposing children to more than one language during their childhood leads them to semi-bilingualism and confusion. Crowding their brain with two or more languages, this research suggested, not only leads children to linguistic deficiency, both in competence and performance levels (semi-lingualism, stuttering, etc.), but also to a wide variety of cognitive and psychological impairments such as low intelligence, mental retardation, left-handedness, and even schizophrenia.

Research by Peal and Lambert (1962), however, put to rest such a negative view of bilingualism: their findings and the work of succeeding researchers provide ample evidence that these negative conclusions of earlier research were premature, misguided (biased toward immigrant communities), and unnecessarily pessimistic. Solid on methodological grounds, Peal and Lambert's study revealed a positive view of bilingualism, including the conclusion that bilingual children demonstrate more cognitive flexibility than monolinguals. Contrary to previous studies, bilinguals performed better than monolinguals in both verbal and non-verbal measures. The study, which was conducted in Montreal, was revolutionary in its own right, changing the face of research on bilingualism forever (see Hakuta, 1985: Chap. 2 for details). This study has been replicated in a number of countries confirming the positive effects of bilingualism.

### **Conclusions**

A number of diverse and complex conditions and factors lead to life-long bilingualism. These factors – biological, social, psychological, and linguistic – account for a varied pattern amongst bilinguals, witnessed around the world. Thus, a bilingual is neither two monolinguals in the brain, nor are two

bilinguals clones of each other. These complexities indicate why no theory of language learning and/or teaching is capable of explaining bilingual verbal behavior and the mechanisms leading to bilingual language development.

*See also:* Acquisition of Second Language Phonology, Morphology, and Syntax; Bilingual Education; Foreign Language Teaching Policy; Interlanguage; Second and Foreign Language Learning and Teaching.

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## Communicative Competence

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The phrase ‘communicative competence’ was introduced by the North American linguist and anthropologist, Dell Hymes, in the late 1960s (Hymes, 1962/1968, 1971). He used it to reflect the following key positions on knowledge and use of language:

- The ability to use a language well involves knowing (either explicitly or implicitly) how to use language appropriately in any given context.
- The ability to speak and understand language is not based solely on grammatical knowledge.
- What counts as appropriate language varies according to context and may involve a range of modes – for example, speaking, writing, singing, whistling, drumming.
- Learning what counts as appropriate language occurs through a process of socialization into particular ways of using language through participation in particular communities.

Hymes’s juxtaposition of the word ‘communicative’ with ‘competence’ stood in sharp contrast at the time with Noam Chomsky’s influential use of the term ‘linguistic competence,’ which Chomsky used to refer to a native speaker’s implicit knowledge of the grammatical rules governing her/his language (Chomsky, 1957, 1965). Such knowledge, Chomsky argued, enables speakers to create new and grammatically correct sentences and accounts for the fact that speakers are able to recognize grammatically incorrect as well as correct sentences such as, in English *She book the read*, or in Spanish *plaza yo a la voy* (‘square I am going to’). While accepting the importance of grammatical knowledge, Hymes argued that in order to communicate effectively, speakers had to know not only what was grammatically correct/incorrect, but what was communicatively appropriate in any given context. A speaker therefore must possess more than just grammatical knowledge; for example, a multilingual speaker in a multilingual context knows which language to use in which context and users of a language where there are both formal and informal forms of address know when to use which, such as *vous* (formal) and *tu* (informal) in French. Hymes famously stated that a child who produced language without due regard for the social context would be a monster (1974b: 75).

The emphasis that Hymes placed on appropriateness according to context, in his use of the term

competence, challenged Chomsky’s view about what exactly counts as knowledge of a language – knowledge of conventions of use in addition to knowledge of grammatical rules. In addition, and more fundamentally, Hymes problematized the dichotomy advanced by Chomsky between ‘competence’ and ‘performance’ and the related claim about what the study of linguistics proper should be. Chomsky’s interest was in the universal psycholinguistics of language, the human capacity for generating the syntactic rules of language. His interest in knowledge, captured in his use of ‘competence,’ was therefore at an ideal or abstract level rather than in any actual knowledge that any one speaker or group of speakers might possess. For Chomsky, the focus of linguistics as a discipline should be on understanding and describing the general and abstract principles that make the human capacity for language possible. In contrast, ‘performance’ or actual utterances – that is, what people actually say and hear with all the errors, false starts, unfinished sentences – could add little to an understanding of the principles underlying language use and was therefore not deemed to be a relevant focus of linguistic study.

Hymes acknowledged the value of the more abstract and idealized approach that Chomsky advocated, not least because such a universalistic approach challenged any theories of language based on genetic differences or notions of racial hierarchy (Hymes, 1971: 4). However, he argued that there were other important dimensions to the study of language that should not be so readily excluded from linguistics as a scientific field. Hymes’s own interest in language was in large part driven by a concern for language questions arising in real life contexts, such as why children from economically advantaged and disadvantaged social backgrounds differ in the language they use. Chomsky’s and Hymes’s different aims for developing language theory are nowhere more clearly evident than in Hymes’s comment on Chomsky’s (1965: 3) now famous statement, on the purpose of linguistic theory: “Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogenous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly. . . .” Hymes (1971: 4) comments: “The theoretical notion of the ideal speaker-listener is unilluminating from the standpoint of the children we seek to understand and to help.”

Hymes was highly critical of a theory that explicitly set out to ignore the impact of social context on how language is used and hence the competence/performance dichotomy set up by Chomsky (echoing in some ways the *langue* and

*parole* distinction made by Saussure, 1916). At a specific level, his key reasons for challenging such a dichotomy can be summarized as follows (based on Hymes, 1962/1968; 1971; 1974b):

- The dichotomy itself is problematic. It presupposes that knowledge can be understood without reference to use, yet analyzing actual use of language is key to exploring underlying principles for such use. Hymes argued that “performance data” should be considered a legitimate focus for linguistic study both in its own right and as data that reflects knowledge underlying any performance.
- The dichotomy is built on a series of abstractions: ideal speaker-listener, homogenous speech-community, perfect knowledge of language.
- Chomsky’s notion of speaker-listener does not acknowledge or account for the differences in reception competence and production competence evident in many contexts, as in children from some social backgrounds understanding formal school language yet not producing it.
- What counts as knowledge of language is reduced to only one aspect of knowledge, namely grammatical knowledge, when there are clearly other aspects to knowledge of language that are important, such as when to use which language, or varieties of languages, and in which contexts.
- Within an approach that focuses on competence as idealized knowledge, it is the abstract system of language that becomes the focus rather than speakers’/groups of speakers’ use of language.
- Given the focus on knowledge as a set of abstract rules underlying use, actual use is relegated to only a marginal position in the scientific study of language.

Hymes (1972a: 282) offers communicative competence as a more general and superordinate term to encompass the language capabilities of the individual that include both knowledge and use: “competence is dependent upon both (tacit) knowledge and (ability for) use.”

While Hymes argued against the foundational dichotomy between competence and performance proposed by Chomsky, he was not dismissing the value of the distinction entirely. Hymes refers to communicative competence as “abilities in a broad sense” of how to use language, whereas performance is always a specific use of language that reflects some of that competence (2003: 321). Thus any specific performance may partially reflect the nature of the conventions governing an individual or a community’s knowledge of language. In setting up a framework for developing an adequate theory of

language, Hymes argued that both what is known (competence) and what is actually done (performance) must be taken into account. Such a framework involves exploring and accounting for the following:

1. Whether (and to what degree) something is formally possible
2. Whether (and to what degree) something is feasible
3. Whether (and to what degree) something is appropriate
4. Whether (and to what degree) something is in fact done, actually performed (Hymes 1972a: 284–286).

Questions 3 and 4 are central to the socially oriented approach to the study of language advocated by Hymes. In contrast to Chomsky and his claim to linguistics as a subfield of psychology and philosophy, Hymes seeks to claim a space for the study of language within “a science of social man” (Hymes, 1971: 6).

### **A Key Concept in an Emerging Sociolinguistic Tradition**

Emphasis on the notion of communicative competence formed part of Dell Hymes’s call for a new field of study, the ethnography of communication, sometimes called the ethnography of speaking (Hymes, 1962/1968; Gumperz and Hymes, 1972/1986). There are a number of concepts and categories presupposed by the notion of communicative competence, which continue to be highly influential in sociolinguistics and in many socially oriented approaches to study of language.

#### **Sociocultural Context**

Given the importance attached to knowledge of the social conventions governing language use, understanding the context of language use is considered to be central. Exploring such context, that is, the cultural, historical, and social practices associated with the language use of any particular group or community of people, involves detailed descriptions and classification of language use organized around the following key questions. What are the communicative events, and their components, in a community? What are the relationships among them? What capabilities and status do they have, in general and in particular cases? How do they work? (Hymes, 1974b: 25).

#### **Ethnography of Communication**

In order to explore how language is used in context, Hymes argued for an ethnographic approach to



the study of communication or ways of speaking (Hymes, 1974a). This involves researchers setting out to systematically observe the activities of any given community, through immersing themselves in such activities and collecting a range of data, such as recordings, field notes, and documentation. In this methodology both 'etic' and 'emic' approaches are considered important and complementary; the etic approach refers to observation from the outside as it were, that is, the researcher seeks to observe in detail the communicative activities – or speech events – of participants in a community; the emic involves exploring such events, from the inside, to determine how participants make sense of and understand such events and interactions. Ethnographers emphasize the importance of emic accounts to any theory of language; for example, only an emic perspective would enable a researcher to understand that a clap of thunder may in some cultural contexts be considered to be a communicative act (as in the case of the Ojibwa reported by Hymes, 1974b: 13), or that certain types of communication are permitted to men in some contexts while proscribed in others, such as the disciplining of children (as reported by Philipsen, 1975).

In an attempt to build a descriptive framework of how language is used in different contexts, Hymes, drawing on anthropologists such as Malinowski (1923, 1935), developed a series of categories to map out the relevant contextual aspects to language use, such as speech event and speech community.

### **Speech Event**

This is a category (after Jakobson, 1960) that reflects the idea that all interaction is embedded in sociocultural contexts and is governed by conventions emerging from those contexts. Examples of speech events are interviews, buying and selling goods in a shop, sermons, lectures, and informal conversation. The speech event involves a number of core components identified by Hymes, which are signaled in his mnemonic device SPEAKING. [See Table 1].

### **Speech Community**

While the term speech community was not coined by Hymes (the most notable earlier use being that of Bloomfield, 1933), Hymes's elaboration of the term certainly contributed to its prominence in sociolinguistic approaches to the study of language.

The acquisition of communicative competence takes place within speech communities: speech communities are constituted not just by a shared variety or language, but shared sets of norms and conventions about how those varieties can and should be used. Through everyday interaction with others in a speech community, a child learns how to use language

**Table 1** SPEAKING – acronym invented by Dell Hymes (1972b) to specify relevant features of a speech event

<b>S-settings and scenes</b>	Setting refers to time, place, physical circumstances. Scene refers to the psychological or cultural definitions of the event: for example what 'counts' as a formal event varies from community to community.
<b>P-participants</b>	Who is involved, as either speaker/ listener, audience.
<b>E-ends</b>	Ends can be defined in terms of goals and outcomes. Goals refer to what is expected to be achieved in any event: outcomes refers to what is actually achieved. Goals and outcomes exist at both community and individual participant level: for example, the conventional goal of a wedding ceremony may be marriage, however, individuals within that event may have other goals.
<b>A-acts</b>	Speech events involve a number and range of speech acts, particular types of utterances such as requests, commands, and greetings.
<b>K-keys</b>	The tone, manner, and spirit in which acts are done, for example, serious or playful. Specific keys may be signaled through verbal or/and non-verbal means.
<b>I-instrumentalities</b>	The particular language/language varieties used and the mode of communication (spoken, written).
<b>N-norms</b>	Norms of interaction refer to rules of speaking, who can say what, when, and how. Norms of interpretation refer to the conventions surrounding how any speech may be interpreted.
<b>G-genres</b>	Categories or types of language use, such as the sermon, the interview, or the editorial. May be the same as 'speech event' but may be a part of a speech event. For example, the sermon is a genre and may at the same time be a speech event (when performed conventionally in a church); a sermon may be a genre, however, that is invoked in another speech event, for example, at a party for humorous effect.

appropriately, that is, according to the norms of any given speech community. Some events inevitably involve people from different speech communities, which may create tensions: as in for example school classrooms where participants share a common language but may not be members of the same speech community (Hymes, 1972c).

### **Diversity**

Acknowledgement of diversity and variety between and across language use, in communities and individuals,

is a basic position in Hymes's work and is a central tenet in sociolinguistics. Such diversity manifests itself in countless ways: the very existence of language varieties, both as languages and varieties within languages; the range of conventions governing the use of such varieties in different contexts (such differences have been documented in relation, notably, to social class, ethnic group, gender); the different values attached to particular usages (for example, the values attached in different communities to such phenomena as silence, eloquence, and interruptions).

Privileging diversity as a universal of language shifts the emphasis away from any differential status attached to varieties, or the notion that difference signals deficiency in any way. All varieties are seen as equally valid, although some are acknowledged to be more appropriate in particular contexts.

### **Appropriateness**

This is a key presupposition to the notion of communicative competence and is a central notion in sociolinguistics. As discussed, communicative competence presupposes the following; that a language user's knowledge – competence – is more than just grammar-based; that knowledge of language requires knowledge of the appropriate social conventions governing what and how something can be said, to whom and in what contexts. Appropriateness thus involves both linguistic and cultural knowledge (Hymes, 1971: 14).

Within sociolinguistics, a focus on appropriateness of language use is said to indicate a descriptive (how language is used) rather than a prescriptive (how language should be used) approach to language diversity.

### **Socialization**

People learn the rules of use through everyday interaction within speech communities. It is through such interaction that children acquire knowledge about appropriate language use, that is, communicative competence (Hymes, 1971: 10). Hymes indicates that socialization is not constituted by a rigid trajectory and suggests that both "a long and short range view of competency should be adopted" (1972a: 287). From his perspective, the short range view concerns innate capacities as they emerge in the first years of life, and the long range concerns continuing socialization through life. What this short/long range implies is that competence is not static. In some instances, quite drastic changes can be made to an individuals' competence; as when a child whose home language variety is significantly different from the school variety. Of course, as Hymes emphasizes, such extensions or shifts in competence are

not necessarily straightforward; there are plenty of opportunities for misunderstanding to occur when receivers/listeners accustomed to the language varieties of one community engage in communication with those from another.

### **Communicative Competence in Other Domains**

The notion of communicative competence has been highly influential in fields beyond linguistics, such as education, sociology, and psychology. In some instances the basic assumptions surrounding the term have been maintained, and in others extended or problematized.

Probably nowhere has the impact of the notion been more powerful than in the teaching of languages, including the teaching of English as a second or foreign language. Whereas the emphasis in language teaching had been on grammatical and syntactic accuracy, following the work of Hymes and others (Gumperz and Hymes, 1972/1986), there was a significant turn towards communicative language teaching: this shift involved the teaching and learning of language considered to be appropriate to specific situations, based on what speakers actually use, rather than what they are presumed to use (Paulston, 1992). Assessment of language learning has been influenced accordingly, with a focus on students' capacity to communicate, rather than the ability to produce grammatically correct sentences (Hall and Eggington, 2000). The extent to which this more situational approach to second and foreign language teaching prevails is a matter of debate, but the impact of communicative competence is widely acknowledged (Firth and Wagner, 1997).

The use of the term has also been extended and modulated in other domains. For example, Culler (1975) developed the influential notion of literary competence to describe readers' knowledge of the conventions required in order to interpret literary texts. Academic communicative competence has been used to refer to knowledge of the conventions governing the use of language in academic communication (Berkenkotter *et al.*, 1991). Both uses refer to knowledge of specific textual features, such as metaphor in the case of literary competence and argument in academic competence, as well as knowledge about what counts as specific text types or genres (academic, literary) in particular cultural contexts.

Other uses of 'communicative competence' have developed, alongside and in contradistinction to the Hymesian term. Habermas (1970) uses the term communicative competence more in line with Chomsky's

linguistic competence, to the extent that he is interested in theorizing an ideal speech situation, rather than elaborating a sociolinguistic description of actual situations and utterances. In contrast, Bernstein's interest was in an elaboration of actual use of language, particularly within the context of schooling. However, he offered a critique of the way in which 'competence' models implied an exaggerated capacity of individual rational choice and control over language use, without due attention to "distribution of power and principles of control which selectively specialize modes of acquisition and realizations" (Bernstein, 1996: 56). The need to theorize power in relation to competence and language use is a key strand in other studies re-examining the notion of communicative competence in more recent times.

### **Re-examining Communicative Competence**

The work of Hymes is central in sociolinguistics as a field and continues to reverberate across socially oriented approaches to the study of language in a range of disciplines, including applied linguistics, education, communication studies, and social psychology. In recent times, there have also been significant re-examinations of communicative competence and related notions, as they have come to be used in sociolinguistics, from both critical and post structuralist approaches.

#### **Re-examining Appropriateness**

The notion of appropriateness is central to communicative competence and central to the field of sociolinguistics whose empirical goal has been to explore patterns of language use, according to the norms of any given community. However, the use of such a notion has been critiqued by some because it serves to emphasize norms and underplay differences within any given community or communicative context. Fairclough (1995), for example, like Bernstein mentioned above, argues that a model of language based on appropriateness assumes shared views among all users about what counts as appropriate, ignoring struggles and tensions in any given interaction; for example, tensions evident in interactions between institutional representatives and clients, men and women, or speakers from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Research in some socially oriented approaches to language, such as feminist linguistics and critical discourse analysis, has made visible the power dynamics in communicative events, within and across communities (Cameron, 1992; Wodak, 1992; Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999).

In the same vein, emphasis on a normative notion of communicative competence in second and foreign language teaching has been critiqued by theorists of second language acquisition. Norton (2000) states that although it is important for learners to understand the conventions of the target language, it is also important for them to explore "whose interests these rules serve" (2000: 15). She argues that any definition of communicative competence should include an acknowledgement of the importance of the right to speak (Bourdieu, 1977); such a right to speak, or be heard, is not granted to all speakers in all contexts. Thus for example, immigrants using a foreign language may find that, although familiar with the conventions governing a particular use of that language, they may not be granted the right to speak or be heard in some contexts.

### **Re-examining Speech Event and Speech Community**

While Hymes always indicated that he used the word 'speech' to mean all types of communicative modes/channels, sociolinguistic research has tended to focus on the spoken word. In more recent times, explicit attention has been paid to other modes of communication, thus extending the use of core concepts. For example, those working within literacy studies have used existing terms to signal a specific focus, such as "writing event" (Basso, 1974), "literacy event" (Heath, 1983; Barton and Hamilton, 1998). Likewise, Swales (1990) has argued that the term discourse community is more useful than speech community, as a term for describing and accounting for practices around written texts. Some theorists have argued that the word 'speech' signals that language is considered more significant than other practices, or that language is somehow divorced from other social purposes and activities, and have argued that the notion of practice, including the notion of "community of practice" is more all encompassing and powerful (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003; see also discussion about ways in which 'practice' is used in Schultz and Hull, 2002).

A more fundamental challenge to the notion of speech community comes from theorists emphasizing the ways in which recent historical changes, notably globalization, powerfully influence the ways in which people engage in the world and disrupt traditional notions of community and community membership. Through a whole range of technological, social, and economic developments – shaping modes of labor, travel, and communication – individuals' relations to others are more diverse and fluid, less restricted by time and space. The extent to which speech community with any presumed identifiable boundaries

continues to be a meaningful category of observation and analysis is debatable within the context of a rapidly changing world (Rampton, 1998; Collins, 2003).

### Re-examining the Notion of Speaker

Just as the notion of speech community has been challenged, so too have prominent labels used to categorize individuals in relation to communities – such as social class, ethnicity, linguistic repertoire, and gender. Such terms, because they often denote fixed sets of attributes and capacities, have been recognized as problematic, particularly by post structuralist writers who stress that identity is always in process. Indeed, the relationship between language and identity has established itself as a key area for research. Such work tends to challenge the idea that language use reflects categories of identity (I speak as I do because I am a working class woman) and emphasizes, rather, how individuals actively construct aspects of social and personal identity through their use of language in specific contexts (in speaking as I am, I am constructing and representing myself as a working class woman). While it is recognized that such constructions of identity are not free floating but are regulated by the specific contexts and interactions in which they occur (Cameron, 1997a), the fluidity of identity tends to be emphasized. In these approaches, the term ‘performativity’ rather than ‘performance’ is used, in order to signal how identity is enacted or performed through interaction (Cameron, 1997b; Butler, 1990/1999).

### Re-examining Context

The work of Hymes placed the importance of context centrally within the concern of linguistics and advocated ethnography as the key organizing methodological tool with which to observe language use. However, there has been considerable debate about what constitutes context and how context should be conceptualized and explored. Two significant and quite distinct approaches to the study of context can be found in conversation analysis and critical discourse analysis: the former orients inwards as it were towards language, the latter orients outwards towards the social world. Conversation analysts argue that speakers construct and represent relevant aspects of context through their actual interaction and that these can be empirically observed (Schegloff, 1997). In contrast, critical discourse analysts (Fairclough, 1995) and feminist linguists (Cameron, 1992) have signaled the limitations to approaches that seek to understand context through empirical observation alone: there have been calls to draw on social, critical, and post structuralist

theorists and philosophers such as Foucault, Habermas, Bourdieu, and Bakhtin, in order to explore the ways in which language use is related to ideology and power, and in order to explore how phenomena such as globalization are influencing communicative practices. Some of this work tends to explore language use through the lens of such theory and pays only minimal attention to examining contexts empirically (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999), whereas others drawing on ethnographic traditions such as Hymes’s, aim to establish an approach that draws on both empirical observation and specific aspects of social theory (Rampton, 1995; Lee, 1996; Maybin, 1999). Attempts have been made to integrate levels of analysis at the macro level of society with micro levels of actual utterances; Gee (1996) for example uses the terms big ‘D’ discourse to refer to the former and little ‘d’ discourse to refer to the latter; Fairclough (1992) has developed a three-layered framework to explore such relations, which he refers to as a textually oriented discourse analysis (TODA).

*See also:* Assessment of Second Language Proficiency; Communicative Language Teaching; Second Language Identity.

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## Correctness and Purism

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### Definitions: Correctness and Purism

The common assumption that school constitutes one sociolinguistic domain – a domain usually dominated by the standard variety of a language – is too simplistic. School consists of various communicative situations, e.g., playtimes, conversations between teacher and pupil outside the classroom, teacher–teacher communication. On the other hand, language education in the sense of the explicit teaching of language takes place almost exclusively in the classroom. In this context, the point of reference for determining whether linguistic usage is ‘correct’ or not is usually, but not always, a standard variety. In societies where there is a standardized prestige variety this nearly always has a privileged position in the classroom, i.e., it is the variety which is not only used as the medium of teaching, but is also an object of teaching: in Britain or the United States, for instance, in classes devoted to English, it is the norms of Standard English which are transmitted to pupils, and the texts discussed in these classes are mainly in Standard English. Deviations (real or perceived) from this pattern tend to be seized upon by certain sectors of society and presented in a negative light, for example in the media (cf. Cameron, 1995: 101).

Purism is rooted in the notion that languages or linguistic varieties are entities which are clearly demarcated from each other and consist of closed sets of linguistic items, so that elements that do not ‘belong’ to that variety and which might ‘contaminate’ it or make it ‘impure’ are easily identified and can be avoided. Purism is often, but not always, directed at words or linguistic features of foreign origin (cf. Trask, 1999: 254). It can, however, also be directed against elements which are not foreign, but are nevertheless seen as undesirable; for example, purists may try to remove regional dialectal features from a standard variety or may try to discourage the use of innovations, such as *aggravate* with the meaning ‘annoy’ (appealing to etymology, they would argue that *aggravate* should only be used in the sense of ‘to make worse’). Another target of their activities may be words or constructions from specialist registers when used outside those registers, e.g. in German technical registers, mass nouns such as *Druck* (‘pressure’) can form plurals, whereas this has traditionally not been the case in non-technical language. A tendency for this construction to spread to general

registers has often been the subject of negative comments, e.g., in newspaper glosses. Purism is often associated with the codification, cultivation, and planning of standard languages, but this doesn’t mean that purism is never directed at non-standard varieties. In German-speaking Switzerland, for example, where the local dialects enjoy a high level of prestige, but where attitudes towards Swiss Standard German are rather ambivalent, purists have been known to attack standard features borrowed into the local dialects.

Purism is a strategy employed to achieve a variety of ends. Sometimes foreign words are rejected because it is claimed that they are not comprehensible to all and could exclude sections of the population from certain discourses; at other times they are rejected solely because of their foreignness, which may be seen as detrimental to the ‘character’ of a particular nation as reflected in its language (cf. Townson, 1992: 80–110).

As was said above, purism is very much linked to the cultivation of a standard variety. One of the things that lends prestige to a standard variety is the belief that it can fulfill any function demanded of it by its speakers. If it is perceived as being able to fulfill certain functions only by ‘borrowing’ elements from other varieties, then this detracts from its status. Another important role ascribed to a standard variety is that it is supraregional and has a wide communicative radius: many nonstandard words or constructions are perceived as being restricted in communicative radius and it is therefore felt that they must not be allowed into the standard variety. In reality, it is often the case that the lack of intelligibility of nonstandard variants is socially constructed and not rooted in any objective linguistic distance between those variants and the standard variety. There are various instances of speakers of very similar varieties claiming that they could not understand each other, with speakers of the more prestigious varieties usually more likely to claim not to understand other varieties than *vice versa* (e.g., Wolff, 1959: 35–39).

As we have already said, language education in the classroom is closely linked with standard varieties, so the link with correctness and purism is clear. Deborah Cameron makes it explicit when she claims – for Britain – that “one of the functions that conservatives allot to grammar teaching specifically is the preservation of a ‘pure’ and unified standard English variety whose purity is continually threatened just because it is not native to most speakers of English” (Cameron, 1995: 110). That this is not restricted to Britain is clear when Steven Pinker, a Canadian based in the United States, lists English

teachers amongst what he calls “the legislators of ‘correct English’” (Pinker, 1994: 372), and Rosina Lippi-Green writes, “The primary educational goal in our schools brings together the acquisition of literacy with acceptance and acknowledgement of a Standard U.S. English” (Lippi-Green, 1997: 104).

### The Appropriateness Model of Linguistic Variation

Correctness and purism come into play not only in relation to particular individual linguistic features (e.g. *ain't* vs. *haven't*, *less items* vs. *fewer items*) but also in relation to the use of different varieties in different situations or for different speech acts, e.g., for writing an essay or for making an oral presentation. There are people who believe that variation is a problem *per se*, since speakers of nonstandard varieties will always be liable to making interference mistakes when they acquire the standard variety, especially in speech. In the view of these people, the only way to acquire a ‘correct’ or ‘pure’ form of the standard (which is, of course, seen as an eminently desirable thing) is to eliminate the nonstandard varieties. In the 1970s, this was argued for Germany and it has often been argued with reference to minority languages in order to promote the learning of the majority language (the demise of the Celtic languages has often been encouraged for this reason). A more common view today, especially amongst academic linguists, is that varieties of a language differ from each other and are therefore not all equally appropriate for the same purposes and situations. This model, known as the appropriateness model, is based on the difference theory of linguistic variation. The difference theory (unlike the deficit theory) assumes the functional equivalence of all varieties of a language, whilst accepting that they are differently evaluated by society.

This model seems to offer teachers a way of responding more positively to the variation they inevitably come across every day since they don't have to pass absolute judgments of correctness or incorrectness on their pupils' usage. They can now say, “You can say that at home, but not in the classroom” rather than saying, “Don't say that, it's wrong.” The difference theory and the appropriateness model have certainly had an effect on policy makers in various countries, e.g. in Germany and Britain. The Cox Report (1989) on the teaching of English in primary schools in England and Wales, commissioned by the Conservative government of the time, made the point that Standard English should not be confused with ‘proper,’ ‘good,’ or ‘correct’ English. This reflects the view that other varieties of English may be seen as better or more proper (i.e., more appropriate) in some

situations than Standard English; the status of the latter is relativized: “The combination of the status of Standard English as a social dialect and its use for particular purposes . . . poses the most sensitive problems for teachers. They have the responsibility to teach its use for those particular purposes, while being sensitive to its impact on personal and social identity” (DES, 1989: 14–15). Whilst not saying that the standard variety of English is better than other varieties, the Cox Report still puts a great deal of emphasis on Standard English (written and spoken), and on the requirement that it be used in a range of situations.

Although the appropriateness model is popular with academic linguists, it does not appeal to all policy makers, especially those of a conservative bent, since it implies that there are no absolute values and standards of correctness. Another tenet of academic linguistics – that all varieties are rule governed, even if those rules are not codified or promoted by institutions such as the media or schools – is highly suspect to some policy makers since it takes away the notion of an external authority and makes it more difficult to apply uniform rules of ‘correctness’ (cf. Cameron, 1995: 97–98). There is a great deal of resistance to the fact that nonstandard varieties have a ‘grammar,’ although it is rarely written down. This situation is not helped by the fact that there is a dearth of systematic descriptions of nonstandard varieties of English. It is not easy, for instance, for a teacher in the United States to find out that, in Black English Vernacular (BEV), invariant *be* is not simply the equivalent of inflected *be* in Standard U.S. English, but has a more specific distribution; e.g., *He be busy right now* does mean the same thing as *He is busy right now*, but Standard U.S. English *He is busy all the time* can only be rendered as *He busy all the time* in BEV (with zero copula, but not with invariant *be*). Of course, the resistance to pluralism in the linguistic sphere is often accompanied by a resistance to pluralism in other fields, and the former is often the butt of particularly fierce criticism because it is seen as not only reflecting but positively encouraging cultural and ideological fragmentation.

Despite some opposition over the years, proponents of the appropriateness model seem to have been quite successful in influencing school curricula. For example, in Germany (where each federal state is responsible for its own curriculum), most curricula refer to the fact that pupils should be taught to use different varieties of German in an ‘appropriate’ fashion (cf. Davies, 2000a; Davies, 2000b; Davies, 2001). Richard Hudson also points out that the National Curriculum for English in England and Wales accepts the importance of oracy, as well as literacy. Furthermore, references to ‘genre’ in the curriculum reflect

an acceptance that many varieties exist and are 'valid.' (cf. 'Relevant Websites'). In Wales, where Welsh, which is spoken by about 20% of the population, is compulsory in schools up to the age of 16, stress is put on the use of appropriate registers; e.g., different forms are required when creating a script for a drama and when writing an official letter (Robat Powell, Head of National Foundation for Educational Research Welsh Unit, personal correspondence).

While the appropriateness model has been widely accepted by policy makers, calls by academic linguists for a critical approach to the domain distribution of different varieties and the social evaluation underpinning it have not found the same echo. The traditional distribution of standard and nonstandard varieties across public and private domains or formal and informal ones, has, on the whole, been accepted rather than challenged within that model, with the result that the dominant position of the standard variety has hardly been affected. Research in Germany (Davies, 2000b) has shown that neither teachers nor the curricula show any enthusiasm for extending the permitted domains of nonstandard varieties. In theory at least, the privileged status of the standard language in the classroom is not questioned by the practitioners any more than by the theorists.

In Britain and the United States, there have often been perceptions that teachers are trying to replace Standard English with nonstandard varieties, or are not concerned enough about correctness. The British heir apparent, Prince Charles, is one member of the public who worries about the state of language education in British schools: "All the letters sent from my office I have to correct myself, and that is because English is taught so bloody badly [...]. The way schools are operating is not right. I do not believe English is being taught properly" (quoted in Cameron, 1995: 94). In California, when the Oakland School Board resolved in 1996 that language education should respect and take into account the vernacular of most of its pupils, namely Ebonics (another name for BEV), there was an extremely hostile reaction from the general public, but this was fueled by the misleading reports in the media that the schools in this district were intending to teach Ebonics and/or use it as the medium of instruction (information about this issue can be seen at the web site of the Linguistic Society of America). In reality, when nonstandard varieties are allowed into the classroom, it is usually in order to create a bridge between the home or the peer group and the classroom. The ultimate aim for most teachers is the expansion of the linguistic range of their pupils through the acquisition of the standard variety. This is reflected in the resolution of the

Linguistic Society of America on the Oakland 'Ebonics' issue: "There is evidence from Sweden, the United States, and other countries that speakers of other varieties can be aided in their learning of the standard variety by pedagogical approaches which recognize the legitimacy of the other varieties of a language."

### What is a Standard Variety?

So far we have used the term 'standard variety' as though it were so well known that it needed no definition; however, if the curricula use the standard variety as their point of reference then teachers have to know exactly what the standard variety is, and this may not be as self-evident as one would assume, even for a language where a standard prestige variety has been recognized for many centuries, e.g., English in Britain. Some standard varieties are highly codified: for example, the national variety of German used in Germany has a whole range of reference works in which speakers can look up rules for 'correct' use of phonology, orthography, grammar, and lexis. These works are produced by commercial publishers (the best known is Duden-Verlag, based in Mannheim) rather than by a state institution (like, for example, the *Österreichische Wörterbuch* in Austria), but are still perceived by many users as officially binding. Indeed, up until the spelling reform a few years ago, the *Duden Rechtschreibung* (the orthography dictionary) did have the authority of the education ministries of all the federal states behind it. The various national varieties of English are not codified to this degree and the norms are more in the nature of conventions that have emerged in practice rather than codified rules (cf. Durrell, 1999: 290). In the United States, there are competing perceptions of what constitutes spoken Standard U.S. English and where it is to be found (cf. Hartley and Preston, 1999). Speakers from Michigan and California seem to be especially sure that the varieties they use represent pure, Standard U.S. English, even when there are nonstandard features in these varieties (as judged by the informants themselves) (Fought, 2002; Niedzielski and Preston, 1999). It is sometimes claimed that 'network American' is Standard U.S. English: this is a mainstream accent, based on the leveled dialects of the northern Midwest, with the most marked local features being avoided (Milroy and Milroy, 1999: 150–151).

When it comes to British English there seems to be agreement amongst linguists that it is quite difficult to describe the rules of Standard English unless one restricts oneself to the written realization only. It is accepted that the spoken variety cannot be standardized to the same degree, and that even speakers



who avoid the use of locally or regionally marked nonstandard grammar and vocabulary will nearly always still have a regional accent (cf. Milroy and Milroy, 1999: 18–19). It is clear from the preceding that academic linguists conceive of Standard English as being realized in a spoken and written form, although policy makers (or even norm makers) frequently fail to draw such a distinction (cf. Lippi-Green, 1997: 107) and often see differences from writing as deviations from a written norm rather than judging them on their own terms.

A problem for teachers is that the curricula which they are expected to follow often give no clear guidance as to what is to be taught under the guise of Standard English, German, Welsh, etc. For teachers of Welsh in Wales the situation is as follows: there are “no instructions or guidelines concerning the grammatical and syntactic forms to be used, except for a book of terms where there are lists of ‘technical’ words classed according to subject ... Every type of Welsh is accepted at present” (Derec Stockley, Examinations Officer of the Welsh Joint Education Committee, which sets exams in Welsh as well as other subjects, quoted in Jones, 1998: 282). The lack of explicit guidelines in the curriculum is perhaps not such a problem in a country such as Germany where there is a codex (although the fact that a codex exists does not necessarily mean that the teachers are familiar with its content; cf. Davies, 2000b); in this case it is, however, potentially problematic that the codex almost exclusively contains the rules for a formal register of German (Durrell, 1999: 302–303) and makes few concessions to spoken usages, even those common amongst educated speakers in formal situations (Jäger, 1980: 376).

Even if the curricula of teacher training colleges are to accept that their trainees need to acquire knowledge of the systematic differences between the nonstandard varieties which the majority of their pupils will speak and the standard variety, the information is often simply not available, or is not particularly useful. As we saw above, not all language communities possess full descriptions of their written and spoken standard varieties, but the problem is even more acute for nonstandard varieties, and there is a pressing need for more research in order to have up-to-date and detailed descriptions of nonstandard features at all levels of language. Jenny Cheshire (1982: 53) found that teachers of English who lacked awareness of the systematic differences between Standard English and the nonstandard dialect of their pupils tended to mark inconsistently, thereby confusing the pupils. In Germany, between 1977 and 1981, a range of books presenting contrastive analyses of Standard German and regional nonstandard dialects

was published (*Dialekt-Hochsprache kontrastiv*), aimed at teachers to help them to teach Standard German to their pupils. Unfortunately, these were of limited use since the analyses were based on a comparison between formal Standard German and traditional dialect, whereas most of the children, especially in urban areas, spoke an intermediate form at home (cf. Barbour, 1987).

The lack of detailed descriptions of different linguistic varieties is also a problem in the United States, where standardized language tests are often used to help determine the kind of education most appropriate to a child encountering problems at school (Milroy and Milroy, 1999: 143). If the correctness of a child’s answer is measured solely against one Standard English form and if every deviation from that form is marked as wrong, regardless of whether it is part of the child’s vernacular or not, then the results are going to be badly skewed and unhelpful, and may well lead to underestimation of the child’s real level of linguistic skills. An example is the contrast between /f/ and /θ/ (*fin/thin*). Not all dialects of English have minimal pairs based on this distinction, so a child who speaks one of those dialects is more likely to filter out the auditory information s/he needs in order to perceive the contrast than is a child whose dialect makes a phonemic contrast between the two sounds. This is comparable to a native speaker of Standard British English who has to practice hearing the difference between *wurde* and *würde* in German since his/her dialect doesn’t have front rounded vowels. In the United States, speakers of nonstandard varieties score very much lower on language tests than do speakers of the standard variety, suggesting that there is a bias in the test material and that tests do not always allow a clear distinction to be made between children who have underdeveloped language skills and those who may not have mastered the standard variety, but who are perfectly fluent in their vernacular (Milroy and Milroy, 1999: 143).

### Spoken and Written Language

As we saw above, there is often a tendency to equate the standard variety of a language with the formal written registers of that language. This may make a teacher’s life easier to some extent, since the written realization of the standard variety is normally relatively fixed and invariant, and this provides an authoritative norm against which to measure a child’s performance. However, if we measure children’s oral performances against the norms of written language they are always going to be found wanting, even those who come from homes where a standard-like variety is spoken. Even these children have to learn the rules

of written Standard English or French or German, etc.; they cannot simply write as they speak since no variety of speech is exactly the same as written language. Teachers need to be able to differentiate between errors in written work that are due to interference from regional nonstandard dialects and those that are due to interference from informal colloquial varieties. This is not an easy task: not only is it the case, as we have already seen, that spoken Standard English is not easy to define, but, as Cheshire points out, “the grammatical structure of spoken English generally is far from being well understood” (Cheshire, 1999: 129). The syntax of spoken language is very different from that of writing, and constructions that appear to be redundant or ill formed according to the norms of writing play important roles in structuring spoken discourse.

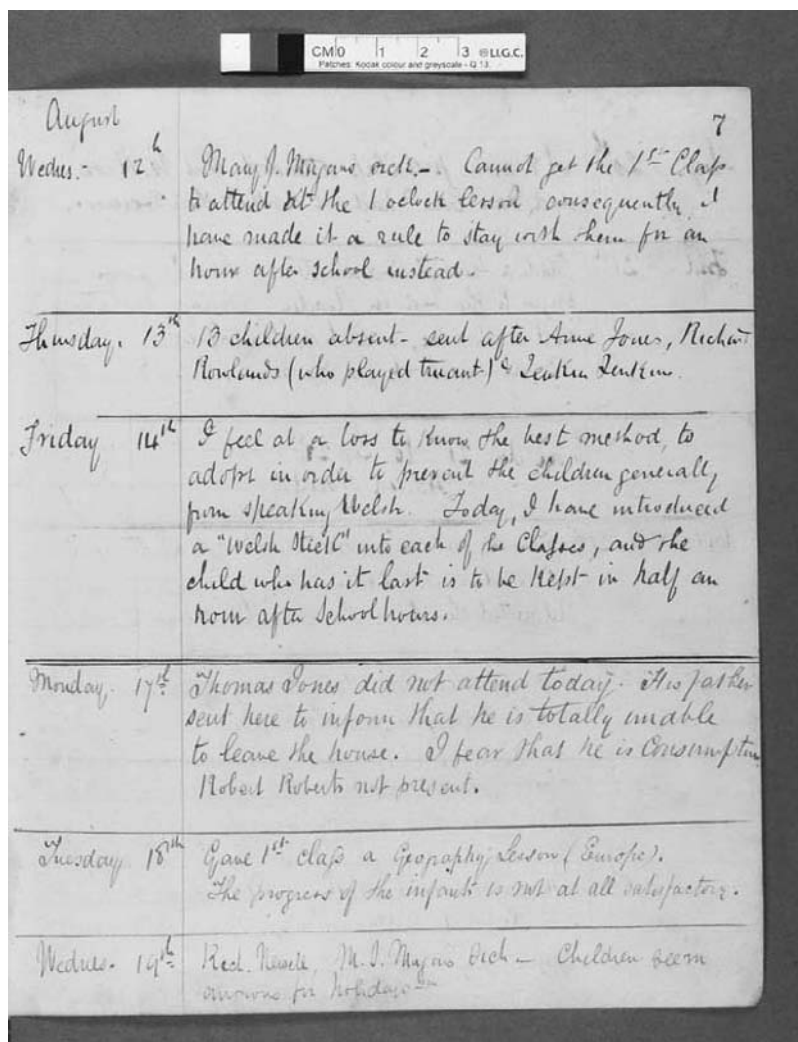
One reason why children need to learn to distinguish between the requirements of speech and writing is that the latter, since it is relatively context free, cannot tolerate as much ambiguity or vagueness as the former. Uniformity is also useful in writing since it helps to ensure that the text will be understood over a wide area and by a wide range of people. The same degree of explicitness is not necessary in speech, although teachers often act as if it were, e.g., by asking children to answer in full sentences, when this is quite unusual in normal interaction. In highly literate societies like the United States, Britain, or Germany there tends to be an assumption that clear and effective communication can only take place in a standard variety, and then in its most formal realization (usually the realization closest to writing). People often find it difficult to accept that clear and effective communication can take place in a nonstandard variety, and it is clear that, in certain situations or with certain interlocutors, communication will not be as effective in a nonstandard variety since the listeners will be so distracted by the nonprestigious form that they may not pay the necessary attention to the content of the message. However, this is related to social value judgments and is not inherently a property of the nonstandard varieties themselves; e.g., not pronouncing orthographic *h* in words like *hat* may be seen as incorrect and judged negatively in certain (influential) sectors of British society, but the same phenomenon in Spanish is part of the standard norm (*haber, honor*, etc.).

### Multilingualism

Another major issue that is connected with correctness and/or purism is the role of languages other than the dominant or official national or state languages in the classroom. In Britain, for example, about 10% of schoolchildren speak English as an additional

language (EAL). Many of these children were born in Britain or have been living here for a long time. The prevailing trend is to teach them in mainstream classrooms. Even those children who have recently moved to Britain are taught in mainstream classrooms, but they also receive some support from specialist EAL teachers. In recent years there has been increasing discussion about the necessity of integrating immigrants to Britain, and the role of language education (i.e., learning English) in this process has been hotly debated, although as yet there is no need to pass a language test before being able to obtain British citizenship. There is some pressure for classrooms to become spaces in which only English may be spoken, since there is a perception that English is not used enough in other, more private domains (see **Figure 1**). A similar movement has been obvious in the United States for some years: the U.S. English organization wants to outlaw the use of languages other than English in public domains. Superficially, such movements seem to have something in common with schools devoted to the maintenance or revitalization of minority or endangered languages; for example, in Welsh-medium schools in Wales and in French-medium schools where French is the minority language (e.g., in the Canadian province of Ontario) great efforts are made to try to ensure that only Welsh or French is spoken at school. Whether the strategy is necessary in the case of English, the dominant language in Britain and the United States, is debatable.

Studies of code-switching in the classroom have thrown a great deal of light on the hierarchical relations between different languages in multilingual societies. In some societies, e.g., Malta, code-switching between English and Maltese is officially encouraged and is common in most classrooms, although the exact distribution of the languages will depend a great deal on the individual teacher (cf. Camilleri Grima, 2001). However, since there are far more teaching materials available in English than in Maltese, the already high status of English in Maltese society is reinforced in the classroom, and Maltese tends to be used for less prestigious activities, such as to create an informal atmosphere or to create warmth (Camilleri Grima, 2001). In Botswana, the official policy is that all education from the last few years of primary schooling onwards is to be in the postcolonial language, English, rather than the indigenous language Setswana (Tswana). Teachers occasionally switch between the two languages, but for pupils the only legitimate language is English (Arthur, 2001). In British classrooms, bilingual teaching assistants are sometimes employed in the early years of primary education to help minority-language students become



**Figure 1** This extract from log book of Towyn British School, Merionethshire, Wales 1863–1876, referring to attempts to prevent children from speaking Welsh, shows that such pressure is not new. From Meirionnydd Archives, Gwynedd Archive Service with permission.

integrated into school life; however, these assistants are rarely drawn into the main action of the classroom, but left on the margins while the main action takes place monolingually in English (Martin-Jones and Saxena, 2001).

### Policy vs. Practice

Official policies as expressed in curricula and similar documents say a great deal about official views of how language education should be realized, but we cannot assume that the practitioners slavishly follow such policies. Research in Germany has shown that, even when the curricula state clearly that Standard German is always to be used as the medium of instruction, and although teachers do not explicitly question the privileged status of Standard German at school, the classroom is nonetheless not exclusively

the domain of the standard. Teachers do not always insist that their pupils speak the standard unless they are performing certain tasks, such as giving oral presentations, and they often express an awareness that correcting children too often is likely to discourage them from contributing in class. There is also an awareness that some children might find it difficult to perform certain speech acts, e.g., telling a teacher about a personal problem, in the standard, unless this is their mother tongue (cf. Davies, 2000b). What is clear, however, is that the use of nonstandard varieties in the classroom is usually restricted to rather stereotypical topics such as dialect literature, or to speech events that are marginal to the ‘real’ business of teaching (personal conversations), or to nonacademic topics, and the dominant status of Standard German is never put in doubt. Similarly, in Malta, as we saw above, although official discourse presents both

languages as equal, the reality is that Maltese is used for less prestigious speech acts than English.

*See also:* Assessment of First Language Proficiency; Educational Failure; Language Policy in Multilingual Educational Contexts; Minority Language Education; Multilingual Societies and Language Education; Nonstandard Language; Standard Language; Teacher Preparation; Teaching of Minority Languages.

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## Relevant Websites

- [www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/dick/lagb-las.htm](http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/dick/lagb-las.htm) – For matters relating to language and education in general.
- [www.lsadc.org](http://www.lsadc.org) – For matters relating to Ebonics.



## Educational Failure

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### Introduction

It is a commonplace in education that some pupils fare more poorly than others. Why should this be? Why do some children seem to be at a disadvantage from first school entry and why should they continue to achieve less than others, in some cases falling further and further behind and dropping out of school at the earliest opportunity? There is, of course, any number of reasons for individual underachievement, but group disadvantage is a different matter. Certain varieties of class, race, and ethnicity that differ from majority or mainstream society (of which the school is generally representative) seem, unfortunately, to be associated with a broad area of failure. In other words, group disadvantage seems to reside, most basically, in social difference. The important issues here relate to the nature of that difference and its ramifications, and it is no overstatement to suggest that the school, as a point of contact between groups, is an arena of the greatest social and academic importance.

While educational disadvantage should not simply be equated with material poverty, there is clearly a connection and, in some quarters, 'disadvantage' has often been a euphemism characterizing the poor. In 1970, Rainwater outlined the most important historical and contemporary perspectives on poverty, all of which continue in various guises. A moralizing view depicts the poor as strong but lacking in virtue, somehow deserving of their deprived state and requiring control. However, where the poor are seen as weak, a medical assessment may be made – what was once sin is now sickness and social remediation is at least theoretically possible. Poverty viewed as a combination of virtue and weakness forms the basis of a normalizing theory; the poor are morally similar to others, but lack the resources to cope effectively. Suggested solutions to poverty would then involve providing opportunities for self-betterment. Another perspective, reminiscent of Jean Jacques Rousseau's noble savage, holds that the poor are both strong and virtuous. In this apotheosizing picture, the poor are the basic, uncorrupted, and natural inheritors of the earth. Rainwater (1970) also supplied a different view, one which goes beyond descriptive value judgment and aims to explain poverty in objective ways: this naturalizing view stresses either some version of

biological determinism or cultural differences that set the poor apart and explain their lifestyles and values. Unsurprisingly, it is within this last perspective that most social scientific attempts to come to grips with poverty and disadvantage are found.

### The Nature of Group Difference

Biological determinism has historically been the most pervasive of 'scientific' accounts for group disadvantage, and the "benign totalitarianism" (to cite Rainwater again) often associated with it has had racist and eugenic aims (although it may be anachronistic simply to style Victorian scientists – Francis Galton, for example – as racist in the modern sense of the term). Strong connections were established between the widespread view that some groups were inherently less capable than others, and the intelligence-testing movement begun in the 19th century by Binet, Terman, and others. Assessment of ability in ways that are now seen as clearly ethnocentric and biased in favor of social mainstreams had unfortunate implications in eugenic practice and theory, in the passage of sterilization laws, and in immigration control, the last two being particularly important in the United States. It surely comes as no surprise to learn that assessment procedures found mental deficiency especially prevalent among the Black population, nor that many Italian, Polish, and Jewish immigrants were classified as feeble-minded compared with their British and northern European counterparts.

The ultimate excesses of the biological view were, of course, evident during World War II. The argument for innate genetic deficiency then languished until Jensen, beginning in 1969, proposed that American Blacks were indeed below the intelligence levels of normal Whites. While there was a simple and predictable charge of racism leveled against Jensen, his articles did prompt close analysis within the scientific community. Of greatest significance was the relationship between measured IQ and intelligence. Some tests are clearly biased toward particular groups: an instrument designed to measure knowledge associated with culture A would clearly be inappropriate for culture B, where intelligent behavior might take very different forms. Nevertheless, tests have been used in this inappropriate way, with predictable results. Aware of this, Jensen restricted himself to so-called culture-fair or culture-free tests, tests supposedly tapping more general ability. However, all tests, however abstract or nonverbal their form, are devised by someone at some time to measure something. A culture-free assessment is impossible. As well,

some cultures are much more test-wise than others and this factor, along with elements of the context within which a test is administered, clearly influences outcomes. There is another practical point to be made here, too. Jensen found, on average, a 10–15 IQ-point difference between Black and White samples, and psychologists and educators have been virtually unanimous in saying that this difference is insufficient to warrant altered educational provision (Jensen himself had recommended different curricula for children with ‘Level I’ and ‘Level II’ ability).

Nonetheless, intelligence testing and its presumed implications for pronouncements about group heritability have continued. The studies of identical twins, which began in the 19th century (and which are virtually all flawed), were of great interest to Jensen. The now discredited work of Burt was apparently formative, and figuring in discussions by Eysenck, Kamin and others (see Edwards, 1989). The net result is that, while inheritance is clearly a factor in human life, the heritability of intelligence has not been shown to be significant for cross-group comparison – nor can it be so shown until that utopian day when differences attributable to environment and social prejudice have diminished. However, while wishing to discredit the genetic-deficiency argument, one has to warn that it is not a dead letter, either in the popular imagination or in academic circles. A psychologist in the Jensen mold emerged in the 1980s, for instance, when Rushton claimed Blacks to be inferior to Whites who, in turn, were inferior to Orientals.

Environmental deficiency has also been seen as the cause of group disadvantage, with children’s poor scholastic performance attributed to inadequate and stunting physical, social, and psychological backgrounds. The patterns of socialization found among some groups have also been implicated in substantive deficit, hindering both in-school and after-school success. Thus, low socioeconomic status, large family size, absence of books in the home, disdain for the life of the mind, and, particularly, poor communication between parents and children might all contribute to disadvantage. The products of such homes have themselves been characterized as having poor language skills, poorly developed ‘conscience’ and academic motivation, and inability to see intellectually beyond the here-and-now and the concrete.

There are, again, real difficulties with this position. For example, the contexts that generated these observed deficits are suspect and, in any event, the latter are usually discussed in facile and overly general ways. Not enough is known about the links between early environment and these supposedly disadvantageous characteristics, nor about those between characteristics and school success or failure. How could

the environmental-deficiency argument account, for example, for those many pupils who succeed despite having supposedly bad backgrounds?

The chief difficulty with the environmental position is that it is suffused with a middle-class bias. Many of the so-called deficits, for example, associated with disadvantaged children could be seen as strengths in the light of a sensitive awareness of their social situation. A poor conscience might be a sensible adaptation to dangerous and unpredictable surroundings; similarly, an inability to postpone rewards – as demonstrated in experiments in which lower-class children were much more likely than middle-class ones to take one bag of candy now rather than accept the offer of three bags in a week’s time – makes good sense if previous experience suggests that promises are not always fulfilled. No one would deny that backgrounds and lifestyles differ; what is at issue here is whether or not it makes sense to translate difference into deficit.

If the environmental-deficit argument is weak, then it follows that educational innovation based upon it is flawed. This includes many varieties of compensatory education, head-start programs and other well-meaning interventions (including proposals to completely resocialize children whose families are deemed inadequate). However, both inside and outside education, environmental deficiency continues to be seen as a strong argument in the explanation of disadvantage. Recent studies have shown that teachers – to cite one obviously important group – are still very prone to accept it (again, see Edwards, 1989 for a comprehensive review here).

If disadvantaged groups’ difficulties do not spring from innate inferiorities or intellectually stunting environments, to what can be ascribed their very real educational problems? Logic and the process of elimination lead to the position that disadvantage resides in group differences, rather than in basic cognitive deficiency. Because of social comparison, and because it is clear which groups are relatively powerful and which subordinate, differences essentially become deficits. These are real enough, but it is important to realize that they are essentially social deficiencies. While the problems of the disadvantaged remain, their solution can now be seen to lie in the eradication of prejudice and ill-judged assessment. In some ways, this makes disadvantage even more disabling, since history suggests that problems whose existence rests upon social norms and values are among the most intractable. Even wide-ranging social revolutions and redistributions of power are unlikely to eliminate disadvantage; in the aftermath of such movements, new players may adopt new roles and the characteristics of disadvantage may alter,

but the phenomenon itself seems endemic in stratified societies. This is not to say, however, that nothing can be done.

### The Language Dimension

Language has a central and obvious position in social interaction and comparison. It is to be expected that 'different' language more accurately characterizes the disadvantaged than does 'deficient' language, and examining the linguistic dimension will flesh out the preceding generalities.

Sociologists and educators who studied class dialects in the early part of the 20th century generally held that lower-class speakers were both insufficiently exact and grammatically deficient, their speech being less complex in terms, for example, of phrase and clause usage. It is necessary to point out, however, that usage levels, or performance, need not relate to underlying competence (habitual performance is, of course, of some interest in its own right).

The work of the British sociologist, Bernstein (1959, 1960, 1971–1975), was significant in the analysis and explanation of lower-class language. In the 1950s, he introduced the terms 'public' and 'formal' language: the former, emphasizing emotion rather than logic, was the lower-class variant, while the latter, rich in sentence complexity, is that of the middle class (which also, however, has access to public forms). Public language is, above all, characterized by concrete and non-symbolic expression, in which syntactic and lexical usage is restricted. Formal language, by contrast, has great symbolic and abstract expressivity. In later writings, Bernstein (1971–1975) referred to these varieties as restricted and elaborated codes.

While some of Bernstein's statements about the codes have a decidedly deficit ring to them (e.g., "the normal linguistic environment of the working class is one of relative deprivation"; Bernstein, 1960: 276), he did also note some strengths associated with public language ("simplicity and directness of expression, emotionally virile [sic], pithy and powerful"; Bernstein, 1959: 322). In the 1970s, Bernstein attempted to distance himself from any deficit interpretation and any group comparison at the level of competence, and he specifically rejected the prevailing sentiments behind compensatory education programs for the disadvantaged. Indeed, despite some of his own rather ambiguous statements, Bernstein should probably be placed within the difference camp. This does not alter the fact, however, that, whether correctly or wrongly interpreted, his work fueled the environmental-deficit argument on the linguistic contribution to educational underachievement.

The results of Bernstein's experimental studies certainly showed differences of habitual usage between

groups (e.g., groups of working-class messenger boys compared with senior public-school pupils). The question, of course, is what to make of them. Many deficit theorists have had no difficulty here. The intra-family communication work done by Bernstein and his colleagues in Britain, work that reinforced the view that public-language restrictions develop from inadequate mother-child patterns, was taken up in the United States. Lower-class interactions were said to be of an imperative-normative kind, with direct and concrete language being used to maintain parental authority and control. Communication between middle-class mothers and children, however, was considered to be of a more rational and explanatory nature, setting the stage for such useful cognitive operations as generalization, logic, and planning. Indeed, in an elegant but vacuous phrase, one American research team noted that "the meaning of deprivation [is] deprivation of meaning" (Hess and Shipman, 1968: 103). All of this work is suspect. The effects of being interviewed and providing language data generally may themselves differentiate social groups; it is difficult to generalize from such data to real home interactions; untested assumptions are made about links between variations in maternal behavior and children's developing cognitive abilities; and so on. Also, there is again in this work a strong and essentially unexamined belief in the correctness of middle-class standards and practices.

Verbal 'deprivation' was also, unsurprisingly, a powerful element in those programs of compensation underpinned by social-deficit theory. One of the most notable here began from the assumption that the lower-class (Black) child was generally retarded. Specifically, his or her language was 'immature' and 'rudimentary,' and, because of this, language was seen as 'dispensable': thus, "language for the disadvantaged child ... is not of vital importance" (Bereiter and Engelmann, 1966: 42). On this preposterous basis the authors – who had apparently never observed children from the orally rich Black culture at play – outlined a program to compensate youngsters for things they were not lacking in the first place.

None of these debatable observations about language was made by linguists, of whom virtually all have rejected the deficit philosophy from which they emerged. Many years ago, Sapir said that, "when it comes to linguistic form, Plato walks with the Macedonian swineherd, Confucius with the head-hunting savage of Assam" (Guy, 1988: 64) and, although we might not put things quite like that today, Sapir's thesis has proved convincing. Other linguists have rejected the idea of primitive mediums; while languages are not necessarily equivalent in all forms of expression, and while some may be more useful in

some contexts, such dichotomies as better or worse, superior or inferior, are not applicable. More specifically, the same can be said for dialects and other varieties within a language. All forms are adequate for the needs of speakers within their own speech communities; issues of 'correctness' need to be considered with reference to each variety's own grammar, and problems generally arise only when different varieties come into contact.

In the 1960s and 1970s, this matter was thoroughly dealt with by Labov (1973) and his associates. Their test case was Black English (BE), a very good choice, since BE had long been widely perceived as a deficient and illogical approximation to proper English. The work had four important strands.

First, it was shown that the contexts in which verbal deprivation was diagnosed were generally threatening and hence inappropriate. A small Black child questioned by a large White adult typically produced "defensive, monosyllabic behavior" (Labov, 1973: 27). By simply relaxing somewhat, the formalities associated with speech elicitation, the child's performance improved dramatically, coming more to resemble that linguistic richness reflected and valued in the Black speech community.

Second, it proved possible to demonstrate that the 'restricted' speech of the lower class might well, if linguistic prejudices could be set aside, be viewed as more forceful and direct, and less redundant and verbose, than the 'elaborated' forms of the middle class. Concrete and highly charged language usage (showing, indeed, that 'pithy' quality noted by Bernstein) contrasts favorably with a more educated verbosity, which hedges basic ideas with a welter of qualification and hesitation. Of course, it can be reasonably argued that qualification and caution have a place, particularly in contexts in which difficult or abstract issues are under discussion; consequently, this second strand may be the weakest or the least completely developed. Nonetheless, it usefully challenges the received wisdom about the inevitable appropriateness of middle-class usage.

The third point of importance touched upon the competence-performance distinction. Black children were found to repeat standard English sentences in Black form. Given that the latter is a valid and rule-governed dialect (see below), and given that these repetitions exactly captured the original meaning, Labov (1973) argued that there was no evidence here at all for any inadequacy in pronunciation, grammar, or, indeed, basic cognitive ability. Children comprehend the meaning of what they hear, then (unsurprisingly) reproduce it in the form most familiar to them. The point was further reinforced by studies showing that White children repeating

sentences phrased in BE typically employed standard forms.

The final, and most important, element in the overall argument dealt with specific aspects of BE grammar. The central and necessary point to be established here was that BE forms, though different (but not vastly different, incidentally) from standard ones, were adhered to as regularly as those of other varieties. Just two examples will suffice. One of the obvious features of BE is the deletion of the copula verb (in phrases like *He goin' to the store* or *We on tape*, where standard usage would produce *He is going to the store* and *We are on tape*). The copula verb *does* appear, however, in the past tense (*I was small then*). The regularity is that, in contexts where standard English permits contraction (*He is going* can become *He's going*), BE allows deletion (notice, by the way, that there is no loss in meaning, no ambiguity, in either case). Where standard usage prohibits contraction (for example, *He's as nice as he says he is* cannot become *\*He's as nice as he says he's*), so BE rules ban deletion. A final point here: the copula deletion traditionally condemned as inaccurate usage does, in fact, exist in approved form in (informal) standard English too: *That your car?*, a strolling policeman might say to an illegally parked motorist.

A second example concerns such constructions as *She be standin' around* or *He be always foolin' about*, again, typically seen by White teachers and others as incorrect. Here, the *be* indicates habitual behavior and, were it absent, the BE speaker would be referring to a present action only.

These and other demonstrations convincingly make the case that BE (and, by extension, other English dialects) is a system within which grammatical rules are obeyed, not a haphazard assortment of utterances. Indeed, given what is known of human cognitive development, the rule-governed hypothesis intrinsically makes much more sense than the haphazard one, regardless of specific empirical observation, for what group, wherever and however it lived, could maintain itself adequately with a basically flawed communication system? Even so, a deficit conception of language continues in many quarters, and popular prejudices still exist toward disadvantaged forms, which are often seen as indicators of innate or acquired intellectual handicap. More worrying is that allegiance to a deficit philosophy is still evident in some academic circles.

One line of argument in such circles is that, while interventions based upon language-deficit models have been of only limited success, the models themselves are not without value. Another related suggestion is that deficit and difference theorists have typically attended to different aspects of language, with the



former being mainly concerned with semantics, the latter with grammar. In either case, the linguistically overwhelming evidence against a deficit philosophy is quite incorrectly downplayed.

In 1983, Honey succeeded in muddying the waters with a monograph in which linguistic arguments supporting a difference viewpoint were rejected. Honey disagreed with the central thesis that all varieties are valid systems, claiming that this undermines attempts to reintroduce ‘standards’ at school and pushes disadvantaged speakers into a ‘language trap.’ What these persons really need, according to Honey, is assistance with standard English, but he complained that the contemporary linguistic stance, with its respect for all varieties, undercuts this and, in some cases, encourages the school to promote nonstandard forms. Detailed review of Honey’s work is impossible here (though it has been undertaken by several prominent linguists, some of whom were attacked by name in the monograph), but the main points are easily summarized. First, the author has fallen prey to a confusion between concepts and the words to describe them: thus, so-called primitive groups may lack words or terms current in more ‘advanced’ societies, but this tells us about their physical and psychological lifestyle, not about the validity of their language (the question of why different groups develop in different ways is, of course, an interesting one, but it need have no relationship to matters of linguistic relativity). Second, in important ways Honey has misinterpreted the sort of evidence adduced by Labov (1973), which bears upon the linguistic validity of BE. Third, there is the failure to understand that language differences become deficits through the medium of popular convention and prejudice. Finally, Honey mistakenly imagined that a school policy that tolerates and does not stigmatize the use of nonstandard varieties must necessarily lead to an active fostering of these varieties (and a concomitant de-emphasis on standard forms).

Notwithstanding linguistic and other insights into the nature of language variation, it is important to remain vigilant and not to imagine that older and less informed views will simply vanish. Social psychology has long shown that the more mental energy we invest in a particular set of perceptions, the more unwilling we are to change them – even when faced with apparently unanswerable contradictions – preferring instead to engage in various forms of denial, distortion, and self-deception.

### Language Attitudes

It is important to understand the evidence supporting a difference interpretation of language variety.

However, it may change little in a practical sense, since it would be naive indeed to imagine that widespread diffusion of linguistic findings (assuming that were possible) would speedily eradicate incorrect perceptions. It is therefore necessary to consider in further detail those attitudes which translate language difference into language deficiency. These, it turns out, are matters with a long history; whether it is language, dialect, or accent that is discussed, preferences and prejudices tend to come to the fore. The 16th-century poet, Carew, felt that the Italian language was “pleasant, but without sinews,” French “delicate,” Spanish “majestical but fulsome,” and Dutch “manlike, but withal very harsh.” These judgments certainly reflected broad stereotypes of the day.

Dialect attitudes are most pertinent here, of course. When social comparison and inequalities of power make one dialect standard, it does not follow that others are linguistically or cognitively **substandard** (although, if it can maintain nonpejorative status, the term ‘nonstandard’ is acceptable here) – a matter of *primus inter pares*, perhaps. However, works of reference have often unfortunately reinforced a ‘substandard’ interpretation. The Oxford English Dictionary (OED), for instance, has referred to dialect as a ‘subordinate’ form arising from ‘local peculiarities’ – a definition implicitly held by those for whom ‘dialect’ means some rustic or regional variety. Similarly, on accent, the OED notes ‘peculiar’ alterations of pitch, ‘mispronunciation,’ ‘misplacing of stress,’ and ‘misinflection.’ Little wonder, then, that it is still easy to find people who claim they have neither a dialect nor an accent, or to discover others eager to shed unwanted and socially stigmatized forms.

If dialects cannot be distinguished linguistically as better or worse, could it be that some are aesthetically more pleasing than others? This has certainly been a feature of much popular prejudice and, in *The Best English*, Wyld (1934) claimed that any unbiased listener would find RP (received pronunciation) the most pleasant, the most educated, and the variety best suited for formal purposes. He touched upon the heart of the matter with the word ‘unbiased’ – how does one obtain such a listener? Work by Giles and his colleagues attempted to illuminate this. They began by noting two basic possibilities: either some forms are intrinsically more pleasing than others (the ‘inherent value’ hypothesis) or aesthetic judgments proceed from assessments of the social standing of the speakers. To test this, judges unfamiliar with language varieties were asked to evaluate them on aesthetic grounds. In one study, Welsh adults with no knowledge of French were unable to differentiate among European French, educated Canadian French, and working-class Canadian French on this basis

(even though different levels of pleasantness were found by judges drawn from **within** the French speech community). In a second experiment, English speakers knowing no Greek were asked to rate Athenian and Cretan varieties which, in the Greek context itself, are clearly marked as being of high and low status, respectively. Again, no inherent aesthetic superiority was detected. This leaves what Giles termed an 'imposed norm' explanation, one that rests upon the power of social convention and belief. The comedic effect of having a stage duchess with Cockney speech reflects ingrained and widely shared speech-community standards. A further demonstration of the purely arbitrary nature of status judgments was provided by Trudgill (1975). In England, speakers of the high-status RP do not pronounce the postvocalic *r* (in words like *cart* and *mar*), while in New York exactly the reverse holds: the higher a speaker's social standing, the more likely he or she is to sound the *r*.

More fine-grained analysis of language attitudes followed upon the introduction of the 'matched-guise' technique by Lambert and his colleagues. Here, judges evaluate recorded speakers' personality traits after hearing them read the same passage in each of two or more guises. Any rating differences can then be ascribed to language factors, since paralinguistic variables (pitch, tone of voice, etc.) are of course constant across samples. Two points are important here: first, judges must not realize that they are rating the same person using different dialects or accents (and typically they do not); second, the reasonable assumption is made that attitudes toward speech are, in fact, attitudes toward speakers: the speech acts as a trigger for a social stereotype, from which flow specific judgments, preferences, and prejudices.

Widespread use of this method in many different contexts has revealed that dialect evaluation generally involves three personality dimensions. Some dimensions of evaluation (including traits such as intelligence and industriousness) reflect a speaker's perceived competence; some (helpfulness, trustworthiness) reflect personal integrity; and some (friendliness, sense of humor) underlie social attractiveness. While, as might be expected, high-status dialects generally evoke high ratings of speaker competence, they do **not** always elicit strong perceptions of integrity and attractiveness: on the contrary, these last two (sometimes collectively seen as representing a larger, group-solidarity, dimension) are more associated with lower-class and lower-status varieties. Experimental results are, in fact, rather more involved than this summary suggests, but a reasonably fair gloss might be that higher-status speech forms are popularly associated (by both middle-class and lower-class

judges, incidentally) with speaker intelligence, ambition, and drive, while the dialects of disadvantage connote trust, liking, and a general down-to-earth quality. The findings are not, then, entirely negative for the disadvantaged population by any means, but the great importance of personal competence (or the perception of it by others) remains central in educational and other settings.

Teachers' attitudes are of particular significance here since there is no reason to assume that they will diverge greatly from those of society at large, and because their perceptions may be especially salient in the definition and maintenance of disadvantage. There is a large literature on teacher expectations and the effects they have upon pupils' self-regard and scholastic progress; specifically, it has been shown that the formation of these expectations rests upon existing knowledge (and ignorance) and early assessment of children's characteristics. A child whose speech is perceived as substandard, and whose cognitive capabilities are, in turn, questioned, will be categorized and stereotyped in specific ways. There is, of course, nothing inherently wrong or unnatural with teachers' expectations; they proceed from a universal tendency to simplify and understand a complex world which, without classification, threatens to overwhelm. But the familiar dangers of stereotyping and prejudice involve inaccurate, irrational, or incomplete categorization, often with harmful effects. Educational misperceptions based upon incorrect language assessment may create difficulties where none need exist. There is, perhaps, a special element of tragedy here inasmuch as the disadvantaged children likely to be inadequately understood in this way are exactly those children whose lives are already burdened with more tangible and inescapable weights. Experience suggests that the phenomenon of the 'nonverbal' child (to give but one example) may often be one created by teachers insensitive to cross-cultural (or cross-subcultural) differences in the domains of competition, response to authority figures, customary reaction to threat, and so on.

It is perhaps unnecessary to state that teachers are not simply and generally being accused of malice, racism, or 'classism' (although these qualities exist among them, as in the general population). Teachers are more concerned than most with the promotion of tolerance and increased social mobility. However, once installed in the classroom, there is evidence that teachers are quickly socialized into the traditional ways of the school, and this may mean a continuation of inaccurate views of disadvantage and, therefore, of disadvantage itself. Studies in the 1980s in North America and Europe have confirmed this, and have also confirmed that contemporary

teachers, more tolerant of language variation than previously, still adhere in the main to a deficit view and still consider one of their major tasks to be the elimination of 'incorrect' speech patterns and the inculcation of 'proper' ones.

For example, in a study of primary and secondary teachers in Nova Scotia, Edwards and McKinnon (1987) found that disadvantage-as-deficit maintained its appeal; while teachers stressed the importance of home-background characteristics as contributors to disadvantage, they clearly viewed some environments as substantively deficient. With specific regard to language, teachers believed that disadvantaged children were incapable of properly articulating their thoughts, and generally placed little value on receptive and expressive skills (see Bereiter and Engelmann, 1966; Hess and Shipman, 1968). Minority-group children (in this study, Black and Acadian children) were particularly singled out, with Black pupils seen to have a "slang language all their own." A European review by Hagen (1987) has indicated that some countries such as France retain a centralist view of standard language, while others (the Netherlands, for example) have more liberal legislative perspectives on dialect variation, even if not always matched by school practice. Citing Dutch and Italian work, Hagen noted that non-standard-speaking children's favorable attitudes to their own speech often decline dramatically as they grow up.

### Educational Responses to Disadvantage

Language varieties associated with relatively subordinate groups are not inherently deficient, but they do possess negative connotations because of social stratification and comparisons that lead to denigration. Thus, social differences become deficits and non-standard speech becomes substandard. While still waiting for an end to the unfair and inaccurate language perceptions that contribute to educational disadvantage and failure, it is not unreasonable to consider what schools might be doing.

First, of course, schools and teachers must become more aware of the relevant psychological and linguistic evidence bearing upon disadvantage. The wider society is generally ignorant here, so there is a real limitation on schools. On the one hand, schools tend to reflect mainstream society more than they lead it; on the other, even were schools to become centers of linguistic enlightenment, their students would still emerge into somewhat darker settings. Given these limitations, it is still quite possible for schools and teachers to be linguistically educated; the essentials of

the difference-deficit argument, for example, are not difficult to grasp and do not require lengthy exposition or sophisticated prior knowledge.

Second, given the practicalities of social life, it should be assumed that a standard-language variety will continue to be important and particularly valued, and that increased mobility will be positively affected by facility with it. The recommendations made by some linguists that schools should actively encourage (in writing, as well as in speaking) nonstandard usage may seem somewhat naive. Indeed, a common accepted standard can be a leveling device rather than an exclusionary one, and a great asset in personal and group communicative efficiency. It would be a cruel irony if a rather innocent regard for all varieties resulted in a social babel where, it may be assumed, certain groups would again end up at the bottom of the heap.

Does this not bring us back to the rejected position associated with Honey? The difference is this: while it would be inappropriate and unjust for schools to neglect the standard (and while, incidentally, this would arouse great resentment on the part of disadvantaged groups themselves), a linguistically enlightened policy demands tolerance at school for all forms. Furthermore, the best available evidence indicates that this tolerance should accompany very clear messages that mother-tongue varieties of every kind are both valid and valuable. The aim should be language-repertoire **addition**, not **replacement**: a policy of bidialectalism. Again, the evidence suggests that this is not at all an insuperable task to require of children (consider the development and maintenance of bilingual skills in suitable settings), nor need it be solely a school-based imposition. When discussing disadvantage, groups existing in the same large society are being treated; in terms of language, this means that disadvantaged groups typically have a considerable, if somewhat passive, exposure to standard forms, forms that are clearly associated with desired social contexts and rewards. The findings concerning sentence repetition indicate this latent standard facility; other evidence supports the fact that disadvantaged children, from an early age, can comprehend standard forms and, indeed, will use them themselves if they judge this appropriate. Schools, then, should activate this knowledge and make it clear to children that a broadening of their performance skills makes sense.

This is a matter of some delicacy, however, for children are being asked to accept two social facts that could easily be seen as contradictory. On the one hand, the message is that the mother-tongue variety is perfectly adequate within the home speech

community, both for communicative purposes and as a vehicle of group solidarity. On the other, the child is to be made aware that a life beyond that community may require repertoire expansion. Transmission of these two messages requires tact and sensitivity based upon adequate knowledge of children's language and culture, but it will be assisted in many cases by a desire for mobility that is (unsurprisingly) strong in most disadvantaged communities. Indeed, one might note that the low regard for education supposedly characteristic of the lower class (in the deficit perspective) is much less common than a sometimes overoptimistic hope for mobility through education.

Experience, including that derived from deficit-inspired compensatory programs, suggests that formalized and drill-like language curricula make little sense. They run the risk, above all, of instilling a replacement perspective that is both uncalled-for linguistically and potentially damaging psychologically. A more *laissez-faire* policy seems appropriate, in which teachers act as standard-speaking models (most teachers are, in fact standard-variety speakers, either by upbringing or through their own professional socialization), and in which children's own good sense will lead to the desired expansion. Anything more formal will be counterproductive and will, at the least, contribute to an unnecessary rift between the child's school life and his or her unselfconscious participation in the community. Moreover, it should be noted again that this apparently *laissez-faire* policy is not simply some default option but, rather, a reasoned and aware reflection of all the evidence and insight presented here.

Recent developments in fine-grained analysis of classroom communication hold out the hopes of refining awareness and improving practices. For example, the traditional assertions that disadvantaged children's 'restricted' usage leads to difficulties with the 'elaborated' language of school are undercut by real classroom patterns, which are very often delimited exercises in control, both particularistic and concrete. Indeed, the view of schools as middle-class institutions has itself been challenged on these grounds. (While, in fact, this challenge cannot be sustained – schools are middle-class in the attitudes, skills, and values stressed there – there is clearly more work to be done in ascertaining classroom dynamics.)

Ethnographic analyses of classroom language have, for some time now, paid greater attention to such factors as the psychological context in which teacher-pupil interactions occur, a context in which postural configurations, direct and indirect verbal strategies, conversational rhythms, and prosody are important.

These and other aspects clarify how impoverished traditional deficit-based and disembodied speech analyses are. Also central here is the interpretation of tacit school rules based upon teachers' needs for order. There is a more subtle treatment of the classroom as a speech domain in its own right, where a whole cultural code must be mastered for success. The implication is that disadvantage may be partly understood as an incomplete grasping of this code, which combines both knowledge and its appropriate display (for a seminal article here, see Mehan, 1984).

If traditional school practices required pupil adaptation in a sink-or-swim approach, while compensatory intervention programs were heavy-handed with insensitive alterations built upon insecure foundations, new approaches founded on subtle observation may help with both the school adaptation to classroom heterogeneity and a desired repertoire expansion on the part of children. Mehan's (1984) study demonstrated that detailed assessment of language styles between teachers and disadvantaged children allowed practical advice to be given to teachers about how best to adapt. This had the effect of lessening the passivity and 'nonverbality' of the pupils and, once greater participation was established, children were gradually and subtly introduced to school styles.

To reduce educational failure associated with group disadvantage, a combination of practical innovations and the transfer of existing psychological and linguistic information is needed. Ethnographic analysis of classroom discourse promises useful insights that can quickly be turned to the benefit of the disadvantaged (and their instructors). It is equally important, however, to provide teachers and others, such as speech therapists, with a much more detailed knowledge of language variation and its ramifications. While the mechanisms of disadvantage are outside the reach of school alone, there is no reason for classroom experiences to add unnecessarily to children's problems. A failure to try to ease these burdens is, in fact, a repudiation of the essence of education in a civilized society.

## A Decade On

It has to be said that issues and problems have not changed greatly since this article first appeared a decade ago; the underpinnings of educational failure, in the sense discussed here, remain. The informed, academic support for the different-but-not-deficient interpretation of scholastic and linguistic disadvantage must still contend with broader and more popular views that either perceive disadvantage as substantive deficit (in more or less direct fashion) or



else effectively translate difference into deficiency (through the operation of language attitudes and stereotypes, for example). Thus, the calls made above for greater general awareness of the nature of disadvantage, and for more sensitive treatment of language at school, in particular, must unfortunately be reiterated. Controversies surrounding Ebonics – as Black English has recently been styled in some quarters – provide a good example of the continuation of those heady intertwinings of knowledge and ignorance, prejudice and innocence, which we have so often seen before.

One or two of the major players mentioned above have re-entered the fray; the general impact, however, has been more to reinforce original positions than to advance understanding. Bernstein (1997: 47) has discussed the context within which his code theory was formulated and presented, and – rather disingenuously – observed that the difference/deficit debate was “of little theoretical significance” and “obscured more than it revealed.” He also offers here an analysis of Labov’s 1973 paper, but pays no attention to the grammatical aspects that were characterized (above) as the most important element in the overall argument. An interesting defense of Bernstein and his work has been mounted by Robinson (1998), who correctly points out that many of the views for which Bernstein was most vilified were not, in fact, his views at all. Robinson also maintains that academic criticism of Bernstein was essentially nonconstructive, not “Popperian-based”, and often personalized. However, while such criticism certainly arose in some quarters, it would be a mistake to imagine that more measured treatments were absent (see Edwards, 1989). In a book published in 1997, Honey has re-emphasized his views (initially expressed in 1983) of standard and nonstandard language, views that have attracted considerable criticism for reasons already discussed here (see above). More recently, Honey (1998) suggested that academic criticism of his thesis is marred by false argument and innuendo.

In general, then, it is fair to say that the social conditions and the social prejudices that produce and maintain the educational failure associated with group disadvantage are still very much with us. It is also fair to say that much of the discussion of the issue – within and without the academic cloister – continues to generate more heat than light.

*See also:* Educational Failure; Language Policy in Multilingual Educational Contexts; Politics of Teaching; Second Language Teacher Preparation.

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## Foreign Language Teaching Policy

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### Defining Foreign Languages

As used here, the term ‘foreign language teaching’ refers to two phenomena: (a) the provision in one country of instruction in a language whose home base is another country, and (b) instruction in a transnational language such as English or Arabic whose identification with a particular country is minimal. Policies with respect to both of these phenomena will be referred to as foreign language policies. In most countries, the second type of foreign language is becoming more important than the first in foreign language teaching policy.

It is also important to note that in many countries the division between domestic and foreign languages is imprecise. In Canada, French is a regional language, serving as the official language of Quebec, and it is the first non-mother-tongue language taught to children in the non-Francophone portions of Canada, and it is also taught as a foreign language. Tamil is both a domestic and a foreign language in Sri Lanka. Turkish and Arabic are both foreign and immigrant languages in many of the cities of Europe. Spanish was at first an immigrant language in the United States. It has become a strong regional language in California, Florida, and the American southwest, and it is the foreign language with the largest enrollment in schools and colleges throughout the United States. Modern Standard Arabic is taught in countries in the Maghreb and the Middle East, where it is often used in official and educational venues, but it is somewhat different from the spoken vernaculars in those countries.

### Foreign Language Policy Decisions

With respect to the teaching of foreign languages, there are a number of interconnected policy decisions that administrators and educators must make. First, they must decide the relative emphasis to give to foreign languages in both educational and public affairs. In addition to this general decision, there are a series of more specific architectural decisions about the organization of foreign language teaching in the formal education system that have to be made: (a) when to start foreign language instruction; (b) what proportion and what kinds of students will receive foreign language teaching as a mandatory or as an optional subject; (c) in what grades and for how many

hours or years should foreign languages be taught; (d) should the foreign languages be taught as subjects to be studied or as media of instruction in teaching other subjects; (e) how many and which languages should be taught; (f) how should standards of achievement be set and assessed, and (g) how to recruit and train teachers. With a few exceptions, in most countries the precise form of foreign language pedagogy to be used is not the subject of official policy, leaving the choice to individual teachers and textbook publishers.

### Categories of Countries by Linguistic Context

While most scholarly attention to foreign language policy has concentrated on Europe, it is instructive to examine it more broadly throughout the world. In doing so, it is useful to divide countries into a number of categories according to differences in the linguistic contexts in which they teach foreign languages. Each of the linguistic contexts makes a difference in both the emphasis given to foreign language education and how the system is structured. The classification of countries used here is (1) mosaic countries with a large number of important domestic languages; (2) monolingual countries where languages other than English are the primary mother tongue; (3) English-mother-tongue countries, (4) Continental Europe. The rank order of these categories roughly parallels differences in the relative importance of foreign language teaching, ranging from little to highly important.

#### Mosaic Countries with Numerous Important Domestic Languages

The majority of countries in the world have five or more important indigenous languages. In many such countries, the overwhelming language policy issues are concerned with the development and relative standing of multiple national languages, and the languages of major important regional minorities, autochthonous peoples, and immigrant groups. Foreign language instruction tends to be given limited importance. This situation is characteristic of many of the countries of Africa where the official status of the many indigenous languages is under negotiation, and where corpus language policy issues such as the determination of standard versions of indigenous languages, the development of scripts, the promotion of literacy, and the management of the transition from vernaculars used in the home to standardized school languages are still major tasks for language policy

makers. Where foreign language instruction is developed in mosaic countries, the language studied tends to be English as a world language, and to a lesser extent French, in former French colonies. In many of the latter countries, the proportion of students enrolled in the study of English as opposed to French is rising. In Cambodia, for instance, when students are given a choice, they choose English over French by a two-to-one margin. In Vietnam, another former French colony, about 90% of the schools teach English as the first foreign language.

Where colonial or foreign languages are taught in mosaic countries, the teaching tends to be in private schools, or, when in public schools, at the secondary and tertiary levels, often on an optional basis. Knowledge of the colonial language serves as a screening device for upward mobility and entrance into the cosmopolitan environment. Only rarely is more than one foreign language offered or taken in mosaic societies.

### **Non-European Linguistically Homogeneous Countries**

In countries outside of Europe where a single domestic language predominates, foreign language instruction tends to concentrate almost exclusively on English. In Japan, for instance, the teaching of English has been a focus of language policy since the Meiji restoration, although only recently for the general populace. Although the study of English is not a compulsory subject, 90% of Japanese students receive English instruction. Other foreign languages are given much less emphasis. When taught, non-English foreign languages tend to be in private schools, in universities that specialize in the teaching of foreign languages, and in schools that prepare business people for foreign assignments.

The teaching of English presents special problems for countries such as Japan, whose home languages belong to unrelated language families. For one thing, students take considerably longer to master the language. Second, it is difficult to train teachers so that they can approximate native speakers and can employ teaching strategies different from those they are accustomed to in learning or teaching their own language. The Japanese solution to these problems is to import British and American students to serve on a temporary basis as native speaker assistants in Japan and to send Japanese teachers into classrooms in the United States in which Japanese is taught to perform similar functions and to observe American language teaching styles. Other countries use study abroad for raising the command of English among their teachers, and the development of country-specific varieties of English enable countries to train their teachers at home.

A similar emphasis on the teaching of English is found in most Southeast Asian countries—Brunei, Burma, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand—and in the countries of Central and South America. China, while a mosaic country with extensive internal linguistic variety, with respect to the teaching of foreign languages it acts like a monolingual society, promoting the overarching *lingua franca* Putonghua, and it teaches English as the primary foreign language. English is taught selectively in some secondary schools, and China is experimenting with requiring it at the college level.

Israel has a large (18%) Arabic-speaking minority which by and large resides in a separate sector of the country. In the Jewish sector, 60% of the population was born outside of the country and speaks a wide variety of languages. The official government statement on foreign language teaching, *1996 Policy for Language Education in Israel*, makes provision for language maintenance of immigrant languages. However, in language policy, it tends to act like a non-English speaking monolingual or bilingual country. The official language of Israel is Modern Hebrew, but in the Palestinian portion of Israel, Modern Standard Arabic is taught. In the two linguistic sectors, the teaching of each other's language is required. Foreign language instruction is by and large confined to English, which all students are required to study at the elementary and secondary levels.

### **English-Mother-Tongue Countries**

In all of these countries, the presence of English, the world language—one that is predominant in international discourse, in science, business, and in a large sector of the popular entertainment culture—lowers the motivation for governments and educational institutions to teach other languages and, most important, for students to study them. The more general humanistic motivations for studying a foreign language—personal enrichment and multicultural understanding—are less persuasive to both students and educational administrators.

Furthermore, in each of the English-mother-tongue countries, policy toward domestic languages demands a substantial amount of attention. In New Zealand, the primary issue is the maintenance of Maori. In the UK, it is the support of regional minority languages: Welsh and Gaelic. In Ireland it is the rejuvenation of Irish. In Australia it is the maintenance of the aboriginal languages, and support for immigrant languages, there called 'community languages.' In the UK, it is problems with the languages of the South Asian immigrant communities. In the US, it is the provision of early education in the home language for immigrant

children legally designated as having Limited English Proficiency (LEP), some 3 million students, or about 6.7% of all students. Three-quarters of LEP students are Hispanic.

The countries where English is the mother tongue may in turn be divided into two categories: (a) those located in continents far from Europe such as Canada, Australia, and the US; and (b) the UK and Ireland in which the foreign language teaching system is a more limited version of mainland Europe.

**Category (a) English-Mother-Tongue Countries Distant from Europe** The major countries in category (a)—Canada, Australia, and the United States—have extensive foreign language teaching systems, but in scale and reach they are considerably more limited than in those in Continental Europe. They tend to start later, reach a smaller per cent of educational institutions, are less mandatory, and have sharp drops in enrollment and major pedagogical gaps across educational levels.

Foreign language policy making in each of these countries is largely decentralized, the responsibility of provincial, state, or local governments, or, in the United States, of individual school districts, schools, and teachers. Accordingly, the language educational systems vary significantly from one section of the country to another, with some sections relatively strong in foreign language teaching and other sections weak. Australia has had a number of attempts at centralized policy making for foreign language teaching systems (Lo Bianco, 1987), and for several decades the study of foreign languages has been actively promoted both by government and by university-based centers established for this purpose. However, support by the Commonwealth government has waxed and waned over the years. The United States has no mechanism for national foreign language planning, nor has there been any sustained national advocacy for the expansion of the foreign language teaching system. Moreover, all policy, where there is one, is made at the level of the state, the school district, and the individual teacher.

In one respect, category (a) English-mother-tongue countries distant from Europe have more fully developed foreign language educational systems than the UK and Europe. Because they do not need to teach English as a foreign language, and because the expectation is somewhat less that their citizens will come to actively use their foreign language competencies as adults, particularly with respect to European languages, the choice of which languages to teach is somewhat freer. Accordingly, each country has dedicated a portion of its system to expanding the geographic coverage of the languages taught. In the

western part of Canada, the substantial immigration from Asia has increased the number of students who elect to study Asian languages. Australia has provided substantial Commonwealth government support to an initiative called National Asian Languages and Studies in Australian Schools (NALSAS). Its goal was to expand the coverage of Asian languages. As a result, in 2000 some 23.4% of Australian students, about 750 000 of all students, were studying an Asian language.

In the United States, which languages are taught is heavily influenced by the preferences of students, and they have drifted away from traditional European languages. Before World War I, most students who studied a foreign language in school were enrolled in Latin and Greek. In the early decades of the twentieth century, language choice followed the British and European pattern of emphasizing German and French. In recent years, enrollments in the United States have shifted overwhelmingly to Spanish, not as a European language but as a language of the Americas. In addition, U.S. governmental policy has fostered the growth of instruction in a great many of the non-Western languages of East Asia, Eastern Europe, and the Middle East. They were introduced first in the universities but are now spreading into colleges and secondary schools. Even primary schools have seen an increase in the study of non-Western languages. While they represent only 2% of enrollments in secondary schools, led by Chinese and Japanese, their enrollments have been increasing. At the collegiate and university level, 21% of the students enrolled in foreign language classes are studying a non-Western European language. It takes longer for English speakers to master these languages. According to the Defense Language Institute in the United States, which teaches many languages, it takes about five times longer for an English speaker to learn Japanese or Chinese than to learn French or German. As a consequence, a number of architectural challenges arise for foreign language teaching systems: a shortage of qualified teachers; low enrollment classes, particularly at the advanced level; and special problems of using immigrant native speakers as instructors who are untrained in foreign language pedagogy and have a limited knowledge of the language of the students they are teaching.

The individual countries in category (a) differ considerably in the architecture of their foreign language teaching systems. Canada is a prime example of a linguistically binary country (Lambert, 1999), that is, a country in which two sections of the country have different mother-tongues—in this case English and French. The rationale for Canada's bilingual education program is primarily domestic, the promotion



of a single national identity in a culturally divided country. It is not the promotion of foreign language skills. If the teaching of French in the Anglophone sections and the teaching of English in Quebec were considered foreign language instruction, Canada's foreign language education system would be among the most extensive in the world. Indeed, its innovations in second-language teaching have introduced a variety of new pedagogical practices, particularly in the development of immersion language instruction, which have influenced foreign language instruction throughout the world. In the full-immersion system, children start to study the second language in early primary school years, and throughout their schooling a variety of subject matter courses is taught in the second language. Second-language instruction can require up to 5000 hours of instruction time in the primary and secondary school years, although most students receive a lesser amount of language education.

In Australia, most states and territories require students to take at least 3 years of a foreign language. Language education generally starts in primary school, but in the early years it is primarily aimed at cultural awareness rather than skill acquisition. In many states, language study is mandatory from mid-primary school through grade 8 when compulsory language instruction stops. This results in a huge drop in enrollments in school years 9 and 10, when fewer than 50% of students study languages other than English. By year 12, the per cent has dropped even further to only 13.2%. One survey noted: "The general level of language study in Australia has fallen dramatically in the past twenty-five years. In the 1960s, about 40% of final year school students studied a language other than English. Today fewer than 1% of all higher education students complete a language unit at any stage in their course" (Erebus Consulting Partners, 2002: Chap. 2, p. 11).

In the US, only about one-third (31%) of elementary schools offers foreign language instruction, but only about 15% of all students receive it. Moreover, in elementary school at least half of the courses tend to be pointed toward general language familiarization rather than the attainment of proficiency. As in Australia, most of them provide less than two hours per week of language instruction. While 86% of U.S. secondary schools provide foreign language instruction, usually for five hours per week, enrollment is generally optional, and 40% of secondary school students receive no foreign language instruction at all. Moreover, the duration of language study tends to be limited—80% of enrollees receive two years or less of language study. Only about 50% of the students enrolled in any one year of language study continue to the next level. In the year 2000, only

13.2% of all students at grade level 12 were enrolled in foreign language courses (Lambert, 2000), and only about half of secondary school students receive any foreign language instruction at all. A substantial portion of students who study a foreign language begin that study at the college level. Half of these post-secondary institutions require that by the time their students graduate from college they have had some foreign language study at some point in their education, sometimes just a year. However, only 10% of all college students study any foreign language while they are in college.

Although the United States has no mechanism or tradition of centralized language planning, there has been one major governmental initiative born in its diplomatic and military training programs that has had a major effect on foreign language teaching policy throughout the country. Those government schools and training programs developed a system of oral interviews and a ladder scale of descriptors to measure the level of language proficiency. This technology was adopted by one of the major foreign language teachers' organizations, the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL), which diffused it widely throughout the field. The ACTFL scale together with the development of a related set of language-specific standards, effectively promoted the shift from the grammar-translation pedagogical style to the more interactive, oral, less grammar-oriented pedagogical style.

**Category (b) English-Mother-Tongue Countries in Europe** In those English-speaking countries neighboring continental Europe—the UK and Ireland—the scale of their foreign language teaching systems falls midway between the more fully developed systems in Europe and the other, distant from Europe, English-mother-tongue countries. Like the other English-speaking countries, the UK accommodates several regionally distinct languages—Welsh and Gaelic—but the domain of those languages remains almost entirely within the UK, in Wales and Scotland, on home territory.

With respect to the study of foreign languages, the UK remains behind its European partners in total modern foreign language education. In continental Europe, pupils start earlier and continue longer.

In the UK in general, the National Curriculum for Modern Foreign Languages requires by statute the study of a foreign language in secondary schools where the average amount of time is 140 minutes per week or about 10% of classroom time. Achievement levels also are nationally specified. The intention is to have all students from ages 11 to 16 study a foreign language for about 120 minutes

per week. Students can opt to study a second language in secondary school, but only 5% of the students do so, down from 10% five years earlier. The government has made the study of any foreign language optional for all 14- to 19-year-olds and limited statutory requirements to 3 years, resulting in a 50% drop in instruction in state schools. This would be offset by the provision of an entitlement program making foreign language instruction available at the primary level. The study of a foreign language in upper secondary school is optional, and only about 10% of the students study one. It is predicted that this will result in the wholesale dropping of language study by vocationally oriented students.

Throughout the school system, instruction in modern foreign language is heavily concentrated on the Western European languages: 62% in French and 25% in German, although the number of students sitting for A-level exams in Urdu, Russian, and Japanese has increased. As in the United States, England has a substantial amount of foreign language education in higher education. It may be taught in a language or discipline department or in a school of foreign languages that serves both majors and students training to be specialists in other disciplines. Languages may be taught *ab initio* for beginning students or advanced for those who have taken A level exams in a language prior to admission. At the university level, 34% of the courses given are in French and 32% in German. The rest of the courses are primarily in Italian or Spanish.

England has played a central role in the development of pan-European language policy in the Council of Europe and in such collective foreign language advocacy efforts as Europe's Year of Language. It has had major continuing foreign language advocacy centers such as The Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research (CILT) and the Nuffield Foundation.

Ireland's foreign language educational system resembles that of the UK but on a somewhat smaller scale. It does not make the study of foreign languages a compulsory subject. Rather the emphasis is on the teaching of Irish, the historic language of the country. However, in practice most students do study a foreign language. For instance, students in the 12- to 14-year-old age group spend about 140 minutes per week in the study of foreign languages. As in the UK, the languages most frequently studied are French and German.

### Continental Europe

In many respects, the home of foreign language instruction lies in Europe. In terms of the policy

decisions that must be made, most of these countries start foreign language instruction earlier, promote it more aggressively, make it more compulsory, continue it longer, require or recommend that each student study a larger number of languages, assess it more deliberately and consistently, are more likely to use it as a medium of instruction, are more likely to establish a centralized assessment system, and are more systematic in developing explicit national policies than the countries in the other three linguistic categories of nations.

The enhanced scale and strength of European foreign language teaching systems rest in part on the fact that a majority of the population—53% according to a Eurobarometer survey of residents more than 15 years of age (European Commission, 2003)—reports the capacity to carry on a conversation in a foreign language, and the proportion is even higher for younger age groups. Moreover, 93% of those surveyed believe it is important that their children learn other European languages. There is some variation among European countries in the extent of adult multilingualism. The Luxembourgers, Netherlanders, and Danes do best, while Russians, Spaniards, and Poles report less competency. The French come somewhere in the middle. The level of adult support for multilingualism is both cause and effect in determining the scale of foreign language teaching systems.

There is a considerable difference among countries in the architecture of foreign language teaching. A number of comparative inventories are available that compare different systems (Bergentoft, 1994; Dickson and Cumming, 1996; Eurydice, 2000). John Trim describes some of the major determinants of the scale of development of foreign language teaching within European countries. He reports that "a country is more likely to value L2 proficiency if (1) it is internally multilingual (established territorial minorities); (2) it is a small country, but not geographically or politically isolated; (3) its neighbors speak a different language; (4) its own language is not widely spoken and not used as a vehicle for international communication; (5) its export/import trade is a higher percentage of GDP; and (6) its travel trade is a higher proportion of foreign trade and GDP." (Trim, 1994: 12).

In addition to differences in overall scale, individual countries within Europe make different choices in the various features of their language policy. Traditionally, the study of a foreign language was a requirement for the academically oriented. Now almost all European countries by law require the study of at least one foreign language for all students. In many countries, the study of two foreign languages is required—for instance, in Belgium, Denmark,

Finland, Greece, The Netherlands, and Sweden—and in the others the study of a second foreign language, while provided, is voluntary, with schools and students given varying degrees of choice. There is more variation in upper secondary education, where some academic specialties such as classics, humanities, economics, and the social sciences emphasize foreign language learning, and other academic specialties do not. In many of these countries, there are schools specializing in foreign languages.

One of the indicators of the degree of a country's commitment to foreign language study is the age at which the first foreign language appears on the compulsory curriculum. In most European countries students must start learning a foreign language between the ages of 8 and 12. In Austria, Italy, Luxembourg, and Norway, they start at age 6 or 7. Most students continue language study for about 10 years, receiving from 135 to 180 minutes per week in language classes. Most countries only teach foreign languages as subjects, using them as media of instruction in limited subject matter areas such as science or special, vocationally oriented courses such as travel and trade. Luxembourg, however, maintains a full-immersion system with all subject matter courses taught in French or German throughout the educational system, as well as Letzeburgisch, the local language. Their students tend to go to France or Germany for advanced education.

One of the most important language policy issues that tend to be determined at the national level is which foreign languages to teach and in what order. While the international goal is the creation of a pluralistic Europe in which all citizens learn the languages of one or a number of other countries of the region, in almost every country in Western Europe the first foreign language taught and taken by most students is English. In the binary and triad countries such as Belgium and Switzerland, the predominant languages taught—French, German, or Italian—are those of both an internal linguistic region and of a neighboring country. In the countries of Eastern Europe that were formerly under Russian hegemony, German is often substituted for the formerly compulsory Russian, but the teaching of English is spreading.

Almost all European countries have explicit, comprehensive foreign language plans. Sometimes they result from private surveys exploring existing strengths, needs, and weakness, such as the The Netherlands's *Horizon Taal* (van Els, 1990) or the Nuffield Foundation surveys (Moys, 1998). More often, these plans comprise the organization and specific goals of foreign language study (e.g., Sweden's National Agency for Education, 2001). One of the most remarkable aspects of European language policy

is the influential role of international organizations—in particular, the Council of Europe and the European Union—in advancing foreign language teaching policy across Europe.

Since the adoption of the European Cultural Convention in 1954, the Council of Europe has been engaged in creating a transnational consensus on foreign language teaching policy. Its varied activities have had an immense impact on member countries' own policies. The Council assisted in countries' assessments of their language needs. It was central to the transformation of language pedagogy from a grammar-translation format to one emphasizing communicative language competence. It developed manuals setting learning objectives and goals for several levels of foreign language proficiency. The first manual, published as *Threshold Level 1990* (van Ek and Trim, 1998) changed the focus of language teaching from what the learner needs to know to what he or she must be able to do to function adequately in a foreign language. The first and most general model, the Threshold Level, has been formally adopted throughout Europe to cover 20 languages. Using a similar approach, a Waystage model was also developed for a more elementary level of competence, and later, a model for more advanced learners called Vantage Level. The Council (Council of Europe, 2001) issued a more comprehensive Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment. It covers more generally a wide variety of policy issues in language learning. It also establishes a hierarchy of levels of language proficiency that can be used across languages and countries in Europe. This skill hierarchy differentiates proficient, independent, and basic language users, and provides specific skill level descriptors for listening, speaking, and writing. This general scaling of language competencies as expressed in the Common European Framework is intended to be applicable across languages and countries (Language Policy Division, 2003). A number of countries, e.g., The Netherlands and England, have already begun to calibrate their own systems of ranking language skill with those of the Common Framework, and more countries are working toward that end. Moreover, these internationally agreed upon scales of competency are also intended to be used by individual learners in making up a language portfolio to provide evidence of their language skills for use in education, transnational employment, or international travel.

In the other major European international organization, the European Union (EU), during the early years, in matters relating to foreign language policy attention was concentrated primarily on matters of economic or vocational relevance. The European

Commission has adopted a much wider perspective on the promotion of foreign language learning throughout Europe (European Commission, 1997). Specific EU funding programs have been especially productive in enhancing the foreign language education system. The LINGUA program within SOCRATES supported training opportunities for language teachers to study abroad. The LEONARDO DA VINCI program supported the development of language skills for international business. A new program, COMENIUS, is primarily concerned with language education in schools.

### Future Developments

It is difficult to predict the future of foreign language teaching policy. How long the seemingly universal trend of teaching English as the first foreign language will continue is unclear. There are some who hope its role will diminish (Phillipson, 2003) and others who predict its hybridization and possible loss of supremacy (Graddol, 1997, 2004). Were English to cease being the first foreign language to be taught around the world, it is difficult to predict what would succeed it. The perennial drive to spread the use of Esperanto as a common world language has had only modest success (Corsetti, 2003). And whether Europe will complement its inward-looking policy and adopt a broader range of foreign languages to teach is problematic. However, the teaching and learning of foreign languages will remain high on the world's agenda.

*See also:* Language Policy in Multilingual Educational Contexts; Languages in Tertiary Education; Languages of Wider Communication; World Englishes.

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## Gender in Language Education

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Research in language and gender as a subfield in sociolinguistics has accelerated during the last several decades largely due to the critical work and writings of feminist sociologists, anthropologists, sociolinguists, and post-structuralists (e.g., Lakoff, 1975; Philips *et al.*, 1987; Coates, 1993), much in the same way as Simone de Beauvoir's seminal work *The second sex*, released in 1953, galvanized contemporary feminist movement. Emerging naturally from the interest in language and gender have been inquiries that collectively cohere around a critical analysis of the interface between language, education, and gender, which is the subject of this review.

Different from its classificatory or grammatical meaning, gender is examined here in terms of a social construct that society arbitrarily ascribes to men and women, based on their perceived roles in society. Such a framework recognizes that while the biological state of 'femaleness' and 'maleness' is, recent claims to the contrary notwithstanding (see Bergvall *et al.*, 1996), stable and universal, understandings of gender are in a constant state of flux, temporal, depend on the prevailing social order, and mediate the construction of the gendered self, which in turn, shapes individual identity (Bjerrum Nielsen and Davies, 1997; Egbo, 2004).

While it is not clear how it happens, given the polemic among sex-role development theorists, researchers agree that cross-culturally, by the time children begin their formal schooling, they have developed an emotional attachment to their gender, and already act, speak, and behave according to conventional images of gender – behaviors and discourse norms that are further reified in schools (Spender, 1982; Bjerrum Nielsen and Davies, 1997).

Across all educational spectrums, language as a complex technology of communication serves two diametrically opposing functions in addition to, of course, its functional uses in teaching and learning. First, it enhances linguistic and communicative competence in a Habermian sense (see Habermas, 2001), through formal and informal discursive interchange among the various actors. Second, it serves a gate-keeping function *vis à vis* the safeguarding of the privileged and highly valued cultural and linguistic capital of powerful groups in society, such as men, which enables them to preserve their dominance. Pierre Bourdieu's (1991) sociological account of the ways through which educational systems reproduce

the differential power relations that exist in wider society is at once a critique of educational practices and a recognition of language as a symbolic tool for domination. However, a third and emergent view, which perhaps evolved from the postulates of critical theory and is gaining recognition among feminists and critical pedagogists, sees a more dialectical and transformative role for language in education than its hegemonizing power. There is now a widely held view among proponents of critical language practices that if schools' discourse norms contribute to the maintenance of the gender order in society, the same discursive practices also hold emancipatory possibilities which through critical interrogation and agency should, as the argument goes, lead to consequential change in wider society (Corson, 1993; Blackmore and Kenway, 1995).

### Recurrent Debates about Language, Education, and Gender

In this section, I examine three recurrent themes in the ongoing debate on language, education, and gender. It should be noted from the onset that while these three strands of the debate are considered separately here for conceptual clarity, the distinctions are less discrete in practice.

#### Three Strands of the Debate

Beginning in the mid-1960s, one major research focus in the area of language, education, and gender, has been challenging the orthodoxy of the taken-for-granted canonical knowledge that is disseminated in schools including language practices and discourse norms. The evidence assembled from early research in the field suggested that androcentric biases in wider society had been transplanted into the classroom (Spender, 1982; Kelly, 1988; Stanworth, 1987, for example) despite the simultaneous collapse of gender differentiation in education and the emergence of the equal rights movement in the 1950s (Bjerrum Nielsen and Davies, 1997). The school curriculum reflected male world views including male linguistic register, while women's discourse norms were devalued, despite the evidence (although inconclusive in some areas) that have pointed to gender-distinctive language use and linguistic practices (Lakoff, 1975; Philips *et al.*, 1987; Tannen, 1991; McCormick, 1994). This was true of Western societies as it was true of non-Western colonial and post-colonial societies (Egbo, 2004). Also problematic was the issue of gender representations in educational texts (including narratives, drama, poetry, etc.).

The 1970s marked a turning point, however. Post-structural feminists' challenges to the prevailing orthodoxy, their engagement of dominant texts which aimed at unmasking the trajectories between knowledge and power on the one hand and discourses as sites of human struggle on the other, resulted in policies and practices that were aimed at leveling the 'discursive' field. The language of education and the classroom in particular took a seemingly inclusive turn – a metamorphosis that also shifted to some degree the language of texts and textbooks, which became less stereotyped, paternalistic, more nuanced and neutral. Far from settling the matter, however, some writers have argued that the linguistic neutrality that now pervades educational texts simply masks the continued dominance of male discourse norms under the "cloak of egalitarian educational discourse" (Bjerrum Nielsen and Davies, 1997: 126).

In contrast to the views outlined above, some researchers have expressed reservations about uncritical claims of gender bias in texts because cognitively and affectively speaking, individual engagement with text is a subjective experience (Sunderland, 2000; Swann, 2003), albeit not to the point of dis inheriting one's cultural capital in the process (Balfour, 2003). With particular reference to language education, Sunderland argues compellingly that it is difficult to prove gender bias in language texts because one cannot accurately predict a reader's reaction to the text.

A second research focus has been the nature of classroom discourse and teacher-student talk. The bulk of the research on this issue converges around the following issues: pedagogical practices and classroom discourse norms tend to silence girls, teachers call on boys more often than girls, boys talk more often and initiate dialogue with teachers who act as enablers: the overwhelming majority of classroom talk is either directed at or dominated by boys (Spender, 1982; Stanworth, 1987; Graddol and Swann, 1989). With regard to classroom talk, the nexus of the various arguments is that boys' dominance and assertiveness are extensions of the unequal power relations and exclusionary language practices in wider society in which women are positioned as the "other," while men are accorded "autonomous and varied linguistic status" (Thorne *et al.*, 1983: 9).

A third issue of interest has been the nature of gender-based teacher-student interactions. A number of classroom observations have catalogued ways in which teachers interact differentially with each gender. Boys appear to have more interactions with teachers, are called upon more often, and generally have more contact time with teachers. Teachers are also said to be more favorably disposed to boys'

participation in class (Shakeshaft, 1986; Sadker and Sadker, 1986; Stanworth, 1987; Kelly, 1988).

There are, however, contradictory views that suggest that the disproportionate attention that boys receive relative to girls may be a collateral consequence of behavior-related reprimands, rather than deliberate discriminatory action on the part of teachers (Sunderland, 2000). Moreover, studies of classroom social interactions have shown that both genders do in fact sometimes engage in heterodoxical behavior (Gallas, 1998; Sheldon, 1997). For example, on the strength of the evidence from an in-depth study of her own classroom, Gallas (1998) believes that girls sometimes traverse gender borders, put up resistance, and generally act in unpredictable ways. She further argues that while stereotypes may exist, heterogeneity may be more reflective of classroom interactions than is normally assumed.

Cumulatively, and as a practical matter, however, gender-biased language practices in education can have psychosocial and material consequences for girls. While there have been significant reductions in the use of sexist language in educational settings, empirical research relating to gender and education continues to cite sex-role stereotyping and unfair language practices as some of the factors that mitigate against girls and women at all levels of schooling. Based on a review of previously assembled evidence, Corson (1993) argues that social identities are constructed through school texts and other educational materials, all of which position and define individuals in relation to knowledge and power. With particular reference to gendered language practices, he argues that: "practices and policies found in the objective discursive structures of schooling itself, help to create and reinforce disadvantages for girls and women" (Corson, 1993: 139). In the same vein, Luke (1994: 363) calls for the de-gendering of literacy activities because the sexual division of literacy "plays into the patriarchal reproduction of knowledge, competence, and, ultimately, economic structure."

In short, gendered language practices can impact the overall life chances of girls and women. In many parts of the world, access to certain kinds of language and discourse is often associated with increases in life chances which are a function of two elements – options and ligatures. *Options* are choices, while *ligatures* are bonds that individuals form through immersion in a given culture or by virtue of their social positions and roles in society (Dahrendorf, 1979). Options and ligatures are critical to the empowerment of any group, particularly those who have been historically oppressed. Cross-culturally, gendered language practices in schools are implicated in the limited options girls and women have in their respective societies.

### Socio-Politico-Cultural Variations

Studies of gendered language practices and linguistic covariation in contexts other than Western societies, from where the bulk of current empirical data originates, are few and far between. However, as pointed out above, culture has significant influences on gender differentiated language uses and practices in many societies (see Philips *et al.*, 1987). Emergent knowledge from non-Western societies reaffirm prior evidence from Western contexts that gendered language practices in wider society have corresponding effects on language and discourse practices in schools (Balfour, 2003). For example, in some societies, women are not expected nor indeed allowed to speak in the public sphere, on ideological or religious grounds. This means that in public and quasi-public domains such as schools, girls must maintain a culture of silence. In other societies, socially sanctioned gender-typed differential treatment from teachers is the norm rather than the exception (see Kitetu and Sunderland, 2002). While such treatment may appear discriminatory at first glance, in some cultural contexts, according to Kitetu and Sunderland, differentiated gendered discourse norms in schools may be based on societal valuation of difference and the desire to protect women's interests, thus adding another layer of confusion to an already complex matter.

### Challenges Ahead

Given the persistence of gender-biased language and linguistic practices in educational settings, a key question becomes what should be the future directions of research and praxis? Pathways to more empowering experiences for girls and women *vis à vis* language practices in education depend first and foremost on a critical linkage between theory and practice.

A second line of intervention should begin at teacher preparation institutions, where as part of their curriculum novice teachers are taught the art of doing critical language and pedagogical analysis of texts based on the concept of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1995). Under this arrangement, novice teachers learn ways of deconstructing and engaging the nonneutral properties of texts and discourses, seeing language instead as a dialogical interchange between social actors (Bakhtin, 1981).

Related to, but different from, the idea of forging a link between theory and practice is the issue of new research directions in the field. While a shift is already in progress, critical praxis will also depend on research that advances our understandings of the trajectories of language, education, and gender beyond the dichotomizing binary thinking that result in essentialist oversimplifications of a relationship

that is far from straightforward (Swann, 2003; Sunderland, 2000; Tannen, 1996; Bergvall *et al.*, 1996). There is indeed an amalgam of interacting variables (e.g., ethnicity, social class, religion, and personality) that impinge on the construction of the gendered self, which in turn influences linguistic behavior and practices in and out of the school. In effect, rigid adherence to deterministic assumptions of masculinity and femininity *vis à vis* language and discourse norms in education, may be as conceptually limiting as the unwavering adherence to the dominant male linguistic orthodoxy that sustains the gender divide in society in the first place.

*See also:* Classroom Talk.

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## Languages of Wider Communication

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Languages used to facilitate cross-linguistic communication among speakers of different languages brought together by processes of migration, trade, or travel, stretch back to the beginnings of recorded history. Some had extensive reach – covering much of the world then tied together by existing trade routes, such as the Silk Road, a loose network that linked the Mediterranean and East Asia – such as Soghdian (a language still spoken in present-day Tajikistan), and, at a later date, Persian (Foltz, 2000). But no language down to the past century could claim large numbers of speakers across the globe. For instance, while Latin served as a lingua franca in Europe for centuries, it had effectively no presence throughout Asia and Africa. One of the hallmarks of the most recent stage of *globalization* has been that the development of such a world language has become for the first time a possibility, and that English appears to have already attained that status or to be well on the way to doing so. Perhaps because the phenomenon is so comparatively new, while languages serving large expanses that formerly made up large segments of the world market, such as Persian or Latin, have been around so long, terms such as *world language* and *international language* – even at times *language of wider communication* – have tended to be employed, if not exactly interchangeably, then without clear demarcation. In their precise meanings, a *world language* must by its nature encompass the entire globe, while a language can be said to be *international* if it serves clusters of nations. For its part, a *language of wider communication* signifies one that provides a mutually intelligible medium for speakers in multilingual societies.

### World Language

A *world language* is not simply the most widely spoken language in the world, or the one that is the official language in the greatest number of nations. To merit such classification, a language must have achieved a position of global preeminence in another key respect: its existence must have become a practical necessity to fill a wide range of functions brought to the fore by processes of globalization. The development of world language, then, does not represent the culmination of a linguistic process at all; it comes into being as the concomitant of larger historical

trajectories, powerful forces that condition communication needs around the world. For most of the history of the world, there has been only the most remote contact between peoples in distant parts of the world. While a world market loosely existed from ancient times, the limitations of transportation and communication technology determined supranational regional zones as the largest effective units for which a lingua franca such as Persian, Arabic, or Chinese constituted a practical necessity. The need for a world language is not felt so long as communication is largely limited to bilateral relations between nations or take place in regional settings in which a particular international language such as Arabic or Spanish suits the purpose. World language requires a stage at which every point, or virtually every point, in the world is thrown into relation with every other, when global communications has become virtually instantaneous, and the trip from any place in the world to any other has been reduced to hours rather than weeks or months. It requires a structure of world trade that is truly multilateral – rather than one that transports goods and services within definite imperially defined channels only (as was the case during colonialism in Asia and Africa).

Such international relations throw together persons from many nations from diverse regions of the world into regular contact, and make ease of communication among them an economic imperative, requiring a recognized common linguistic medium, a world language. Finding its basis primarily in the economic realm, world language also more and more penetrates technological, scientific, intellectual, political, and even the cultural realm, as the need for translation raises a barrier to the rapidity with which information is disseminated in the digital age. In such a case, the continued spread of a world language finds a strong impetus not only in political economy, as global trade represents an increasing share of the total, but through intellectual and cultural motives, too, as people around the globe are induced to learn it to further their wide-ranging objectives (*see Motivation and Attitudes in Second Language Learning*).

On the other hand, a world language need not be widely spoken in every nation of the world, nor must most people in the world speak it, any more than earlier regional lingua francas such as Latin in Europe or Persian along the routes of the Silk Road were universally understood in the supranational political geographies they served. Yet, at a minimum, it would be reasonable to expect such a language to be widely spoken on every continent, to have an ever-growing number of speakers in every nation, and to have

emerged as the single most important language of global commerce.

The world language would not necessarily have the most mother tongue speakers, a distinction that currently belongs to Chinese, with its 874 million speakers (Grimes, 1996). On the contrary, one of the salient characteristics of a world language, like that of a supranational lingua franca like Latin or Persian in an earlier epoch, is that the majority of its users would be non-mother tongue speakers, bilinguals for whom it represents a second language. For them, a world language serves global, as opposed to purely local, functions. It is an entry-point into global relations, and one that need not usurp or even threaten the entrenched uses of the other language(s) they speak.

### Is English a World Language?

Most estimates place the total number of English speakers globally at between 500 million and 1 billion, the difference consisting mainly in how proficiency in the language is defined. The best indication of the status of English as a world language is provided by the number of people around the world who feel compelled to gain at least some knowledge of the language, irrespective of their level of ultimate attainment. For it is the motivation of hundreds of millions across the globe to learn English that gives the measure of the degree to which it has become the world language, there being no comparable phenomenon associated with any other language. The rise of English is also demonstrated by the increasing frequency with which it is being incorporated into school curricula (see **Language Policy in Multilingual Educational Contexts**), not only in “second language contexts” (such as India and South Africa) where it serves as a *language of wider communication* on the national scale (see below), but even in foreign language contexts (including China and Europe), though this distinction is somewhat losing its usefulness for the description of English. The entrenchment of English in the school curriculum in diverse societies throughout the world will tend to produce a greater proportion of English users globally over time.

While the nature of a world language seems to preclude the need for more than one, the possibility cannot be ruled out that another language of equal, or even greater importance, could emerge, either joining or replacing English in its position of preeminence. As Graddol (2004) has argued, rapid shifts in demography together with a restructuring of linguistic space by modern telecommunications may produce profound effects on language use by the middle of the 21st century, perhaps redefining how we

think of languages (local, national, regional), and simultaneously transforming the notion of world language.

### Development of World Language

There have been two primary paradigms employed to account for the linguistic effects of globalization that would give rise to a world language: modernization and linguistic imperialism. Modernization describes the spread of industrial production, technology, finance, and trade, the burgeoning of the middle class, and the birth of a consumer culture, among nations that were previously ‘underdeveloped’. From this standpoint, the increasing use of a common language throughout the world simply represents the natural concomitant of the march of progress. In marked contrast, linguistic imperialism finds in the spread of certain languages to the exclusion of others the exercise of Western, ultimately imperialist, hegemony, the extension into the cultural and linguistic realm of the political and economic control that the ‘Center’ has exercised over the colonial and neocolonial periphery for centuries. Both explanations take for granted that globalization, including the spread of English, represents an essentially Western-driven process, one of which the rest of the world catches up to or is incorporated into European/North American society, rather than a multipolar process driven by no central hegemony. Brutt-Griffler (2002) shows, rather, the development of English into or toward the status of a world language to be considerably more complex, a process that includes numerous forces, economic, political, cultural, and intellectual, underlying globalization, combined with the active agency of its new speakers around the globe choosing to learn the language.

### World Language and Language Contact

The development of a *world language* – as one spoken primarily by non-mother tongue speakers – should produce effects on the other languages of the world and on the world language itself. As a language of bilinguals, it is thrown into contact with languages throughout the world, leading to processes of language change. Certainly the spread of English has exerted an effect on other languages via language contact. This process ranges from the incorporation of English words into languages as diverse as German and Japanese, to the emergence of mixed varieties of other languages and English, for example, chiHarare, a mixture of Shona and English spoken in Zimbabwe.

At the same time, other languages have in turn exerted an influence on English. For English itself,

entering a phase of the history of the language known as the World English phase, in which non-mother tongue speakers have proliferated until, as noted above, they now exceed the number of its mother tongue users, has produced highly noticeable changes. World English – the phase of the history of the language in which it functions as a world language (Brutt-Griffler, 2002) – has spawned *World Englishes*, often called non-native varieties of the language (Kachru, 1986) spoken in nations throughout Africa and Asia (see also World Englishes). It is contested whether there is any global standard of World English, and if so, what that standard might be. But it is clear that the growing number of speakers of new varieties of World Englishes increases their potential to exert a greater impact on international usage of the language.

### Linguistic, Political, and Social Consequences of World Language

The implications of the development of a world language have been significant, ranging from concerns over its alleged connection to a loss of linguistic diversity, to questions of access to high-level proficiency in a language that often confers power and privilege to its speakers, to the use of such a language to transcend ethnic identity and traditional gender roles, to questions of the meaningfulness of the paradigm of nativeness within a language of primarily non-mother tongue users (see **Second Language Identity; Nonnative Speaker Teachers**). Though all of these questions are important, none has received the attention that has been devoted to the fear that the global spread of English represents a causal factor in the endangerment of languages. Graddol (2004) notes, “Many believe English will become the world language to the exclusion of all others.” It has been strongly suggested that in Africa, for instance, the spread of English “is leading to the top-down displacement of numerous other tongues” (Nettle and Romaine, 2000: 144), a contention that has been challenged by others (Mufwene, 2001, 2002). Indeed, if such were the case, we would expect to find gains in the number of native speakers of English in Africa proportionate to the loss of those of disappearing languages, something the statistics do not appear to support. Rather, as Brutt-Griffler (2002) has argued, the spread of English as a world language produces not monolingual English speakers but bilinguals (see also **Bilingualism and Second Language Learning**). Graddol (2004) remarks, “English will indeed play a crucial role in shaping the new world linguistic order, but its major impact will be in creating new generations of bilingual and multilingual speakers across the world.”

As English is learned in many multilingual contexts at an earlier age and reinforced by exposure gained through various media, new and old (Berns and de Bot, 2004), the distinction between native and non-native speakers of the language may be increasingly blurred, as fluency in it may be used as an ‘exit visa’ from ethnic identity and traditional gender roles (Mazrui, 2004). The continued growth of English as a world language will prompt ever-greater concerns about access to the language for all members of society, and not simply for those who can afford to buy it, and about the economic and intellectual advantages knowledge of such a world language can confer.

### International Language

Though the rapid growth of the world language over the last century has taken attention away from other *international languages*, a large number continue to play a vital role in the modern world, as they have for at least past millennia and will continue to do for the foreseeable future. International languages are most typically associated with the facilitating of international communication – a function that in past centuries Latin, Persian, Greek, Sanskrit, Turkish, and French all played – and the linking of diasporas across wide geographical expanses. In the modern world, however, particularly with the emergence of a world language, their primary role seems to be developing into the maintenance of supranational economic, cultural, and, within certain limitations, ethnic zones (set off by the use of, for example, Arabic, Swahili, Chinese, Spanish, Portuguese, or French). In some cases, such as Arabic or German, these represent a lack of correspondence between ethnolinguistic identity and national boundaries, as Arabs are dispersed over more than twenty nations on two continents and German is given official or special status in eight European nations. In other cases, such as French, its existence as an *international language* reflects a colonial legacy, in which most of the thirty-four nations in which French has a special status are former African or Caribbean colonies of France (see **Table 1**) – nations in which generally most people

**Table 1** Number of nations in which international languages are given some official status

1. English	63
2. French	34
3. Spanish	23
4. Arabic	23*
5. German	8
6. Portuguese	7

Ammon, 1994, p. 1726; \*Crystal, 1997a, p. 359.

do not speak French as a mother tongue. A variation of this imperial case is illustrated by languages such as Spanish, which though introduced into the Americas as an imperial language, is now the mother tongue of the majority of people in more than twenty nations in the Americas, which now dominate the Spanish-speaking world. And in yet other cases, such as Swahili, an international language may constitute the expression of emerging postcolonial nationalism that plays out in a supranational context – in this case East Africa. Though Swahili is not originally indigenous to the region and has not been the mother tongue of the vast majority of its peoples, it has at least begun to take on that function for increasing numbers. Another group of international languages, of which the largest is Chinese, are more nearly expressions of a diaspora.

The categories listed above need not be mutually exclusive. For instance, Portuguese is the official language in five African nations, though it is not for the most part the mother tongue of the majority of the peoples in those nations, and yet, like Spanish in the Americas, has become the mother tongue of the majority of the largest lusophone nation, Brazil. French itself, like German, is spoken in several European nations – as well as by a diaspora population in Canada. Russian has spread to neighboring countries partly as an imperial language learned as a second language by peoples incorporated into the Russian empire and partly via a large Russian-speaking diaspora in those nations. In other cases, like Kurdish, the language can be called international, as it crosses national borders, but only because the Kurds have been denied nationhood by the three more powerful states in whose territory their would-be homeland lies. This also brings out a significant distinction between *international* and *world*, because international is based on the original construction of the *national*, world is not.

**Major International Languages:  
A Statistical Picture**

The major international languages can be distinguished through an examination of some key statistics, such as those in Tables 1 to 4, which show the number of nations in which official status is accorded to particular languages (see Table 1), and which show the number of mother tongue speakers (see Table 2), total speakers (see Table 3), and second language speakers of selected languages (see Table 4). Tables 5 through 7 provide proportions of print publications in different languages in the sciences (see Table 5 and Table 6) and humanities (see Table 7) and Table 8 shows the percentage of web pages on the Internet (see Table 8). Statistics by themselves can be revealing, but they only tell part of the story. For example,

**Table 2** Number of mother tongue speakers of 10 languages, in millions

1. Chinese	874
2. Hindi	366
3. Spanish	358
4. English	341
5. Bengali	207
6. Arabic	202*
7. Portuguese	176
8. Russian	167
9. German	100
10. French	77

World Almanac, 1999, p. 700; \*Grimes, 1996.

**Table 3** Total number of speakers of 11 languages, in millions

1. Chinese	1052
2. English	700+*
3. Hindi	487
4. Spanish	417
5. Russian	277
6. Bengali	211
7. Arabic	202
8. Portuguese	191
9. Indonesian	170
10. French	128
11. German	128

World Almanac, 1999, p. 700; \*approximate lower estimate, Crystal, 1997b, p. 61.

**Table 4** Numbers of second language speakers of 10 languages, in millions

1. English	300+*
2. Mandarin Chinese	188
3. Indonesian	140
4. Hindi	120
5. Russian	110
6. Spanish	59
7. French	51
8. Tagalog	40
9. Urdu	40
10. German	28

World Almanac, 1999, p. 700; \*Crystal, 1997b, p. 54.

**Table 5** Languages of articles indexed by *Chemical Abstracts* by year, in percent

	1978	1998
English	62.3	82.5
Chinese	0.3	5.9
Japanese	4.7	4.5
Russian	19.5	3.1
German	5.0	1.6
French	2.4	0.5
Polish	1.1	0.3
Other	4.7	1.6

Jean Laponce, 2003, p. 60.



**Table 6** Percentage of languages used in natural science publications, 1980 to 1996

	1980	1984	1988	1992	1996
English	74.6	77.1	80.5	87.2	90.7
Russian	10.8	9.2	6.9	3.9	2.1
Japanese	2.3	2.5	2.1	2.3	1.7
French	3.1	2.4	2.4	1.6	1.3
German	3.5	3.3	2.9	1.6	1.2

Ammon, 1998, p. 152.

**Table 7** Percentage of languages used in humanities publications, 1978 to 1995

	1978	1982	1986	1990	1995
English	69.1	69.9	70.6	71.7	82.5
French	6.6	5.9	5.9	5.9	5.9
German	5.2	6.0	5.4	5.7	4.1
Spanish	3.6	3.6	4.0	3.8	2.2

Ammon, 1998, p. 167.

**Table 8** Percentage of web pages by language in 2000

English	68.4
Japanese	5.9
German	5.8
Chinese	3.9
French	3.0
Spanish	2.4
Russian	1.9
Italian	1.6
Portuguese	1.4
Korean	1.3
Other	4.6

Jacques Maurais, 2003, p. 22.

it is clear that English has no rival as an international language, strengthening its claim as the world language. French, sometimes said to be a challenger, or a “big language” (Graddol, 1997), clearly does not stand out as having the same importance on a global scale, as shown by its placement as a distant sixth as a language of publishing in Chemistry, the discipline for which the most accurate statistics are available (82.5% for English, 0.5% for French, see Table 5), or fourth and second. Respectively, in the natural sciences (90.7% to 1.3%, Table 6) and the humanities (82.5% to 5.9%, Table 7) as compiled by Ammon (1998). French also ranks only fifth in number of web pages (68.4% to 3.0%, Table 8). And while French is second to English in the number of nations in which it is an officially recognized language (63 to 34, Table 1), when we examine total numbers of second language users (Table 4), we find that French, with some 50 million estimated users,

ranks not only behind English (300 million+), but also Chinese (188 million), Indonesian (140 million), Hindi (120 million), and Russian (110 million). While such numbers, however, give a very approximate measure of significance as a *language of wider communication* (see below), it does not necessarily reveal much about a language’s international significance. For instance, Indonesian and Hindi are mainly confined to the national borders of Indonesia and India, while French second language speakers lie mainly outside of that nation, as the number of nations in which French serves as an official medium (34) demonstrates, as compared to that of Indonesia and Hindi (1 in each case). Taking the statistics as a whole, however, we can conclude that French is an internationally significant language within the former French colonial world, but, as the statistics on scientific publishing demonstrate, it is not a language commonly chosen when the goal is to reach a world audience.

In the same manner, the contention that German represents a major international language as demonstrated by its official status in 8 nations (Ammon, 1994), placing it behind only English, French, Spanish, and Arabic, and ahead of Portuguese, looks quite different upon further analysis. Because all of those nations lie in a concentrated portion of Europe, and given estimates of only some 28 million second language speakers, it would be more accurate to describe German as a regionally important language in central Europe, of the same type, but not on the same scale, as Arabic (official in 22 nations and with more than twice the number of speakers).

The acceptance of a language as official also reflects neocolonialism in politics that may obscure both actual distributions of language users and their increasing importance globally. For example, while European languages are often official in former colonial settings, other languages do not receive similar endorsement. Thus, while German, though spoken by only 1.5% of the population of Belgium, has official status there, Turkish is not recognized as such in Germany, though its speakers make up 2.4% of the population, and though it is recognized as such in Bulgaria. There are some 15 million Turkish speakers outside of Turkey, not far behind the total of 17.5 million German speakers outside the main German-speaking nations of Germany and Austria.

### Functions of International Languages

If we were to conceive the functions of an international language to include linking diasporas to mother countries, most of the world’s larger languages could be said to be international in an age of increasing transnational migrations. International

languages as such rather serve more institutional functions. They generally confer a sense of political affinity among groups of nations, whether, as in the case of Arab nations and Spanish-speaking American nations, as a sort of proto-nationalism, or, as in the case of France and Belgium and their former colonies, something more along the lines of a sphere of influence with colonial or neocolonial overtones. They may also facilitate the creation of a common market, whether institutionalized or more informal, particularly but by no means exclusively in the area of cultural productions, such as the Spanish-language film and music industry in Latin America. International languages allow global telecommunications giants to beam information in television signals via satellite to large international audiences – as for instance the Arabic station Al-Jazeera. Finally, they facilitate educational ties between nations sharing a common language.

#### Impact of English as a World Language on the Functions and Usage of International Languages

While international languages retain their importance in linking language groups across national and continental boundaries, they seem to be losing importance where the goal is to communicate with a global audience. There is thus a pronounced trend toward English as the medium for the publication of scientific research (Tables 5, 6, and 7). Table 6 shows that of the articles indexed by *Chemical Abstracts* the percentage in English increased from 62.3% in 1978 to 82.5% in 1998, while the proportion in every other language except Chinese fell. The two languages that followed English in 1978 experienced particularly dramatic declines thereafter, Russian (19.5% to 3.1%) and German (5.0% to 1.6%), while French fell off from 2.4% to just 0.5%. Ammon's (1998) figures (Table 7) demonstrate the same trend the natural sciences as a whole. English shows similar dominance on the Internet (Table 8). In 2000, 68.4% of web pages were in English, with only Japanese (5.9%) and German (5.8%) registering more than 5%, followed by Chinese (3.9%), French (3.0%) and Spanish (2.4%) above the 2% level (Maurais, 2003).

#### Languages of Wider Communication

A *language of wider communication*, also known as a *lingua franca*, provides a mutually intelligible medium for speakers in multilingual societies, to some extent replicating on the intra-national scale the function of world (or international) language(s) on the global scale – although world and international languages are languages of wider communication in the

broadest sense of the term. There are three major categories of languages of wider communication:

- international languages which may not be indigenous to the region, such as English, French, or Portuguese in Africa, or alternatively may be indigenous, as in the case of Swahili in East Africa and Hausa in West Africa; English as a language of wider communication in Europe (Seidlhofer and Jenkins, 2003) represents something of an intermediate case, because English is indigenous to a portion of the region but not in continental Europe where it plays its specific role;
- languages of indigenous origin that have come to fill the role of national (or regional) languages, though they are not the mother tongues of the majority of the people, for example, Bahasa Indonesia (Indonesia), Tagalog (Philippines), or Hindi (parts of India);
- languages of local and recent origin that have arisen at least in part specifically to fill the function of a language of wider communication; often called *urban vernaculars*, they are mixed languages containing elements of local languages, and sometimes international languages such as English or French; Isicamtho (South Africa), chiHarare (Zimbabwe), and Town Bemba (Zambia) number among them.

When English or French functions in this capacity, it tends to be referred to as a *second language*, to signal that it provides many speakers of a given nation with a medium in which to communicate when confronted with nationals outside the speaker's language group. In such cases, the second language may or may not be given official status, but it is generally adopted for a wide range of societal functions: economic, political, and cultural. In the second case, the languages are always official, and are also designated as national, as they are held to embody the national aspirations of the people, as may also be the case with an international language such as Swahili that is indigenous to the region. In the case of *urban vernaculars*, they are seldom given institutional recognition of any kind, and in many cases have only begun to be distinguished as languages in their own right. In the highly fluid circumstances in which they arise, they may even become transformed into the mother tongues of at least a portion of their speakers and may also be making their way into the classroom (Childs, 1997).

When a language is spoken in only one or a few countries as a second language by many of its speakers, that constitutes evidence that it functions as a language of wider communication (*see Lingua Francas as Second Languages*). Two such languages are Swahili, which according to some estimates has as few as 5 million mother tongue speakers and 30 million

second language users, and Bahasa Indonesia, with some 17 to 30 million native speakers as compared to 140 million non-mother tongue users. Ten major languages of wider communication, with estimates of their number of second language speakers, are given in Table 4.

### Functions of Languages of Wider Communication

Languages of wider communication (*lwc*) fill different functions, from the overtly political and institutional characteristic of top-down statist language planning agendas to bottom-up processes that may even go unnoticed by policymakers. When designated as official or national languages, *lwcs* can be used to promote nationalism in multi-ethnic societies, and may be associated with particular political forces or ideological aims – a role that may be as divisive as it is unifying. Hindi in India, for example, is widely associated with Hindu nationalism and viewed with suspicion, if not hostility, by large sections of the population. At the other extreme, the *lwcs* that have arisen in urban African contexts have been the spontaneous products of the mixtures within them of large numbers of speakers of various – and often closely related and mutually intelligible – languages. Closely connected, as Mufwene (2004) has pointed out, to the encroachment of urbanization on “the function of most indigenous languages as markers of ethnic identity,” these languages may be used to deemphasize ethnic identity or to signal urban identity. Despite the latter connotation, or perhaps indeed because of it, such mixed languages, including South Africa’s Isi-camtho, chiHarare in Zimbabwe, Lingala in Congo, Town Bemba in Zambia, and Wolof in Senegal, appear to be spreading apace to rural areas, too. Because they are largely confined to non-elites, such *lwcs*, though probably the fastest-growing languages in many places, have so far received little, if any, official recognition.

*See also:* Language Policy in Multilingual Educational Contexts; Lingua Francas as Second Languages; Motivation and Attitudes in Second Language Learning; Native Speaker; Nonnative Speaker Teachers; Second Language Identity; World Englishes.

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# Language Policy in Multilingual Educational Contexts

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## Global Distribution of Multilingualism

Bilingualism and multilingualism are a normal and unremarkable necessity of everyday life for the majority of the world's population. Linguists estimate that there are roughly 6800 languages in the world, but only about 200 nation-states. With more than 30 times as many languages as there are countries, bilingualism or multilingualism is present in practically every country in the world, whether it is officially recognized or not (Romaine, 1995). This means that in a broad sense multilingual educational contexts can be understood to encompass the educational practices of most countries in the world. The varied cultural and linguistic contexts existing in contemporary societies around the globe pose complex challenges for policy makers in many areas. The centrality of language to education means that policies concerning choice of which language(s) to use as the medium of instruction are essential, even if the need is not always overtly acknowledged. In addition, the need for teaching of additional languages as subjects is widely recognized as schools have a critical role to play in providing the bi- and multilingual skills that have become increasingly necessary in the modern world. In this article the terms 'bilingualism' and 'multilingualism' will be used interchangeably to refer to the routine use of two or more languages in a community.

Despite the near-universal presence of more than one language in every country, the global distribution of linguistic diversity is strikingly uneven. Papua New Guinea alone contains 13.2% of the world's languages, but only 0.1% of the world's population and 0.4% of the world's land area. The overall ratio of languages to people is only about 1 to 5000. If this ratio were repeated in the United States, there would be 50 000 languages spoken there (Nettle and Romaine, 2000). Over 70% of all the world's languages are found in just 20 nation-states, among them some of the poorest countries in the world. They include Papua New Guinea (823), Indonesia (726), Nigeria (505), India (387), Mexico (295), Cameroon (279), Australia (235), the Democratic Republic of Congo (218), Brazil (192), United States (175), the Philippines (169), Malaysia (139), Tanzania (135), Vanuatu (109), Russia (100), Vietnam (93), Laos (82), Ivory Coast (77), Ghana (79), and Solomon Islands (69). These data come from the *Ethnologue*, a database compiled by SIL International.

## Need for Language Policy and Planning

The pervasive presence of some degree of multilingualism indicates a universal need for language policy and planning in order to ensure that members of different language groups within a country or other administrative unit have access to and can participate in important societal institutions such as schools, government, and media. Schooling is one of the most critical sites for planning because education is the primary societal institution through which legitimation for the state's dominant language is sought. Formal education is often the first point of contact children have with the world outside their own community. Speakers of languages other than the official and national languages recognized for instructional purposes are often at a disadvantage. The poor school achievement of minority group children due to discontinuities between home and school language is well documented (Corson, 1990; Tollefson, 1995; *see Educational Failure*).

The first sociolinguists to tackle questions of language policy and planning were concerned with the language problems of developing nations such as Malaysia and India (Fishman *et al.*, 1968). Many countries under former colonial rule designated the colonial language as their sole official language for education and government. Ivory Coast, for example, declared French as its official language. Some have in addition specified national languages which may be compulsory in education. Others such as Indonesia replaced the former colonial language with their own (*see Education in a Former Colonial Language*).

From the 1970s onward, scholars have been concerned with education in migration contexts, particularly in Europe, which has seen the rise of increasingly diverse populations in countries such as Portugal and Iceland, often cited as examples of monolingual nations. The illusion of linguistic homogeneity is belied by the existence of a number of minorities in both these places. Portugal has a population of about 10 000 speakers of Mirandese (Miranda do Douro) concentrated in small villages in the northeastern part of the country. Because both Portuguese and Mirandese are closely related Romance languages, Mirandese has been thought of as a dialect of Portuguese. However, in 1999 the Portuguese parliament recognized it as a regional minority language and has undertaken some steps to protect it. It is optionally taught in some local schools, and work on grammars and dictionaries is under way. Portugal also has large numbers of immigrants from its former colonies (Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe, East Timor, and Brazil).



There may be as many as a quarter of a million ‘new’ immigrants (many of them illegal) from eastern Europe, especially Ukraine and Russia. Immigrants now comprise about 5% of the population, one of the highest proportions in the European Union, up from less than 2% at the turn of the 21st century. Iceland too has witnessed an influx of immigrants from Asia, especially since the 1990s, in addition to those coming from European countries. Although only around 3% of the population is non-Icelandic in origin, as many as 40 different languages may be spoken in addition to Icelandic.

An even more recent area of concern has been the notion of language rights, as individual and collective rights of persons belonging to linguistic minorities have been increasingly acknowledged in international human rights law and encoded in various legal instruments (May, 2001; Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 1994).

### Components of Language Policy

Spolsky (2004: 5) distinguished three components of language policy: language practices, language beliefs or ideology, and language planning. The notion of language practices concerns the choices members of a community make among the varieties available for use. Consider, for instance, the many Haitians or Cubans who have immigrated to cities such as Miami, who may use English to varying degrees in addition to Haitian Creole French or Spanish. Or consider Saami speakers in Norway, who may know Saami (an indigenous language of northern Norway, Sweden, and Finland), Norwegian, and English to varying degrees. Language beliefs include attitudes toward and beliefs about these varieties. Until recently attitudes toward Saami have been quite negative, among both Saami and non-Saami. Majority populations often show little enthusiasm for the languages of immigrant minorities either when the language concerned is a world language such as Spanish (as is the case in the United States) or Arabic (the language of many immigrants in France and the Netherlands). This is due to status differences between the majority and minority populations. Distinctive food, dress, song, etc. are often accepted and allowed to be part of the mainstream, but language much less so. The idea that linguistic rights need protection has never been part of American culture, and so they have not been seen as central to U.S. courts unless allied with more fundamental rights such as educational equity, etc. (Schiffman, 1996).

Language planning includes any efforts to modify practices or beliefs by means of some form of management or intervention. It usually takes the

form of a set of planned and managed interventions supported and enforced by law and implemented by official government agencies. Many countries encode language policies of one sort or another in their constitutions, laws, or other official documents. UNESCO sponsors the MOST (Management of Social Transformations) Clearing House on Linguistic Rights, designed to provide information for legislators, decision makers, researchers, and other representatives of both governmental and nongovernmental organizations. The database provides an overview of the most important international legal instruments, major nongovernmental documents, and national constitutions containing provisions relating to language and the rights of linguistic minorities, and a bibliography on linguistic rights in international human rights law. In conjunction with other sources of data (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000: 297–311), this information can be used for further sociolinguistic analysis as well as for the development of multilingual policies.

The MOST database lists 163 constitutions containing some mention of language; 22 countries either have no constitution at all or have a constitution that contains no provisions relating to language. Perhaps the most common kind of provision is to declare a language or languages as official or co-official, or as a national language. Nevertheless, fewer than 4% of the world’s languages have any kind of official status in the countries where they are spoken. The fact that most languages are unwritten, not recognized officially, restricted to local community and home functions, and spoken by very small groups of people reflects the balance of power in the global linguistic marketplace. Around 100 constitutions specify one or more official or national languages with special privileges of use. Seventy-eight mention a single official or national language. The constitution of France says that “the language of the Republic shall be French.”

More than 20 countries have more than one official language. India, for instance, has 19 and South Africa has 11. The constitution of Vanuatu states that the national language is Bislama, and the official languages are Bislama, English, and French. The principal languages of education, however, are English and French. India’s constitution codifies a variety of provisions protecting linguistic minorities, including the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice, and freedom from discrimination on grounds of language. In addition to specifying Hindi as the official language, it grants rights to regional state languages and specifies which languages can be used for communication between states, and between states and the national government. Every state is supposed to endeavor to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother tongue at

primary level to children belonging to linguistic minority groups, and there is a provision establishing a Special Officer for Linguistic Minorities. When a language is spoken by 30% or more of the population in any state or district, it is recognized as bilingual and the relevant minority language is placed on the same footing as the regional language for use by public authorities.

In practice, no country gives official status to every single language spoken within its territory. Where language policies exist, they inevitably privilege a limited set of languages. Even where explicit policies do not exist, governments have to operate in some language(s). This means that policy is implicit even if no specific mention is made of language. Here is where an examination of practice is essential. The presence of many languages other than English in industrialized countries such as the United States and Australia often comes as a surprise because these countries have generally operated and seen themselves as largely monolingual English nations, despite the presence of a considerable number of indigenous and (im)migrant communities using other languages. The United States is a classic example of a country with no official language policy. The term 'benign neglect' is sometimes used to describe cases where a state has no codified policy specifying which languages are official. Nevertheless, when a multilingual country uses one or more languages exclusively in public schools, and in the administration of state services and activities, it is making a distinction based on language. In showing a preference for some language(s), whether designated as official or national or not, the state's decision benefits those for whom the chosen language(s) is a primary language, to the detriment or disadvantage of others who either have no or lower proficiency and are denied the benefit or privilege of using their own primary language. The only cases where immigrant and indigenous minorities receive equal treatment are in those countries where neither group is given any special status (Kymlicka and Patten, 2003).

The term '*de facto*' ('by fact') is used for policies that operate covertly, implicitly, without necessarily having any official written support in legal documents. '*De jure*' ('by law') policies are overt, explicit, officially and legally defined. Probably most majority languages dominate in many domains where they have only *de facto* and no legal status. English is the dominant *de facto* or official language in over 70 countries. French has official or co-official status in 29 countries. The majority of countries in the world operate either *de facto* or *de jure* as monolingual states in recognizing only one language for use in education. This does not always mean that no other

languages are used in education, but rather that they do not have official status. Again one must look to practice in individual cases to assess the situation.

### Language Policies in Nation-States

The nation-state is the most critical unit of analysis because it is the policies pursued within national boundaries that gives some languages (and their speakers) the status of majority and others that of minority language. The term 'minority' is ambiguous because it may have both numerical and social/political dimensions. It is generally a euphemism for nonelite or subordinate groups, whether they constitute a numerical majority or minority in relation to some other group that is politically and socially dominant. What is common to most minority languages from a sociopolitical perspective is the fact that their status is defined in relation to some administrative unit, which in the modern world is generally the nation-state. Mandarin Chinese, with 900 million speakers, is spoken by more people than any other language in the world. In China, it has the status of majority language, but in many other countries such as Malaysia, it is a minority language. Catalan (Catalan-Valencian-Balear) is spoken by a minority of people within Spain, but by a majority in Catalonia, where it has official recognition. A minority language in a large country may be a majority language in a smaller country. Some languages, such as the signed languages used among deaf speakers, are minority languages in all contexts.

The linguistic heterogeneity of many countries reflects the linguistic arbitrariness of shifting political boundaries that have encapsulated distinct ethnic groups or nationalities with their own languages. All nation-states, whatever their political ideology, have persecuted minorities in the past and many continue to do so today. Many indigenous people today such as the Welsh and the Basques find themselves living in nations that they had no say in creating and are controlled by groups who do not represent their interests and in some cases actively seek to exterminate them. More than 80% of the conflicts in the world today are between nation-states and minority peoples (Clay, 1990). The Chechens, for example, lost at least one-quarter and perhaps half of their population in transit when they were deported *en masse* to Kazakhstan and Siberia in 1944. In 1957 they were allowed to return to their ancestral territory. In the face of continued Chechen rebellion to Russian appropriation of their land, economic resources, and a continued denial of civil rights, in late 1992 Russia sent tanks and troops to the north Caucasus, ostensibly as peacekeepers in an ethnic dispute.

While not all states are actively seeking the eradication of minorities within their borders, they have pursued policies designed to assimilate minorities into the mainstream or dominant culture. It was not too long ago that minority children in places such as Australia, the United States, Britain, and Scandinavia were subject to physical violence in school for speaking their home language. Often the education of these children entailed removing them from their parents and their own cultural group. The Statutes of Iona in Scotland, dating from 1609, are among the early instances of legislation in present day U.K. designed to promote linguistic and cultural assimilation. The statutes had the expressed purpose of separating Highland children from their native Gaelic culture and language and educating them in English in the Lowlands, where they would not only learn the dominant language, but would do so in an alien cultural and linguistic environment where their own culture was seen as barbaric. The law required the chiefs to send their eldest child to the Lowlands to be educated until they could speak, read, and write English.

In North America native children were sent to boarding schools where their own languages were forbidden. In Canada, the federal government and churches entered into a formal partnership to run a residential school system for Indian and Inuit children as part of the assimilation policy of the Canadian government. Education in such church-run, government-funded residential schools was supposed to prepare children for life in white society by denying them their native identity. The residential school system was in operation for nearly 150 years. In some parts of Canada as many as five generations of children attended, and some communities were depopulated of children between the ages of 5 and 20. Such schooling produced a collective sense of shame about native languages and identities. It is not surprising that demands for some form of bilingual education emerge when a group feels it is being discriminated against on other grounds. In a study done of 46 linguistic minorities in 14 European countries, the clearest link to emerge between language and schooling is that a minority language which is not taught tends to decline (Allardt, 1979).

The borders of most countries are often linguistically diverse areas. Due to a variety of political and historical factors, bilinguals may be concentrated in particular geographic areas constituting regions where the use of a language other than the state language is normal. The northeastern corner of Italy shares a border with Slovenia to the east and Austria to the north. It contains a substantial population speaking either Slovenian, as well as Friulian (more closely related to Provençal than to standard Italian),

or German (Standard German). Sauris is in effect a German linguistic island severed from the Austrian empire and incorporated into the Italian state. The region of Trentino-Alto Adige (Südtirol), governed by a special statute giving equal status to German (Standard German) and Italian, guarantees the right to education in the mother tongue for Germans in the province (from nursery to higher level). Italian is taught as a second language starting from the second year of the elementary cycle. Friulian is one of the largest minority languages of Italy, with over half a million speakers in the region of Friuli-Venezia-Giulia. A regional act of April 1993 provided funds for the promotion of Friulian in primary schools. Friulian is also used in some bilingual preschool education in the province of Udine. In the south and on the east coast, Greek and Albanian are spoken in some communities by descendants of refugees and mercenaries. Neither Greek nor Albanian has any official status, although the languages are taught in a small number of schools.

Although Article 6 of the Italian constitution is a clause pertaining to linguistic minorities which states that the republic protects linguistic minorities by special laws, there are discrepancies between policy and practice. Many minorities do not benefit from any special provisions. There are approximately one million speakers of Sardinian, which has no official recognition, despite the fact that Sardinia is an autonomous region governed by special statutes. Sardinian may be used in preprimary schools if needed to communicate with children. At the primary and secondary levels Sardinian has recently been introduced as a separate subject on an experimental basis.

In some countries decisions about language policy follow a 'personality' or 'territory' principle. In Switzerland territorial unilingualism exists under federal multilingualism in the country's four officially declared national languages: German, French, Italian, and Romansch. Of the 26 cantons, 22 are officially monolingual, with one of the four languages functioning as the dominant language in education. English is much preferred over the other official languages as a second language learned at school. Canada follows the personality principle for its two official languages, French and English, where sufficient numbers warrant. Quebec gives a universal right to French education, but the right to English education is limited to those with at least one parent educated in English.

### Language Policy beyond the Nation-State

Many nation-states are similar to Italy in their incorporation of a number of groups with distinct

languages, and their recognition of only one or a few languages for use within the education system and for other societal institutions. As the official language of Italy, Italian is also recognized beyond its national borders as an official language of the European Union (EU). Europe is perhaps unique in having such a large concentration of world languages within its borders as well as a sizable number of minority languages. From its beginning as the European Economic Community, the EU has accorded official status to each of the national languages of its member states. This means that relatively small national languages such as Danish, with roughly five million speakers, and Greek are, in principle, as official community languages on an equal footing with international languages such as French and English, a status they have nowhere else in the world. Outside the EU and its own borders, Danish has a similar status only in the Nordic Parliament, and, like Greek, it is not spoken at international gatherings. As embodied in its linguistic policy, this has meant that equality of access to the EU's institutions should not be hindered by language. In 1990 the European Parliament adopted its so-called 'principle of complete multilingualism,' which it declared to be "consistent with the respect which is owed to the dignity of all languages which reflect and express the cultures of the different peoples who make up the European community." However, from the beginning not all languages have been equal; nor in the larger sense was or could multilingualism ever be 'complete.' This resolution was adopted due to pressure in support of granting Catalan some sort of official standing in the EU's operations.

The case of Catalan is indicative of the fact that many minority languages, both indigenous and non-indigenous, are not recognized either as official or as working languages, even though some of them have larger numbers of speakers than do the national languages. Thus, Catalan with its roughly six million speakers, despite having more speakers than Danish, was not an official language because the country in which it was officially recognized, Andorra, is not a member of the EU. In the member states where it is spoken, France, Spain and Italy, it does not have official status. While denying official status to some languages like Catalan, the regulations of the EU have continually been expanded to accommodate the entrance of new member states with their national languages. In 2004 the EU expanded from 15 countries with 11 official languages to 25 countries with 20 official languages.

The EU has undertaken legislation to defend the status of certain minority language communities within its borders in the form of the European Charter

for Regional and Minority Languages (1992). Although it specifies no list of actual languages, the languages concerned must belong to the European cultural tradition (which excludes 'immigrant' languages), have a territorial base (which excludes languages such as Yiddish [Western Yiddish] and Romany [Romani], used over a wide geographic area), and be a separate language identifiable as such (which excludes local dialects of the official or majority languages). The terms of reference are deliberately vague in order to leave open to each member state how to define cultural heritage and territory. The charter provides a large number of different actions that state parties can take to protect and promote historical regional and minority languages, from which states must agree to undertake at least 35. However, each state is free to name the languages which it accepts as being within the scope of the charter (Ó Riagáin, 1998). The U.K., for instance, ratified the treaty in March 2001, but did not include Manx and Cornish. Mercator Education maintains a database of information relating to the use of regional and minority languages in education.

Language planning on an even more limited regional basis clearly makes better sense for languages such as Saami, Basque, Catalan (Catalan-Valencian-Balear), and other languages cutting across national boundaries, but the EU has generally avoided taking any action which would interfere with national laws or policies concerning linguistic minorities. The result is that many languages are valued only beyond their national borders, while not being recognized for educational or other public purposes even within their own areas of concentration.

### Language Policies at the International Level

The issue of language in education has been central to the mandate of UNESCO because one of its goals is to achieve universal quality primary education and a 50% increase in adult literacy by the year 2015. Established in 1945 as a special agency of the United Nations, the organization promotes international cooperation among its 190 member states and six associated members in the fields of education, science and culture. It aims to be a standard setter in forging international agreements on a variety of ethical issues. In 1953 UNESCO published an expert report on the use of vernacular languages in education, whose recommendations are still considered to be a central reference and have been widely referred to.

Nevertheless, UNESCO's (1935:6) much-cited axiom "that the best medium for teaching is the mother tongue of the pupil" did not lead to any widespread



adoption and development of vernacular languages as media of education. Despite some encouraging developments in some countries, in most parts of the world schooling is still virtually synonymous with learning a second language. Brenzinger (1998) estimated that fewer than 10% of African languages are included in bilingual education programs, with the result that more than 1000 African languages receive no consideration in the education sector. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) maintained that education for minorities in many parts of the world still operates in ways that contradict best practices. She estimated that fewer than 10% of the world's languages are used in education.

In 2003 UNESCO published a new position paper on languages and education reflecting the changing global context for education in a multilingual world (see **Multilingual Societies and Language Education**). The recommendations included choice of the language of instruction in multilingual contexts; the need to preserve the languages and the ethnic identities of small language groups; and the role of English as the lingua franca and the language of instruction in countries where it is not a native language. These concerns grew out of recognition of education as an important tool and reflection of cultural diversity in a rapidly changing world.

The changing character of multilingualism in the world today has manifested itself in at least two patterns. The first is that over the last few centuries in particular, some languages have shown a remarkable propensity to spread. Speakers of the 10 largest languages make up about half the world's population, and this figure is increasing. The 100 largest languages account for 90% of all people, with the remaining 6000-some confined to ten percent of the world's most marginalized peoples, who have generally been on the retreat for several hundred years. European colonization of the New World created many such language spreads, and most of the largest European languages are also widely spoken outside Europe. Today an Indo-European language, either English, French, Spanish or Portuguese, is the dominant language and culture in every country in North, Central and South America (Nettle and Romaine, 2000).

A second noteworthy trend is increasing bilingualism in a metropolitan language, particularly English, which has become the language of the 'global village.' No one knows exactly how many people speak English as a first or second language, but some estimates for the former group are 375 million; for the latter group, some figures run as high as 1.5 billion (roughly a quarter of the world's population). As the world's economy has shifted from an industrial base to one based on exchange of information, the

globalizing new world order is founded on communications technology, which underlies the linking of national economies. Hence the role of language and communication is destined to play a more critical role than ever before (see **Languages of Wider Communication**). Because the technology facilitating these developments originated largely in the English-speaking world, English is at the leading edge of global scientific and economic development. As much as 80% of the information stored in the world's computers is in English and 90% of the world's computers connected to the Internet are located in English-speaking countries. English is now the most widely used language in publication, with over 28% of the world's books printed in English and over 60 countries publishing books in English. English is also the language of international air traffic control and the basis for Seaspeak, used in international maritime communication. Crystal (1997) estimated that 85% of international organizations use English as one of their working languages, among them the United Nations and its subsidiary organs. French is the only real rival to English in this arena and it has been continually losing ground. Virtually all major corporations advertise their products in English. English is also the language of international popular culture for today's youth.

Most people in northern European countries such as the Netherlands, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries are becoming bilingual in English at an increasingly earlier age through schooling. Soon there will be few monolinguals among their school-age populations. English has rapidly become the first preferred foreign language study at school in the European Union, with nearly 90% of students studying it. French is almost always the second most widely taught language. The teaching of one or more foreign languages in primary school has also become more widespread.

Many countries have changed their educational practices regarding the teaching of foreign languages as a response to increasing demand for English. In Iceland, for instance, English has replaced Danish as the first foreign language taught in compulsory education (i.e., primary and lower secondary) in the new national curriculum. Danish is still taught as a compulsory second language to maintain and strengthen ties and cooperation with other Nordic countries. English instruction begins at age 10 (the fifth year of schooling) and is taught for 6 years, while Danish begins at age 12 and is taught for 4 years. During the last two years of lower secondary schooling students generally have the option of learning a third foreign language, usually German (Standard German), but Spanish and French in some cases.

The national curriculum guidelines also prescribe a minimum number of hours per week of foreign language instruction. These are rather low: 16 hours per week in English over a 6 year period, 14 for Danish, and only 2 hours per week in the optional third foreign language. Foreign languages are generally not used as the medium of instruction.

In other parts of the world English has rapidly replaced other languages once widely taught as second languages. Under the Soviet regime Russian was imposed in schools throughout the former Soviet bloc. After disintegration of the Soviet Union, few countries besides Russia require students to learn it, with the result that the language is less and less used.

Meanwhile, a third trend is that immigration and migration have brought about increasing linguistic and cultural diversity in much of Europe as well as the United States and other parts of the globe. At the end of the 20th century one-third of the urban population in Europe under the age of 35 was composed of ethnic minorities, the result of widespread migration in the 1950s and 1960s when Europe experienced an acute labor shortage. Around 10% of the school age population already has a culture and language different from that of the majority of the country in which they reside (Extra and Verhoeven, 1999). London has become an increasingly diverse city with as many as 200 languages spoken in its schools as a result of the influx of overseas migrants from the Caribbean and Asia. Similarly, Melbourne, once primarily a monolingual city, now has the largest concentration of Greek speakers in the world.

At the beginning of the 20th century one in eight persons in the United States was nonwhite; by the end of the century the proportion had increased to one in four. The white population also grew more slowly than any other group in the latter half of the 20th century. From 1980 to 2000 the Hispanic population in the United States doubled. The U.S. Census 2000 revealed that persons claiming Hispanic or Latino origin have replaced African-Americans as the largest ethnic minority group. A third of California's population belongs to this minority and nearly 40% of its population claims to speak a language other than English at home (Hobbs and Stoops, 2002). The United States is now the fifth largest Hispanic country in the world. Cities such as Miami and Los Angeles are now predominantly Hispanophone, and Los Angeles has been Latinized by its continuing immigration from Mexico. In three states, California, New Mexico, and Hawaii, as well as the District of Columbia, minority populations constitute the majority.

Recognizing that issues of identity, power, and nationhood are closely linked to the use of specific

languages in the classroom, UNESCO's (2003) position paper on education in multilingual contexts reaffirmed the value of mother tongues, but at the same time stressed the importance of balancing the need for local languages in learning and access to global languages through education. As far as mother tongue teaching is concerned, UNESCO advises that it should cover both teaching of and through this language for as long as possible (*see Standard Language*). Learning through a language other than one's own presents a double burden. Not only must new knowledge be mastered, but another language as well. Many minorities may be disadvantaged to begin with, coming from at-risk populations such as new immigrants, refugees, etc. (*see Immigrant Languages*).

### Linguistic Human Rights

The UNESCO (2003) position paper also endorsed many of the recommendations that have come out of the debate about linguistic human rights, which has emerged as an important topic in the context of the education of linguistic minorities (Varenes, 1996; Paulston, 1997; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). The notion of linguistic human rights is an attempt to link the debate about language rights with the relatively well-defined international legal framework in existence for human rights. That is, the concept of human rights is invoked as a means of reaching consensus on the rights of linguistic minorities to ensure social justice. These include the rights of indigenous and minority groups to education in their own language, access to the language of the larger community and that of the national education system, and international languages (see King and Schielmann, 2004). Discussion of a universal declaration of linguistic rights is taking place under the auspices of UNESCO. Such legislation aims at guaranteeing at an individual level that everybody can identify with their mother tongue(s) and have this identification accepted and respected by others, and can learn the mother tongue(s) fully, orally (when physiologically possible) and in writing. In most cases, this requires that indigenous and minority children be educated through the medium of their mother tongue(s); that they can use the mother tongue(s) in official situations (including schools); that everybody whose mother tongue is not an official language in the country where they are resident can become bilingual (or multilingual, if they have more than one mother tongue) in the mother tongue(s) and (one of) the official language(s) (according to their own choice).

In practice, this is being achieved to some degree in some contexts, often by means of what has been

called a 'three-language formula' or a '3 ± 1 language formula' in education (*see Multilingual Societies and Language Education*). In India a three-language policy means that children from non-Hindi-speaking areas study their regional language, in addition to Hindi, and English. Hindi speakers, on the other hand, study Hindi, English, and another language. In each state there is generally a large population who speak the dominant language of the neighboring state in addition to the dominant language of the state in which they reside. In Andhra Pradesh the dominant language is Telegu (Telugu), but many people speak Kannada, Marathi, and Tamil. Millions of Telegu speakers reside in the states of Karnataka, Orissa, Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra. Each state is multilingual and the linguistic majority in one state may be a minority in other states. Each state usually recognizes one official language and restricts the use of other languages to particular districts within the state. Critics of the policy contend that although it sounds fine in theory, in practice it has not been followed throughout the country.

In Luxembourg trilingualism in the national language, Luxembourgish or Lëtzebuergesch (Luxembourgish), French, and German (spoken in the neighboring countries of Belgium, France, and Germany) is encoded in legislation which ensures that all citizens learn all three languages at school. Students begin with their everyday spoken language, Luxembourgish, in compulsory preschool education. German is added in the first year of primary education, and French from the second year of primary school onward. Over the years, however, and particularly in secondary education, French gets an ever-bigger share until it completely replaces German as the language of instruction. English is learned as a fourth compulsory language in secondary education and secondary technical education.

Kymlicka and Patten (2003: 7) claimed that one reason why there has been a general reluctance to view policies of official bilingualism as rights rather than as pragmatic accommodations is that public institutions in the most powerful Western nations, the U.K., the United States, France, and Germany, have been monolingual for a century or more with no significant movement toward challenging the hegemonic position of the majority language. Immigrants have not generally challenged the hegemony of these nations and have usually assimilated rapidly and none of these countries has faced the linguistic challenges of Belgium, Spain, Canada, or Switzerland. Language occupies a contested position when nation-states cannot ground their basis for a common identity on language, religion, or culture. Some still regard the concept of language rights as 'regressive' because they

are seen as encouraging the persistence of ethnic differences, leading to conflict and divided loyalties. It is an unresolved question whether and when language shift can be required or expected in deliberative democracies. Likewise, one can question whether it is legitimate for the state to insist that all children be schooled in the majority language of the state as the sole or main medium of instruction. National ethnic minorities have many more internationally and nationally coded rights than immigrants. The linguistic human rights movement has focused on securing a universal right to mother tongue primary education.

### Typologies and Models of Multilingual Education

Bilingual education is not a modern phenomenon; it has existed in one form or another for at least 5000 years. Only recently, however, has it become an area of concern for policy makers. The term 'bilingual education' can mean different things in different contexts. If we take a commonsense approach and define it as a program where two languages are used equally as media of instruction, many so-called bilingual education programs would not count as such (*see Bilingual Education*). Moreover, the 'same' educational policy can lead to different outcomes, depending on differences in the input variables.

Typologies of bilingual education range from those which distinguish two basic types (Edwards, 1984) to Mackey's (1972) 90-cell typology. In her discussion of these many typologies each with somewhat different terminologies, Hornberger (1991) showed how the same terms are often confusingly used for different types of educational programs and conversely, different terms refer to the same type. So-called transitional bilingual education, for example, is also referred to as compensatory or assimilation bilingualism. Sometimes a distinction is made between immersion and submersion, and often the additional term 'structured immersion' is used for a program that has more in common with submersion than immersion. Like submersion, it is a program of monolingual majority language instruction for minority language speakers with little or no use of the pupils' first language. A so-called maintenance program does not necessarily foster maintenance. Sometimes the term refers to a program's goal, e.g., the maintenance of a minority language, while in other cases, it refers to the structure of a program, e.g., the curricular maintenance of a minority language as a medium of instruction.

Hornberger proposed her own framework, which distinguishes between bilingual education models and program types. Models are defined in terms of their goals with respect to language, culture and society,

and program types in terms of characteristics relating to student population, teachers, and program structure. This led her to recognize three types of models, transitional, maintenance, and enrichment, each of which may be implemented via a wide range of program types. Like Hornberger, Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) recognized three general types: immersion, submersion, and maintenance. If the educational aim of a bilingual program is the enrichment of majority children, an immersion program is chosen and the children are taught through the medium of a second language. The type of program chosen will typically, though not always, have different consequences. In practice, the situation in individual countries is complex and often several different options are available for different kinds of children, depending on a variety of circumstances, varying from place to place.

### Immersion

Immersion programs first began in Montreal in 1965 to teach French to English-speaking students. Although there are many variants of the model, in most cases the students come from the same home language background, and the curriculum typically involves two or more languages as the medium of instruction. One of these is usually the student's home language, and the other a second or foreign language, with at least 50% of the curriculum being taught through the second or foreign language. The Canadian model can be thought of as leading to 'additive bilingualism' because the aim is to produce a high level of proficiency in both languages. Results have shown that immersion students consistently display normal levels of academic development in their first language while acquiring high levels of proficiency in the second language (*see Bilingualism and Second Language Learning*). Full benefits of immersion emerge after about 5 or 6 years of continuous participation. Early immersion programs tend to achieve better results, but late immersion programs can also be successful (Johnson and Swain, 1997; Cenoz and Genesee, 1998).

After the success of the French immersion programs, similar immersion models of various types have become widely used around the world to promote indigenous and minority languages (*see Language Revival*). Some programs are total immersion, such as the Hawaiian program, which uses Hawaiian as the language across the curriculum. English is introduced as a subject from the fifth grade (around age 10) for 1 hour a day. Most of the students attending are English speakers and are learning Hawaiian as a second language. The immersion model contrasts with more conventional language

teaching as a subject for a limited number of hours with fewer opportunities for high levels of academic or informal engagement with the language in use. In immersion there may be little if any focus on language learning *per se* in the form of direct teaching of grammar and vocabulary. Language is acquired through the meaningful interaction required to learn academic content in various subjects. Other variants of the model may rely on bilingual immersion combined with a third language taught as a subject. In parts of the Basque country Basque and Spanish are used for instruction during primary education, and English is taught as a subject beginning in kindergarten.

In other cases, however, total immersion programs have been used as a tool to assimilate linguistic minorities into dominant languages. Minority children are put into majority language classes (with or without some additional teaching of the second language). Some researchers have called such programs 'submersion' or 'subtractive bilingualism' since the second language gradually undermines proficiency in the first because the development of the child's first language is disrupted and incomplete. In the United States some children have received assimilationist treatment (with or without special instruction in English as a second language), while others have had the opportunity to participate in bilingual programs along with majority children who were being exposed to the first language of the minority group in an enrichment scheme. The types of programs offered to particular groups depend very much on the relationship between them and the government.

### Transitional Bilingual Education

Bilingual education was given a legal footing in the United States by the Bilingual Education Act of 1968. Aimed at children with 'limited proficiency in English,' it provided funds for instruction in the mother tongue only as an aid to allow the children to proceed as rapidly as possible into ordinary mainstream classes in the majority language. From the beginning there was conflict over the degree of emphasis to be given to native language instruction. The model of bilingual education prescribed by the federal government, however, was opposed in its aim and principles to the kind of enrichment goals underlying Canadian immersion. Although it provided opportunities for schools to set up bilingual education programs, it did not place individual schools under any legal obligation to do so. Moreover, there was no intention or provision to maintain the students' home language. Instead of receiving equal instruction in both languages as they would in a maintenance program, the students would be given increasingly



less instruction in their native language until they finally left the program.

Litigation brought to the courts on behalf of various groups of minority students led in some cases to court-mandated bilingual education programs. In *Lau vs. Nichols* a class action suit was brought against the San Francisco Unified School District by Chinese public school students in 1970. It was argued that no special programs were available to meet the linguistic needs of these students. As a consequence, they were prevented from deriving benefit from instruction in English and were not receiving equal treatment. The plaintiffs made their appeal not on linguistic grounds, but on the basis of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which states that “no person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subject to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance” (Teitelbaum and Hiller, 1977: 6). In their case against the school board, the plaintiffs requested a program of bilingual education. Although the case was lost, the Supreme Court overturned the decision of the federal district court in 1974. It concluded that “the Chinese-speaking minority receives fewer benefits than the English-speaking majority from respondents’ school system which denies them a meaningful opportunity to participate in the educational program – all earmarks of discrimination banned by the regulations” (Teitelbaum and Hiller, 1977: 8). This was a landmark decision because it meant that for the first time in the United States the language rights of non-English speakers were recognized as a civil right. It was one of the few language cases ever to reach the Supreme Court, and its ruling made schools rather than parents or children responsible for remedying the children’s limited knowledge of English.

In its decision the Supreme Court did not press for any specific remedy. It pointed out only two possibilities: namely, teaching English to the students or teaching them in Chinese. They requested only that the school board rectify the situation of inequality of educational opportunity. The remedy taken by the San Francisco school board was to set up a bilingual education program for Chinese, Filipino, and Spanish language groups, who made up over 80% of the students with little or no English. Teaching in English as a second language was offered to all other minority groups. The *Lau* decision led to other cases. It also encouraged expansion of the services and eligibility provided through the Bilingual Education Act, and many states passed bills mandating bilingual education. The *Lau* decision was also instrumental in setting up policy guidelines at the federal level that

would allow the U.S. Office of Education to decide whether a school district was in compliance with the Civil Rights Act and the *Lau* case. A document referred to as the ‘*Lau Remedies*’ directed school boards to identify students with a primary or home language other than English and to assess their proficiency in English and the home language. Elementary school students were to be taught in their dominant language until they were able to benefit from instruction entirely in English. The U.S. Congress made the *Lau* decision an explicit part of the Equal Educational Opportunities Act (1974). Further mandates for bilingual instruction followed from lawsuits by Latino parents.

The sixth (and final) version of the Bilingual Education Act reauthorized by Congress in 1994 endorsed for the first time the goal of developing native language skills alongside its traditional focus on English language acquisition for limited-English-proficient children. Meanwhile, under the Clinton administration (1993–2001) two-way or dual immersion programs were promoted; these grew more than tenfold between 1987 and 2001. These were aimed at integrating majority and minority children in a program of content and literacy instruction in two languages.

In the late 1990s, however, the tables turned dramatically when a lawsuit was filed on behalf of Latino parents who claimed that state policies mandating Spanish instruction discriminated against their children (*Carbajal et al. vs. Albuquerque Public Schools*, 1999). This case attempted to portray bilingual education as a violation of civil rights rather than an entitlement. In California a conservative software millionaire named Ron Unz spearheaded a movement named English for the Children, portraying itself as a group committed to securing the right to instruction in English for immigrants. Under this proposal children with limited English proficiency were to be ‘mainstreamed’ as soon as possible into regular classrooms. After voters in three states (California in 1998, Arizona in 2000, and Massachusetts in 2002) voted against bilingual education, programs were dismantled, and have been under attack in others. This outcome meant that most of the bilingual education programs enrolling 43% of the English language learners in the United States would be replaced with intensive English immersion.

Ironically, one of the reasons why many people have viewed bilingual education so negatively is due to the fear that it aims to maintain languages, and by implication cultures, other than English. Even at the peak of their existence, bilingual programs reached only a minority of children for whom they could have been beneficial. Voters appeared to be largely ignorant of the rationale behind such programs as well as their aims and outcomes.

Crawford's (2004) analysis suggested that the public had a mistaken view that bilingual education was a diversion from acquiring English rather than a means to that end. It was the idea of maintaining languages other than English which the public was against. While foreign language instruction in the world's major languages in mainstream schools has been seen as valuable, both economically and culturally, bilingual education for minority students has been equated with poverty and loyalties to nonmainstream culture which threaten the cohesiveness of the state. Voters were also misled by the use of the term 'English immersion,' which suggested an intensive English program tailored to the needs of children learning English.

In addition, various opponents of bilingual education have formed a powerful lobby backed by considerable sums of money. The English-only movement formed in 1983, operating under the name U.S. English, has been campaigning in favor of a constitutional amendment to make English the official language of the United States, and for similar legislation at state level. The organization also seeks to repeal laws mandating multilingual ballots and voting materials. Twenty-seven states have enacted some form of official legislation. The group has seen programs that accommodate immigrants in their native languages as a kind of 'linguistic welfare' system that lowers the incentive to learn English and restricts them to low-skilled, low-paying jobs.

In 2002 the Congress effectively repealed the Bilingual Education Act when it passed the 'No Child Left Behind Act.' References to bilingualism have been removed from various federal agencies to reflect the shift away from bilingual education to concentration on the acquisition of English. The Office of Bilingual and Minority Affairs at the U.S. Department of Education was renamed the Office of English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement and Academic Achievement for Limited English Proficient Students. The National Clearing House for Bilingual Education has been renamed the National Clearing House for English Language Acquisition and Language Instruction Education Programs.

As in the case of immersion programs aimed at enrichment, research supports the pedagogic effectiveness of bilingual education programs. Students in bilingual programs have typically performed at least as well on English reading tests as students in all-English programs (Corson, 2001; Crawford, 2004). Much of the concern over acquisition of English masks the fear many middle-class whites have of losing their majority status. Although proponents of U.S. English attempt to legitimize the organization's existence as a way of breaking down supposed language barriers and facilitating minority

access to the material and other benefits of mainstream America, the irony is that most ethnic minorities do not actually want a self-contained ethnic group where no English would be spoken. Nor, however, do they want to assimilate linguistically or culturally. A majority want to maintain their ethnicity and language while also being American. An unfounded fear of diversity itself and thinly disguised racism lies behind the backlash against bilingual education in the United States, and in Europe, where earlier policies of providing home language instruction to the children of migrant workers have been rescinded or drastically curtailed.

Despite propaganda from U.S. English to the contrary, there were actually 4.5 times as many non-English speakers recorded in the U.S. census when immigration reached its highest level than in the 1990 census. The assimilative forces that absorbed those immigrants and their languages are even more powerful today. Although the number of non-English speakers is increasing, so too is the rate of shift to English. Languages other than English are the ones under threat. Spanish is fast approaching a two-generation pattern of language shift rather than the three-generation model typical of immigrant groups in the past. Without the replenishing effects of continuing immigration, Spanish would scarcely be viable in the United States over the long term (Veltman, 1983, 1988).

### Weak Linkages between Language Policy and Planning

Despite evidence of growing rather than decreasing diversity in many education systems, in some countries the trend has been toward not recognition of the need for policy and planning but the imposition of ever more centralized provision and greater intolerance of diversity. There are important differences between 'tolerance rights' and 'promotion rights.' Most democracies provide for freedom of government interference in private language use, but many are reluctant to make legal provision for promotion of languages in the public sector other than the dominant language(s).

In addition, weak linkages between policy and planning render many existing policies ineffective (Romaine, 2002). Many language policy statements are often reactive *ad hoc* declarations lacking a planning element. Eritrea's 1995 decision **not** to recognize an official language is a grand declaration with no linkage between policy and planning. Thus, President Isayas Afewerki (Brenzinger, 1998: 94):

When we come to the question of language as a means of instruction in schools, our principle is that the child

should use its mother tongue or a language chosen by its parents in the early years of its education, irrespective of the level of development of the language. Our policy is clear and we cannot enter into bargaining. Everyone is free to learn in the language he or she prefers, and no one is going to be coerced into using this or that 'official' language.

Policies cannot be implemented unless those with the duty to implement them are provided with the necessary resources. Policies cannot be effective unless they are tied to a plan for monitoring of compliance and application of sanctions where they are not implemented.

See also: Bilingual Education; Bilingualism and Second Language Learning; Education in a Former Colonial Language; Educational Failure; Immigrant Languages; Language Revival; Languages of Wider Communication; Multilingual Societies and Language Education; Standard Language.

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- <http://www.ethnologue.com> – Ethnologue.
- <http://www.mercator-education.org> – Mercator Education.
- <http://www.unesco.org> – MOST Clearing House.
- <http://www.us-english.org> – U.S. English.



## Language Revival

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Language revitalization is the targeted goal of language revival efforts. It involves a reversal of language shift where people start using a language that has been moribund or threatened by extinction, so that its vitality is gradually restored (Spolsky, 1996: 6). There is a range of contexts in which language revitalization can be studied, where conditions vary considerably, e.g., contexts of nation-states, indigenous linguistic minorities in nation-states, indigenous groups in post-colonial countries, and immigrant language groups. In all these cases, however, language revitalization involves the following defining characteristics or hallmarks:

1. Adding new sets of speakers to the language crucially involving the home domain and inter-generational transmission (Spolsky, 1996; King, 2001).
2. Adding new functions by introducing the language into new domains, where it was previously unused or relatively underused.
3. The revalorization of the language to be revived (henceforth L-[r]) by the L-[r] speakers and neospeakers (Huss *et al.*, 2003).
4. Involvement and activity on behalf of the individual and community of L-[r] speakers, and awareness that positive attitudes, action, commitment, strong acts of will, and sacrifice may be necessary to save and revitalize.

The language must gain access to domains related to socioeconomic advancement. Education is a critical domain in this respect. Huss *et al.* (2003: 4) point out that schools as well as preschools have shown themselves to be critical contexts for both language loss and revitalization. In communities where formal schooling is linked to economic advancement, without a school system in which the minority language has its proper place, all other revival efforts are likely to falter.

Whereas debate on education for language revival often centers on educational equity questions, status and institutionalization issues, and on the assessment of efficacy of varying bilingual/immersion programs, the discussion here will review specific pedagogical issues that are seen to fuel and foster language learning for language use in the speech community.

## Schools and Language Revival Efforts

The debate on the role of the school in language revitalization has centered typically on schools as agents of language revival, examining the concept of language planning and language education policy (Spolsky and Shohamy, 2000) and discussing the potential of schools in the community or in national efforts to contribute to language knowledge and language use.

Fishman (1991) claims that schools have limited value in language revival in that restoration and successful survival of a threatened language essentially requires reinstating and relocating the L-[r] primarily in the home domain in parent-child transmission. Unless schools directly feed into and facilitate the reinstatement of home and family transmission, then they will always occupy a secondary role in language restoration. This does not always happen, however. It is a feature of many language revitalization movements that they overlook the crucial stage of family transmission (Fishman, 1991, Stage 6 in the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale) in an effort to move with undue alacrity to minority language education (May, 2001: 142).

Mindful of the shortcomings of school-based language revitalization efforts, Hornberger and King (1996: 438–439), maintain, however, that school initiatives in some contexts may promote the instruction and use of unified native languages and standardized native language literacies as well as facilitate the very kernel of the spirit of language revival. Of course, schools are also the central arena for the promotion of prescriptive norms.

Schools on their own, therefore, may be ineffective in saving threatened languages (May, 2000). Links with the speech community are critical. McCarthy (1998), for example, argues that schools must adopt a prominent position in language revitalization and maintenance efforts because schools have had destructive effects on indigenous languages in the past. Education is also the site where larger political, social, and ideological values are transmitted and reflected, the very values that fuel language revival struggle. Schools can thus become awareness-raising agents, sensitizing students to language use or lack of language use in community domains and influencing linguistic beliefs, practices, and management of the language community. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000: 570) refers to the potential of the school in this context as an agent of change. The school may also be one of the chief agents of legitimization and institutionalization in the public domain of the L-[r] language,

a counterforce of language discrimination accruing after centuries of proscription, derogation, and neglect.

### Differing Contexts

Schools also operate in global and as well as in national and local contexts, involving varying standards and norms, language attitudes, multilingualism, and language prestige. Decisions on the type of program (schoolwide/immersion or targeted/one-way or two-way) (Hornberger, 1996) are best made through a process involving not just the teachers and curriculum planners, but critically involving the speech community itself. Immersion/content and language integrated learning (CLIL) and bilingual programs are often the most favored in revival contexts (e.g., Welsh: Jones, 1998; Baker, 2001; Maori: Spolsky, 1996; Benton and Benton, 2001; Irish: Coady and Ó Laoire; Slovenian in Austria: Busch, 2001; Sorbian in Germany: Elle, 2003, etc.). It cannot be suggested, however, that bilingual or immersion programs are applicable in multilingual or multicultural societies (Brann, 1981; Choudry, 2001; Benson, 2003).

### Pedagogy for Language Revitalization

Despite the different contexts, common questions arise about the teaching of language in revitalization contexts. These questions focus on the optimal context and conditions for effecting revitalization, involving the type of school program, the curriculum and classroom language use and activities, the space and relationship between the L-[r] and other languages, language materials, and teacher education. Given the variety and complexity of possible contexts around the world, education policy makers and teachers need to construct the best answer to these questions in their own local contexts.

King (2001) points to one oversight in the general debate on language education for language revival: It tends to exclude reference to the specific pedagogical activities that take place in language programs. Mindful of this oversight, the remainder of this essay examines curricular and pedagogical possibilities in language revitalization programs.

### Curriculum and Language Revival

One is inclined to speak about language learning programs in language revitalization contexts as if such programs were homogeneous and prone to significant variations and rates of success because of the models of teaching and learning that they comprise.

King (2001) shows, for example, in the context of Quichua in the town of Saraguro in the southern highlands of Ecuador, that school-based language programs may be limited by their inappropriate pedagogical approaches, in that they remained conventional and ineffective and had limited impact in stimulating active use of the language among learners.

The contribution of sociolinguistics to language pedagogy was apparent during the last two decades of the 20th century as the focus of instruction in many L2 + FL programs broadened to include communicative competence. Communicative competence, defined as what a speaker needs to know to communicate appropriately within a particular speech community, (Saville-Troike, 1989) emerged as a basic tenet in the context of sociolinguistics and was subsequently adopted by syllabus designers and specialists in second language (L2) and foreign language (FL) instruction.

### Communicative Language Teaching and L-[r]

In the final decades of the 20th century, therefore, communication in its manifold aspects has been accepted as the central tenet in language teaching (Trim, 1992).

Communicative competence and proficiency have thus become the central aim of many school-based language programs with pedagogies and language learning materials generally reflecting this central thrust of emphasis, or with the general features of communicative language teaching (CLT) being gradually absorbed into alternative or traditional methodologies. CLT, however, has particular challenges and advantages within the context of L-[r] revivalist efforts.

One challenge often bedeviling L-[r] pedagogy is the extent of native speakers. As pointed out by Little (2003) in the case of learning Irish, the number of learners of the L-[r] at any time may exceed the number of native or accustomed speakers. Pedagogical tasks thus are constrained, given the limited scope for rehearsal of interactions with native speakers. Of central concern here is the urgency or need to communicate in the L-[r] in any domain when the dominant language is perceived to be the most appropriate.

This distribution of L-[r] speaking networks may often pose, therefore, a serious problem for the learner, particularly within a communicative framework, where the relevance is wholly identified with societal use. For many schools, there is no readily identifiable

speech community where such communication might be meaningful other than in communicational transactions in the speech community. The communicative-type syllabi imply that learners, who have little or no prospect of eventually integrating into or enacting with the speech community, are asked to suspend disbelief and rehearse communicative situations, which can only be authentic or valid within the native speaker community networks inside or outside the speech community.

Second, the contraction of social contexts and domains in which the language is naturally used narrows the range of appropriate authentic materials and text-types. The absence of appropriate classroom materials is often a major obstacle.

Publishers see a limited market for developing language learning materials and resources in the L-[r], and thus teachers are forced to construct their own materials, using photocopies, drawings, and cut-out magazine clippings with superimposed handwritten captions. In doing so, they vie for students' attention and respect, especially for students who are familiar with glossy sophisticated textbooks and the high-tech learning materials of the dominant language.

Efforts in L-[r] language classrooms intent on simulating the tourist-type situations so central to communicative pedagogy of more widely used languages have worn thin with many learners (Ó Laoire, 2004). Students quickly see through the ruse and efforts to engage learners' motivation in mimicry of communicative situations, such as booking a hostel in the L-[r] in an English-speaking city, for example, or asking directions while working from a map, and have been doomed to arouse at best a benign indifference, even apathy, among the most eager learners.

However, the shift to communicative language teaching has been useful in language instruction for promoting language use in the speech community. This has positive underlying potential to foster active language use of the L-[r], in that it draws deliberate attention to domains where the language is used meaningfully in transactions and at the same time introduces the learners to new situations where the language potentially could be used. Thus, in developing receptive competences, for example, learners hear the language as it used in the speech community, or read authentic texts where printed and literacy texts are available. In developing productive competences, learners engage in role-plays to prepare for interactions with native speakers, neo-speakers, or accustomed speakers, even if such interactions might never occur. This approach is somewhat at variance with the remarkably unprogressive methods and passive activities described by King (2003).

It is not always easy, even for committed students, to communicate, or even to know how and when

to communicate, with native/neo-speakers speakers of the L-[r], either inside or/and outside the speech community. Learners at this crucial integration-threshold stage often think that their command of the language is not good enough and compare their own efforts unfavorably with the standard of the target network group. Unfortunately, such learners often give up. This points to a need not only for more research into the sociolinguistic and motivational variables of integration, but also for preliminary studies of inter-language pragmatics in the case of L-[r] speakers.

Neighborhood domains and home domains in the early stages of language revival are often insufficient for the learner to sustain or to develop proficiency through use. The school alone may indeed be the only source of language learning and inter-language development, and they may never be reinforced by integration into the speech community. This is, perhaps, the greatest challenge to acquiring the L-[r] and is a strong argument for immersion or content-based language learning as being the best suited pedagogically in the context of revivalist efforts.

### Different Expectations from Pedagogy

Schools on their own will not change language behavior. A complication often is the different goals, definitions, and measurements of success employed by different revivalist groups for whom aims tend to vary considerably:

1. One group may aim only for the language being taught in the schools (one type of syllabus) – once it is being taught, they are happy.
2. Another group might aim to reintroduce the language into families and thereby secure intergenerational transmission.

These two approaches would necessitate different syllabuses. The former would aim to teach the language in some de-contextualized context or for cultural reasons, whereas the latter would stress learning the language for active use and for use in the micro-domain of the family itself. This forces us to answer the question: Why is L-[r] being taught in the first place?

1. For short-term motivational fulfillment, i.e., communicating in the classroom?
2. To secure in the longer term the use of the language in the family domain and thus secure intergenerational transmission.

Both aims can coalesce pedagogically, of course. There is a difference, nonetheless, between language learning and language acquisition. Language that is

learned may be forgotten, if it is not retrieved from short-term memory, used, or activated on a regular basis. Language that is acquired is automated or automatically available. It is possible to extend and drive inter-language and fuel acquisition in the classroom if the language is used meaningfully. The communicative and purposeful use of language offers this opportunity. We need not only to give our learners practice in the language through scaffolding, but we must also create opportunities for our learners to talk meaningfully and therein process language. The more exposure to the L-[r] as in immersion/submersion CLIL programs and the more opportunities to use the language in a meaningful way, the better the chances of acquisition.

### Final Considerations: Language Revitalization and Instructed Language Acquisition

This discussion suggests that real-life use of language should be reflected to a large extent in the texts and activities of the classroom. As these activities do not depend on immediate reinforcement outside the classroom, pedagogical activities can be seen as an end in themselves and reflect real peer-to-peer or teacher-to-student communication. The classroom, therefore, becomes a valid communicative situation, exploitable to a large extent as a valuable resource for instructed language acquisition (Ellis, 1990). Critical to construction of contexts of acquisition in the classroom is the concern with learning rather than teaching (Little *et al.*, 2000). In the case of acquisition of L-[r] in instructed contexts, much remains to be investigated. It is likely, however, that research in this will conform to a significant extent to the following basic findings of L2 studies to date.

It can be expected, therefore, that significant amounts of language exposure are required. Teaching the L-[r] as a subject only is unlikely to succeed. Experience from immersion programs indicates that a greater investment of hours of exposure may be necessary to achieve acquisition (King, 2001: 216). Second, learners must engage in meaningful interactions in the classroom wherein negotiation for meaning triggers interactional adjustment by native speakers (Long, 1996). The processes of acquisition as well as being contingent on modification of native speaker and comprehensible input depend equally on meaningful interaction with the target language. Finally, as well as teaching and exposing our learners to the L-[r], as teachers we need to equip them with skills in how to learn the language (and other languages) and how to seek out opportunities to use it

outside the classroom. Such an approach can imbue teachers and learners alike with a new creative enthusiasm for language in general and create a language awareness that is facilitative of acquisition.

*See also:* Endangered Languages.

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# Lingua Francas as Second Languages

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In 1953, UNESCO defined a lingua franca as “a language which is used habitually by people whose mother tongues are different in order to facilitate communication between them.” Although a number of attempts were made to introduce an engineered lingua franca, such as Esperanto, to achieve such a facilitation for worldwide communication, the languages used as lingua francas today are largely natural languages. Some of these languages are, or were, used worldwide, notably English. Others, such as Arabic, French, Spanish, and Russian, are employed for international communication in a particular geographic area. Thus, Arabic serves as a lingua franca in the states of the Maghreb and the Middle East, Spanish is the major lingua franca of Central and South America, and Russian linguistically united the Soviet Union. In addition, there are languages that are used as intranational lingua francas only. Afrikaans, for instance, is used in large parts of South Africa and Namibia to allow for communication among speakers who do not share another language. Similarly, Modern Chinese is employed for communication across the individual speech communities in the People’s Republic of China. In addition, of course, numerous other languages serve groups of different sizes as lingua francas (Languages of Wider Communication).

All of the lingua francas mentioned above have native speaker speech communities. However, they are second languages for the majority of their users, and this has implications both for the individual who uses more than one language as well as for those societies in which several languages coexist. This article considers both the multilingual societies in which lingua francas are used and the bilingual individual using the language. The first part covers aspects such as multilingualism, diglossia, and language shift, and their effects on education and language policy. In the second part, the use of a lingua franca will be discussed as a case of language contact, which involves transfer, borrowing, and code-switching, nativization processes, and similarities with learner languages. The later sections are devoted to a description of lingua franca communication at the international level and a review of approaches toward lingua francas from within the field of foreign language teaching. The article closes with a brief look into current research trends.

## Lingua Francas and Multilingual Societies

Lingua francas are used for different purposes. Communication among speakers of mutually unintelligible

languages occurs across countries as well as within them. This section will examine lingua francas used for intranational, intraregional, and international communication. It draws on data available for Afrikaans, Standard Arabic, Mandarin Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish. **Table 1** presents the figures which have been estimated for the numbers of second language users of these languages.

When a language has come to be used as a lingua franca, it is frequently assigned the status of a national or official language of individual countries as documented in **Table 2**. More detailed descriptions of the linguistic situation and the status of the lingua francas in these countries are available from the *Ethnologue* (*Ethnologue*) or from Baker and Prys Jones (1998).

**Table 1** and **Table 2** indicate that lingua francas are used in different contexts: several languages, such as Arabic, English, French, and Spanish have achieved a special status within a large number of individual countries. Others, such as Afrikaans, Chinese, and Russian, have high numbers of second language users but are used in few countries. The following subchapters provide an overview of the diverse scenarios in which a lingua franca may be encountered, followed by a discussion of the implications its use has at the societal level.

## Scenarios of Lingua Franca Usage

**Spanish in the Americas and French in Africa** As a result of colonization, both Spanish and French are used on a worldwide scale, but they mainly serve restricted geographical areas. Spanish as a lingua franca is mainly used in the Americas, from California as far as Feuerland. Here, Spanish is spoken by a total of approximately 330 million people (cf. Noll, 2001). Most of the second language speakers of Spanish in this area are descendants of Native Americans. However, Native American languages, such as Aravak, Caribe, Nahautl, Maya, Chibcha, Quechua, Arimara, Mapuche, and Guaraní, continue to play a

**Table 1** Second language speakers of individual lingua francas

<i>Language used as lingua franca</i>	<i>Number of L2 speakers in millions</i>
Afrikaans	appr. 3.7
Arabic, Standard	no estimates available
Chinese, Mandarin	278
English	167
French	51
Russian	110
Spanish	59

All figures are taken from the *Ethnologue* at [www.ethnologue.org](http://www.ethnologue.org).

**Table 2** Lingua francas enjoying a special status

Language (L)	Number of countries in which L is spoken	Number of countries in which L is a national language	Number of countries in which L is an official language	Number of countries in which L enjoys a special status
Afrikaans	10	–	1	4
Arabic, Standard	25	19	2	2
Chinese, Mandarin	16	2	–	5
English	105	48	28	10
French	54	7	24	4
German				
Russian	31	–	1	2
Spanish	44	19	1	4

prominent role only in Mexico, Guatemala, the Andes, and Paraguay. In other countries, the majority of their inhabitants have shifted to Spanish as their first language. Cuba and the Dominican Republic have predominantly Black populations. Here, Spanish speakers are mainly descendants of the formerly enslaved African peoples and the European colonizers.

The francophone world covers large parts of Europe, America, and Africa. French has the status of a lingua franca in many sub-saharan countries, such as the Ivory Coast, countries in the Indian Ocean, the states of the Maghreb, Andorra, Luxembourg, the Aosta Valley, Vanuatu, Lebanon, etc. (cf. Kleineidam, 1992). More than half of all francophones live in Africa. But different from the case with Spanish in Latin America, French is not spoken by the vast majority of these countries' inhabitants. In fact, French is often accessible only to a middle class elite. However, Kleineidam (1992) documents that figures for second language speakers of French have been steadily rising between 1980 and 2000 in Africa: there was an increase of 267% in sub-Saharan Africa and of 160% in the Maghreb states.

Arabic is used inside as well as across more than twenty countries, mainly located in the Middle East and northern Africa. In these countries, Modern Standard Arabic fulfills the function of an official language, as the medium of education and administration, and for all written communication. In addition, all Muslim states are unified through the literary and written standard provided by Classical Arabic, the language of the Islamic religion and of the Qur'an (cf. Youssi, 1995).

**Intranational Lingua Francas: Afrikaans, Russian, and Chinese** Whenever the political frontiers of a nation were drawn regardless of ethnolinguistic realities, the country is frequently inhabited by speakers of diverse languages. Such multilingual states often decide on one particular language for

intranational communication across their different speech communities. This is – or was – the case, for example, in China, the former Soviet Union, and South Africa.

In China, which officially recognizes 56 nationalities and 125 minority languages (cf. e.g., Sun, 2001 cited in Poa and LaPolla, forthcoming), Mandarin Chinese – also called Modern Standard Chinese or *pǔtōnghuà* – is the sole official language. It was formally defined and standardized after World War II and became the medium of instruction in schools, the working language for government and administration, and the language of the media (cf. Chen, 1999: 27). Stern measures to implement Modern Standard Chinese were never adopted in mainland China. Rather, migration of people across the empire has been encouraged, if not enforced, by the government. As a result, bilingualism in Mandarin Chinese and a local variety is the norm in large parts of China today. In 1984, 50% of the whole nation had a speaking proficiency in Modern Standard Chinese, and 90% had a comprehension proficiency in the language.

Strategies were similar in the former Soviet Union, which contained peoples speaking more than 130 different languages, but where the government never installed Russian as the national language. Instead, Russian was introduced as a compulsory school subject and promoted as a key to being a full Soviet citizen, based on the “Marxist principle that at some time in the future all ethnic groups will fuse into one” (Comrie, 1981: 37). Social planners supported migration of Russians into remote regions of the state, producing multilingual communities and mixed marriages, mostly with Russian as the dominant language. In 1979, a total of 61.2 million speakers of Russian as an additional language lived in the Soviet states, and the federation was characterized by frequent instances of bilingualism, such as Estonian-Russian, Armenian-Russian, etc. (cf. Haarmann, 1985).

A language that has been vigorously enforced as an intranational lingua franca is Afrikaans. Afrikaans

was designated as the national language when the Afrikaner Nationalist Party came into power in 1948. Partly in response to the former aggressive anglicization policy effected by the British, Afrikaans was promoted and made the compulsory language of instruction in all Black schools in 1957. Following the abolition of the apartheid policy, Afrikaans is now one of eleven official languages, but due to its background it still is a major lingua franca in South Africa and parts of Namibia. The language has been a lingua franca from when it developed in a sustained situation of language contact between the indigenous Khoekhoe, Dutch settlers, and slaves (cf. McCormick, 2002). It is spoken widely in large parts of South Africa, both as a first and as a second language, by speakers from a variety of ethnicities.

**Global Lingua Francas: English** Among the different lingua francas which exist around the world, English is the language which has gained the status of a global language. It is used for worldwide communication across nations and individuals, who speak mutually unintelligible languages, but it also serves as an intranational lingua franca in a large number of countries which had previously been colonized by the British (cf. Table 2).

The dominance of English at the international level has sometimes been discussed as linguistic imperialism. Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (2001: 573) argue that “a Western-dominated globalization agenda is being implemented by the transnational corporations, the World Bank, the IMF, and the World Trade Organization.” The status of English is strengthened through these global alliances but also through organizations that operate at a regional level. Moreover, increased global mobility, migration, and modern media help the spread of English today. As a result, English has gained enormous prestige, and mastering the language is associated with access to the global market. Crystal (1997) estimates that approximately 1000 million people speak English as a second language today, albeit at different levels of competence.

### **Societal Effects of Lingua Franca Usage**

Languages used as intranational lingua francas frequently have the status of a national or official language and are used for governmental and administrative affairs. Raising the status of one of several languages spoken in a country eventually results in the language being more prestigious and associated with professional success and upward social mobility. These often diglossic situations have an impact on education and may eventually cause language shift.

**Diglossia** Frequently, the two or more languages used within one nation coexist in a diglossic situation (Fishman, 1980): One language is used for ‘high’ functions, i.e., in formal interactions such as official discourse, in church and schools, and especially in written communication. The other language is used for so-called ‘low’ functions: informal, mundane, mainly oral interactions. As a result, the high language is often held to be more logical and aesthetic, associated with literary heritage, and it is also the one which is acquired through formal education. For example, Modern Standard Arabic is used in most formal contexts in the Maghreb states, and a colloquial variety of Arabic, or Berber in the case of for example Morocco, is used in informal, oral situations. In Paraguay, where Spanish and Guaraní are the two official languages, Spanish performs the high functions.

**Educational Issues** The prestige of a lingua franca performing high functions in a country may also influence language policy, and there may be parental or societal demand that the lingua franca be used as the medium of instruction in schools or taught at the expense of other languages. Such is the case for example in South Africa, where English is now increasingly used as a medium of instruction in schools where neither the pupils nor the teachers speak English as their mother tongue. However, designating a lingua franca as the sole or major medium of instruction may have severe consequences for pupils’ social, cognitive, and academic development. Desai (2003) documents that Xhosa children who receive their primary school education through English do not only fail to acquire English effectively, but that they also do not develop proficiency, especially in reading comprehension, in their mother tongue. Also, using the lingua franca may exclude those sections of the population who do not have access to it from socioeconomic advancement. In some cases, the language used as lingua franca may be completely inaccessible to certain groups of society, yielding a bilingual or multilingual elite. For example, several rural areas of China are still without electricity, and access to schools is also limited in some cases, so that as a result citizens have no opportunity to acquire *pǔtōnghuà* through the media or in school.

Even if the lingua franca is not used intranationally, such as English in Germany, individuals may prefer to study this language rather than another foreign language if it is more prestigious and required for the more attractive professions. In fact, Europe today witnesses an enormous increase in English language learning, often to the detriment of multilingualism.

**Language Shift** When proficiency in the lingua franca is a prerequisite to professional and social achievement, language shift is also likely to occur,



i.e., bilingual communities will tend to give up their original mother tongue and gradually, usually over three generations, acquire a new language. In South Africa, Indians gradually shifted to English (cf. Messtrie, 1992), and at present, Blacks increasingly raise their children in English instead of Afrikaans, because English seems to guarantee upward societal movement (cf. McCormick, 2002). Haarmann (1992: 111) points out that following a phase of unbalanced bilingualism with Russian as the dominant language, “by 1979 about 16.3 million non-Russians (such as Ukrainians, Latvians, Georgians) had shifted to Russian as their first language.” And in China, the Qiang have been undergoing language shift to the dominant *pǔtōnghuà* due to a lack of literature, media, and education in Qiang and the rapid increase in Chinese-Qiang bilingualism. The process of language shift is, however, not always completed. The Black community in Cape Town, South Africa, on which McCormick (2002) reports, uses English in education and at the workplace. However, the individuals in this community still enact their identities in a mixed Afrikaans-English code.

### **Lingua Francas and the Multilingual Individual**

The wide range of social contexts in which lingua francas are used is reflected in the heterogeneity of the forms which languages assume when they are used as lingua francas. Depending on the presence and status of the lingua franca in a particular country, speakers acquire and use the language differently. Speakers living in nations that utilize a lingua franca for intranational purposes frequently acquire a nativized variety of the lingua franca. But in countries where the lingua franca does not enjoy a particular official status and where it is mainly acquired for communication with interlocutors from abroad, the model has usually been either British English (in Europe) or the American Standard variety (e.g., in Japan). Interestingly, Korea has adopted a strategy of teaching a variety called Codified Korean English.

Furthermore, the environment in which a lingua franca is acquired varies considerably. Lingua francas are usually taught as second languages in institutional settings. But they are also present in everyday life: in official documents, on television and on the radio, in advertisements etc. These different options for contact with the lingua franca yield diverging opportunities for either instructed or informal acquisition of the language.

#### **Formal and Natural Acquisition of Lingua Francas**

In many cases, a lingua franca is learned in an institutionalized context. This is the case whenever the

language is not used intranationally. For example, English is a subject in Germany, Italy, Turkey, Japan, and many other countries. If a language is used as an intranational lingua franca, it is often still acquired in an institutionalized context. Thus, mother tongue speakers of Xhosa or Zulu in South Africa learn English from primary school onward. At the same time, however, the lingua franca is usually used in several public domains, especially in the media, and speakers may simultaneously acquire it naturally so that formal instruction and natural acquisition supplement each other. This is the case for example in China, where Modern Standard Chinese is not only taught and used as the medium of instruction in schools, but is also the language of access to modern media. Radio and television exposes even very young children to Modern Standard Chinese, which thus becomes part of their local context.

But despite the availability of formal instruction in the languages used as lingua francas, for a large number of their speakers, especially for those who do *not* have access to formal education, acquisition through uninstructed channels is frequently their sole option. They pick up the language in everyday interaction with either native or nonnative speakers, and learning results from direct participation and observation. Although such informal settings potentially create rich language learning environments with a vast array of communicative events, they also leave the learner with the task of constructing the correct rules from the input they receive.

Acquiring the lingua franca in contexts such as the workplace, and without additional instructed learning, may produce errors that remain uncorrected so that nontarget forms eventually become fixed and fossilize. As a result, the speakers achieve a variety of levels of competence, and large numbers will only be able to master a basilectal form of the lingua franca. This is the case in the following sequence, which has been observed with a South African Xhosa speaker who acquired English mainly through interaction with other nonnative speakers.

my child is in Johannesburg but he's working  
sometimes wor – not working. I don't know\  
another one's three, three years here. and then uh,  
lady's has got as a house, in Khayelitsha. working  
in factory to sewing, everything. oh sorry. and  
another, the lastborn, my lastborn, is in working,  
he's passed his standard ten last of last year. but he's  
working now. it's better but eh. all the children is  
got a problem. because it is not help her parents.  
you know/

A similar situation characterizes parts of Latin and South America. Lipski (1994: 143) points out, that in Latin America “radio is often the only means of

communication for vast rural areas, and for large segments of the population who suffer partial or total illiteracy.” Radio stations in these areas provide a medium for adult education and Spanish language classes for the indigenous communities. However, the model that speakers encounter on the radio is heterogeneous in that most broadcasters do not receive training due to a lack of financial resources.

### **Nativized and Interlanguage Forms of Lingua Francas**

When the lingua franca is regularly used for intranational communication, it frequently develops into a nativized form. Transfers from the speakers’ mother tongues, which occur at the different linguistic levels, eventually stabilize, and the language is adapted to a new sociocultural context, a process which affects both cultural and formal dimensions. This is most apparent in the lexicon of these varieties. For example, speakers of English in Nigeria have coined the expression *head-tie* to denote a piece of cloth worn around the head by the women in the country. For English, the individual indigenized varieties spoken throughout the world have been thoroughly documented in a vast number of publications, e.g., by McArthur (2002) and especially in the papers published from within the International Corpus of English (ICE) project. With regard to Spanish, sociolinguistic research on Latin America has established that “Latin American Spanish exhibits numerous supraregional characteristics, and a well-defined if unofficial prestige norm valid across two continents” (Lipski, 1994: 149). Instead of being an imitation of Castilian, the Latin American prestige form “is a set of common denominators in which regionally or ethnically marked items do not appear” (Lipski, 1994: 149).

If learning the lingua franca takes place in the classroom context only, speakers’ productions frequently display structures and strategies that differ from both the mother tongue and the second language. These interlanguages are approximative, transitional systems, which reflect the developmental stage of the individual learner. They are both unstable and variable, and they are furthermore characterized by communication strategies, employed to compensate for deficits in the second language. For example, paraphrases are used to express lexical concepts for which the interlanguage does not yet contain a specific lexical item. Also, pauses occur frequently between and also within turns, possibly because learners pause to solve production problems. But long pauses that occur between turns may also result from the speakers’ reliance on pauses as turn-taking-signals, which implies that they don’t

sufficiently recognize and produce other turn-taking-signals. Learners have also been shown to display a low variation in ritual speech acts, which seems to be a further classroom- or textbook-induced characteristic. Pöll (1998: 108) documents that speakers of French as a lingua franca in sub-Saharan Africa frequently produce utterances in which individual structures of the French language have been simplified (e.g., *dans* is used as the sole locative preposition in Senegal). Also, concord rules may be violated, as is the case in *les filles ne fait plus ça* (observed in Cameroon).

### **Linguistic Processes in Lingua Francas Productions**

Individuals using a language as a lingua franca by definition command more than one language. As a result of such language contact, the speech of bilinguals using interlanguage varieties as well as nativized forms of individual languages is commonly characterized by borrowing, transfer, code switching, and code mixing.

**Borrowing and transfer** In present-day Bolivian Spanish, contact with the diverse Native American languages is reflected in the form of lexical borrowings from the indigenous languages Aymara, Chiquitana, Guaraní, and Quechua. For example *apallar* ‘to harvest’ (cf. Lipski, 1994: 194) or *cosa!*, an exclamation meaning ‘very good, excellent,’ have both been copied into Bolivian Spanish. In the diglossic context of Paraguay, borrowing from Guaraní is particularly noticeable. Items for flora, fauna, food, etc., are often of Guaraní origin. For example, *mitái* is used for ‘child’ instead of *niño/niña*.

Also, the lingua francas display evidence of transfer in that structures of the indigenous languages influence the speakers’ productions in the lingua franca. In Peru, Spanish reflects transfer from Quechua in that the clitic pronoun system has been morphologically simplified, and Quechua word order and tenses have been retained in Spanish (cf. Klee, 1996). Transfer does not, however, radically change the syntactic structure of Spanish. Rather “speakers of Andean Spanish have found a way to maintain the word order patterns and evidential system of Quechua in a manner that is compatible with the pragmatic use and structure of Spanish” (Klee, 1996: 89).

**Code Switching and Code Mixing** Lingua franca speakers have also been found to mix the indigenous language and the lingua franca into a hybrid consisting of words and phrases of both languages (code mixing). The intrasentential use of two languages seems to be a universally accounted phenomenon

in the productions of second language speakers in multilingual settings.

*ka fa izy edy izany/ça semble lourd quand c'est en malgache/vous voyez (Babault, 2001: 137; Malegasy in italics).*

Estamos haciendo pruebas, y *tlamis tikisake* recreo *iwa tlamis tikalakiske oksepa*, *tlamis* de nuevo vamos a estudiar (MacSwann, 1999: 136; Nahuatl in italics).

But code switching may also occur intersententially, i.e., speakers also change codes between utterances within one speech event. Often, especially in diglossic situations, this is done for stylistic purposes, or due to alterations in the formality of the speech event. The following excerpt taken from McCormick (2002: 168) demonstrates a switch from English to Afrikaans, which does not usually serve formal functions in the community she studied. When speaker 1 becomes uncertain about the date of the next meeting, speakers switch into Afrikaans for a more informal discussion. The conversation changes back to English when the formal reading of the minutes is resumed (Afrikaans in italics).

Speaker 1: The matter could only be entertained when our next AGM elections would be held the chairman closed the meeting and told the members that on Wednesday ninth

Speaker 2: seventeen

Speaker 3: sixteenth

Speaker 4: *laas week was die sestiende en die week tevore was die laaste meeting*

Speaker 5: *nee man hy praat van die sestiende* sixteenth May

Speaker 1: (resumes reading the minutes) The chairman closed the meeting and told the members that on Wednesday sixteenth May nineteen eighty four there would be no meeting

McCormick also documents that code switching and code mixing may evolve into a mixed language, which can develop into a marker of identity.

### **International Lingua Franca Interactions**

At the international level, interaction in a lingua franca often implies communication between speakers of different varieties of the lingua franca: indigenized forms and nonnative or learner varieties potentially meet, and as a result interactions in a lingua franca are highly heterogeneous. Lingua franca communication (LFC) implies interaction between various linguistic and cultural systems. Consequently, LFC has been approached from different perspectives: some authors

have discussed LFC as a particular type of intercultural communication, whereas others have placed their emphasis on aspects related to interlanguage communication (cf. Meierkord and Knapp, 2002 for a more comprehensive overview).

As a form of intercultural communication, LFC has been conceived as interaction between participants from different cultures or discourse systems. Based on the assumption that speakers in LFC would not share a sufficient amount of shared signs and their conventionalized representations to allow them to interpret each others' utterances successfully, LFC has often been approached as being potentially problematic. Participants in LFC have been assumed to misinterpret silences, tone of voice, expressions for speech act functions, etc. Several scholars have assumed that interferences from the individual mother tongue will result in more frequent and also more complex problems, if speakers need to resort to a language neither of them speaks as her/his mother tongue. Such interferences may occur "in the types of communicative events that learners expect to occur in a given situation, the manner of their participation in them, the specific types of acts they perform and the ways they realize them, the ways topics are nominated and developed, and the way discourse is regulated" (Ellis, 1994: 187). In fact, early studies carried out in the learner languages paradigm, such as Schwarz (1980) and Varonis and Gass (1985), who investigated the negotiation of meaning between non-native speakers of English with different linguistic backgrounds, discovered such problematic issues.

A number of studies describe the formal properties which English assumes in lingua franca communication. The vast bulk of these studies concentrates on the discourse level. Firth (1996) challenges the above view and argues that participants in lingua franca interactions strive to make interaction 'normal' in the sense that misunderstandings tend to be negotiated following a 'let it pass' attitude. Speakers seem to accept that understanding may be impaired to a certain extent, and they allow for a certain amount of opacity to make the interaction less vulnerable. However, others have documented frequent instances of misunderstanding in the data they elicited (cf. the papers in Knapp and Meierkord, 2002) and have even held that mutual understanding in LFC is a myth (House, 1999).

Descriptive studies investigating the other linguistic levels are still scarce. Meierkord (2004) presents analyses of the syntax in interactions across international Englishes, which reveal an overwhelming similarity of the lingua franca productions with those commonly found in native speaker varieties of English. Particular features, which have been

documented for New Englishes or learner varieties, also occur but are infrequent. On the whole, the interactions are characterized by processes of leveling and regularization.

### Lingua Francas and Second Language Teaching

The status which English enjoys as a global lingua franca and the variability of the forms which English today assumes have also concerned scholars in the field of English language teaching. The issue had been at the center of discussions in the 1980s, and it has recently gained renewed attention. In the early papers addressing the need for a reorientation of English language teaching, authors suggested that most learners of English would employ the language mainly for communication with other nonnative speakers. Against this assumption, they argued that basing foreign language teaching on a native-speaker model was doubtful and problematic, because it did not sufficiently prepare learners for using the foreign language as a lingua franca. Hüllen (1982: 87) concludes that “[...] the linguistic norms – grammatical, lexical, but also those of pronunciation – will have to change. It is also certain that new means of linguistic politeness and agreed-upon roles in communication will arise.” Like him, other authors concentrated on the sociopragmatics of English for international communication and on the negotiation of meaning, both based on the assumption that crosscultural differences in these areas are likely to cause problematic interaction.

A number of authors have also attempted to model a form of English that would be easier to learn than the ones based on the native speaker varieties, yet be communicatively adequate. Ogden’s (1933) *Basic English* is one of the earliest proposals for such a variety. It combines a restricted set of grammatical rules with a lexicon of approximately 850 words. Quirk (1985) proposed *Nuclear English*, a form of English characterized by, among other things, a reduction of homonymy, of the complexity of for example restrictive relative clauses and of the system of modal verbs.

Many other authors did not perceive a need to design a particular variety of English as an international lingua franca. For example, Smith (1984) and Crystal (1997) assume that English will develop without the active intervention of linguistic engineers. Smith (1984: 55) assumes that the term *English as an International Language* refers to the different uses of the language only, that individual users will employ a number of different forms of English, e.g., nativized varieties, and that participants using English as a lingua franca will need to cope with the resulting

heterogeneity. Crystal (1997: 136 ff.) proposes that a form which he calls *World Standard Spoken English* would arise, a form that would coexist with other varieties. Crystal conceives this form of English as characterized by “careful pronunciation, conventional grammar, and standard vocabulary” (Crystal, 1997: 137) and as a variety which “takes the form, for example, of consciously avoiding a phrase that you know is not likely to be understood outside your own country” (Crystal, 137 ff.).

But on the contrary, Burger (2000: 10ff.) attempts to embrace current research findings and proposes the following: a revision of the native speaker as a model for English language teaching, an acceptance of hybrid learner varieties, a dominance of communicativity over correctness, an increased coverage of second language varieties of English, an inclusion of nonnative varieties in listening training, stressing intelligibility of pronunciation over native speaker acceptance, the training of negotiation of meaning, and activities to raise intercultural awareness.

### Outlook: Current Research Trends

Scholars have started to investigate lingua francas from a corpus linguistic perspective. Jenkins (2000) searched her corpus of genuine lingua franca English conversations for instances of native and nonnative speaker pronunciation leading to unintelligibility and misunderstanding. Based on her findings, she argues that a number of sounds, suprasegmentals, and articulatory settings could be modified in comparison to the British or General American English model. In her proposal of what she calls the *Lingua Franca Core*, for example, /θ/ and /ð/ could easily be replaced by /t/ and /d/ or /s/ and /z/ without impeding intelligibility. Similarly, the dark /l/ might be substituted by /ʊ/.

A number of projects that aim at the compilation of corpora of LFC are under way. At the universities of Berne, Basle, and Fribourg, Watts, Allerton, and Trudgill, respectively, look into what they have labeled *Pan Swiss English*, a form of nonnative English emerging among native speakers of Swiss German, French, and Italian in Switzerland. In Austria, Seidlhofer has initiated the compilation of a corpus of *English as a lingua franca* at the University of Vienna (Seidlhofer, 2004; <http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/>). Mauranen collects data for *English as an academic lingua franca* at the University of Tampere. A slightly different perspective is offered by Meierkord, who relates the findings yielded by the analyses of her corpus of *English as a lingua franca in South Africa* to identity construction in contemporary South African society.



See also: Bilingualism and Second Language Learning; Languages of Wider Communication; Nonnative Speaker Teachers; Third Language Acquisition; World Englishes.

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## Linguistic Imperialism

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The study of linguistic imperialism focuses on how and why certain languages dominate internationally, and on attempts to account for such dominance in an explicit, theoretically founded way. Language is one of the most durable legacies of European colonial and imperial expansion. English, Spanish, and Portuguese are the dominant languages of the Americas. In Africa, the languages of some of the colonizing powers, England, France, and Portugal are more firmly entrenched than ever, as English is in several Asian countries.

The study of linguistic imperialism can help to clarify whether the winning of political independence led to a linguistic liberation of Third World countries, and if not, why not. Are the former colonial languages a useful bond with the international community and necessary for state formation and national unity internally? Or are they a bridgehead for Western interests, permitting the continuation of a global system of marginalization and exploitation? What is the relationship between linguistic dependence (continued use of a European language in a former non-European colony) and economic dependence (the export of raw materials and import of technology and know-how)? In a globalizing world, has English shifted from serving Anglo-American interests into functioning as an instrument for more diverse constituencies? Or does U.S. dominance in the neoliberal economy constitute a new form of empire that consolidates a single imperial language?

Imperialism has traditionally been primarily concerned with economic and political aspects of dominance (Hobson, 1902). Later theorists have been concerned with analyzing military, social, communication, and cultural activities, and the underlying structures and ideologies that link powerful countries, the 'Center,' with powerless countries, the 'Periphery,' and the structure of exploitation from which rich countries benefit and poor countries suffer (Galtung, 1980). Resources are distributed unequally internally within each country, which has its own Center and Periphery, which in Marxist analysis is seen in terms of class (Holborrow, 1999). Linguistic imperialism was manifestly a feature of the way nation-states privileged one language, and often sought actively to eradicate others, forcing their speakers to shift to the dominant language. It was also a feature of colonial empires, involving a deeper degree of linguistic penetration in settler countries (e.g., Canada, New Zealand) than in exploitation and

extraction colonies (e.g., Malaya, Nigeria). Linguistic imperialism presupposes an overarching structure of asymmetrical, unequal exchange, where language dominance dovetails with economic, political, and other types of dominance. It entails unequal resource allocation and communicative rights between people defined in terms of their competence in specific languages, with unequal benefits as a result, in a system that legitimates and naturalizes such exploitation (Phillipson, 1992).

Linguistic imperialism can be regarded as a subcategory of cultural imperialism, along with media imperialism (e.g., news agencies, the world information order), educational imperialism (the export of Western institutional norms, teacher training, textbooks, etc., and World Bank policies privileging Center languages in education systems; Mazrui, 2004), and scientific imperialism (e.g., dissemination of paradigms and methodologies from the Center, which controls knowledge about the Periphery). Linguistic imperialism may dovetail with any of these, as for instance when English as the dominant language of science marginalizes other languages, English as 'Lingua Tyrannosaura' (Swales, 1997; Ammon, 2001; Phillipson, 2002).

The mechanisms of linguistic imperialism are documented in works that link linguistics with colonialism (Calvet, 1974 refers to linguistic racism, confirming the interlocking of 19th century philology with European racist thought), relate the promotion of English in educational 'aid' to the economic and political agendas of Center countries (Phillipson, 1992), and discuss the effect of literacy on the local language ecology, including the role of missionaries (Mühlhäusler, 1996). Linguistic dominance has invariably been buttressed by ideologies that glorify the dominant language: as the language of God (Arabic, Dutch, Sanskrit), the language of reason, logic, and human rights (French over several centuries), the language of the superior ethnonational group as advocated by (imperialist racism, German in Nazi ideology), the language of modernity, technological progress, and national unity (English in much postcolonial discourse). A Ghanaian sociolinguist describes linguistic imperialism as

the phenomenon in which the minds and lives of the speakers of a language are dominated by another language to the point where they believe that they can and should use only that foreign language when it comes to transactions dealing with the more advanced aspects of life such as education, philosophy, literature, governments, the administration of justice, etc. . . . Linguistic imperialism has a way of warping the minds, attitudes, and aspirations of even the most noble in a society and preventing him from appreciating and realizing the full potentialities of the indigenous languages (Ansre, 1979: 12).

There are studies that focus on the discourses accompanying linguistic hierarchies (Pennycook, 1994), and the ambivalent role of English in contemporary India (Rajan, 1992). English in Africa is seen as “an imperial language, the language of linguistic Americanization, a language of global capitalism, . . . creating and maintaining social divisions serving an economy dominated primarily by foreign economic interests and, secondarily, by a small aspiring African bourgeoisie” (Mazrui, 2004: 30, 40, 52), though English is simultaneously appropriated for Afrocentricity in Africa and in the United States. The tension between the need to learn English for local empowerment alongside local languages, and the adequacy of our theories for addressing these issues has been explored (Canagarajah, 1999, several contributions in Ricento, 2000).

Fishman *et al.* (1996) is an anthology on *Post-Imperial English: Status Change in Former British and American Colonies, 1940–1990*, with contributors from many countries, who were asked to assess linguistic imperialism in each context. The editors see the need for English to be “reconceptualized, from being an imperialist tool to being a multinational tool . . . . English . . . being postimperial (as the title of our book implies, that is in the sense of not directly serving purely Anglo-American territorial, economic, or cultural expansion) without being postcapitalist in any way.” Fishman, in a ‘summing-up and interpretation’ of the contributions to the book, correlates the status of English with hard data on the use of English in the media, education, studies abroad, technology, administration, etc., and more subjective assessments. He tabulates the degree of ‘anglification’ in each state. His assessment is that the “socioeconomic factors that are behind the spread of English are now indigenous in most countries of the world” and that the continued spread of English in former colonies is “related more to their engagement in the modern world economy than to any efforts derived from their colonial masters” (1996: 639). Fishman seems to ignore the fact that ‘engagement in the modern world’ means a Western-dominated globalization agenda set by the transnational corporations, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Trade Organization, with the U.S. military intervening whenever ‘vital interests’ are at risk. Although some contributors conclude that linguistic imperialism is not present, they have no difficulty in using the concept in country studies, and none question its validity or utility.

Others are more robust in distancing themselves from a linguistic imperialism approach, when reassessing the language policies of the colonial period and in theorizing about the role of English in the modern world (Brutt-Griffler, 2002) and when describing the

global constellation of languages (de Swaan, 2001), on which see Phillipson (2004). English plays a supremely important role in the ongoing processes of globalization, which is seen by some scholars as synonymous with Americanization. English is playing an increasingly prominent role in continental European countries and in the institutions of the European Union, though in principle and law these are committed to maintaining linguistic diversity and the equality of the languages of the member states (Phillipson, 2003). Increased European integration and market forces are, however, potentially leading to all continental European languages becoming second-class languages. This concern has led to the advocacy of Europe-wide policies to strengthen foreign language learning, but few European states (probably Sweden and Finland are those most active) have elaborated language policies to ensure the continued strength of national languages alongside competence in English and full respect for linguistic human rights.

One symptom of market forces is the major effort by ‘English-speaking’ states to expand their intake of foreign students. Higher education is increasingly seen as a market opportunity, a sector that the British government seeks to expand by 8 per cent per year between 2004 and 2020. The British economy benefits by £11 billion directly and a further £12 billion indirectly (British Council). Over half a million foreign students attend language schools in Britain each year. The English Language Teaching business is of major significance for the British economy. These figures reveal something of the complexity of the supply and demand elements of English as a commodity and cultural force. They also demonstrate the need for the analysis of linguistic dominance to shift from a colonial and postcolonial perspective to contemporary patterns that are maintained by more subtle means of control and influence, language playing an increasingly important role in the internationalization of many domains.

Thus in the teaching and marketing of ‘communication skills,’ a shift from linguistic imperialism to communicative imperialism can be seen: “Language becomes a global product available in different local flavours . . . . The dissemination of ‘global’ communicative norms and genres, like the dissemination of international languages, involves a one-way flow of expert knowledge from dominant to subaltern cultures” (Cameron, 2002: 70). A focus on communication skills may well entail the dissemination of American ways of speaking and the forms of communication, genre, and style of the dominant consumerist culture, which globalization is extending worldwide.

In *Empire*, Hardt and Negri (2000) draw together many threads from political, economic, and cultural theory and philosophy, and astutely unravel the role of communication in global social trends, and the ways in which language constitutes our universe and creates subjectivities. They reveal how the hegemonic power imposes or induces acceptance of its dominion. They show why it has been so important for the corporate world not only to dominate the media but also education, which is increasingly run to service the economy and to produce consumers rather than critical citizens. Linguistic dominance as such is not pursued in their book, and it is also largely neglected in social and political science. Linguistic imperialism, or linguistic dominance in the sense of the maintenance of injustice and inequality by means of language policies, is invariably connected to policies in commerce, science, international affairs, education, culture, and the media, all of which involve material resources and attitudes, and all of which evolve dynamically.

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## Religion and Literacy

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The influence of religion on the spread of literacy has frequently been significant. It was the stated aim of many missionaries, for example, particularly Christian and Buddhist, to provide the means whereby as many people as possible could read sacred texts in their own language. In order to be able to provide people with texts in the vernacular, they were thus in many cases the first to devise scripts for languages that had previously never been written down. Among notable early Christian examples are Wulfila (Ulfilas), who designed the Gothic script (4th century C.E.); Mesrop, who invented the Armenian alphabet (5th century C.E.); and the Greek monks Cyril and Methodios, who invented what later came to be known as the Cyrillic alphabet (9th century C.E.), in which Russian and other Slavic languages are written. In Africa, the earliest extant Bantu text, a Kongo translation of a catechism, was published in 1624 by a Jesuit missionary, and in North America the Puritan John Eliot devised a writing system for the Massachusetts language, in which a complete Bible was published in 1663. A Korean translation of the Bible by the Scottish missionary John Ross (1842–1915) was a major factor in the success of the indigenous Korean alphabet in use today.

The earliest Buddhist missionaries to China, Japan, and Central Asia translated their texts into the vernacular with the same zeal as the Christians. The first Chinese translations of Buddhist texts date from as early as the 2nd century B.C.E., and in the 4th century C.E., under the direction of Kumarajiva (344–413), perhaps the greatest of the Buddhist translators, a Translations Bureau was established, employing between 500 and 800 people. The entry of Buddhism into Japan led to the Chinese writing system's being adopted there by the 6th century C.E. and also to the evolution around 800 C.E. of a distinctive Japanese writing system, from which the modern kana syllabaries are derived. It was Buddhist missionaries who invented the Tibetan script in the 7th century C.E., and subsequently the Tibetan priest Phagspa, under the patronage of Kublai Khan (1214–1294), who designed the first Mongol script.

The invention of printing, crucial to the spread of literacy, was likewise in many cases closely connected with religion. In China and Japan the earliest use of woodblock printing was in the mass reproduction of religious texts, including one million copies of certain Buddhist prayers and charms, printed by imperial

order in 770 C.E., and the Diamond Sutra, the earliest printed book to have survived (868 C.E.). The role of the Christian church in the development of printing in Europe was no less significant. The first type-printed documents in Europe were a set of Papal Indulgences (Mainz, 1454), and the first complete printed book was the celebrated Gutenberg Bible (c. 1455). From the 16th century on, the dissemination of printed vernacular versions of the Bible, together with the writings of Martin Luther and other Reformers, was undoubtedly an important factor in the spread of literacy in Europe, even to the lower orders of society. The first document to be printed in the Americas was a catechism printed in the Nahuatl language in Mexico City in 1539, and it was Jesuit missionaries who introduced printing with movable metal type into Japan in 1590.

In Jewish tradition, the written form of Hebrew scripture was always important. According to biblical legend, parts of the Hebrew Bible were originally “written on tablets of stone with the finger of God” (Exodus 31:18; cf. 1 Chronicles 28:19) or copied by ancient Israel's leaders (e.g., Deuteronomy 17:18; Joshua 8:32). The earliest Jewish term for the Jews' sacred text is *ha-katub* ‘the written’ (*sc.*, word, verse, passage), from which the term ‘scripture’ (Latin *scriptura*) is derived, and the centerpiece of synagogue architecture is the sacred ark containing scrolls of the Torah. Reading and writing – and not only Hebrew, the sacred language of Judaism – have thus from ancient times been very high on the agenda of Jewish educators. The first text on which the ancient rabbis' children practised their reading skills, we are told, was the biblical book of Leviticus, partly because it has a high proportion of familiar, everyday words like ‘hoopoe’ and ‘griddle,’ rare in other books of the Bible, and partly because the repetition characteristic of ritual codes can be pedagogically helpful.

The Reformers' emphasis on individual judgment and the ability to read for oneself contributed much to the spread of literacy. Two notable precursors of the Reformation, John Wycliffe (1330–1384) in England and Jan Hus (c. 1369–1415) in Bohemia, for example, did much to make vernacular translations available as widely as possible. The vernacular version of the Bible by William Tyndale (c. 1494–1536) was written in a language so close to common speech that even “a boy that driveth the plough” could understand it. Through King James's Authorized Version of 1611, which was heavily dependent on it, Tyndale's Bible had an inestimable influence on the English language. One might refer also to the lasting impact of Dante Alighieri (1265–1321) and Martin Luther (1483–1546) on two other European languages.

It was due to Dante that Latin, hitherto the only literary language there was and one with a very restricted readership, gave way to an “illustrious vernacular” that was to become the everyday language of the Italians. Luther, more explicitly religious than Dante, also wrote in a language accessible to all, and his writings, especially his German Bible, left an indelible mark on the style and vocabulary of the German language.

In the 20th century, the Summer Institute of Linguistics, founded in 1934, together with its sister organization, the Wycliffe Bible Translators, and the United Bible Societies (an association with member societies in more than 100 countries), contributed significantly to the study and teaching of countless languages worldwide, most of them known till recently only in oral form and many of them spoken by only a relatively small number of people. It is in fact a stated goal of these missionary or quasi-missionary organizations to assist local government and private agencies in establishing literacy programs suited to local conditions and needs. In this they are following a well-established tradition going back to pioneers like the Quaker Hannah Kilham (1774–1852), who set up West Africa’s first vernacular literacy program, in Sierra Leone. Under the leadership of such distinguished linguists as Kenneth Pike (1912–2000) and Eugene Nida (1914–), the Summer Institute has produced, not only translations of the Bible into hundreds of languages worldwide, but also grammars, dictionaries, and textbooks. By means of painstaking field research, the application of the most up-to-date linguistic theory, and the employment of native speakers, the Institute aims to ensure that its efforts related to literacy are of the highest quality and as effective as possible.

In some cases, religion has had the opposite effect and actually been an obstruction to ordinary people’s access to the skills of reading and writing. The religious establishment in medieval Europe, for example, sought to prevent ordinary people from reading the text of the Bible in the vernacular. Jan Hus was burned at the stake in 1415, and William Tyndale was executed in 1536. The terms ‘Church Latin,’ ‘Church Slavonic,’ and the like embody an exclusivist attitude toward reading and writing skills, and before the Reformation the role of the priest in Catholic and Orthodox countries as a general rule contributed little to the spread of literacy among ordinary people. Much effort was invested instead in beautiful though expensive alternatives to literacy education, such as stained glass windows.

A similar situation existed in India, where the scripts in which Sanskrit and Hindi are written were known as Brahmi ‘divine’ and subsequently Devanagari ‘the script of the city of the gods,’ and reading and writing were for centuries mainly the preserve of specially

trained cultic personnel. Even after the invention of writing in ancient India, priority in the Hindu religion, in a situation exactly the reverse of that in Judaism, was always given to oral tradition, meticulously handed down from generation to generation by extraordinary feats of memory. The use of written texts in ritual was actually condemned. In ancient Persia the Zoroastrian priests likewise taught that their sacred text, the Avesta, believed to contain the actual words of their founder, should never be written down. According to Julius Caesar, in *Gallic war* 6.14, this was also a characteristic of the Druids, who did not want their sacred literature to be read by outsiders. A significant factor in both these examples of religious opposition to the use of writing was probably that neither the Zoroastrians nor the Druids ever had a special sacred script associated with their sacred texts, as had the Jews (Hebrew), Muslims (Arabic), Hindus (Devanagari), and Sikhs (Gurmukhi).

The spread of Islam throughout Africa and Asia is another example of the negative effect a religion can have on the spread of literacy. Since Arabic was the language in which the word of God was revealed, Muslim law forbade the translation of the Qur’an into the vernacular and vigorously promoted the teaching of Arabic in preference to any other language. There were translations such as those into medieval Persian and Ottoman Turkish, but these never acquired the same status or authority as did Luther’s German Bible or the Authorized Version. Thus students at the Qur’an schools, which sprang up wherever Islam was to be found, normally learned to read and write Arabic, with varying degrees of success, before they were able to read or write in their mother tongue.

The dominance of Arabic and, in particular, the Arabic script throughout the Islamic world, not least as an exquisite form of decoration on mosques and other buildings, unique in the history of religion, undoubtedly restricted the use and development of vernacular scripts. The Arabic script was adapted, not always very successfully, for virtually every language associated with Islam. As well as the obvious examples of Persian, Urdu, and Ottoman Turkish, languages at one time written in a modified form of the Arabic script include Spanish (13th century), Malay (14th century), and Hausa (18th century). There are several interesting exceptions in which the pervasive influence of the Islamic religion on vernacular literacy was checked. The Christians of the Syriac Orthodox and Maronite churches from the 13th century wrote Arabic in a form of the Syriac script known as Garshuni. Bengali Muslims use a script similar to Sanskrit, in preference to the Perso-Arabic script employed by the vast majority of Muslims in South Asia. Under Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938), Turkey abandoned the Arabic script in favor of an adaptation

**Table 1** Youth literacy and illiteracy by region

Youth literacy rate (15–24) (%)						Youth illiterates (15–24)				
1990			2000–2004			1990		2000–2004		Country or territory
Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total (000)	% F	Total (000)	% F	
84.3	88.2	80.1	87.6	90.9	84.0	156 430	62	136 710	63	World
99.2	99.2	99.2	99.4	99.4	99.3	332	49	304	50	Countries in transition
99.7	99.7	99.6	99.7	99.7	99.7	471	51	354	49	Developed countries
80.9	85.8	75.8	85.2	89.3	81.0	155 627	62	136 052	63	Developing countries
66.6	77.3	55.3	78.2	84.4	71.8	14 203	66	12 946	64	Arab States
98.3	99.2	97.4	98.8	99.3	98.3	1023	75	790	69	Central and Eastern Europe
97.7	97.8	97.7	98.3	98.3	98.3	281	50	257	50	Central Asia
95.4	97.2	93.6	97.8	98.2	97.4	17 383	68	7446	58	East Asia and the Pacific
92.7	92.7	92.7	95.5	95.2	95.9	6351	50	4589	46	Latin America and the Caribbean
99.7	99.7	99.7	99.8	99.8	99.8	310	49	203	49	North America and Western Europe
61.5	71.1	51.0	72.3	81.5	62.5	87 276	61	79 344	65	South and West Asia
67.5	74.8	60.2	76.6	81.0	72.3	29 603	61	31 135	59	Sub Saharan Africa

Reproduced from *Education For All. The Quality Imperative*. (EFA Global Monitoring Report 2005). UNESCO 2005. Statistical Annex. Table 2. Adult and Youth Literacy. <http://www.efareport.unesco.org/>

of the Roman writing system that is a much simpler and more effective medium for the Turkish language.

The latest UNESCO statistics (see **Table 1**) show that in those areas of the developing world where the influence of Islam and in particular the Arabic language was most profound, that is to say, the Arab States, Sub-Saharan Africa, and South and West Asia, the total rates of illiteracy are consistently 10–20% higher than in East Asia or in Latin America and the Caribbean. Certainly many other factors are involved, and generalizations are dangerous, but it does appear that, in those areas where Buddhist and Christian missionaries had the most impact on language, that is to say, in Europe, North and South America, and East Asia and the Pacific, their efforts to enable as many people as possible to read and write in the vernacular have left a lasting legacy.

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# Multilingual Societies and Language Education

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## Introduction

Societal multilingualism can be conceptualized in relation to two broad dimensions:

- The proportion of citizens who are fluent in two or more languages
- The degree to which languages other than the dominant language are used for purposes of social interaction within the society.

Thus, the degree to which any society is multilingual varies in relation to how many of its citizens are fluent in multiple languages and use these languages for a variety of functions in a range of social contexts. By implication, few societies can be characterized as completely monolingual in the sense that virtually every society includes individuals who use their multiple language abilities in a variety of social contexts. There is no simple cut-off point above which a society can be characterized as 'multilingual' and below which it is 'monolingual'; rather, societal multilingualism represents a continuum that is, in principle, quantifiable according to the variables outlined above.

In an era of globalization with unprecedented human mobility and social exchange, processes of language learning (and language loss) are apparent in societies around the world. Government policies attempt to influence these processes by supporting the teaching of certain languages in schools and, in some cases, by actively discouraging the maintenance of other languages, usually the languages of subordinated groups within the society (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000).

The complexity of global multilingualism, and the challenges of language planning, can be appreciated in relation to the fact that there are an estimated 5000 languages spoken in the world's 200 or so sovereign states and about two-thirds of all children in the world grow up in a bilingual or multilingual environment (Crystal, 1997). To illustrate, approximately half of the school populations in the Canadian cities of Toronto and Vancouver come from non-English-speaking home backgrounds. Similar linguistic diversity as a result of immigration and population mobility characterize many cities in Europe, the United States, and Australia. Other countries around the world have always been highly multilingual since their inception as nation states (e.g., India, Singapore, South Africa, Switzerland, etc.).

In the following sections, categorizations of educational provision in multilingual societies are outlined, and some of the major sociopolitical and psychoeducational issues that characterize this provision are discussed.

## Categorizing Education in Multilingual Societies

The most obvious initial categorization of education in multilingual societies is whether instruction is conducted through one language exclusively or through two or more languages. Although bilingual and trilingual programs have been increasing throughout the world, partly as a result of many positive evaluations of these programs (see below), the bulk of educational provision in multilingual societies is monolingual in nature. The relative merits of monolingual versus bilingual programs will be considered in relation to the research evidence after reviewing the many complex manifestations of bilingual and multilingual education.

A variety of typologies have been proposed for categorizing multilingual education. Perhaps the best known of these is Mackey's (1970) typology that distinguishes 90 different potential varieties depending on the intersection of home language(s), curricular organization of languages, and language(s) of the community and country, as well as the regional and international status of the various languages.

A less complex categorization was proposed by Cummins and Corson (1997). They distinguished five broad types based on the sociolinguistic characteristics of the languages used in the program and the population groups the program is intended to serve. Four of these program types are intended primarily for minority or subordinated group students while the fifth is intended for majority or dominant group students. These categories are not rigid, and some programs can be located in more than one category as a result of the fact that the same program serves several different groups of students.

Type I programs involve the use of indigenous languages as media of instruction and are aimed primarily at helping students of indigenous heritage acquire or consolidate their knowledge of the language. Examples include Quecha/Spanish bilingual programs in South America (Hornberger, 1988), Maori bilingual and immersion programs in New Zealand (Bishop and Glynn, 1999) and the a variety of Native language bilingual programs in the United States (McCarty, 1997). The indigenous group has usually been conquered or colonized at some time in



the past, and the bilingual programs are typically aimed at revitalization of languages whose survival is threatened.

Type II bilingual programs involve the use of a national language together with a higher status or more dominant language. The national languages involved in these programs typically have long-term status in the society and often some degree of official recognition. The primary target group of Type II programs are speakers of the national language, and the program goals typically include the development of bilingual and biliteracy skills among students and reinforcement of the status of the language in the society. Examples include programs that use various African languages together with English in several African countries (e.g., Nigeria and South Africa), Gaelic in Ireland and Scotland, Welsh in Wales, Basque and Catalan in Spain, and French outside of Quebec in Canada (Baker and Prys Jones, 1997).

Type III programs involve immigrant languages that are the languages of relatively recent immigrants to a host country. Many of the bilingual programs in countries such as the United States, The Netherlands, Australia, and Sweden fall into this category. Most of these are transitional programs designed to facilitate students' overall academic progress. In some situations, Type II and Type III programs merge into one another, as in the case of some Spanish-English bilingual programs in the United States that may serve both long-term Spanish-speaking groups as well as more recent immigrant groups.

Type IV programs use manual sign languages to serve children who are deaf or hard-of-hearing. Bilingual/bicultural programs for deaf children are a relatively recent phenomenon. Scandinavian countries pioneered bilingual/bicultural programs for deaf students (Mahshie, 1995) and North American programs involving American Sign Language (ASL) followed in the early 1990s (Gibson *et al.*, 1997).

Type V programs may involve either a national language or a language of wider communication and are intended for dominant or majority group students. The primary goal is to develop bilingual and biliteracy skills among these students. Examples of Type V programs include French immersion programs in Canada (Swain, 1997) and dual language programs in the United States (Thomas and Collier, 2002). Dual language programs in the United States also fall into the categories of Type II or Type III since they serve both linguistic minority students and English L1 students with the goal of promoting bilingualism and biliteracy for both groups. The European Schools model that involves instruction in up to four languages at various points in the students' school career also qualifies as Type V (Beardsmore, 1993).

Many Type II programs involving instruction through a national language can also be classified as Type V because they serve students whose L1 is the majority or dominant language as well as native speakers of the national language.

### Debates and Research on Bilingual Programs

Various rationales are typically offered for implementing monolingual education in multilingual contexts. These include justifications related to educational effectiveness, ideological imperatives, and administrative/financial expediency. For example, in Western countries with significant immigrant and/or minority populations (e.g., the United States) intense debates have raged with respect to the educational effectiveness of bilingual education. Those who champion monolingual education in the dominant language argue that maximum instructional exposure to that language will result in better overall school achievement. This argument is frequently paired with the ideological justification that education should actively promote the assimilation of minority students rather than encourage them to maintain their L1 and allegiance to their home cultures. Bilingual education in these contexts is also frequently characterized as costly and administratively cumbersome.

Debates in post-colonial contexts have covered similar ground, albeit with some differences. The educational effectiveness argument for monolingual education in the higher status language of wider communication is frequently fueled by parents' perception that this is the language of power and upward mobility. Ideological considerations that lead some governments to support monolingual education include the fact that in highly multilingual countries the former colonial language is viewed as 'neutral' and thus no favoritism is shown to competing national languages. Finally, the cost and administrative burden of developing curricula and educating teachers to teach in multiple languages are frequently viewed as prohibitive for recently independent and often impoverished nations. As a consequence, it is often seen as more administratively feasible to teach through the colonial language than to explore multilingual instructional options.

Although the arguments for monolingual education have been persuasive to many policy-makers and parents in both developed and developing countries, accumulating research evidence paints a very different picture. Evaluations in many countries have demonstrated that well-implemented bilingual and trilingual programs succeed in developing fluency and literacy in a minority language at no cost to the

development of academic skills in the majority or dominant language (Spolsky, 1986; Williams, 1996; Cenoz and Genesee, 1998; Cummins, 2000; Baker, 2001; Thomas and Collier, 2002). Furthermore, although there may be increased start-up costs involved in any new program, bilingual and trilingual programs are not intrinsically more costly to operate than monolingual programs. The fact that students in bilingual programs experience no adverse academic consequences despite less instructional time through the dominant language has been attributed to the demonstrated transfer of concepts and skills across languages (e.g., phonological awareness, concepts in content areas such as science and mathematics, reading and learning strategies, etc.) (see Baker, 2001 for a review).

In summary, considerable research supports the feasibility of bilingual and multilingual programs both from the perspective of cost and overall educational effectiveness. However, effective implementation is much more likely when the ideological conditions in the wider society are favorable. In the absence of such favorable ideological conditions, educators committed to the bilingual program must work collaboratively to create a microcosm within the school where students' bilingual and bicultural identities are affirmed (Freeman, 1998).

*See also:* Assessment of Second Language Proficiency; Bilingual Education; Bilingualism and Second Language Learning; Education in a Former Colonial Language; Immigrant Languages; Language Revival; Languages of Wider Communication; Minority Language Education; Nonstandard Language; Standard Language; Teaching of Minority Languages; Third Language Acquisition.

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## Native Speaker

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Although the rise of the idea of a (naïve) native speaker can be, as pointed out by Dasgupta (1998), traced as far back as the antiurbanist impulse released by German Romanticism of the 19th century, the use of the expression *native speaker* became prevalent in modern linguistics, particularly since the Chomskyan intervention in linguistics, which in perhaps its least appreciated aspect brings metropolitan linguistics back home to the West after a rather long detour to various peripheries and colonies. Although some would argue that Chomsky's ideal native speaker does not look very different from the native speaker of those who hold a more prescriptivist position, he takes the theoretical view that we are all native speakers of the steady state grammar we develop on the basis of innately specified language capacity.

Scholars concerned with what Chomsky calls E-language are, of course, preoccupied with the question: of which language? This, as Muysken (1998) points out, is not a straightforward matter for the internal language/external language (IL/EL) mapping is more often than not asymmetrical (cf. Hindi and Urdu in South Asia, which arguably represent the same IL, and Patois, Dialect, and Quechua in South America, which presumably manifest different IL's). Nor is the relationship between language competence and language use a straightforward one, for the former seems to crucially depend on the latter, as can be clearly seen in language attrition (cf. Seliger and Vago, 1991). These considerations of asymmetrical mapping and use bring social parameters and sociolinguists into the picture. A further complication is added by the so-called indigenized varieties of some European languages, particularly English (for obvious reasons behind its international spread). The debates regarding the status of these varieties, at least some of which are demonstrably fully rule-governed linguistic systems, have made it increasingly clear that both ownership and multilingualism must be taken into account in providing a more viable characterization of the notion of *native speaker*.

Earlier accounts of the notion of native speaker, such as the ones collected in Paikeday (1985) and Coulmas (1981), try to come to terms with some of the complications summarized above. However, with only a couple of exceptions, they do so with what must be seen as a monolingual/monocultural bias, remarkably clearly spelled out by Crystal (1985) and Quine (1985), and with almost no

awareness of questions thrown up by the existence of varieties such as Indian and Singaporean English. The old monolingualist characterization of the concept of native speaker – as mother tongue or first language – may no longer be sufficient (cf. Pattanayak, 1981 and Harris and McGhee, 1992; among others). Token homage to multilingualism or minor adjustments to such a characterization can't solve the problem, because they tend to take a simplistic view of multilingualism.

The functionally determined distribution of the use of particular languages and the concomitant acquisition and competence in them in multilingual societies makes such accounts inadequate because neither the proficiency nor the competence of a multilingual speaker can be described in simple, additive terms – a bilingual speaker is not a simple, additive union of two monolingual speakers. The existence of indigenized varieties of English (and some other European languages) makes these accounts look even worse. It is one thing to de-emphasize or question the role of introspection in linguistics, as many of the contributors to both Paikeday (1985) and Coulmas (1981) do, but quite another to come to terms with what Coulmas (1981: 1) calls “the common reference point” for all of linguistics. Although the question of the relationship between use and the acquisition and sustenance of competence needs to be researched more thoroughly than it has been, no harm is done if the expression *native speaker* is understood as *native speaker/user*, as no one will deny that to become and to remain a native speaker of a language one must use it.

The question, as Kandiah (1998: 90) puts it, is not whether the native speaker/user exists – Paikeday's dismissal of the concept is much too cavalier – but “what we mean when we say that people know, use and view a language in a manner that allows them to see themselves as and to be recognized and accepted as native speakers/users of it.” “To be recognized as” and “to be accepted as” add the dimension of ownership or proprietorship to an already complex set of parameters that must be taken into account in defining the native speaker/user. In other words, the native speaker/user is not dead, as the title of Paikeday's book suggests, but has simply been somewhat prematurely buried by some. Kandiah (1998) rightly insists that the fact that large numbers of ordinary people consciously or unconsciously assume the notion *native speaker/user* in their interactions guarantees that it captures something real. Although it is instructive to deconstruct certain construals of *native speaker/user*, not much is to be gained by discarding the concept completely. Even if

the assumption that one is naturally proficient in one's mother tongue is rejected, Paikeday's suggestion that we use "proficient user of a specified language" instead of *native speaker/user* is not productive because we need to know how to measure proficiency and who determines the norms against which such measuring will take place.

As the considerations that preoccupy most of the contributors to Paikeday (1985) – for example, mother tongue, the age at which acquisition of the language in question began, and the order of acquisition – are rendered irrelevant by the functionally distributed use of and competence in several languages in multilingual societies' the only way to avoid being sidetracked by them is to attempt a characterization grounded squarely in the reality and psycholinguistics of multilingualism. Singh (1994) offers the sort of characterization I believe is needed: "Grammatically speaking, a native speaker of a language is a person who has relatively stable and consistent grammaticality judgements, which he shares with some other speakers, regarding structures alleged to be from his language." A native speaker/user is, in other words, a speaker/user whose well-formed judgments on utterances said to be from her language are shared by her community. Only a definition of this sort can, it seems, preserve the innocent grain of truth in structuralist and generativist conceptions of the native speaker and acknowledge the considerations Kandiah rightly brings to our attention. It also exposes the oxymoronic nature of labels such as *non-native varieties of X* by making it clear that whereas one can legitimately say that native speakers of Texan English are not native speakers of Heartland Canadian English, one cannot legitimately say that native speakers of Texan English are not native speakers of English (because they do not speak Standard British or Standard Midwestern American English).

Although some of the questions thrown up by the emergence of varieties of English such as Indian and Singapore English are very important for characterizing the notion of a native speaker/user, the debates regarding the status of such varieties unfortunately tend to be almost journalistic. Consider the easily understood matter of lexical innovation and morphology, for example. The preoccupation with pedagogy and an almost complete neglect of grammar in the contemporary sense reduce most discussions of lexical innovation in such varieties to journalistic reports on exotica. It is true that Indian English, for example, has words that are peculiarly its own, but all varieties of English have words that are peculiarly their own. Although the delight of discovering words that are unknown in other, particularly standard, varieties of English is understandable, the

unfortunate conclusions that are drawn from such excursions into exotica are unwarranted and seem to stem from a lack understanding of the morphology of Indian English. It is important to look carefully at the morphologically complex words in Indian English and other such varieties. Morphologically complex innovations result from an interaction between requirements of the material landscape and what grammar permits, and here these varieties do not offer much that is radically different.

The fact that *goonda* 'gangster' or *lathi* 'stick' exist only in Indian English is no more interesting than the fact that *tuque* 'a knitted cap resembling a long stocking' exists only in Canadian English. These would be notable if the peculiarity of the lexicon of Indian English could be attributed to a distinct and peculiar morphology. Such an attribution, however, seems unwarranted. Like the peculiarity of the lexica of all other varieties of English, the peculiarity of Indian English seems limited to simplexes. Hosali (1998) intended her example of *lathi-charge* 'an attack with *lathis*' to show a distinctive morphological pattern in Indian English. She notes that the distinctive feature of this morphologically complex item is "the use of a *lathi* or 'a long heavy stick made of bamboo and bound with iron.'" This explanation shows, contrary to her own suggestion, that the item is not a result of substratum-influenced morphology or of an unlicensed extension of English rules of word formation, but reflects the fact that the simplex *lathi* is a word of Indian English, a fact which is of no particular relevance to the morphology of that language. Other complex words also suggest that no such substratum influence or illegal extension is involved in the morphology of Indian English. There is, as I argue in Singh (2002), little in Indian English morphology that cannot be seen as a natural extension of patterns or rules of word-formation used or exploited in other 'native' varieties of English. Indian English certainly has simple and complex words that don't exist in these other varieties, but each one of those has simple and complex words that don't exist in the other varieties. Morphologically complex words in Indian English are, in other words, fully licensed by word-formation rules of English morphology. *Batch-mate* exists in Indian English because *class-mate* and *room-mate* exist in all varieties of English; *collectorate* exists because *directorate* exists throughout the English-speaking world.

Comparable illustrations from syntax and phonology are easy to find, but perhaps it is sufficient to point out here that there are no structural features at any level of grammatical description that characterize all non-native varieties of English to the exclusion of all native varieties. Given that most linguists



who have made serious efforts to find such features acknowledge that there aren't any (cf. Trudgill, 1995), we are fully justified in concluding that the dichotomy native variety/non-native variety cannot be structurally or grammatically sustained. And if it indeed cannot be sustained, speakers of at least the varieties that can be shown to have their own norms, such as Indian English and Singapore English, must be classified as native speakers of English by virtue of the fact that they are native speakers of their respective varieties – the fact that they are not native speakers of some other variety is irrelevant. This is, of course, consistent with the definition in Singh (1994). Although we fully recognize the importance of acceptance, recognition, and ownership, the definition itself does not have anything to say directly about them, because, as I have argued extensively, these are clearly politico-economic matters, better discussed and negotiated elsewhere (see Lele, 2005). It is perhaps counter-usage, but, fortunately, no more so than the definitions of *democracy* in English dictionaries, for example, which define it not in terms what it actually is but in terms of what it could potentially be. It can, hopefully, be used to persuade those who insist on using technical expressions somewhat arbitrarily that they should refrain from doing so.

It is at least mildly ironic that whereas the asocial tradition of linguistic or grammatical inquiry sees and characterizes the speakers of the sorts of varieties mentioned above as native speakers of these varieties, the allegedly socially responsible tradition of sociolinguistics is responsible for creating the expression *non-native variety*. The former honors its commitment to treat all viable, rule-governed systems of linguistic communication at par, but the latter seems more than willing to sacrifice the grain of innocence contained in the impulse released more than a century ago. It is the sociolinguist's intervention that adds to the understandable pedagogical dichotomy *native/non-native speaker* the unlicensed dichotomy *native/non-native variety*. Why some native speakers of English want to treat some other native speakers of English as non-native speakers is an important question, the answer to which is to be found in the political economy of the contemporary world, though sociolinguists are welcome to try to answer it. Why some English-speaking sociolinguists also want to do that is perhaps an even more important question, at least for theorizing about language and society. And in what is perhaps the final irony, the only sustainable interpretation of 'non-native variety' may well be the interpretation 'not of the land' or 'still retaining its otherness' – that is why the structuralist argument that Indian English, for example, is just as self-contained a system as RP English, for

example, sounds like a threat to speakers of other Indian languages in India. That it also sounds like a threat to speakers of RP English is easy to explain – such a status is seen as a demand for a share in the cultural and political power wielded by the native speakers of English in the inner circle inhabited by RP English speakers. This interpretation is, at any rate, not the one that the creators of the expression *non-native variety* and the promoters of a demonstrably unwarranted use of *non-native speaker* in scientific discourse have in mind. It is not available to them because the non-nativeness they see in or want to confer on varieties such as Indian English and Singaporean English resides in their view, as they make repeatedly clear, in the Indianness or Singaporeanness of these varieties. It can be invoked only by those who, like Dasgupta (1993), believe that the non-nativeness of these varieties (from an indigenous perspective) resides instead in their Englishness.

*See also:* World Englishes.

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## Nonstandard Language

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### Historical Background

Mother tongue education became a political, pedagogical, and linguistic issue when formative education became in principle universally available to every citizen and formalized education came under the centralized control of the state in the modern period. It came then to refer restrictively to minority language education inclusive of minorities of endemic and migrant languages. The issue of mother tongue education came to the forefront during decolonization after World War II when the newly independent nations gave a new political and educational role to their native languages and when they formulated new policies about language use in education. The tendency of the new states was to give primacy to the mother tongue of the majority in education, and to designate it as the national language. The mother tongues of minorities, who were weak not just numerically, but politically and economically, too, were given a marginal place, or none at all, in education.

### United Nations Formulation

The United Nations recommended in 1951 the favoring of mother tongue education for all linguistic communities through a UNESCO report that drew on the experience and research findings of experts and on its declaration of human rights, which proclaimed in 1948 that “everyone is entitled to all rights and freedoms...without distinction of any kind such as...language” (Article 2). This report, called *The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education* (UNESCO, 1953), is the basis of subsequent developments in educational policy and programs in mother tongue education around the world. Mother tongue education in this report includes development of literacy skills in the mother tongue and development of subject knowledge and skills through the mother tongue. The recommendation for using mother tongue in education, irrespective of speakers’ political and economic position in the country they are living in, was reiterated in 2003 by UNESCO in its position paper titled *Education in a Multilingual World* (UNESCO, 2003). This reiteration draws its support for the earlier position on the use of mother tongue in education from various subsequent United Nations declarations and conventions such as Convention against Discrimination in Education (1960, Article 5),

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966, Article 27), Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice (1978, Article 9), Declaration of the Human Rights [of those] who are not Nationals of the Country in which they live (1985, Article 5), ILO Convention 169 concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries (1989, Article 28), Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989, Article 29), International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members of their Families (1990, Article 45), Declaration on the Rights of Persons belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious Minorities (1992, Article 4), Declaration on Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy (1995, Article 19), and Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001, Article 6). All these documents sanction the right to learn and use one’s mother tongue and, when combined with the right to education, cover the right to learn the mother tongue in schools and use it there. This recommendation made in different civil contexts shows that there is continuity in the international support for mother tongue education over half a century. There are, however, hedges and loopholes in the language of the recommendation to use mother tongue in education, which give enough room for states to procrastinate (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 1994: 71–110).

### Supporting Grounds

Mother tongue education is supported on ideological and pedagogical grounds. Ideologically, it is an aspect of language rights, which are a component of human rights and a way of protection from discrimination by language. Pedagogically, it aims to close the gap between language use at home and in school and to make seamless the progression of children from primary to secondary socialization. It also aims to improve academic performance and to develop positive attitudes in speakers about their linguistic and cultural heritage. Intergenerational transmission of language motivated by the pride of minorities in their language by use in a public domain is critical for the maintenance of language and cultural diversity in the world.

### Definitional Problem

Two questions about mother tongue education give rise to interminable debate and delay in its execution. The conceptual question is how to define and identify a mother tongue. There are multiple interpretations

of the term (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981: 12–57), which include the language in which one has primary competence, the language which gives identity and a sense of belonging, the language used extensively in daily life, and the language one learned first at home. Each of these meanings may assign a different language to be the mother tongue of a person. The other problem is of multiple identity with, equal competence in, and simultaneous acquisition of more than one language. In a multilingual situation, speakers have a repertoire of languages, which meet these criteria differently, and not one mother tongue. The solution is to leave the choice of the mother tongue for education to the speakers, not to the state. The programmatic question is how long the mother tongue will be taught as a language in school and used as a medium of instruction there. It is possible, even desirable, to teach the mother tongue as a language even after it ceases to be a medium of instruction. The decision about duration is normally decided by the state through political and economic considerations. The political consideration may express itself in pedagogical terms through disputable notions such as language load and unequal distribution of load between majority and minority language speaking students (Srivastava *et al.*, 1978). The view gaining greater acceptance among linguists and activists is that the rights and desires of the linguistic community about the introduction and duration of mother tongue education must outweigh the concerns of the state.

As mother tongue in the context of education refers to minority mother tongue, the definitional problem of the qualifying term minority raises legal questions of interpretation. Because it is a relational term, the question of frame of reference being the country, the state, or the county arises. There is also legal differentiation among kinds of minorities, and international laws apply differently to them (de Varennes, 1996: 129–173).

### Various Models

The various models of mother tongue education address in different ways the questions of purpose, duration, and load about mother tongue education. All of them share the goal that it should not exclude the learning of the majority language, which is most likely the official language of the state, in which the government is run, and the dominant language for the political and economic advantages it grants to its speakers. The education models integrate the dominant language in some way in a bilingual education program. They, differ, however, on the goals of using the mother tongue in education. The difference lies basically in using it as a means of learning the

dominant language and also viewing it to be an end in itself, such as promoting diversity in world view and creativity.

A long-standing model is bilingual (or multilingual) education (Crawford, 1995), in which the use of two (or more) media – the mother tongue and the dominant language – in the educational process, is combined in different ways motivated by ideologies and sociolinguistic situations in which the mother tongue is located. One basic difference between the models is whether the mother tongue and the dominant language are used simultaneously as the media of instruction by distributing them over the subjects taught or used sequentially starting with the mother tongue and switching over to the dominant language. In the former, either set of students can have their mother tongue or their non-mother tongue as the medium. The second variation is called immersion learning, which aims at students mastering the non-mother tongue, i.e., as a second language. This works when both languages have comparable economic, social, and cultural importance for their speakers as, for example, French and English do in Montreal (Lambert and Tucker, 1972). This is more a model for additive bilingualism through second language learning than for education in the mother tongue. The model that uses the medium of mother tongue minimally is the one that uses the mother tongue when teaching the language itself and not any other subject. This is a model for first language learning and not for use of mother tongue in education. Medium of instruction in a language comprehensively refers to the use of that language in teaching materials, classroom interaction, and examination. Use of the mother tongue only in classroom interaction by students does not qualify it to be a bilingual education model.

### Experimental Results

The models were tested in different parts of the world and gave widely varying results with regard to academic achievement in the languages and the subjects (Cummins, 1981: 3–49; Rivera, 1984; Srivastava and Ramasamy, 2001: 29–43). The results relating to personality development and attitude toward mother tongue also vary. The variations in findings relate to variables such as the status difference in the two languages, socioeconomic background of students, community involvement, commitment of the teachers and the educational establishment, and so on. One universal finding, however, is that bilingual education aids acquisition of strong literacy skills in both the mother tongue and the dominant language (Swain *et al.*, 1990). Another repeated finding is



that community involvement greatly contributes to successfully achieving the objectives of bilingual education (May, 1999).

### Resistance

In spite of consensus among the states, the shared opinion of experts in linguistics and education, and important positive findings of bilingual education experiments, there is resistance to mother tongue education at political, bureaucratic, and community levels. The political concern is the presumed threat of mother tongue education to national unity by hindering assimilation of the linguistic minorities with the majority and by the minority recipients making claims for territorial autonomy or devolution of power. But the historical evidence is that non-recognition of the minority mother tongue has led to conflicts and separation in a polity that otherwise allows its people freedom of expression. The bureaucratic reluctance stems from the mistaken notion that the minority mother tongues often do not have a grammar or literature to teach in the schools and that there is dearth of trained teachers who speak the mother tongue. This misses the logic of language development, according to which the grammar and literature come to be written down after the speakers become literate in the language; literacy in the mother tongue is a prerequisite for teachers to develop in the minority community. The apprehension about the cost in providing mother tongue education entertained by governments does not count the social cost of not doing it, of which the educational failure of the minority students is only a part. The solution suggested that, while the government has a supportive policy, the actual cost of mother tongue education should be borne by the minority community is discriminatory, which international declarations prohibit.

### Community Response

The reservations of the minority community come from the suspicion that mother tongue education is a ploy of those in power to keep them perpetually marginalized, or the belief that their language is a liability for them to progress, which is ingrained subliminally in their minds by the negative articulation of the value of their language by the dominant language speakers. This reservation will disappear when they are convinced by non-partisan players in education that such fear and belief are unfounded empirically. The realization that mother tongue education is not exclusive of acquiring skills in the dominant language and that it actually aids its acquisition will bring

in community support and involvement for the success of mother tongue education. Such awareness will also help the minority communities to exercise their right to the use of language in education prudently in favor of their mother tongue, and not in favor of the dominant language, as it is found in some places (Annamalai, 2000: 87–92).

### Language Rights and Pedagogical Rationale

Mother tongue education stands on the two legs of linguistic human rights and pedagogical prudence. The two legs do not stand parallel when mother tongue stands as a symbol of identity without competence. When this is the case, teaching of the mother tongue (the right to language) and the medium of instruction (the right pedagogical tool) get separated. When the mother tongue is not the language of early childhood experience, i.e., the language learned competently at home and in the streets to relate oneself to the world, it is possible in the midst of this separation to teach the mother tongue as a new language and to use the language of early childhood experience for curricular instruction while the mother tongue gradually becomes the medium of life experience.

*See also:* Bilingualism and Second Language Learning; Language Policy in Multilingual Educational Contexts; Traditions in Second Language Teaching.

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## Second Language Identity

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Interest in second language identity in the field of applied linguistics is best understood in the context of a shift in the field from a predominantly psycholinguistic approach to second language acquisition (SLA) to include a greater focus on sociological and anthropological dimensions of second language learning, particularly with reference to sociocultural, post-structural, and critical theory. Researchers of second language identity have been interested not only in linguistic input and output in SLA, but in the relationship between the language learner and the larger social world. In particular, these researchers have examined the diverse social, historical, and cultural contexts in which language learning takes place and how learners negotiate and sometimes resist the diverse positions those contexts offer them.

Many researchers interested in second language identity are also interested in the extent to which relations of power within classrooms and communities promote or constrain the process of language learning. It is argued that the extent to which a learner speaks or is silent or writes, reads, or resists has much to do with the extent to which the learner is valued in any given institution or community. In this regard, social processes marked by inequities of gender, race, class, ethnicity, and sexual orientation may serve to position learners in ways that silence and exclude. At the same time, however, learners may resist marginalization through both covert and overt acts of resistance. What is of central interest to researchers of second language identity is that the very articulation of power, identity, and resistance is expressed in and through language. Language is thus more than a system of signs; it is social practice in which experiences are organized and identities negotiated.

After tracing the genesis of work in second language identity from the 1970s to the present day, this chapter outlines some of the major theoretical influences on second language identity research. It then examines four trajectories of research that have much promise for the future: identity and investment, identity and imagined communities, identity categories and educational change, and identity and literacy.

### The Historical Context

In the 1970s and 1980s, applied linguistics scholars interested in second language identity tended to

draw distinctions between social identity and cultural identity. While 'social identity' was seen to reference the relationship between the individual language learner and the larger social world, as mediated through institutions such as families, schools, workplaces, social services, and law courts (e.g., Gumperz, 1982), 'cultural identity' referenced the relationship between an individual and members of a particular ethnic group (such as Mexican and Japanese) who share a common history, a common language, and similar ways of understanding the world (e.g., Valdes, 1986). In my own earlier work (Norton Peirce, 1995), I initially examined identity as a social construct as opposed to a cultural construct because I debated whether theories of cultural identity could do justice to the heterogeneity within the groups encountered and the dynamic and changing nature of identity observed in my research. As Atkinson (1999) has noted, past theories of cultural identity tended to essentialize and reify identities in problematic ways. In more recent years, however, the difference between social and cultural identity is seen to be theoretically more fluid, and the intersections between social and cultural identities are considered more significant than their differences. In this more recent second language research, identity is seen as socioculturally constructed, and scholars draw on both institutional and community practices to understand the conditions under which language learners speak, read, and write the target language.

A brief review of some of the articles published in the special issue of the *TESOL Quarterly* on Language and Identity exemplifies the increasingly interdisciplinary approach to second language identity research characteristic of the 1990s. I argued at the time that while the contributors framed their notions of identity in different terms, the similarities between the conceptions of identity were more marked than their differences (Norton, 1997). Thus Morgan (1997), for example, who was particularly interested in *social* identity, nevertheless explored the relationship between intonation and identity with reference to the dominant *cultural* practices of a particular group of Chinese immigrants in Canada. He did not, however, reify these cultural practices, but sought to understand them in relation to the dynamics of ethnicity and gender. Schecter and Bayley (1997), who were particularly interested in *cultural* identity, nevertheless sought to understand their research with reference to larger *social* debates over the terms of Latino participation in American society, suggesting that social relations of class are important in understanding the relationship between language and identity. Duff

and Uchida (1997), indeed, collapsed the distinctions between the social and the cultural by arguing for a sociocultural theory of identity in which identities and beliefs are co-constructed, negotiated, and transformed on a regular basis through language.

The diverse research covered in the 1997 *TESOL Quarterly* special issue, as well as special issues of *Linguistics and Education*, edited by Martin-Jones and Heller (1996), and *Language and Education*, edited by Sarangi and Baynham (1996), anticipated the wide range of research on second language identity characteristic of the early years of the 21st century. A number of monographs on the topic have appeared in catalogs and conferences (Day, 2002; Kanno, 2003; Miller, 2003; Norton, 2000; and Toohey, 2000); a growing body of research, common themes of which are discussed below, have been published in a wide variety of journals including *The Modern Language Journal* (Potowski, 2004), *TESOL Quarterly* (Lam, 2000; Maguire and Graves, 2001), and *Journal of Second Language Writing* (Hyland, 2002; Ramanathan and Atkinson, 1999); and there has been the establishment in 2002 of the award-winning *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, edited by Tom Ricento and Terrence Wiley, which has already published an exciting array of research on second language identity.

Current research on second language identity conceives of identity as dynamic, contradictory, and constantly changing across time and place. Indeed, a recurring theme throughout much of the research is that of 'transition.' Many of the participants in research projects on second language identity are undergoing significant changes in their lives, whether moving from one country to another (Kanno, 2003) or from one institution to the next (Harklau, 2000). Such transitions can be productive for language learning, providing learners with enhanced skills at negotiating bilingual identities; other transitions can be more problematic, as learners struggle to accommodate changing expectations in different institutional contexts. In such changing sets of circumstances, identities that might be seen as contradictory may in fact be constructed within contexts that are themselves sites of struggle (Cummins, 2000).

### Theoretical Influences

A broad range of theorists have been influential in shaping current research on second language identity, most notable of whom are Bakhtin (1981, 1963/1984), Bourdieu (1977, 1979/1984), Weedon, and Lave and Wenger (1991). All of these theorists, while working within diverse disciplinary frameworks, are centrally concerned with both institutional and community practices that have an impact on learning.

Mikhail Bakhtin (1981, 1963/1984) takes the position that language needs to be investigated not as a set of idealized forms independent of their speakers or their speaking, but rather as situated utterances in which speakers, in dialogue with others, struggle to create meanings. For Bakhtin, the notion of the individual speaker is a fiction, as he sees all speakers constructing their utterances jointly on the basis of their interaction with listeners in both historical and contemporary, and both actual and assumed, communities. In this view, the appropriation of the words of others is a complex and conflictual process in which words are not neutral but express particular predispositions and value systems.

Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1979/1984), a contemporary French sociologist, focuses on the often unequal relationships between interlocutors and the importance of power in structuring speech. He suggests that the value ascribed to speech cannot be understood apart from the person who speaks and that the person who speaks cannot be understood apart from larger networks of social relationships. In this view, when a person speaks, the speaker wishes not only to be understood, but to be believed, obeyed, and respected. However, the speaker's ability to command the attention of the listener is unequally distributed because of the symbolic power relations between them. To redress the inequities between what Bourdieu calls 'legitimate' and 'illegitimate' speakers, he argues that an expanded definition of competence should include the "right to speech" or "the power to impose reception" (1977: 648).

The work of Christine Weedon, like that of Bakhtin and Bourdieu, is centrally concerned with the conditions under which people speak, within both institutional and community contexts. Like other poststructuralist theorists who inform her work, Weedon foregrounds the central role of language in her analysis of the relationship between the individual and the social, arguing that language not only defines institutional practices, but also serves to construct our sense of ourselves and our "subjectivity" (Weedon, 1987: 21). Weedon notes that the terms *subject* and *subjectivity* signify a different conception of the individual than that associated with humanist conceptions of the individual dominant in Western philosophy. While humanist conceptions of the individual presuppose that every person has an essential, unique, fixed, and coherent 'core,' poststructuralism depicts the individual (i.e., the subject) as diverse, contradictory, dynamic, and changing over historical time and social space.

A shift from seeing learners as individual language producers to seeing them as members of social and historically constituted communities is of much



interest to anthropologists Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger. Lave and Wenger (1991) argue that what they call “situated learning” is an integral and inseparable part of social practice, as newcomers are mentored into the performance of community practices. Their notion “legitimate peripheral participation” represents their view that communities are composed of participants who differentially engage with the practices of their community and that conditions vary with regard to ease of access to expertise, to opportunities for practice, to consequences for error in practice, and so on. From this perspective, then, educational research might focus not so much on assessing individual ‘uptake’ of particular knowledge or skills, but on the social structures in particular communities and on the variety of positionings available for learners to occupy in those communities.

Rather than seeing language learning as a gradual individual process of internalizing a neutral set of rules, structures, and vocabulary of a standard language, the work of Bakhtin, Bourdieu, Weedon, and Lave and Wenger offers applied linguists ways to think differently about language learning. Such theory suggests that second language learners need to struggle to appropriate the voices of others; they need to learn to command the attention of their listeners; they need to negotiate language as a system and as a social practice; and they need to understand the practices of the communities with which they interact. Drawing on such theory, becoming a ‘good’ language learner is seen to be a much more complicated process than earlier research had suggested (Norton and Toohey, 2001).

## **Research Trajectories**

Research on second language identity has taken a number of interesting directions that hold much promise. The four trajectories I wish to examine address research on identity and investment, identity and imagined communities, identity categories and educational change, and identity and literacy.

### **Identity and Investment**

In my research with immigrant women in Canada (Norton, 2000; Norton Peirce, 1995), I observed that existing theories of motivation in the field of SLA were not consistent with the findings from my research. Most theories at the time assumed motivation was a character trait of the individual language learner and that learners who failed to learn the target language were not sufficiently committed to the learning process. Such theories did not do justice to the identities and experiences of the language learners in my research. For this reason, I made the case that the

notion of ‘investment’ might help to extend notions of motivation in the field of SLA. The notion of investment, inspired by the work of Bourdieu, signals the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language and their often ambivalent desire to learn and practice it. If learners ‘invest’ in the target language, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital. Unlike notions of instrumental motivation, which conceive of the language learner as having a unitary, fixed, and ahistorical ‘personality,’ the notion of investment conceives of the language learner as having a complex identity, changing across time and space, and reproduced in social interaction. An investment in the target language is best understood as an investment in the learner’s own identity.

The notion of investment has sparked considerable interest in the field of applied linguistics (see Pittaway, 2004). McKay and Wong (1996), for example, have drawn on this concept to explain the English language development of four Mandarin-speaking students in Grades 7 and 8 in a California school. They note that the needs, desires, and negotiations of students are not simply distractions or deviations from an ideal language learning situation; on the contrary, they must be regarded as constituting “the very fabric of students’ lives and as determining their investment in learning the target language” (McKay and Wong, 1996: 603). Angelil-Carter (1997) found the concept useful in understanding the language development of an English language learner in South Africa, noting how the student’s investment in prior discourses impacted on his acquisition of written academic discourses. Skilton-Sylvester (2002), drawing on her research with four Cambodian women in adult ESL classes in the United States, has argued that traditional views of adult motivation and participation are limited because they do not address the complex lives of adult learners or their investment in learning English. Her findings suggest that an understanding of a woman’s domestic and professional identities is necessary to explain the investment in particular adult ESL programs. Potowski (2004) uses the notion of investment to explain students’ use of Spanish in a dual Spanish/English immersion program in the United States. She notes that no matter how well-run a language program is, unless a learner’s investment in the target language is consistent with the goals of the program, target language growth may not meet expectations. Potowski makes the case that the notion of investment makes an important contribution not only to the study of SLA, but to research on heritage language maintenance.

### Identity and Imagined Communities

An extension of interest in identity and investment concerns the imagined communities that language learners aspire to when they learn a new language. In Norton (2001), I drew on my research with two adult immigrant language learners to argue that while the learners were initially actively engaged in classroom practices, the realm of their desired community extended beyond the four walls of the classroom. This imagined community was not accessible to their respective teachers, who, unwittingly, alienated the two language learners who then withdrew from the language classroom. The work of Lave and Wenger (1991) and Wenger (1998) helped me to make sense of this data. In many second language classrooms, all of the members of the classroom community, apart from the teacher, are newcomers to a set of language practices and to a community that includes those language practices in its activities. The question that arises then is what community practices do these learners seek to learn? What, indeed, constitutes 'the community' for them?

For many language learners, the community is one of the imagination – a desired community that offers possibilities for an enhanced range of identity options in the future. The community may also be, to some extent, a reconstruction of past communities and historically constituted relationships. In essence, an imagined community assumes an imagined identity, and a learner's investment in the target language must be understood within this context. Learners have different investments in particular members of the target language community, and the people in whom learners have the greatest investment may be the very people who represent or provide access to the imagined community of a given learner. Of particular interest to the language educator is the extent to which such investments are productive for learner engagement in both the classroom and the wider target language community. Such questions have been taken up more extensively in a coedited special issue of the *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education* on Imagined Communities and Educational Possibilities (Kanno and Norton, 2003) in which Adrian Blackledge, Diane Dagenais, Farah Kamal, Yasuko Kanno, Bonny Norton, Aneta Pavlenko, and Sandra Silberstein explore the imagined communities of specific groups of learners in Canada, Japan, Pakistan, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

### Identity Categories and Educational Change

While much research on second language identity explores the multiple and intersecting dimensions of learners' identities, there is a growing body of research that seeks to investigate the ways in which

particular relations of race, gender, class, and sexual orientation may have an impact on the language learning process (Norton and Toohey, 2004). Innovative research that addresses these issues does not regard such identity categories as variables, but rather as sets of relationships that are socially and historically constructed within particular relations of power. Ibrahim's (1999) research with a group of French-speaking continental African students in a Franco-Ontarian High School in Canada explores the impact on language learning of 'becoming black.' He argues that the students' linguistic styles, and in particular their use of Black Stylized English, was a direct outcome of being imagined and constructed as Black by hegemonic discourses and groups. From a slightly different perspective, Taylor's (2004) research in an anti-discrimination camp in Toronto, Canada, argues for the need to understand language learning through the lens of what she calls *racialized gender*. The stories of Hue, a Vietnamese girl, and Khatra, a Somali girl, are particularly powerful in this regard, supporting the view held by Kubota (2004) that a color-blind conception of multiculturalism does not do justice to the challenges faced by language learners of diverse races and ethnicities.

Similarly, the work of scholars such as Ehrlich (1997) and Pavlenko (2004) is particularly insightful with regard to intersections of gender and language learning. Their conception of gender, which extends beyond female-male divides, is understood to be a system of social relationships and discursive practices that may lead to systemic inequality among particular groups of learners, including women, minorities, elderly, and disabled. Pavlenko, for example, argues for the need to understand the intersections between gender and other forms of oppression, noting that both girls and boys who are silenced in the language classroom are more likely those from the working class. In a similar spirit, Nelson (2004) explores the extent to which sexual orientation might be an important identity category in the second language classroom. Of central interest is the way in which a teacher can create a supportive environment for learners who might be gay, lesbian, or transgendered. Interest in identity categories and language learning is gaining momentum. A special issue of the *TESOL Quarterly* on Gender and Language Education, edited in 2004 by Kathy Davis and Ellen Skilton-Sylvester as well as an edited volume *Gender and English Language Learners* (Norton and Pavlenko, 2004) are available.

### Identity and Literacy

Researchers of second language identity have become interested not only in the conditions under which

language learners speak, but in the extent to which identities and investments structure their engagement with *texts*. There is growing recognition that when a second language learner reads or writes a text, both the comprehension and construction of the text is mediated by the learner's investment in the activity and the learner's sociocultural identity. By way of example, Norton Peirce and Stein (1995) demonstrate how the meaning of a South African reading comprehension text shifted when the social conditions under which it was read changed. They argue that the changing social occasions created different kinds of investments on the part of the students, and as the students' identities shifted from compliance to resistance, so did their interpretation of the text. Student resistance is also a theme in Canagarajah's (2004) literacy research with Tamil students in Sri Lanka and African American students in the United States, in which he demonstrates how students learning a second language or dialect sometimes engage in clandestine literacy activities to resist unfavorable identities imposed on them.

Much emerging research on literacy and second language identity also addresses the impact of literacy practices on relationships beyond the classroom. Lam (2000), for example, studied the Internet correspondence of a Chinese immigrant teenager in the United States who entered into transnational communication with a group of peers. She demonstrates how this experience of what she calls *textual identity* related to the student's developing identity in the use of English. The research of Kramsch and Thorne (2002) indicates, however, that not all transnational Internet communication leads to positive identity outcomes. In their study of the synchronous and asynchronous communication between American learners of French in the United States and French learners of English in France, they found that students had little understanding of the larger cultural framework within which each party was operating, leading to problematic digital exchanges. Ramanathan and Atkinson (1999), indeed, make the case that there is much need for cross-cultural writing research to better inform both teachers and students of the sociocultural knowledge of student writers from diverse regions of the world.

Scholars such as Luke (2004), Kress (1993), and Ivanič (1997) have influenced much research on the relationship between literacy and second language identity. While Luke's work has focused on the contribution of critical literacy to second language education and Kress's on the conception of text as a socially and historically constituted genre, Ivanič has explored the notion of writer identity, making the case that writers' identities are constructed in the

possibilities for self-hood available in the sociocultural contexts of writing. Ivanič's distinctions between the "autobiographical self," the "discoursal self," and the "authorial self" have been useful in writing research with both young second language learners (Maguire and Graves, 2001) and college-level students (Hyland, 2002; Starfield, 2002).

## Conclusion

Research on second language identity has struck a chord in the field of applied linguistics, opening up multiple avenues for research on every aspect of the field. While this chapter has focused on the identity of the second language learner, there is now increasing interest in the identity of the second language teacher (Johnston, 2002; Lin, 2004), the second language teacher educator (Goldstein, 2003; Pennycook, 2004), and the second language researcher (Hawkins, 2004; Leung *et al.*, 2004). If we take seriously the argument that the identity of the second language learner is not a personality variable but a socially and historically constructed relationship to both institutional and community practices, then it follows that teachers, researchers, administrators, testers, and policy makers are all implicated in the range of identities available to the second language learner. There is every indication that the interest in second language identity will grow in momentum, enriching existing trajectories of research and forging new, exciting directions.

*See also:* Applied Linguistics; Critical Applied Linguistics; Interlanguage; Motivation and Attitudes in Second Language Learning; Politics of Teaching.

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Socialization refers to the interactional processes through which a child or other novice develops the competence required for participation in the social life of a particular community or communities, including routine cultural practices, such as language and literacy activities, and local preferences for action, thought, and emotion. These processes occur in large part through language, the primary symbolic medium of cultural reproduction and transformation. Language socialization researchers invoke Whorfian views of linguistic relativity in articulating the view that “acquiring a language is part of a much larger process of becoming a person in society” (Ochs, 2002: 106). Accordingly, the language socialization paradigm is concerned with two interconnected phenomena: how children and other novices are socialized to use language and how these same individuals are socialized through the use of language. Language socialization research strives to relate individual processes to broader sociocultural contexts, seeking a maximally holistic perspective while simultaneously attending to the microlevel details of language use.

### Background and Key Concepts

Originally articulated nearly two decades ago (Ochs and Schieffelin, 1984), this paradigm has retained an emphasis on the dialectic of language learning and socialization. Early language socialization research emerged as a branch of linguistic anthropology, opening new analytic pathways, through the combined use of ethnography and microlinguistic analysis, toward an understanding of first language and literacy development in childhood. Focusing on young children acquiring their L1 in diverse sociocultural settings (Ochs, 1988; Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986), and on relationships between culturally specific patterns of language socialization at home and in school (e.g., Heath, 1983), this research clearly documented the cultural specificity of language and literacy socialization practices and their developmental consequences during the transition from home-based to schooled activities. In subsequent years, language socialization research has expanded beyond its original emphasis on first language learning in childhood, incorporating studies of second and multiple language learning across the life span.

Inspiration for the genesis of the approach is often traced to seminal work on interactional and communicative competence by Gumperz (1982) and Hymes (1972), especially Hymes’ formulation of the construct of communicative competence. To recall, Hymes opposed the view that only knowledge of formal structure was relevant to a theory of competence, arguing instead that competence consists of **variable** knowledge about patterns of language use. “Communicative competence involves knowing not only the linguistic code, but also what to say to whom, and how to say it appropriately in any given situation” (Saville-Troike, 2003: 18). Additional disciplinary sources of language socialization research are to be found primarily within scholarly domains privileging various integrated views of language and culture, including, as noted above, linguistic anthropology, but also sociocultural–historical psychology, discourse analysis, and, more recently, cultural and practice theory.

Second language socialization research draws its views on cognition as an integrity of language, mind, and society from sociocultural psychology as originally outlined by Vygotsky (1962, 1978) and Leontiev (1981), with its emphasis on the development of higher-order cognitive functions from the outside in, that is, through social interaction with adults or other experts where performance is assisted. Novices are seen to develop capacities through active and selective participation in social practices at various degrees of engagement (from legitimate peripheral to full participation) and, in so doing, to transform not only their own cognition, but also the qualities of the practices themselves (Lave and Wenger, 1991).

A perspective on language integrating linguistics and social practice is taken from discourse analysis, a field of linguistics that emphasizes the study of language in use, examining how the elements of language systems are used for communicative purposes within and across particular social and cultural contexts. “Language is seen as fully integrated into sociocultural behavior, as both the result and the creator of context and structure” (Watson-Gegeo and Nielsen, 2003: 163).

In recent years, language socialization research has been influenced by “. . .the poststructuralist realization that learning is a non-linear, relational human activity, co-constructed between humans and their environment, contingent upon their position in space and history, and a site of struggle for the control of power and cultural memory” (Kramsch, 2002: 5). Poststructuralist and critical theories attempt to unite

research on language and power and thereby to enhance the relevance of this research through agendas of social critique. These approaches highlight the role of language as symbolic capital and the subtle mechanisms by which power is circulated and reproduced in the discourse of socialization practices. Whereas language socialization was once portrayed as inevitable, desirable, and uniformly accessible, many researchers are now sensitive to the dynamic and negotiated nature of the process, including the possibility that novices may not have ready access to socialization, and the fact that they are endowed with agency (to accept, accommodate, resist, or reject socialization processes).

### **Foci and Methodologies**

A constant in language socialization (LS) studies is their emphasis on developmental processes and their longitudinal design, requiring selection of research sites believed to be places of transformation, whether such change is observed in classrooms or chatrooms, in homes, schools, or workplaces. Research involving educational contexts has examined foreign and second language classrooms and participants of varying age, but has also examined the role of socialization practices in technology-enhanced learning environments, study-abroad programs, and adult language and literacy courses. The research on second language socialization is not limited to educational contexts, however, but also includes studies in homes, workplaces, and bilingual or multilingual communities.

Whereas the original methodology combining ethnography and microlinguistic analysis has remained at the core of the approach, language socialization research has also been enriched and refined in the intervening years through inclusion of a variety of definitional constructs, data elicitation practices, and analytic procedures. Thus, ethnographic approaches, in particular the ethnography of communication (EC), feature prominently in the literature on second language socialization. However, this literature is characterized by great variety in the choice of theoretical and analytic emphasis. Some studies take their primary inspiration from sociocultural psychology, examining the mediating role of language in the development of higher-order cognitive functions as individuals participate in ‘activity systems’. Other studies focus less on the achievement of a ‘thick description’ of the surrounding sociocultural context (Geertz, 1973) and more on detailed analysis of particular discourse practices, often in second language classrooms. Still others, often inspired by poststructuralist theories of second language learning, investigate autobiographical representations of language socialization as they are presented in narrative and other texts.

Language socialization research varies considerably with respect to focal scale. Some studies involve minimal engagement with large numbers of participants, whereas others scrutinize the activity of one participant in multiple ways. Some studies examine the activities of participants in a range of contexts, whereas others confine their perspective to one (the classroom, the chatroom, the workplace). Time frames for longitudinal studies also vary considerably, with some studies emphasizing microgenesis of skills and capacities over relatively short developmental periods, such as one academic semester, and others attempting to trace ontological or developmental histories over periods of years or entire life spans.

### **Overview of Second Language Socialization Research**

The overview of second language socialization research presented here is organized by primary methodological emphasis. Although division of studies into such categories is admittedly somewhat artificial, risking simplification, this descriptive account also provides a clear organizational framework for characterizing how differing epistemological goals and methodological resources are organized in illustrative individual studies. Therefore, the review begins with studies that are primarily ethnographic in orientation and then proceeds to examine the activity-theoretical approach, research examining socialization in second language classroom discourse, and investigations based on narrative study.

#### **Ethnographic Approaches**

As defined by Duff (2002), the EC is a “composite of approaches” (p. 292) for conducting qualitative or interpretive research on communication within or across cultures. EC combines etic and emic analyses of communication (i.e., outsider’s and insider’s views) as well as macro- and microanalyses of discourse in order to examine what a speaker needs to know in order to communicate effectively within a particular speech community and how he or she learns to do so (Saville-Troike, 2003). Ethnographic research normally requires prolonged engagement with the community under study and an effort at data triangulation, as well as careful observation of authentic communicative practices in their naturally occurring context.

Within ethnographic approaches, microlevel analyses of discourse are organized around the “communicative event” as the basic descriptive unit, defined by “a unified set of components throughout, beginning with the same general purpose of communication, the same general topic, and involving the same participants, generally using the same language

variety, maintaining the same tone or key and the same rules for interaction, in the same setting” (Saville-Troike, 2003: 23). Within contemporary second language socialization research, routine cultural practices are often mined in attempts to uncover the cultural or ideological underpinnings of everyday language and the processes by which accompanying values or worldviews are inculcated in children or other novices.

Thus, in many cases, data elicitation begins with a multimethod, holistic approach to thick description (Geertz, 1973) of socialization practices, followed by a choice of relevant communicative events based on this emic analysis. These events are then observed closely and repeatedly as they are audio- or video-recorded and transcribed. The choice of method for microanalysis of socialization practices varies greatly, with some researchers opting for close analysis of emergent routines through conversation analysis and others choosing various other forms of discourse or interaction analysis.

The work of Duff (1995, 2002) offers several examples of ethnographic research, examining the interface between macro- and microlevels of educational discourse in secondary schools. Duff (1995) investigated the consequences of post-Soviet educational reform in English language immersion classes in a progressive Hungarian school. Duff’s study revealed how macrolevel changes are reflected in the qualities of classroom discourse as students in English-medium history classes are socialized to accept the replacement of traditional oral assessment through recitation (*felelés*) by student-led activities and open-ended discussion. More recently, Duff (2002) performed an ethnographic study in a mainstream Canadian high school with a large proportion of students who speak English as a second language. Concerned with the creation of cohesive and harmonious school communities that nonetheless accommodate diversity, the study analyzed the sequential organization of talk in a social studies course, including the organization of turn taking, alignment, and other features of participation. Results revealed that the teacher’s emphasis on social justice and empathy for others was enacted in her attempts to allocate turns equitably and to have all students, local and nonlocal, draw cultural connections based on personal experience. However, some ESL students often declined to participate in discussions where they were positioned in various ways as outsiders. Thus, the teacher’s efforts to foster a cohesive classroom community in which all members participated were often unsuccessful.

Another exemplary ethnographic study was performed by Willett (1995), focusing on the participation of ESL children in the daily routines of a

mainstream first-grade classroom in the United States. Willett investigated the qualities of interactional routines embedded in communicative events as four children acquire English in first-grade classroom. The study reveals how the “micropolitics of social interaction” (p. 475) in this case positioned the three girls in the study as successful learners, able to collaboratively appropriate desirable social, linguistic, and academic competence. The one male participant, however, needed a public status in order to build solidarity with other boys. Having first acquired the public and often crude language used by these boys, he was isolated from his peers and was subsequently deemed an excessively needy and problematic student.

Additional ethnographic studies of note have been carried out in a wide array of contexts. Studies of schooling include Moore’s (1999) report of major discontinuities between community and classroom language socialization practices in a Cameroon village, a gap that contributes to widespread rejection of French-based schooling due to the inaccessibility of the French language. Miller’s (1999) ethnographic study of ESL students’ socialization in a mainstream Australian high school showed how Chinese students’ use of English is not legitimated in the same way that it is for European immigrants.

Ethnographic studies of socialization in multilingual workplaces include, for example, Goldstein’s (1997) study documenting the complex interaction of community resources and identities combining to limit access to English for Portuguese immigrant factory workers. An ethnographic case study by Li (2000) focused on the pragmatics of higher-stakes social communication, illustrating how one woman, a Chinese immigrant to the United States, came to internalize second language norms and develop communicative competence in English through participation and exposure to social interactions and assistance from experts and more competent peers.

A number of studies have examined the study-abroad sojourn as a context for language socialization. DuFon’s (2000) study of the acquisition of linguistic politeness by U.S. sojourners in Indonesia revealed conflicts between the participants’ own gender- and religion-related identities and the parallel options available in Indonesian. Talburt and Stuart (1999) discussed the manner in which an African American woman studying in Spain was subjected to continuous and humiliating emphasis on race and sexuality in her interactions with Spaniards. Kline (1998) reported that American women studying abroad in France sought refuge in literacy following repeated encounters with sexist and hostile attitudes in the French-speaking community.



### **Sociocultural Theory and Language Socialization**

Researchers primarily inspired by sociocultural perspectives, including activity theory (Vygotsky, 1978; Leontiev, 1981), have also begun to contribute to the literature on second language socialization. As Kasper has noted (2001), sociocultural theory and language socialization perspectives differ in their epistemological goal: whereas sociocultural theory aims to explain the mediating role of language (and other symbolic or physical tools) in the development of higher forms of cognition, language socialization strives toward an integrated account of language and culture acquisition. Nonetheless, the compatibility of the two perspectives derives from certain basic theoretical and methodological premises.

Just as LS strives to link individual processes to their sociocultural context, activity theory aims to overcome the traditional Cartesian dualism in the social science between the individual and surrounding social environment (Lantolf, 2000). It does so through the concept of mediation, or the observation that all human activity is mediated by culturally created physical and symbolic artifacts, including language.

Whereas LS studies aim to comprehend the norms of 'speech communities', activity theory defines the scope of sociocultural context in relation to the organization of practice. In any activity system, there exists a division of labor according to which certain roles are assigned or negotiated among the participants, and from which emerge the tacit or explicit rules that individuals and the community as a whole follow when interacting with one another and with mediating artifacts. The community of practice, an affiliated term, is seen to emerge from this division of labor and is the prime context in which individuals can work out common sense through (continuous) mutual engagement, a joint enterprise, and a shared repertoire of communicative resources (Wenger, 1998).

A crucial aspect of activity theory is its tracing of human behavior to historical rather than biological sources. The study of development is conceived as observation of genetic processes occurring over time. Language socialization research focuses primarily on two historical domains: ontogenesis (life history of individuals) and microgenesis (history of particular psychological functions over short periods of time). Thus, in practice, methodology of activity-theoretical research shares with LS a concern with prolonged, ecologically valid observation of human action.

From the perspective of activity theory, the meaning of human behavior arises from a need directed toward an object. The projection from the object to the outcome of the behavior is the motive. Motives

are not always pre-established, but are dynamic and malleable and may be formulated in the process of activity itself.

An example of an activity-theoretical approach to language socialization is to be found in a study by Lantolf and Genung (2002) documenting the history of one graduate student's failure to learn Mandarin Chinese as a participant in a summer intensive Chinese course. The participant, P.G., a colonel in the U.S. Army, is an experienced language learner and teacher specializing in applied linguistics who is required to complete a requirement of six credits in a non-Western language. The study focuses on the conflict between P.G.'s historically formed self-image as a good language learner and the rules for interaction imposed by the activity system of the classroom and institution, where an authoritarian methodology is enforced. The study traces the transformation over time in this learner's motives for participating in the course. Whereas initially, P.G. defined her goal as developing communicative competence in Chinese, when her efforts to do so were repeatedly thwarted, she reframed her efforts as related to success in the course so as to meet the requirement and fulfill her obligation to the Army in securing a graduate degree. Thus, the study documents the dynamism of learner motives and accompanying social and cognitive activity as they evolved through participation in the course.

### **Classroom Discourse**

In research on the qualities of classroom discourse, the socialization perspective serves to illuminate the nature and function of interaction as a cultural medium for language learning, focusing on both socialization through language and socialization to use language. For example, in a study of beginning ESL classes in the United States, emphasizing socialization through language, Poole (1992) demonstrated that routine interactional sequences led by the teacher bear significant resemblance to American caregiver language behavior in general. In this context, the teacher/expert coconstructed learner responses, attributed collective task accomplishment to individuals, and avoided an overt display of hierarchical asymmetry, thus expressing cultural preferences for conjecture on the mental states of others, individual achievement, and suppression of power differentials. In a longitudinal study of similar aim, He (2003) examined the heritage Chinese-language school as a locus for socialization into cultural norms, focusing on the speech roles assigned to students. His study demonstrated the variability of novices' responses to socialization practices, showing how the opportunity to

acquire Chinese and associated cultural values may be accepted or contested, even by young children.

For adults, socialization through a second language may present particularly complex problems related to language use and identity. Siegal (1996) presented a case study focusing on the role of learner subjectivity in the acquisition of sociolinguistic competence by European women learning Japanese in Japan. The study examined the conflict concerning sociolinguistic appropriateness experienced by one learner in conversation with her professor, where unequal power and positionality exerted influence on the quality of the interaction. Although she did understand the pragmatics of appropriate demeanor for a woman in Japanese society, in attempting to craft a voice for herself as a professional woman in Japanese, the student manipulated honorifics, modality, and topic control in ways that sometimes resulted in inappropriate language use.

Other classroom discourse studies orient their analysis more closely toward socialization to use language. Ohta (1999) probed interactional sequences in a Japanese-as-a-foreign-language classroom, emphasizing how these sequences engage learners' participation. The study tracked the pragmatic development of a learner over the course of 1 year, demonstrating that active and peripheral participation in the routines of classroom language use shaped the learner's ability to use the follow-up turn of the Initiation-Response-Follow-up routine to perform assessments and other responses to interlocutors' utterances. Hall (1995) scrutinized the interactive environment of a first-year high school Spanish class intended to provide speaking opportunities. The teacher's primary method of developing and maintaining topical coherence took place through repetition and chaining of a small number of lexical items. This practice differs considerably from the ways in which topics are discursively established and managed outside the classroom and produces a limited repertoire of communicative practices for the students. Students in such classrooms are not socialized to use discursive forms and functions for engaging in complex, extended talk about a topic and, indeed, in the absence of overarching topic relevance, these students cannot orient to the talk in ways that permit coherent contributions.

With the arrival and widespread use of computer-mediated communications (CmC) technology in the language classroom, researchers have also begun to investigate the implications of CmC use for language socialization. For example, in a study focused on the development of pragmatic competence in the use of address forms (*du* vs. *Sie*), Belz and Kinginger (2003) examined the discourse of intercultural exchanges in German and English in the context of

a telecollaborative language course. Internet-mediated contact with peers who are expert users of German offered participants in the United States many opportunities for assisted performance in socially acceptable use of the address form system in German.

### **Narrative Study and Second Language Socialization**

The contemporary literature includes a number of narrative approaches to second language socialization, aiming to understand how multilinguals represent the process of language socialization and how this process impacts on the qualities of communicative repertoires. Research on the representation of language socialization examines learners' autobiographical accounts of language learning. Based on representations of language learning history, often written by exceptional learners and users of multiple languages, this research offers insights into the ontogenesis of multilingualism over time and in relation to personal identity and historical context.

Pavlenko (2001), for example, adopted a poststructuralist approach to narrative study in a series of studies linking L2 socialization to various aspects of identity. Poststructuralism is "understood broadly as an attempt to investigate and to theorize the role of language in construction and reproduction of social relations, and the role of social dynamics in the processes of additional language learning and use" (Pavlenko, 2002a: 282). Narrative study is a socio-culturally and sociohistorically situated literary analysis in terms of genre conventions, metaphors, and tropes (e.g., the self-made man, language learning as appropriation of voice) (Pavlenko, 2002b). Pavlenko (2001) posited cross-cultural differences in societal conceptions of normative gender-related identities. Based on a corpus of 30 second-language learning stories, Pavlenko analyzed learners' encounters with ideologies of gender and their associated discursive practices. She explored the dilemma of border crossers who find themselves in situations where their previous subjectivities cannot be legitimately produced and understood and who must choose to resist or produce new social identities, beginning with perception and critical examination of these identity options, through the processes of choosing assimilation or resistance and of undergoing gender socialization.

Narrative approaches may also be applied to the study of bilingual communicative repertoires, as exemplified in the work of Koven (1998) examining the performance of identity in narrative by Portuguese-French bilinguals. The study involved elicitation of the same oral narratives of personal

experience in Portuguese and French, with analysis of communicative style and use of register in each. Development of communicative repertoires in each of the two languages was closely tied to the socio-cultural context of socialization, such that, in effect, the participants appeared to be performing different “selves” in each of their two languages. Having grown up in Paris, with family ties and frequent visits to rural Portugal, when narrating in French the participants employed contemporary urban speech styles expressing progressive values and gender roles in which, for example, women’s self-expression is relatively unconstrained. When narrating in Portuguese, however, the same participants employed speech styles characteristic of rural settings and presented a more conservative version of their identity.

Taken together, these narrative approaches represent a promising new direction in the study of language socialization as a complex, lifelong process with consequences for discursive performance of identity.

## Conclusion

Within second language studies, language socialization is now represented in numerous domains, including bilingualism, multilingualism, and foreign language learning in homes, workplaces, and educational settings of various kinds. Edited volumes (Kramsch, 2002; Bayley and Schecter, 2003) and a summary article (Watson-Gegeo and Nielsen, 2003) have marked the general acceptance of language socialization perspectives. At the same time, this growth has not gone uncontested, largely because the disciplinary roots and epistemology of socialization research are seen as fundamentally incompatible with those of the field known as Second Language Acquisition (SLA). Kramsch (2002), for example, expressed this conflict in terms of basic conceptual metaphors, with SLA preferring the Learner as Computer, and language socialization, the Learner as Apprentice. Historically, she noted, there has been little communication between these fields despite the fact that in practice (e.g., the practice of language learning and teaching) the goals of each may be seen as complementary, as, for example, when the aim of second language instruction is expressed as communicative development that requires precise knowledge of grammar and lexis. It is to be hoped that the complementarity of these approaches will increase in salience as researchers continue to design investigations of language learning.

See also: Communicative Competence; Communicative Language Teaching; Second Language Identity.

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## Standard Language

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Education, ideally, should start in the mother tongue of the learners. That is the conclusion of research over more than half a century (UNESCO, 1953, 2004). Yet the reality of mother tongue education reflects more complex issues. Policies on which language (or languages) is used in primary and secondary education depends on political, social, economic and historic factors. An irony is that in former colonies the language of education is often the colonial language and not any indigenous mother tongue. There are several reasons for this:

- The existing educational system at the time of liberation used the colonial language.
- Those who had been previously educated, including teachers, had learned a colonial curriculum in a colonial language.
- The colonial language may be the only one in wide enough use to qualify as a unifying national language.
- It is economically and linguistically impractical to educate teachers and produce instructional materials in a range of mother tongues.
- The governmental, legal and business groups are likely to expect use of the colonial language.
- In South Africa, mother tongue education was a device used for segregation under the apartheid policies of the ruling party.

Children have a universal ability to learn the languages they need so in African countries, for example, it is common for children to know two or more languages before coming to school and then learn a new one in school.

In some countries, such as the Philippines, one official language may be used in instruction but not be the mother tongue of the majority of people. English still plays an important role there, and there is a policy of providing at least primary education in several regional mother tongues.

Countries with immigrant populations show variation in providing instruction in the mother tongue of each group. Singapore has four official languages: English, Mandarin Chinese, Tamil, and Malay. Hong Kong, now part of China, retains English and Cantonese for instruction though Mandarin is the national language. Some schools are switching from English to Cantonese. Britain has had a policy of providing mother tongue teachers where sufficient numbers exist in a school. Finland provides instruction in Finnish or Swedish though less than 10% of its

citizens are Swedish speakers. Kazakhstan, a former Soviet Republic provides schools in Russian or Kazakh. Canada has two official languages, French and English, but also provides mother tongue immersion programs in indigenous Indian languages and European minority languages. In Haiti, the mother tongue instruction is not French but Haitian Creole. In nearby Aruba, however, instruction is in Dutch and not Papiamentu, the Creole mother tongue.

All languages are actually families of dialects that are, more or less, mutually comprehensible. When dialects are not mutually comprehensible, they are considered separate languages. For example in Spain, Catalonia has its own language that is not a dialect of Spanish and is now the language of instruction in some communities. What the Chinese refer to as dialects are actually related languages since a speaker of Shanghai dialect cannot understand a speaker of Cantonese.

So the issue of what is and what is not a mother tongue is not a simple one.

### Standards and Conventions in Mother Tongues

Education, whether in national language or mother tongue, traditionally involves using 'a standard' or idealized prestige form. In Italy, the saying is standard Italian is Florentine Italian from a Roman mouth. The standard form of Arabic used in writing is no one's mother tongue. In fact, becoming literate in Arabic involves virtually learning a second language.

Language is both personal and social invention. All humans have the ability to create language, to invent it. That is why there is so much linguistic diversity in the world. But language communities share conventions in order to serve their communicative needs. Children invent language as they develop within the conventions of the community language(s). We need to make a distinction between standard language and linguistic conventions as a base for a discussion of standard language.

- Language develops conventions for its use in all its aspects to serve its social functions.
- Conventions are based on and changed by the inventions of the language community.
- Language communities are not homogeneous; each group (age, race, ethnicity, region, profession, class) will develop its own conventions.
- Conventions allow for a high degree of variability which is resolved as users make sense of language.

Linguistic conventions and standard language are not the same thing. The term, standard language,

carries with it nonlinguistic judgments. Different people within any community have different social status that may result from their economic, political, or religious positions. In England, high-status language is the Queen's English or Received Pronunciation.

Historically, conquerors imposed their language or dialect on the conquered people. By contrast, as rural people migrated to the cities, they continued to use their dialects because they lived separately from groups there before them.

It is not surprising that people have confused linguistic difference with linguistic deficiency. Its not surprising either that people believe that their neighbors will get along better and behave more acceptably if they learn to speak the 'standard language.'

### What Is Standard?

The noun use of standard in English produced a verb form: to standardize, to make something uniform, and reduce variation. In industry, things that are not standard are neither good nor bad, though they may be problematic. Most of us would prefer a custom-made car, suit or dress, or house to a standard one. But in discussing language, the standard becomes the epitome of quality. That leads to terms like substandard and nonstandard to characterize everything or everyone else.

Napoleon created the French Academy to standardize the French language. Spain has its Royal Academy. Israel established an Academy to control the transition of Hebrew from a classical language to a living language. But no authority has ever succeeded in standardizing language. Even where there are official bodies, the standards they establish involve non-linguistic factors. In Israel, often by the time the Academy has announced a standard term, popular terms have already become conventional.

Standard language does not match the conventions of any dialect in use, partly because of the aspects of dynamic change. Standard language is a myth that fits a powerful popular belief. It is that linguistic correctness has an existence outside of the normal processes of language development. Partly that is because of the desire of upwardly mobile people to sound like people with prestige. Partly that is because of traditions that assigned the schools the job of socializing every pupil into a standard language and culture. Scientific linguistic concepts have had a hard time penetrating a curricular tradition that legitimates the imposition of school grammar on the living language of pupils.

### Standard Spelling

Spelling is the one area in which standardization has been most successful. Standard spelling facilitates the

work of printers and serves the needs of writers. Printers chose to standardize spelling across dialects rather than print different editions for each community. Noah Webster led a group who wanted to see the development of an American literature distinct from British literature. So he deliberately used spelling in his dictionary that differed from British spellings.

But standardizing spelling involves a trade-off. Alphabetic writing builds into the orthography some level of correspondence to the phonology of a language. But phonology varies greatly among dialects. By opting to standardize spelling, deviations from the alphabetic principle result. And over time the deviations become greater. The Scandinavian languages, Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian, although closely related, have spelling standards that differ considerably from each other.

Children learning to read and write with standardized spelling face a linguistic anomaly. An important part of learning language is moving toward the conventions of the social language. Within dialects, these conventions are quite consistent. So learners test out their inventions against the conventions of the language they hear. Standard spellings cannot match young readers' and writers' inventions. In fact studies of the invented spellings of young writers show their remarkably keen perceptions of the oral language as they hear it. (Read, 1975, 1986; Ferreiro *et al.*, 1996) Their consistent inventions show their growing control of the alphabetic principle: that there is a systematic correspondence not simply in matching sounds and letters; rather they match spelling patterns and phonological patterns.

Reading plays a major role in learning standard spellings. Readers see spellings that do not match their inventions and move to the standard forms in their writing. It takes a lot of reading and writing to become a conventional speller. Inhibiting the willingness of readers to take risks and invent spelling gets in the way of this natural progression.

In writing his 18th-century English dictionary, Samuel Johnson warned lexicographers against the folly of thinking that they could fix language at a point in time and preserve it from change. Dictionary makers take on the job of recording the meanings and spellings of words in use at the time they are working. The myth of the dictionary as the arbiter of standard language turns reality on its head. Dictionaries record the words in use and attempt to represent their meaning to the users. But by popular mythology it is turned into the authority for deciding whether words may be used and how. A dictionary may be useful as a tool to check whether the meaning of a word encountered in reading fits the ones in the dictionary. Even professional writers may need to use words and not be sure of the standard spelling.

### Written Language Standards

Many people see written language as a single standard form unlike oral language. In fact, this is an area in which conventions are most confused with standards. Within written genre there are often conventions accepted by those that use the genre. There are conventions for essays, short stories, menus, business letters, receipts, and recipes. However formal these are, their conventions have been socially constructed and they change overtime. Authorities may presume to tell people how to write a business letter, how to write a novel, or a five-paragraph essay, but each written genre has conventions quite independent of such authorities. Often, attempts by schools to impose standards for a particular written genre lead to unsuccessful writing.

### Schools and Standard Language

Schools traditionally have been regarded as having the right and duty to standardize the language of their pupils, often rejecting the language of the learners as substandard. In this view, difference is deficiency – even the differences in the ways high-status dialects vary from the school grammar. Too much time and energy is spent on teaching such standard features as avoidance of double negatives in English, for example. In reading instruction, children are corrected for use of their home dialect. In writing, some strange standards are taught that have no basis in the actual conventions, such as “do not end sentences with prepositions.” Disproportionate instructional time is spent on the form of language to the exclusion of meaningful expression.

Although it is a school goal to support learners in developing the flexibility to use a range of registers in multiple contexts, it is not their function to standardize language. Schools should help pupils to be confident, effective language users. Developing readers should read for pleasure and a full range of other functions. They should learn to write confidently and develop their own voices; and they should expand on their ability to speak and understand spoken language(s). In school, learners should feel free to take risks in language and experiment with new forms, words and styles. None of this translates into the rigidity of traditional school standards.

### Supporting Language Development

Whether they teach in the mother tongue or in a national language, school language curricula should support expansion of language, building on the mother tongue of the learners. In language development at all levels, there is constant disequilibrium between the inventions of the learner and the conventions of the language. Learners should be encouraged to take risks as they learn a new language or as they use new forms of their first language or a new genre. In this push and pull they move toward the conventions of the language form and use it successfully. Language learners should be encouraged to study language variation in their own communities. Students take on the role of linguists as they inquire into language processes and their uses.

Schools have tended to suppress linguistic invention pushing learners toward an oversimplified or misrepresented version of the conventional language. Rather, pupils should be invited to participate in authentic speech acts and literacy events in which they encounter socially constructed conventions. Teachers can play a powerful role in demonstrating the conventions in their own authentic language use and in mediating the students as they experience the richness of language in its multiple forms and functions.

*See also:* Educational Linguistics; Language Policy in Multilingual Educational Contexts.

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## World Englishes

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The conceptualization of the term ‘world Englishes’ is within a ‘socially realistic’ approach to language study (see, e.g., B. Kachru, 1981). The first linguist who, in a rather indirect way, provided such insight about what is now termed world Englishes was John Rupert Firth (1890–1960), the first holder of the chair of general linguistics at London University. In 1956, after his extensive experience in South Asia, Firth (1956: 97) observed:

English is an international language in the Commonwealth, the Colonies and in America. International in the sense that English serves the American way of life and might be called American, it serves the Indian way of life and has recently been declared an Indian language within the framework of the federal constitution. In another sense, it is international not only in Europe but in Asia and Africa, and serves various African ways of life and is increasingly the all-Asian language of politics. Secondly, and I say ‘secondly’ advisedly, English is the key to what is described in a common cliché ‘the British way of life.’

This observation, made over a half-century ago, exemplifies the linguistic pragmatism and social and functional realities of the English language in world context. Firth’s earlier observations have been addressed in much more detail in the following years by a variety of theoretical and methodological frameworks (for a perceptive historical review, see Bolton, 2004).

### Spread and Stratification

The cross-cultural and cross-linguistic diffusion of English may be viewed in terms of three phases. The first phase was initiated in the British Isles in 1535 when the Act of Union annexed Wales to England. The linguistic implications of this Act were far reaching, as outlined by Edwards (1993: 108):

The most damaging section of the Act of Union, as far as the Welsh language was concerned and thus a significant element in its collective consciousness, was its emphasis on English as the language of preferment. English became essential for success. It specified “no personne or personnes that use the Welsshe speche or langage shall have or enjoy any manner of office or fees within the Realme of Onglonde Wales or other the Kinges dominions and exercise the speche or langage of Engliche.

In 1603, Scotland also came under British rule, and with this territorial expansion, King James VI became

King James I of England. The expansion continued, and in 1707 yet another non-English speaking region, Ireland and its indigenous languages of Celtic and Gaelic, were subsumed. This phase of expansion was notable for the consolidation of the dominance of English in the British Isles.

It was in the second phase of the diffusion that the diasporic varieties of English were transplanted across continents, notably to North America, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand. This phase involved a significant movement of native-English-speaking populations to new social, linguistic and cultural contexts. Although in total numbers this relocated population was limited, these groups, for example in Australia and New Zealand, developed influential and powerful English-using communities. As time passed, various strategies of educational planning, proselytization, and trading in the language were used to initiate – and increase – bilingualism in English.

The third phase of diasporic expansion introduced English into Asia and Africa. In contrast to the second phase, it brought English into contact with genetically and culturally unrelated languages in far-flung parts of the world. This diaspora provided a new ecology and, for the teaching of English, unprecedented challenges in terms of language contact, cultural contexts, norms, identities, and methodologies. Those challenges continue to confront the professionals in the new millennium.

This diasporic expansion laid the foundations for the use of the English language as cultural ammunition in all these territories and resulted in several indigenous varieties. The reactions to these transplanted varieties and their historical, social, educational, ideational, and cultural implications have ultimately resulted in the most articulate critical debates – both of agony and ecstasy (for further references, see B. Kachru, 1996).

alreadyThe characterization of the stratification and functions of world Englishes within theoretical and pragmatic frameworks received a further stimulus in the 1970s. It was John Lyons (1978: xvi) who pointed out the parallels “between Labov’s approach to linguistics and that of the ‘British’ school, which draws its inspiration from J. R. Firth.” The ‘socially realistic’ paradigms – mixed with the activism of their proponents – resulted in consideration of linguistic diversity within Englishes as an integral part of social interaction and contextual realities (see B. Kachru, 1981).

Several schemas have been presented to characterize the diffusion of English and its global presence (see McArthur, 1993). One such model that has been

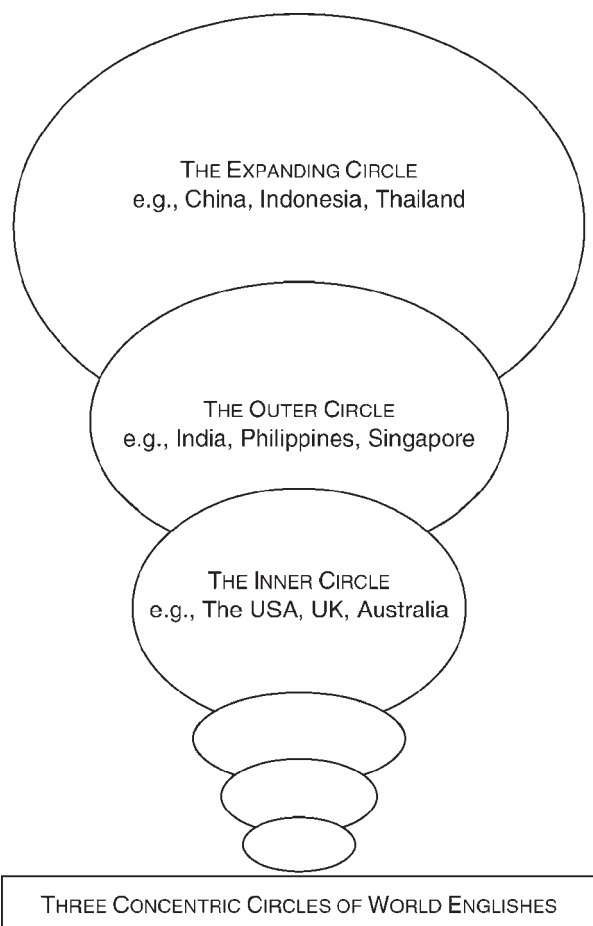


adopted in several studies since the 1980s, the Concentric Circles model (Figure 1), is discussed below in detail.

### Concentric Circle Model

The concentric circles representation of the spread of English, proposed in 1985, is more than mere heuristic metaphor for schematizing the spread of English. This representation provides a schema for the contextualization of world varieties of English and their historical, political, sociolinguistic, and literary contexts. The characterization of world Englishes is primarily based on the following factors:

- the history of the types of spread and motivation for the location of the language
- patterns of acquisition
- societal depth of the language in terms of its users, and the range of functions that are assigned to the English medium at various levels in the language policies of a nation (e.g., in administration, education, and literacy)



**Figure 1** Three concentric circles of World Englishes.

- functional acculturation of the English language within the local culture and societies and its nativization in the society and its literary culture

The term ‘nativization’ refers to the formal and functional changes the language undergoes at various linguistic levels (e.g., phonetic, lexical, syntactic, discursive, speech acts, literary creativity). In other words, the diffusion of English over centuries involves geographical expansion into regions of the world that had distinct physical realities and social, cultural and linguistic identities. It is in such contexts that the English language acquired ‘functional nativeness.’ It is the extent of functional nativeness in terms of the range and depth of English in a society that determines its impact. The more such functions of English increase in a speech community, the more local identities the variety acquires.

The three circles are not static, but dynamic and changing. The dynamics of the English language in terms of its status, functions, and attitudes toward it are well documented in the case studies of, for example, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Indonesia, and even in several Francophone countries.

In historical terms then, the Inner Circle primarily, but not exclusively, comprises the L1 speakers of varieties of English: It is this circle, (e.g., Britain, United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand), that provided the springboard for transplanting the language in other parts of the globe. The Outer Circle includes the major Anglophone countries of Africa and Asia, including India, Nigeria, the Philippines, Singapore, and South Africa. The Expanding Circle includes China, Taiwan, Korea, and Saudi Arabia (for the dynamic nature of this circle, see Berns, 2005).

The three circles model, as McArthur (1993: 334) suggested, represents “the democratization of attitudes to English everywhere in the globe.” In his view,

[T]his is a more dynamic model than the standard version, and allows for all manners of shadings and overlaps among the circles. Although ‘inner’ and ‘outer’ still suggest – inevitably – a historical priority and the attitudes that go with it, the metaphor of ripples in a pond suggests mobility and flux and implies that a history is in the making.

### World Englishes Speech Communities

The earlier canonical definitions of the concept of ‘speech communities’ do not capture the pragmatic and functional global realities of the English language. Consider, for example, the restricted definition of the term provided by Bloomfield (1933: 42): “a group of people who interact by means of speech.” On the other hand, in Hymes’s view (1974: 47–51), a

speech community is “a social, rather than linguistic entity” that shares “knowledge of rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech.” The views of Firth (1957: 191) contrasted with that of sociologists and anthropologists, when he wrote:

The study of linguistic institutions is thus more specific and positive and on the whole less speculative than the sociological study of societies. Sociologists and social anthropologists are much bolder than linguists in what they find it possible to state in general human terms. To what lengths sociological abstractions can be extended is well-exemplified in Pareto’s theory of residues and derivations.

However, Firth also emphasized that a monolithic description of language does not convey the socially and contextually insightful characteristics of language. In his provocative way, Firth (1957: 29) wrote that the “unity of language is the most fugitive of all unities whether it be historical, geographical, national, or personal. There is no such thing as *une langue une* and there has never been.”

The English-using speech communities involve multiple – and often complex – historical, ideational, functional, and attitudinal contexts. In the global context, these fast-growing communities demonstrate varying degrees of competence in the language and its uses in terms of the range of functions and hybridization. These speech communities are primarily of the following types.

- Monolingual users of the language whose one and only language of communication is a variety of English; for example, a large portion of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, United States, Australia, and Canada. In these countries, too, the number of bilingual users or non-English-using immigrant populations representing multiple languages from Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, Latin America, and Europe is fast increasing.
- Bilingual users of English who acquire English as an *additional* language for communication in those domains of function in which their L1 is not used or is not considered functionally appropriate to use.
- Multilingual users in whose verbal repertoire English is yet another code of communication, and language-shift and alternation are a normal communicative strategy. This phenomenon has been well documented with reference to multiple Anglophone English-using speech communities in Africa, Asia, Europe, and in the United States and United Kingdom.
- Bidialectal speakers and those whose L1 dialect has not attained functional and attitudinal recognition, as is the case of Ebonics (African-American English) or Spanglish in the United States.

One major factor that distinguishes the international profile of English from that of other languages of wider communication is that it has more users now who have acquired it as an L2, L3, or L4 in their language repertoire (see Table 1).

### Process of Nativization and Englishization

The speech communities of English in the Outer Circle use institutionalized varieties of English, which have the following characteristics:

- recognition of English in the overall language policy of the English-using nation (e.g., India, Nigeria, Singapore)
- an extended tradition of contact literatures in English that are recognized as part of the national literatures.
- social penetration of the language that has resulted in several social, ethnic or functional subvarieties (e.g., Singlish, Basilect, Bazaar English, Tanglish)
- distinct linguistic exponents of the process of nativization at various levels

**Table 1** The statistics of World Englishes

<i>Society</i>	<i>Approximate population (million)</i>	<i>Percentage of L1/L2 English users</i>	<i>Approximate totals (million)</i>
INNER CIRCLE			
United States	293		
United Kingdom	59		
Canada	32		
Australia	20		
New Zealand	4		
OUTER CIRCLE			
India	1000	33	330
Philippines	86	56	48
Pakistan	159	11	17
Malaysia	24	32	8
Bangladesh	141	5	7
Hong Kong	7	35	2
Singapore	4	50	2
Sri Lanka	20	10	2
EXPANDING CIRCLE			
China	1300	18	234
Japan	127	33	42
Indonesia	238	5	12
Thailand	60	10	6
South Korea	49	9	4
Vietnam	83	5	4
Myanmar	43	5	2
Taiwan	22	10	2
Cambodia	13	5	0.6
Laos	6	5	0.3

The above figures are ‘guesstimates’ based on various published resources.

- an extended range of localized genres and registers
- Englishized varieties of local languages, some of which may have even acquired distinct names (e.g., *Hinglish* or *Hindlish* of India)
- acculturation of the English language for articulating local social, cultural, and religious identities.

The process of nativization is one major linguistic dimension of acculturation of world Englishes: this acculturation is evident in Anglophone Asian and African functionally localized contexts.

The two processes of nativization and Englishization are Janus-like, two faced. One face reflects the impact of contact and convergence with other languages – Asian and African – at various linguistic levels. The second face shows the impact that the English language and literature have on other languages and literatures of the world. Englishization is not restricted to phonology, grammar, and lexis, but can have a deep impact on discourse, registers, styles, and literary genres in contact literatures in Englishes (see, e.g., Thumboo, 1992; Dissanayake, 1997; Y. Kachru, 1997; B. Kachru, 2003; Y. Kachru, 2003; B. Kachru, 2005).

The process of Englishization is evident in three major geographical regions associated with the spread of English:

1. Traditional regions of cultural and literary contact in which a number of cognate languages of English are used (e.g., in Western Europe and parts of Eastern Europe)
2. Anglophone, geographically noncontiguous with English, regions of the Raj, which include the Outer Circle of English, and have, in a genetic sense, unrelated or not-closely related languages (e.g., parts of Africa and Asia)
3. Expanding Circle, which includes the rest of the world (e.g., Japan, China, the Middle East, and Latin America).

In defining the nativeness of varieties of Englishes, a distinction may be made between genetic and functional nativeness. Genetic nativeness refers to the historical relationship of the languages in contact, and functional nativeness to the domains of use of English, the range and depth in social penetration, and the resultant acculturation. A profile of the functional nativeness of a variety of English includes these factors:

- sociolinguistic status of a variety in its transplanted context
- range of functional domains in which a variety is used
- creative processes used to construct localized identities
- linguistic exponents of acculturation

- types of cross-over contributing to canons of creativity
- attitude-specifying labels used for the variety of English.

The second diaspora of English has raised a variety of questions that are unique to transplanted Englishes and continue to be debated in the literature (see, e.g., B. Kachru, 1988, 1996; Mufwene, 2001; B. Kachru, 2005).

## Models of Description

The canonical models of English continue to be viewed in terms of privileged British and American varieties of the language. The theoretical, methodological, and ideational issues raised by such an attitude have been extensively – and passionately – articulated in the literature in recent years. This debate has acquired a prominent position in the conceptualization of world Englishes. There are essentially three types of speech fellowships of world Englishes: (1) those that are canonically considered privileged and norm-providing – the Inner Circle, (2) those that have functionally acquired the status of norms and are pragmatically relevant in their sociolinguistic context – the Outer Circle, and (3) those that in many respects continue to be attitudinally dependent on external norms, primarily from the Inner Circle – the Expanding Circle (see Berns, 2005).

## Conceptual Myths

The articulation of the following six myths in the conceptualization, methodology, and pedagogy of world Englishes has resulted in the ‘paradigms of marginalization.’ These paradigms are essentially based on age-old following fallacies:

1. World Englishes in Anglophone Asia and Africa are acquired and used to interact with canonical ‘native’ speakers of English.
2. World Englishes are acquired to learn the Judeo-Christian traditions as articulated in American and British cultural and literary values and traditions.
3. The Inner Circle Englishes are primary and standard ‘model providers’ for teaching and acquiring communicative competence in the language.
4. Conceptually, all varieties of world Englishes in Outer Circle are essentially *deficit* or *interlanguage* varieties.
5. Historically it is the Inner Circle that has provided – or should provide – models and standards for ELT pedagogy, creativity, and canonicity of Englishes across Anglophone regions and cultures.

6. The arms of codification of the English language, established – and imposed – by agencies of the Inner Circle, should ideally control the variation and diversity in world Englishes (see the Quirk-Kachru controversy, discussed in detail in Tickoo, 1991).

### Constructing Identities of Englishes

The controversial modifiers of the term ‘English’ that are frequently used to characterize the post-colonial diffusion and stabilization of the English language across cultures and languages include ‘new Englishes’ and ‘international,’ ‘global,’ or ‘world English.’

The term ‘New Englishes’ was primarily – though not exclusively – used for the institutionalized varieties in the Outer Circle. All the ‘new’ varieties are transplanted (diaspora) varieties that have a presence on almost every continent. However, the use of the modifier ‘new’ for such Englishes is a misnomer – historically, contextually, and in terms of their acquisition, as some of them pre-date some Inner Circle varieties.

The conceptualization of ‘world Englishes’ (and not ‘world English’), in the sense in which it is used here, goes back to the 1960s. Its formal and functional implications were discussed in 1978 in two independently organized conferences in the United States: one at the East-West Center at Honolulu, (April 1–15) and the other at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (June 30–July 2). The Honolulu conference concluded with a statement and agenda for the future recognizing that “English used as an international and auxiliary language has led to the emergence of sharp and important distinction between the uses of English for international (i.e., external) and intranational (i.e., internal) purposes.”

In addition to this distinction between the uses of English-using speech communities, the statement further distinguished between “those countries (e.g. Japan) whose requirements focus upon international comprehensibility and those countries (e.g. India) which in addition must take account of English as it is used for their own national purposes.” The Honolulu conference also expressed concern that “[s]o far as we know, no organization exists that takes into account of any language in the light of this fundamental distinction.”

The University of Illinois conference, in contrast, “broke the traditional pattern of such deliberations: no inconvenient question was swept under the rug. The professionals, both linguists and literary scholars, and native and non-native users of English, had frank and stimulating discussions” (Kachru, 1997: 210).

The scholars present, almost all from Anglophone countries – including, Africa and Asia, as equal

partners – discussed with refreshingly fresh perspectives the sociolinguistic and linguistic profile of each English-using country in terms of the functional range of their varieties of Englishes and the social depth of the penetration of the language. What emerged were fascinating worldwide profiles of nativization and acculturation of world Englishes and construction of their identities, attitudes, and functions. It was through such discussions that a socially realistic and pragmatically appropriate preliminary framework developed.

This socially realistic framework represents the formal and functional variations, divergent sociolinguistic contexts, and histories of world Englishes. It is through such contextual insights that the bilinguals’ creativity, at various levels, acquires a social and functional meaning. The concept underscores the ‘WE-ness’ of the medium, its distinct nativeness determined in cultural, linguistic, and ideological contexts of Anglophone communities. Such cross-cultural functions of the medium acquire their own semantic signals in which the traditional dichotomies and frameworks demand alternative approaches. There is recognition of the fact that different methodologies may be needed (e.g., literary, linguistic, and pedagogical) to capture and construct the altered identities represented in the medium in Englishes of the world. The pluralization of the canonical term ‘English’ does not suggest ‘divisiveness’ in the English-using speech communities, but rather the recognition of a unique functional reality of the language: the diversity of the medium and its assimilative qualities in multiple pluralistic, linguistic, and cultural contexts.

These functional, contextual, and ideational connotations – and realism – are absent, as mentioned above, in such terms as ‘international English,’ ‘global English,’ or ‘world English.’ The term ‘international’ is misleading in more than one sense: it signifies an international English in terms of acceptance, proficiency, function, norms, and intelligibility. These presuppositions are far from the real world of Englishes in the world contexts.

The other concept currently presented to represent the global – or some times a regional – medium is ‘lingua franca English.’ This term was originally restricted to the intermediary contact language (*Vermittlungssprache*) used by the Arabs and the Turks as a maritime jargon in the Levant. It primarily signifies a language of commerce (e.g., Italian around the Adriatic Sea). Each variety in the Outer Circle, as in the Expanding Circle, has its subvarieties in terms of functional connotations, domains, and attitudes toward localized varieties of Englishes and their cross cultural and cross-linguistic communications. Yet, the Inner Circle has made no serious efforts – socially, methodologically, or pedagogically – to recognize their status and currency.



One often-quoted interpretation of the concept of world Englishes was provided by McArthur (1993: 334) when he referred to the logo-acronym of the journal *World Englishes* (which started in 1984), which “serves to indicate that there is a club of equals here.” In this interpretation, the emphasis is on “the democratization of attitudes to English everywhere on the globe,” and it, as McArthur perceptively pointed out, dissolves the trinity of ENL, ESL, and EFL nations.

The linguistic, cultural, canonical, and literary implications of the diffusion of English beyond the Inner Circle are discussed in, for example, Dissanayake (1997), Thumboo (1992), and B. Kachru (1988, 2005).

### World Englishes and Conceptual Frameworks

The theoretical, methodological, and ideological questions related to world Englishes go beyond language pedagogy, which was the primary concern before the 1950s. In the post-1960s period, several sacred linguistic cows of theoretical and applied linguistics as applied to world Englishes have been under attack as a consequence of several developments: insights gained by critical sociolinguistic paradigms, the articulation of identities with the language, and altered dynamics of the functions of English in post-colonial linguistic and cultural contexts. One thinks of, for example, the earlier theoretical and methodological emphasis given to such concepts as interference, interlanguage, and fossilization in paradigms of language acquisition. There was very little – if any – awareness of the pluricentricity of Englishes in the Outer Circle or of developing literary and cultural canons and nativized registers and genres in world Englishes in Africa, Asia, and the diasporic writers in the Inner Circle. After the 1960s, a vibrant debate started about several pedagogical issues, such as idealized models for the codification of English, the cross-linguistic claims made for teaching English, the cross-linguistic claims made for teaching English and methodologies, and English-language teaching materials developed, published, and often exported by the English-language teaching ‘experts.’

Two often-articulated descriptive and prescriptive questions – specifically about the Outer Circle varieties – are the following: what criteria may be used to determine a difference between an error (or mistake) and an innovation? And, what variables determine intelligibility for varieties of world Englishes across cultures and languages?

In his extensive empirical research on the latter topic, Smith (1992) viewed intelligibility in a pragmatic communicative context by making a distinction among intelligibility (word utterance recognition),

comprehensibility (word utterance meaning [locutionary force]), and interpretability (meaning behind the word/utterance [illocutionary force]). Smith and Nelson (1985) have also discussed some issues that should be on the agenda of any researcher studying intelligibility.

### Literary Creativity, Canonicity, and World Englishes

The creative linguistic processes that result in competence in two or more languages are termed ‘contact’ or ‘interference’ varieties. The underlying process in the construction of contact literary texts is that of hybridization, as reflected in bilinguals’ (or multilinguals’) creativity. Such texts are designed with a blend of linguistic features from two or more – related or unrelated – languages. The concept of ‘contact literatures’ thus brings to the English language the multilingual and multicultural contexts of, for example, Africa and Asia. These varieties of English have acquired stable characteristics in terms of pronunciation, grammar, lexis, discursal, and stylistic strategies. These traditions are often blended with local subvarieties of English, (e.g., Nigerian Pidgin in Nigerian English, Singlish in Singapore English, Bazaar or Babu English in Indian English). In such contact situations, the English language is a medium that has been, pragmatically and contextually, localized to adapt to – and to represent, as elegantly claimed by such writers as Raja Rao and Salman Rushdie (India), Chinua Achebe and Wole Soyinka (Nigeria), Edwin Thumboo and Catherine Lim (Singapore), and F. Sionil Jose (the Philippines).

It is ‘contact’ at various levels (linguistic, social, and cultural) and the resultant nativization that contact literatures represent in literary and cultural canons that are distinct from the Judeo-Christian canons. These processes thus ultimately result in, say, the Africanization or Asianization of world Englishes.

The term ‘interference varieties’ – though attitudinally loaded – is yet another label to conceptualize the contact varieties of English and the bilinguals’ creativity. The interference varieties, as Quirk *et al.* (1985: 27–28) recognized are

so widespread in a community and of such long standing that they may be thought stable and adequate enough to be institutionalized and hence to be regarded as varieties of English in their own right rather than stages on the way to more native-like English.

All such varieties, as shown in numerous studies, have formal and functional identificational features that represent the linguistic processes at various levels: grammar, phonetics, lexis, discourse, speech acts,

genres, and indeed literary creativity (see Smith and Forman, 1997; B. Kachru *et al.*, in press). These studies are of three types: variety-specific (e.g., Indian English, Singapore English, Nigerian English), area-specific (e.g., South Asian English, West African English, Southeast Asian English), or of larger geographical regions in terms of linguistic, literary, and sociolinguistic areas (Africanization or Asianization).

The study of bilinguals' creativity demands recognition that the institutionalized Englishes have an educated variety and a cline of subvarieties, that writers in contact literatures engage in 'lectal mixing,' and that in such texts there are style shifts related to the underlying context of situation. In contextual terms, style shifts result in the construction of altered discourse strategies, speech acts, and registers. In discussing such creativity in world Englishes, Thumboo (1992: 270) argued the following:

This challenge confronts almost every bi- or multilingual writer. His bilingualism is one of three broad types – proficient, powerful, or limited; his position in this cline is not static, because quite often one language gains dominance. A bilingual person has at least two language universes, and each language works with its own linguistic circuits. How the two associate depends on whether the languages as neighbors inhabit the same space and time and can bend to serve creative purposes.

There is thus multicanonicity in world Englishes that blends two or more 'language universes' in their creativity; the interlocutors in Englishes have a variety of linguistic, cultural, social, and literary traditions – a speaker of a Bantu language interacting with a speaker of Japanese, a Taiwanese with an Indian, and so on. The traditional and much discussed and canonical 'native speaker' may rarely be part of such interactions in Englishes. The linguistic historical analogues that come to mind – though not necessarily parallel to world Englishes – are that of Latin in medieval Europe (Kahane and Kahane, 1979) and of Sanskrit in traditional South Asia and beyond.

### The Pandora's Box and World Englishes

The shared strands of current debates on world Englishes include the following seven major contextually, attitudinally, pedagogically, and linguistically relevant issues:

1. The demythologization of conventional sacred cows model initiated and nurtured by the Inner Circle constructs of English (see B. Kachru, 1988; Quirk, 1988)
2. The ecologies of multilingual Englishes, specifically in the contexts of Africanization and

Asianization of Englishes (see Mufwene, 2001; B. Kachru, 2005)

3. The increasing expression of bilinguals' creativity in the Outer Circle and its implications on traditional canons and canonicity
4. The theoretical, methodological, and pedagogical implications of the increasing depth and range of Englishes (B. Kachru, 2001)
5. The issues of intelligibility in cross-cultural and cross-linguistic communication
6. The evaluation of ethical practices related to forms, functions, and pedagogy (see, e.g., Baumgardner and Brown, 2003; Dhillon, 2003)
7. The motivation of power and politics and the role of initiators of arms of control (Phillipson, 1992).

See also: Lingua Francas as Second Languages.

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## **VI. BIOGRAPHIES**

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## Brown, Gillian

G Yule, Kaaawa, HI, USA

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Gillian (Gill) Brown, with a Cambridge M.A., had already taught in Ghana (1962–1964) before becoming an assistant lecturer in Phonetics and Linguistics at Edinburgh University in 1965. After fieldwork in Uganda, Gill published an early paper in generative phonology (Brown, 1970), which became part of her Edinburgh doctoral dissertation on the phonology of Lumasaaba in 1971, and the basis of a scholarly monograph (Brown, 1972). In the 1970s, Gill's work on the practical applications of phonetics and phonology led to her widely acclaimed book on listening to spoken English (Brown, 1977/1990). Later, Gill's intonation project (1975–1979), funded by the first of many research grants, developed innovative methods of eliciting and analyzing spoken data (Brown *et al.*, 1980). Gill then combined linguistics, cognitive psychology, and the study of discourse structure to create a book that helped define the field of discourse analysis for many linguists (Brown and Yule, 1983a). Further research projects resulted in more books, two on the teaching and testing of spoken language (Brown and Yule, 1983b and Brown *et al.*, 1984), one on language understanding (Brown *et al.*, 1994) and another on referential communication (Brown, 1995). In subsequent research, Gill has focused on the ways in which context is created in discourse understanding (Brown, 1998).

While the research projects continued, Gill moved from Edinburgh (1965–1983) to become Professor of Applied Linguistics at the University of Essex (1983–1988), then to serve as the founding Director of the Research Centre for English and Applied Linguistics at Cambridge University (1988–2004), where she created a stimulating intellectual environment for

graduate study in many areas at the intersection of linguistics and cognitive psychology. As one of the few women professors in these institutions at the time, Gill was increasingly involved in administration, serving as Dean of Social Sciences at Essex, in committee work, such as the University Grants Committee, and in public service, as a member of the Kingman Inquiry into English language teaching in British schools. In recognition of her outstanding work, Gill received a CBE in 1992.

*See also:* Grammar; Listening in a Second Language.

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## Catford, John C. (1917–2009)

J G Harris, Kirkland, WA, USA

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J. C. Catford, Professor Emeritus of linguistics at the University of Michigan, USA, was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1917. He studied at the Universities of Edinburgh, Paris, and London. He is, in the opinion of many, one of the greatest living linguists of the 20th and 21st centuries.

At age 14, inspired by Bernard Shaw's *Pygmalion*, he became deeply interested in phonetics, which he studied in Sweet's *Primer of phonetics*, and with encouragement from Daniel Jones (the leading British phonetician of the time). As a schoolboy he became competent in phonetic analysis and production, applying this skill to many English dialects and foreign languages. Having had an audition at the British Broadcasting Corporation, at 17 he began a long association with the BBC and parallel careers as a phonetician/linguist and a radio actor. At this time, his enthusiasm for phonetics broadened into a general interest in linguistics, on which he read widely in the works of Sweet, Jespersen, Sapir, Bloomfield, and others.

Specializing in French at Edinburgh University, he passed an academic year in France as an "assistant d'anglais" in a French lycée. During this time, he earned the Diplôme de Phonétique Générale of the Institut de Phonétique of the University of Paris, where he also attended lectures by Marcel Cohen and André Martinet. In 1939, he interrupted his studies to accept an invitation to teach at the British Council's Institute of English Studies in Athens for one year. The start of World War II prevented his return to Britain, so the one year became seven, during which he applied phonetics and linguistics in teaching English in Greece, Egypt, and Palestine, acquiring knowledge of Modern Greek, Arabic, and Hebrew. He also met speakers of Caucasian languages and was fascinated by their phonetics and grammar.

Returning to the UK in 1946, he studied general linguistics (with J. R. Firth) and Slavonic linguistics at London University, earning his living as a radio actor, specializing in 'exotic' dialects and foreign accents, i.e., doing applied phonetics, including the analysis of the sound systems of numerous languages, dialects, and even individuals, and then synthesizing approximately the same sounds in his own vocal tract.

In 1952, he returned to Edinburgh University to work full time on the Linguistic Survey of Scotland,

where he designed a phonological, rather than phonetic, questionnaire for field work. In 1957, he created and became Director of the Edinburgh University School of Applied Linguistics – believed to be the first academic institution to specialize in the application of linguistic theory and data to practical problems such as language teaching and translation. In 1964, he was invited to the University of Michigan as a professor of linguistics and Director of the English Language Institute, subsequently Chairman of the Department of Linguistics, and Director of the Phonetics Laboratory. He taught phonetics and phonology, applied linguistics, translation theory, comparative-historical linguistics, and several other topics. He also developed his interest in Caucasian languages in two field trips to the USSR. In 1973, he conducted a seminar in Israel for Circassian teachers, on the Cyrillic orthography and the grammar of Adyghe, so that Circassian children in Israel could become literate in their own language.

After his retirement in 1986, he was Visiting Professor at the University of the Bosphorus, Istanbul, at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, and at the University of California, Los Angeles. In 1988–1993, he was Executive Editor (translation) for the *Encyclopedia of language and linguistics* (Oxford, Pergamon Press, 1994), and wrote the encyclopedia articles 'Caucasian languages,' 'Articulatory phonetics,' and 'Translation, overview.'

His major contributions have been in phonetic taxonomy, aerodynamic phonetics, phonation types, Scots dialectology, Caucasian phonetics, applied linguistics, and translation theory. His *Fundamental problems in phonetics* (1977), *A practical introduction to phonetics* (1988), and articles on 'Phonation types' (1964) and 'The articulatory possibilities of man' (1968) are classics in the field.

See also: Applied Linguistics.

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## Ferguson, Charles A. (1921–1998)

J Fishman, Bronx, NY, USA

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One of America's leading linguists, with an unusually broad range of well-developed interests and a highly significant number of organizational accomplishments, Charles A. Ferguson was born on July 6, 1921, in the Germantown section of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the city in which he also grew up and received his elementary, secondary, and higher education: University of Pennsylvania, A.B., 1942 (Philosophy); A.M., 1943; and Ph.D., 1945 (Oriental Studies). Having specialized in Arabic (his M.A. thesis was on the Moroccan Arabic verb) and Bengali (his doctoral dissertation was on standard colloquial Bengali), Ferguson was initially employed as a linguist for Near Eastern languages by the Foreign Service Institute of the U.S. Department of State, from 1946 to 1955. During this time, he established the Foreign Service Institute and Language School, attached to the American Embassy in Beirut. Thereafter, he taught briefly at the Institute of Languages and Linguistics at Georgetown University and Deccan College in India; he then joined the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard University as a lecturer in linguistics and in Arabic, remaining there until 1959. In 1959, Ferguson became the founding director of the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, D.C., a position that he maintained until 1966. Under Ferguson's leadership, the center developed from initially being under the auspices of the Modern Language Association of America into an independent institution with a staff of approximately 100 and recognized international stature in most areas of applied linguistics. In time, the field of applied linguistics became firmly placed on the agenda of linguistics throughout the world, its high stature to this very day deriving from the combined efforts and expertise of both Ferguson and the center. He also led the center in its focus upon language teaching, literacy, and language planning, interests that he actively pursued for the rest of his life.

While directing the center, Ferguson also served as a member of the Committee on Linguistics and Psychology of the Social Science Research Council (1959–1961) and later became a founding member and chair of the council's Committee on Sociolinguistics (1964–1970). Over the course of half a dozen years, Ferguson's leadership enabled the latter committee to establish this new area of specialization as a recognized field of linguistic research and instruction, both in the United States and throughout much of

the world, with a wide array of courses, journals, conferences, and research projects quickly being devoted to it. Ferguson's continued identification with sociolinguistics is evidenced by the very large number of articles and books that he authored, coauthored, edited, and coedited in this field. In addition to sociolinguistics ('language use in society') Ferguson also made pioneering contributions to the study of language universals, first- and second-language development, and language change.

In 1967, Ferguson became Professor of Linguistics and the founding chairperson of the Committee on (later: Department of) Linguistics at Stanford University (California). From the very outset after Ferguson's arrival, linguistics at Stanford was characterized by a strong interest in many of Ferguson's areas of specialization, including not only those already mentioned in this article but also child language, language and religion (particularly non-Western religions and also the study of saints' lives), and, of course, all of the standard areas of general linguistics.

Among Ferguson's seminal sociolinguistic publications was his relatively brief paper 'Diglossia' (1959), which dealt with languages and language varieties in long-term, widely accepted, and functionally complementary operation within the same speech community (classical and vernacular Arabic, High German and Swiss German, Katharevousa and demotic Greek, Classical and vernacular Tamil, Haitian Creole and French, etc.). This article stimulated literally hundreds of conference papers, symposia, and journal articles and many books and, indeed, continues to do so to this very day (e.g., Hudson and Fishman, 2002; Belnap and Fishman, 2003) among a very diverse group of colleagues, students, and researchers internationally and in such distinct fields as sociolinguistics, language planning, bidialectalism, and bilingualism.

Ferguson, a person of great faith, modesty, and patience, was often honored by the language studies professions, among these honors being the publication of a collection of his selected papers (Dil, 1971) as well as a two-volume Festschrift in honor of his 65th birthday (Fishman *et al.*, 1986a, 1986b). The latter contains a full bibliography of his published works (books, articles, and reviews) until 1985 that is supplemented in Huebner (1986).

Upon his retirement from Stanford (1986), Ferguson became Professor Emeritus but continued to live near Stanford University (in Palo Alto, California) and to work in many of the areas of interest that he had pioneered and fostered throughout his exceptionally

productive and stimulating career. During this period, he completed a new collection of his sociolinguistic papers (Huebner [ed.], 1996), as well as a collection of his papers related to Arabic (1996). Several memorial volumes in his honor have also appeared (e.g., Hudson, 1996; Belnap and Fishman, 2003).

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## Fries, Charles Carpenter (1887–1967)

J G Fought, Diamond Bar, CA, USA

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Fries was born in Reading, Pennsylvania. He received an A.B. from Bucknell University in 1909, briefly attended the Divinity School at the University of Chicago, and then returned to Bucknell, where he received an M.A in Classics. He taught there until 1920. He then obtained a Ph.D. from the University of Michigan in 1922, and taught there until his retirement in 1958.

Teaching English, both to native and to non-native speakers, was central to his life's work. In addition to addressing English teaching directly (1927, 1945) and attempting to interpret linguistics for English teachers (1955, 1961), he produced not one but two descriptive treatments of informal American usage, each based on a large corpus of data. The first (1940) used letters sent to a U.S. government agency; the second (1952) used a large number of recorded telephone calls. In the best tradition of American descriptive linguistics, he chose to gather data from popular rather than elite usage. In his analysis, he used substitution in frames and other standard techniques for mapping out the differences that produced different reactions. These led him, for example, to a system of four principal form classes or parts of speech in English.

To some linguists, his theoretical position and linguistic target seemed loosely defined. He was primarily interested not in formal analysis aimed at other linguists, but rather in speakers' reactions to what they heard, in each hearer's understanding of the verbal signal – results that would be helpful in teaching English. His research showed that indeterminacy and

imperfect communication were normal phenomena; however, academic linguistics was not ready to digest the implications of such findings. Similarly, to many in the literary arm of the English professoriat, such a theory and such data must have seemed wrongly conceived: vernacular English presented in non-traditional terms and categories was of no interest in literary studies. Consequently, Fries was inaccurately branded. Some theory-oriented linguists saw him as too involved in applied work; the literary English faculty viewed him, as they did many other linguists, as a 'behaviorist,' a tag that was even less appropriate for him than for many others. However, ESL teachers all over the world have appreciated and honored him for decades.

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## Hall, Robert A., Jr. (1911–1987)

**M Danesi**, University of Toronto, Toronto, ON, Canada

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Robert A. Hall was a leading figure in American structuralism. His work on the reconstruction of Proto-Romance (Hall, 1950, 1976, 1984), on the nature and use of pidgins and creoles (Hall, 1966), and his defense of the American structuralism (Hall, 1987a, 1990), constitute, arguably, his most important achievements. He was also well known among students and colleagues as a mordant critic of generative linguistics (1987b). Hall also published several widely read and utilized textbooks from 1948 to 1968 (Hall, 1948, 1960, 1964, 1968) in which he explained the main concepts and techniques of American structuralism to a broad audience. He also wrote extensively on the Italian language, literary criticism, and foreign language teaching (a bibliography of his published works can be found in Danesi, 1987).

Hall was born on April 4, 1911, in Raleigh, North Carolina. He graduated with a B.A. from Princeton University in 1932. He received his A.M. from the University of Chicago the year after, and a Doctor of Letters from the University of Rome in 1934. At Princeton he majored in French and German literature. He was introduced to linguistics by Harry Hoijer while in graduate school at the University of Chicago. Hoijer's lectures, which were based on Edward Sapir's (1884–1939) textbook *Language* (1921), convinced Hall to change his area of specialization from literary criticism to linguistics. While at Chicago, he also took a course on the history of the French language with T. Atkinson Jenkins. Jenkins's focus on the role of etymology in the formal study of language fostered in Hall an abiding interest in historical linguistics and, especially, in the theory of linguistic reconstruction. This led him in the early 1950s to undertake extensive work on Proto-Romance.

From 1937 to 1946 Hall held teaching positions at the University of Puerto Rico, Princeton University, and Brown University. From 1946 to his retirement in 1977 he taught linguistics and Italian at Cornell University. At Cornell he developed a close personal and professional relationship with Charles F. Hockett (1914–2000).

As a summer lecturer at the Linguistic Institutes of Indiana University and the University of Michigan, he became a leading figure in the teaching of linguistics across the United States. It was at the 1938 Linguistic Institute that he became fascinated by

Leonard Bloomfield's (1887–1949) ideas on applying linguistic ideas to language teaching, although he apparently argued with Bloomfield over the teaching of grammar to school-age children (Danesi, 1987: 55). During World War II Hall was put in charge of the U.S. Army's Italian courses at Yale University and the U.S. Navy's Pidgin English courses at Columbia, both of which were a consequence of his growing reputation as a researcher in applied linguistics and language teaching methodology. At various times in his career, Hall held executive positions in the Linguistic Society of America, the American Association of Teachers of Italian, the Wodehouse Society, and the Linguistic Association of Canada and the United States.

Throughout his academic career, Hall emphasized the need to be wary of turning linguistics into a formal discipline akin to mathematics and formal logic. Like other structuralists, he argued that any theoretical paradigm should be based on the painstaking collection and analysis of real data, not the idealizations of linguists themselves. He thus became an acerbic critic of generative linguistics and, especially, of Noam Chomsky's (b. 1928) anti-structuralist claim that an understanding of language as a universal faculty could be attained by studying syntactic rules as general principles of language design. Chomsky saw the efforts of American structuralists as well-meaning, but ultimately useless, because they revolved around making inventories of the isolated facts of language.

Chomsky's proposal became attractive in the early 1960s, since it gave eloquent expression to the age-old belief in Western philosophy that the rules of grammar corresponded to universal mental forms. Hall challenged the Chomskyan paradigm throughout the latter part of his career (Hall, 1987a, 1987b), arguing that abstract syntactic principles do not explain the semantic richness of languages, nor do they explain why languages change. As Bloomfield and Sapir before him had shown, in all sentences, the meaning of the constituent words, their relation to each other, and the forms they assume all affect syntax. This is not to imply that Hall denied the importance of studying universals in language structure. In one of his last works (1987b) he raised important questions about language: Are there general principles that underlie the grammatical rules of languages? Do these mirror historical and social processes? Do speakers of isolating languages perceive the role of sentence formation differently from speakers of agglutinating languages? Due in part to the efforts and persuasive counterarguments put forward by



Hall and other neo-Bloomfieldians, contemporary linguistic theory and methodology have, since Hall's death, become more eclectic and less partisan to one school of thought or the other than they ever were at any time in recent history.

Hall became a leading figure in the debate, in large part because of his engaging writing style, which was always lucid, terse, witty, and often tongue-in-cheek. His mastery of language could be seen saliently in his more popular writings. At times, his deeply-rooted joviality rose to the surface in amusing ways, as when he assumed the pseudonym of 'Berto Sala' for two of his fiction works (Hall, 1959, 1981). This was the Italian calque of his name (*Berto* = Robert, *Sala* = *Hall*).

Perhaps Hall's greatest contribution to the profession of linguistics was his popularizing of linguistic science to a broad audience of general readers with two early books, *Leave your language alone!* (1948) and *Linguistics and your language* (1960). At the time 'linguists' were viewed by people to be 'speakers of different languages' and commonly confused with 'polyglots.' Hall's books went a long way toward dispelling that confusion and establishing linguistics as a 'science of language' within the popular imagination. Hall's overall view of linguistics can be best summed up in a phrase he wrote in the former book: "The contribution of linguistics is simply part of the effort of all science in modern democratic society to find out the truth and to act upon it" (Hall, 1948: 249). Hall passed away on December 2, 1997.

See also: Applied Linguistics.

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## Hill, Archibald A. (1902–1992)

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Archibald Anderson Hill was born on July 5, 1902, in New York City. After the death of his father in 1908, he moved to California with his mother. He attended Pomona College and received his A.B. in 1923. He then went to Stanford University where he received his A.M. in 1924, and Yale University where he was awarded a Ph.D. in 1927. All these degrees were with a major in English. His interests extended into historical and structural linguistics, or neo-Bloomfieldian, as they were then called. He was the secretary-treasurer of the Linguistic Society of America from 1950 to 1968, and its president in 1969. He taught at the University of Michigan for four years, from 1926 to 1930, and at the University of Virginia from 1930 to 1952. In 1952, he joined Georgetown University as Vice-Director of the then Institute of Languages and Linguistics. From there he moved in 1955 to the University of Texas, where he taught until his retirement in 1972. He died in 1992.

His publications span the period from 1931–1975, beyond his retirement. They range in topics from literary and pedagogical to applied and theoretical linguistics (Jazayery *et al.*, 1978: 19–32). His career spanned the phenomenal growth and development in linguistics in America. He came into his own at the peak of the structural dominance in the field of linguistics in the 1950s, where the theory found its fuller articulation in books like *Methods in structural linguistics* (Harris, 1951) and *A course in modern linguistics* (Hockett, 1958), among others. His contribution was not so much theoretical as practical, and the best representative of his linguistic work is his *Introduction to linguistic structures: from sound to sentence in English* (Hill, 1958). It is here where one finds structuralism in action in a real language at all its levels, from phonetics to syntax, but not semantics, true to the claims of the theory.

It is within such a thorough application of the theory that one senses the rigor of structuralism. If one were to take a sample from this book as representative of the applications of the distributional method to discovering the essence of language, then chapter six on phonotactics is representative of such a method at its best, and it is a gem of a treatise on this abstruse topic for the beginner. All the chapters faithfully applied the structuralist methodology of distribution.

Just as structuralism was coming into its own, the winds of change were blowing across the linguistic landscape, and Chomsky's view of linguistics as expressed in his book *Syntactic structures* (1957) was getting a hearing and gaining ground among linguists. The publication of Hill (1958) might have been the last triumphalist call of the theory, as the Generative School was to supplant and supersede it within the decade across the linguistic landscape.

Archibald Hill holds the esteem of many colleagues in the fields of his interest. A 4-volume Festschrift (Jazayery *et al.*, 1976–1979) was dedicated to him on the occasion of his retirement and includes: (1) general and theoretical linguistics; (2) descriptive linguistics; (3) historical and comparative linguistics; and (4) linguistics and literature/sociolinguistics and applied linguistics. More than 150 linguists wrote the Festschrift, and it was a great tribute to a colleague.

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## Hornby, Albert Sidney (1898–1978)

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Albert S. Hornby started his career as an English teacher in Oita, Japan, first employed as a high school teacher in 1924. He moved to Tokyo in 1932, invited by Harold E. Palmer, who was then the first director of the Institute for Research in English Teaching (IRET). When Palmer left Japan in 1936, Hornby succeeded him as the director of IRET and held this position until 1942. Hornby's task at this institute was to take over and develop Palmer's verb pattern methods in English language teaching.

One of Hornby's major undertakings in his life was to compile the *Idiomatic and syntactic English dictionary* (ISED; Hornby *et al.*, 1942), which originated from Palmer's project, and it was published by the Japanese publisher Kaitakusha in 1942, shortly after Hornby was forced to leave Japan during World War II. Some of the features of the dictionary especially designed for learners of English include a clear indication of verb patterns, and a distinction between countable and uncountable nouns. In 1948, this dictionary was reissued under the new title *A learner's dictionary of current English* (ALDCE) by Oxford University Press (Hornby *et al.*, 1948). Further revised versions enriching its contents appeared as *The advanced learner's dictionary of current English* (Hornby *et al.*, 1963), and as *Oxford advanced learner's dictionary of current English* (Hornby, *et al.*, 1974).

Hornby's other major contribution to English language teaching was his acting as a founding editor of *English language teaching*, which was then a small-scale publication issued by the British Council. In the 1950s, Hornby published a number of textbooks and handbooks for English language teaching. *A guide to patterns and usage in English* (Hornby, 1954) was the most influential pedagogical grammar of the time. The novelty of this book is the classification of English sentences into 25 patterns, with ample examples illustrating the grammar. Other widely known books by Hornby include the English language

textbook *Oxford progressive English for adult learners* in three volumes (so-called 'Hornby course'; Hornby, 1954–1956) and the teacher's practical handbook *The teaching of structural words and sentence patterns* in four volumes (Hornby, 1959–1966).

In 1961, Hornby established *The Hornby Educational Trust*, by donating a large portion of his royalty income from the dictionaries and the textbooks. The Trust came into operation in 1968, supporting overseas teachers who study the English language in the United Kingdom, and making funds available to help provide training for teachers of English, especially in developing countries and elsewhere where there is need for funding. In 1976, Hornby was appointed a fellow of the University College London, and in 1977, he received an honorary degree from the University of Oxford in recognition of his significant contribution to English language teaching.

*See also:* Learners' Dictionaries; Palmer, Harold Edward (1877–1949); Pedagogical Grammars for Second Language Learning.

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## Lado, Robert (1915–1995)

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Robert Lado was born in Florida, but his family returned to their native Spain while he was a child. When the Spanish Civil War broke out, Lado re-immigrated to the United States at age 21. He learned English while working as a sign painter, then attended college on a scholarship. Graduating with a major in English, Lado decided on a career in teaching. In graduate school he studied with University of Michigan linguist Charles C. Fries. Lado's 1950 Ph.D. thesis was on testing the proficiency of Spanish-speaking learners of English.

Lado stayed on to work with Fries as a faculty member and administrator at Michigan's English Language Institute. The ELI trained students from abroad in English as a second language, as part of a U.S. State Department-sponsored exchange program. Fries and Lado drew on midcentury American descriptive linguistics to develop language-teaching materials and techniques they called the Oral Approach. Lado created language tests and textbooks, and wrote on testing, pedagogy, and second language acquisition. His most famous publications (Lado, 1957, 1964) introduced teachers to descriptivist procedures for analyzing a language's sound system, grammar, and vocabulary. Lado argued that as a prerequisite to effective pedagogy, a teacher needs to compare the native and target languages (and cultures).

In 1960 Lado moved to Georgetown University, first as director of an ELI-like institute, later as Dean of the School of Languages and Linguistics and founder of what became Georgetown University Press. Even after retiring from full-time teaching in 1980, Lado continued his professional activities, publishing textbooks and pedagogical manuals, establishing a commercial English-language school (Lado International College), and pursuing a new research

interest in teaching reading to preschoolers. Lado's publications (Jankowsky, 1985) include over 150 books, articles, and reviews. Rounding out a busy, creative, life, Lado and his wife Lucia raised five daughters and five sons.

With the eclipse of descriptive linguistics and its concept of second language learning, Lado is now best remembered as the author of *Linguistics across cultures*. In particular, he is represented as the architect of the 'Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis' – essentially the claim that wherever a learner's native and target languages differ, the learner will face difficulty and delay in acquiring the target language. Contrastive Analysis is typically presented (e.g., by Gass and Selinker, 2001) as a product of American descriptivism and Bloomfieldian behaviorism. Thomas (submitted) argues that this misconstrues the relationships of descriptivism, behaviorism, and Contrastive Analysis in Lado's (and Fries's) work: first, because Lado was not a behaviorist, and second, because his commitment to cross-linguistic comparison is not equivalent in extent or content to the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis.

*See also:* Applied Linguistics; Fries, Charles Carpenter (1887–1967); Interlanguage.

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## Nida, Eugene Albert (b. 1914)

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Eugene Nida was born in 1914 at Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, in the United States. This linguist is known worldwide to most students of linguistics and to most teachers and researchers who have used his *Morphology, a descriptive analysis of words* (1946b), which involves theoretical analyses, practical exercises with and without answers, and concrete advice for fieldwork. This handbook contributed to the instruction of generations of linguists, thanks to its abundant empirical data (problems are taken from 49 languages, from Arabic to Zoque) and to the meticulous precision in the structuralist analysis of morphemes where the various stages are differentiated, from their identification and their classification into types to their distribution and elaboration as structural classes.

In his handbook, Nida provided definitions and demonstrations of the structuralist leaders of the period, L. Bloomfield and E. Sapir, together with incisive discussions of contributions from his contemporaries R. S. Wells, B. Bloch, and Z. Harris. During this period, two of his papers published in *Language* (1948a,b) testify to the methods and theory of American structuralism.

However, Nida's long career and many publications could have remained little known or poorly understood by the international linguistic community, since he devoted himself very early and entirely to the translation of a single corpus, the Bible (primarily the New Testament). In 1946 he published simultaneously his *Bible translating* and *Morphology, a descriptive analysis of words*.

He was one of the directors of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, founded in 1934 in Mexico, a humanitarian and missionary agency whose aim was to provide a basic linguistic education whose beneficiaries would be competent in describing the languages of minority populations and in establishing a writing system for each so that the New Testament could be read in more than 1000 languages. In 1943, during World War II, the American Bible Society was founded, and by 1947 the United Bible Society had 30 member states. Nida contributed to the translation of the Scriptures into many more languages in the last half century than had been done during the entire Christian era, making 200 official trips in 40 years. He was a consultant for the United Bible Society from 1947 to 1990 and

has been a consultant for the American Bible Society since 1984.

In his latest book, entitled *Fascinated by languages* (2003), he characterizes his professional activity and choice to lecture as that of "an eclectic and a pragmatic," recalling that he organized sessions in translation in more than 90 countries and that he has published, alone or in collaboration, 13 handbooks on translation applied directly at various Biblical texts, from the *Gospel of John* in 1961 to Paul's *Letter to the Ephesians* in 1983. He explicitly links his long career to two childhood experiences as a reader of the revue *Scientific American*, which created in him a passion for the diversity of forms, and of *Genesis*. Both of these inspired him profoundly and guided him in his twofold university education: a B.A. from the University of California, Los Angeles in 1936, an M.A. in patristics from the University of Southern Carolina in 1939, and a Ph.D. in linguistics from the University of Michigan in 1943.

His principal aim has always been "to see through and beyond the words to the meaning of the text." As shown by his simultaneous publication of *Bible translating* and *Morphology: the descriptive analysis of words* in 1946, one text, the Bible, was for him the only text.

Nida has belonged to numerous learned societies that reflect his varied interests, including the American Anthropological Association, the Linguistic Society of Canada and the United States, the American Association for Applied Linguistics, and the Society of Biblical Literature, as well as the Linguistic Society of America (of which he was president in 1968) and the Society for Textual Scholarship (president, 1987–1988).

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## Palmer, Harold Edward (1877–1949)

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Harold Edward Palmer was a British phonetician and language-teaching theoretician. Born in Kensington, London, Palmer left school at 15 without higher education. After some early beginnings in journalism, he changed direction in 1902 by taking up a post teaching English at a Berlitz school in Belgium, moving on later to found a school of his own. He made a dramatic escape from occupied Belgium in 1914. Once back in Britain, he was invited by Daniel Jones in 1915 to give a course of evening lectures on methods of language teaching. From 1916 to 1922, he was, again at Jones's invitation, a part-time lecturer in spoken English in the Department of Phonetics at University College; he also taught at London University's School of Oriental Studies. These years saw the publication of two important works, *The scientific study and teaching of languages* (1917) and *The principles of language study* (1921).

In 1921, Palmer was invited by the Japanese Ministry of Education to advise them on English language teaching, and from 1922 worked in Japan as a linguistic advisor to the Department of Education. In 1923, an Institute for Research in English Teaching was established in Tokyo with Palmer as its director. The degree of D.Litt. was conferred on him by the University of Tokyo in 1935. In that same year he attended the Second International Congress of Phonetic Sciences in London, reading a paper on the nature and condition of phonetics teaching in Japan. Whilst there he was offered a post by a U.K. publisher, which he accepted, returning to Britain the following year. He died in Felbridge, Sussex.

Palmer's long absence from Britain, and the fact that a good deal of his writing is concerned with language pedagogy, may have had something to do with an apparent lack of appreciation of him as a phonetician – a lack which is quite unwarranted.

His work on English intonation dealt extensively with, and provided a rich notation for, such elements as the 'tone group,' 'head,' 'nucleus,' and 'tail,' and studied the 'semantic functions' of tone groups, thereby laying down the basis for much of what was produced by later writers. Daniel Jones held Palmer in high regard, referring in an obituary (in *Le maître phonétique* 28) to his "most original and inventive mind," and valued greatly the help he had given during Jones's work on Tswana. Palmer's work on language pedagogy teems with striking ideas about principles and procedures, drawn from and tested throughout years of practical experience, often accompanied by ingenious diagrams or symbol systems, almost always of his own devising. "He seldom" – to quote Jones again – "utilized anyone else's results to help him arrive at his conclusions."

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## Passy, Paul Édouard (1859–1940)

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Passy is best remembered as the founder of the International Phonetic Association. His interests included not only applied phonetics (language pedagogy and reading instruction), but also descriptive linguistics, historical sound change, and basic phonological theory.

Born in Versailles on January 13, 1859, Passy was educated at home by visiting teachers, governesses, and his wealthy parents. His father, Frédéric Passy, was an economist, advocate for international arbitration, and first (co-)recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize. Passy and his siblings learned not only French but also English, German, and Italian. He attended Collège Sainte Barbe, and although he easily passed his *baccalauréat* exams at ages 16 and 17, he failed his *licence* three times before passing, since the subjects bored him. As an option to avoid military service because he was a pacifist, Passy contracted to teach English and some German for 10 years in various public schools, colleges, and principally, the Teacher Training College at Auteuil. From 1879 to 1885, he studied phonetics on his own, reading Sweet, Sievers, Viëtor, and Jespersen. At the École des Hautes Études, he studied Sanskrit and Gothic and Old High German under Ferdinand de Saussure (1885–1887).

Passy gained his *doctorat ès lettres* in 1891 with his secondary thesis on the phonetics of modern Icelandic (*De Nordica lingua*) and his primary thesis, *Study of phonetic changes* (1891), which won the Prix Volney the following year. In 1894, the position of Chair of General and Comparative Phonetics at the École des Hautes Études d'Histoire et de Philologie was created for him, a position he held until retirement in 1926 (except for 1913–1917, when he was dismissed on political grounds related to his pacifism). In 1897 he also became Assistant Director of the École des Hautes Études, and was the first to admit women. Passy taught three courses: (1) phonetics of the main European languages; (2) the phonetics of Old French; (3) original research on various phonetic subjects.

In 1886, Passy founded and served as president of the 'fonètik tîtercz' asóciécon' (Phonetic Teachers' Association), a group of mostly French teachers of English committed to improving modern foreign language pedagogy by emphasizing phonetic accuracy and by using a phonetic alphabet, in part to assist in teaching reading. The Association founded a journal, *Dhi Fonètik Tîtcer*, in May of that year. Passy's brother Jean (1866–1898) was appointed Secretary. The association quickly attracted the support of such prominent

phoneticians and linguists as Otto Jespersen, Henry Sweet, and Wilhelm Viëtor. In 1889, the organization's name became 'Association Phonétique des Professeurs de Langues Vivantes,' in order to increase its appeal to modern language teachers, and its journal was called *Le Maître Phonétique*. Articles in the journal were printed in transcription, in a system Passy modified from Sweet's Broad Romic. In 1897 the association became 'L'Association Phonétique Internationale', the International Phonetic Association. Passy was elected Secretary in 1890, a position he held until 1927, when he was reelected President. Passy also served as editor (coeditor with Daniel Jones from 1909) of *Le Maître Phonétique*, from its first issue until his death, though Jones has said that, in practice, Jones had acted as sole secretary from about 1910, when Passy's health began to deteriorate, and later, when his chief interests shifted to social concerns.

Passy articulated the core principles of the IPA, which are still employed today, though they were expanded by Passy and Jones in 1912. Among them are the importance of broad transcription; this contained an implicit understanding of the phonemic principle and the commutation test, which shows phonemic status through the contrastive meanings of minimal pairs. Passy advocated symbol economy and harmonization of symbols in a phonetic font, not only for esthetics but because he wished the system to be easily utilized by teachers and understood by children. Passy also promoted the use of the alphabet for samples of little-studied languages.

Passy was the main phonetic teacher of and major influence on Daniel Jones, who spent a year in Paris studying with Passy in 1907. Passy encouraged Jones to take the International Phonetic Association examination from him and to pursue a career in phonetics, even writing in 1907 a recommendation letter for Jones to teach phonetics at University College London. In 1911, Jones married Passy's niece, Cyrille Motte. An excellent study of the relationship between Passy and Jones is found in Collins and Mees (1999).

Passy was influenced and inspired by Henry Sweet and Alexander Melville Bell, even developing his own version of an organic alphabet. In 1907 Passy and Jones published a revised but short-lived organic alphabet. Passy developed in 1888 and modified in 1891 a vowel diagram, which Collins and Mees (1999: 173–182) show was the basis for Daniel Jones's system of Cardinal Vowels. Passy realized that in practical terms, the vocalic model could reflect both acoustic reality and articulatory position, the latter of which he tended to favor. Incidentally, Paul



Passy's brother Jean seems to have introduced the technique of transcribing meaningless sequences of sounds, which has become an important part of the British School tradition of phonetic ear training. In addition, Michaelis and Passy (1897) was a major inspiration for Jones's (1917) *English pronouncing dictionary*.

In 1896, Passy joined a campaign for spelling reform of French orthography, publishing his 1897 work. He was also an active participant in the Reform Movement, advocating the Direct Method of language teaching, as laid out in his 1899 book.

According to Jones (1941), Passy's greatness lay not chiefly in his phonetic work, but in the 'saintly' way he lived his life according to his 'primitive Christian' ideals, after his conversion to Protestantism in 1878, and according to his Christian socialist ideals from 1897. He formed a spartan agricultural cooperative, Liéfra (an acronym of the French ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity), for working-class men near Fontette. This, along with his ideals, evangelization, and social work, is detailed in his 1930–1932 autobiography and in his novels *Au bois dormant* and *Après le rêve*. He was the founder of the Société des Volontaires Évangélistes and the Union des Socialistes Chrétiens. Passy died in Bourg-la-Reine in 1940.

*See also:* Traditions in Second Language Teaching; Viëtor, Wilhelm (1850–1918).

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## Quirk, Professor The Lord Charles Randolph (b. 1920)

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Professor Randolph Quirk (Figure 1), a British grammarian and linguist, was born in the Isle of Man, educated at University College London (UCL) and received a B.A., an M.A., a Ph.D., and a D.Litt. there. He was a lecturer in English (1947–1952) at UCL; a reader in English Language and Literature (1954–1958) and a Professor of English Language (1960–1968) at the University of Durham; and a Quain Professor of English Language and Literature at UCL (1968–1981). In 1972, he chaired a Government Committee of Enquiry in Speech Therapy Services for the reform of training of speech therapists in the UK. He also served as the Vice-Chancellor of the University of London (1981–1985), as a member of the board of the British Council (1983–1991), as Chairman of the British Library advisory Committee (1984–1997), as President of the British Academy (1985–1989), and as Trustee of the Wolfson Foundation (1987). He was awarded the CBE in 1976, knighted in 1985, and made a life peer in 1994.

Professor Quirk's scholarly activities span a wide-ranging set of topics in English language and related subjects, for example: grammar in general, descriptive grammar, phonology, morphology, vocabulary, and syntax of English, including Old, Middle, and Modern English; editions of Old Icelandic texts; the language of Dickens and Shakespeare; teaching of English; mother-language and foreign-language teaching; lexical studies of English; the role of English as an international language; and English-language usage, including Old English varieties of English.

In the context of English-language usage, Professor Quirk was the founder of the Survey of English Usage (1959) and directed this research project until 1981. The research aimed at collecting, compiling, and analyzing a corpus of written and spoken language used by adult native speakers of British English. Professor Quirk also developed techniques for eliciting usage and attitude to usage by the speakers that the participants of the survey applied. The data collected in this corpus has enabled many researchers worldwide to produce various analyses and to carry out various experiments; many publications have ensued.

Professor Quirk, in collaboration with other grammarians, published two major reference grammars: *A grammar of contemporary English* (Quirk *et al.*, 1972) and a major compendium, *A comprehensive grammar of English language* (Quirk *et al.*, 1985). In addition, he wrote *A communicative grammar of*

*English* and *A university grammar of English* (1973) (published in a shorter version in the United States as *A concise grammar of contemporary English*). Professor Quirk's team includes Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech, and Jan Svartvik; they started their work on grammars in the 1960s and planned to produce a series of grammars. Their *Communicative grammar of English* (Leech and Svartvik, 1975): "looks at the whole grammar from a semantic and communicative viewpoint" (1985: v).

*A comprehensive grammar of English language* (1985) was described by the authors as the culmination of their joint efforts. It also represented an advancement of the research into the grammatical structure, description of English, and the developments in linguistic theory as pursued by many scholars around the world. The contents page offers an insight into the eclectic theoretical approach adopted by the authors. The first chapter contains (1) a description of the current state and status of the English language, (2) a section of grammar and study of language, and (3) a comprehensive description of the varieties of English used both by an individual and by English speech communities. The second part of Chapter 1 'Grammar and the study of language' (1.12 to 1.18) is a statement of what grammarians mean by 'grammar' and defines the scope of descriptive grammar. Grammar was understood in the sense of the inclusion "of both SYNTAX and that aspect of MORPHOLOGY (the internal structure of words) that deals with INFLECTIONS (or ACCIDENCE)" (1985: 12). The authors explained that there are various types of grammar organization and commented that they did not want to state that phonology is independent from grammar, as the two are interdependent, that there is a difficulty in drawing a borderline between grammar and semantics and pragmatics. They were not concerned with theoretical matters. They stated: "Our general principle will be to regard grammar as accounting for constructions where greatest generalization is possible, assigning to lexicology (and hence beyond the scope of this book) constructions on which least generalization can be formulated" (1985: 15).

The second chapter of *A comprehensive grammar of English language* offers a 'Survey of the English Grammar,' outlines the structure of the English sentence, and aims to provide a general introduction and introduce concepts and categories necessary for the whole grammar.

The other chapters represent an innovative approach to descriptive grammar and include the description of the grammatical categories and parts of



**Figure 1** Professor The Lord Charles Randolph Quirk (Baron Quirk of Bloomsbury).

speech, phrases, and sentence structure and function. The chapter 'Theme, Focus, and Information Processing' (1985: 1353–1420) contains prosodic and grammatical aspects, postponement, existential sentences, emotive emphasis, and reinforcement. The last chapter, 'From Sentence to Text,' offers pathways to text analysis by describing the context of the notion of text and the connective and grammatical devices that can be employed, as well as features of pragmatics, semantics, and grammar with illustrative examples. There are three appendices: (1) word formation, (2) stress, rhythm, and intonation, and (3) punctuation.

*A comprehensive grammar of English language* has an added interest in that it represents an innovative development in terms of approaches to grammar writing with the conceptual framework that underlies the process. Equally, it contains a thorough record of the state of the English language (the common core), with its varieties and styles, in the second half of the 20th century.

The grammatical works of Professor Quirk have been used for native-language speakers and very broadly for the teaching of English as a second and/or foreign language throughout the world. Teacher training courses for EFL (English as a foreign language) teachers everywhere regard the study of his grammatical works as an essential component

of their teacher education programs. Histories of ideas in linguistics have not yet pursued research into the heritage of this grammarian.

Professor Quirk is a crossbencher in the House of Lords. He was married to Jean Williams (they divorced in 1979; she died in 1995) and has two sons. He has been married since 1984 to Gabriele Stein.

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- <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/internet-grammar> – Internet Grammar of English (IGE).



## Ratke, Wolfgang (1571–1635)

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Wolfgang Ratke was born in Wilster, Germany, on October 18, 1571. He studied at Rostock University and, from 1603 to 1610, taught in Amsterdam. In 1612 he presented a famous *Memorandum* (Memorial) at the election of the Holy Roman Emperor in Frankfurt, in which he offered to show how “Hebrew, Greek, Latin and other languages may be easily learned and disseminated, even in a short space of time, both to young and old.” From 1614 to 1622, Ratke worked – less than successfully, it must be said – on innovative school projects in Augsburg, Köthen, and Magdeburg; from 1622 onward, he concentrated on his encyclopedic program. He died in Erfurt on April 27, 1635.

Ratke’s program was dictated by his encyclopedic concept of education, which he saw as a solution to the social and political problems associated with the Thirty Years’ War. It was probably conceived as a Lutheran alternative to the curricular program of the Roman Catholics and the Reformed Church.

Ratke realized early the importance of the native language as both a medium of instruction and a foundation for teaching other languages. He identified the same problem as Henry VIII and Mulcaster – the multiplicity and diversity of grammars and ways of teaching. But whereas Henry prohibited the use of all grammars in schools except one (Lily and Colet, 1549), Ratke refashioned the *harmonia linguarum* into a *harmonia didactica*, to mean that no part of a discipline should conflict with any other. A unified grammatical terminology over all the languages taught was the logical outcome.

Ratke’s writings include a set of small universal grammars for five languages, printed in Köthen, and uniform in terminology, classification, scope, size and type. Each volume consists of a universal grammar written on and in the language concerned, and a section ‘Special Properties,’ detailing its attributes and values.

Although Ratke’s program was only fragmentarily realized, the logic of his scheme made him an important innovator in many areas to do with language. In particular, Ratke’s writings on German constitute significant landmarks in the history of German grammar writing (Ising, 1959), while his inductive approach through texts anticipated reforms in foreign-language teaching.

*See also:* Second and Foreign Language Learning and Teaching; Viëtor, Wilhelm (1850–1918).

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## Richards, Ivor Armstrong (1893–1979)

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Ivor Armstrong Richards, a British literary theorist, critic, poet and educator, was born in Cheshire, United Kingdom, in 1893. He was educated at Clifton College in Bristol. Originally, he read history but changed to moral sciences at Magdalene College graduating in 1915. After recovering from tuberculosis, he decided to study medicine but was invited to teach at the new English School (faculty) at Magdalene College in 1919, where he stayed until 1939. He traveled and taught throughout the world, especially in China and Japan. In 1944, he became a professor in the Department of Education at Harvard University, where he taught until 1963. He maintained his contacts with Magdalene College and returned to Cambridge in 1974. He died in Cambridge in 1979.

In 1918, he met Charles Kay Ogden (1889–1952), beginning a cooperation in philosophical linguistics. In 1957, Ogden wrote about the circumstances in which they met and how they discussed some of the controversies that were debated in *Mind* and particularly on how quickly Richards and Ogden produced an outline for *The meaning of meaning*.

In 1922, *The foundations of aesthetics* was published by Richards, Ogden, and James Wood (painter). In this work, there is a discussion of beauty that was treated more comprehensively in *The meaning of meaning*: it contains 16 senses of the word ‘beauty’ examined psychologically. Ogden was a student of and was influenced by the heritage of the thoughts of Lady Victoria Welby (Gregory) (1837–1912), an independent scholar. In the late 19th century, she published papers on meaning, ‘significs’, in *Mind* and *The Monist*. Lady Welby started the ‘signific movement’ especially through the *Signifische Kring* in The Netherlands in 1917, when she met the Dutch poet and psychotherapist Frederik van Eeden (1860–1932), and she would later announce a Welby prize for original ideas on meaning that led to the development of Basic English. She was also active in the Vienna Circle and, of necessity, was influenced by the ideas that migrated to Vienna. Lady Welby also corresponded with C. S. Peirce (1839–1914). Lady Welby’s thoughts influenced both Richards and Ogden.

In 1923, Ogden and Richards published *The meaning of meaning. A study of the influence of language upon thought and of the science of symbolism*. This work made the authors very famous. For example, Bertrand Russell and Edward Sapir discussed and adopted this book as standard university reading

text. In this work, they investigated the role that words play on thought, the symbolic and emotional functions of meaning, and they sought to improve the incipient behaviorism. Their semiotic triangle – thought or reference, symbol, and referent – has been disseminated among the various language sciences. The manner by which they described the relation between symbol and referent has been criticized within the discussions of theory of meaning. One of the perceived failures is that their model fails to account for the cognitive component of human communication. Richards also argued that human thought is metaphoric in this work.

Richards regarded himself as a philosopher with interests in psychology, and his earliest papers were on aesthetics published in *Athenaeum* in 1919: ‘Art and science,’ ‘Emotion and art,’ ‘Four fermented aesthetics,’ and ‘The instruments of criticism: expression.’ At Magdalene College, he lectured on literary criticism (novel) and theory of criticism. He developed courses on practical criticism using his method of ‘close reading’ and courses on Samuel T. Coleridge, rhetorical theory, and British moralists.

He stated that poetry, which often stood for literature or art in his arguments, was central to everything, and soon he became a theorist of the arts. He was very interested in the effect that reading had on the minds of readers: He argued that each literary work read modified the person who read it. In 1925, he published *Principles of literary criticism*, which he had started writing in 1923. In this work, he aimed to place the arts at ‘the forefront of all values’ because he regarded arts as “the supreme mode of communication,” as he wrote in a letter to D. E. Pilley (November 19, 1923). He intended to demonstrate the value of poetry within the context of the contemporary psychological framework. The norms and practices of science hindered the ability of man to read and write poetry, according to Richards, who aimed to reinstate poetic expression or discourse. In his 1926 *Science and poetry* (revised in 1935), he introduced ‘pseudo-statements’ (misinterpreted then as ‘false statements’) as poetic utterances that do not need to be judged for truth conditions as does a scientific statement. Because he was interested in improving the reading skills of the university students, he dedicated much effort to this end, which resulted in the publication of *Philosophy of rhetoric* in 1936 and *Interpretation in teaching* in 1938. He stated that he rejected Aristotelian and other traditional rhetoricians’ thought and argued that rhetoric should be “a philosophical inquiry into how words work in discourse.” He applied these

principles to Mencius, the Chinese philosopher, while he was traveling in China. He learned some Chinese, developed a simplified form of literal translations, and his study was published in 1932 as *Mencius on the mind: experiments in multiple definition*.

Richards moved away from literary discussion after publishing *Practical criticism* and turned to educational theory and language teaching. By 1931, he returned to the ideas of a system of simplified language, Basic English, with Ogden. This led him to produce a list of 850 words with which almost all communicative needs can be expressed. He dedicated the rest of his life to this enterprise. He promoted world literacy. In his cooperation with Christine M. Gibson, he pioneered the use of audiovisual media resources to the teaching of English as a foreign language. His works represent an important chapter in the history of language teaching methodology in general and specifically in English.

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## Smith, Henry Lee (1913–1972)

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Henry Lee Smith, Jr., is best known for his contributions to the fields of phonology/morphology, literacy, and foreign language teaching. Specifically, Smith introduced the concept of the morphophone, a structural unit between phoneme and morpheme. Smith instructed teachers to create beginning reading materials that concentrated on the association between graphs, one or more letters used to represent a single morphophone, and the morphophone itself. Smith also designed materials for foreign language teaching, many of which are still in use, for the U.S. Army and the Foreign Service Institute (FSI) School of Language and Linguistics (later the School of Languages), which he cofounded.

Smith was born on July 11, 1913, in New Jersey. He received his Bachelor's Degree summa cum laude, Phi Beta Kappa, from Princeton University in 1935. He continued his studies at Princeton, from which he received his M.A. in 1937 and his Ph.D. in Oriental languages and literature in 1938. He was named a Charlotte Elizabeth Procter Fellow at Princeton in 1937–1938. From 1938 to 1940, he lectured at Barnard College, Columbia University, before accepting a two-year appointment as an English instructor at Brown University. From 1942 to 1946, Smith produced manuals, dictionaries, recordings, and phrase books for 22 foreign languages for the Intensive Language Program of the U.S. Armed Forces Institute. In 1946, Smith joined the Department of State and became Assistant Director of the FSI and cofounder of the FSI School of Language and Linguistics, Washington, D.C., in 1946. Appointed professor of languages in 1952, he served as dean of the school in 1955–1956. Smith then went on to cofound and serve as chairman of the Department of Anthropology and Linguistics at the then University of Buffalo (now SUNY-Buffalo) with George L. Trager in 1956. He served as chairman of the Department of Anthropology there from 1964 to 1965 and as director of the Program in Linguistics from 1967 to 1968, before resigning to continue as a full-time professor of Linguistics and English at that same university.

Smith's research in structuralist linguistics was a data-oriented system of analysis focused on using native informants. Smith proposed a series of conclusions about English sounds and structure, many of which can be found in *An outline of English structure*, which he co-authored with George Trager in

1951 (revised in 1957) and which is considered a foundational work in linguistic analysis. In this work, Trager and Smith present a tripartite, 36 vocalic system consisting of nine simple vowel phonemes /i, e, æ, ɪ, ə, a, u, ɔ, o/, which can each combine with each of the three semivowel phonemes /y, w, h/ to form 27 complex vowel nuclei. Although this system is not widely used, it once competed with the IPA system and is the system that William Labov uses, with slight modifications, in his variationist research.

Smith also spent a considerable amount of time thinking and writing about the concept of the morphophone, the basic unit of the morpheme, which Sustakoski, in a foreword to Smith (1968), predicted would be considered as important in the history of linguistics as the clarification of the phoneme. This concept was introduced in Trager and Smith (1951) and was further developed in such publications as 'The concept of the morphophone' (1967), *English morphophonics: implications for the teaching of literacy* (1968), and 'The morphophone and English dialects' (1972). The morphophone, as defined by Smith (1972), was a "‘holding company’ or ‘super family’ of different phonemes which are *noncontrasting in the same word*" but also are "a *unit of the language as a whole* which, *as a unit*, furnishes the basis for ‘higher order’ or ‘higher level’ *contrasts*." To put it in technical language, the morphophone is the *basic unit* of the morpheme, and morphophones are *expressed* by phonemes. Smith claimed that the level of the morphophone was the level at which speakers calibrated equivalence between different phonemes in what they hear as the same words. Contrasts in vowel phonemes that occurred in pristine environments, or, in English, monosyllabic words ending in /p/, /t/, /k/, were primary contrasts, requiring a separate morphophone unit for each contrast. Phonemes that make these contrasts were the principal variants of the morphophone unit, each of which constituted the pure variants of each morphophone unit. Secondary contrasts occurred when different phonemic expressions were analyzed as the principal covariants of the same unit, but did not occur in pristine environments. Tertiary contrasts occurred when phonemes making the contrasts never occurred in pristine environments, are assignable within the idiolect to two morphophone units, and are in free variation with those constituting the principal variants of each of the two units. Dialects differ in their diamorphophonous selections, or the selection of different morphophone units as units that are noncontrasting in the same words. Smith felt that one could objectively distinguish between dialects and languages based on whether calibration between



different forms of morphonemes was evident (dialects of same language) or not (two separate languages).

For Smith, the morphophone was a useful tool for language education. Smith claimed that the current writing system was based on the graphic representation of morphophone units rather than phonemes. Readers respond to graphic symbolizations with the phonemic expressions of the morphophones from their dialect or idiolect. In a 1954 lecture at Harvard University, 'Linguistic science and the teaching of English' (published in 1956), Smith stated that language educators should systematically teach the relationship between sound and letter. In addition, Smith co-authored *The linguistic readers* (1963–1967), materials for beginning learners, and *A linguistic approach to English* (1964 and 1965), designed for high school students, both of which incorporate the concept of morphophone.

In general, Smith felt that language educators needed to learn more about linguistics. He stressed that teachers needed to understand that students' variable pronunciations were not incorrect pronunciations. He also emphasized that teachers should never make a child feel inadequate because of his or her variable pronunciation.

Smith also hoped to teach the general public about linguistics. He prepared and appeared on such programs as 'Where Are You From?' on WOR New York from 1939 to 1941, in which he asked participants to pronounce words and would try to determine their dialects; a 13-film series titled 'Language and Linguistics' in 1959; 'Meet the Professor'; and 'Speaking of Ideas,' a weekly program airing on WGR Buffalo that he moderated from 1961 to

1964. He also appeared on the television quiz shows 'What's My Line?' and 'I've Got a Secret.'

For the last years of his life, Smith was working on what he called aspectualism, a descriptive analysis of English that relied on real world events. This system expanded a tripartite approach of phonology, morphology, and semology to a total of 27 levels, or aspects. His final results were never published since Smith died suddenly of a heart attack on December 13, 1972, after speaking to a civic group about English dialects. He was survived by his wife, Virginia von Wodtke Smith, who died in 1987, and four children, Heather Kleiner, Marshall, Randolph, and Letitia.

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## Twaddell, William Freeman (1906–1982)

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William Freeman Twaddell was born in Rye, New York on March 22, 1906, and he died in Providence, Rhode Island on March 1st, 1982. Twaddell studied German philology and earned his Ph.D. from Harvard in 1930. In 1937 he became Professor of German and chair of the German Department at the University of Wisconsin; in 1946, he received a similar post at Brown University. With his outstanding competence in general linguistics, however, he soon shifted to that field. He remained chairman of the newly established linguistics department of Brown University until his retirement in 1971. In 1953 he was president of the Linguistic Society of America, and, over the years, he became involved in numerous academic tasks, such as consultant to projects.

Twaddell's early career coincided with the upsurge of structural linguistics in the United States; he stands out as one of the most interesting scholars associated with 'Bloomfieldian' linguistics. His essay *On defining the phoneme* (1935) is generally hailed as a landmark within pregenerative phonological theory, although it did not influence the subsequent development of American structuralism as much as one might have expected. Twaddell exhibits a total independence of mind, taking issue both with Sapir's mentalism and Bloomfield's physicalism and ending up with a notion of the phoneme as 'an abstractional, fictitious unit' (thus endorsing the approach that has been dubbed 'hocus-pocus linguistics,' as against theories making a claim to reality: so-called 'God's truth linguistics'). To Twaddell, the real phonemes (or 'micro-phonemes') are the position-bound units that enter paradigmatic contrasts, i.e., the members of minimal sets. Accordingly, if one uses the term phoneme in the conventional sense (the 'macro-phoneme,' in Twaddell's terminology), one is referring to a fictitious class consisting of phonetically more or less similar members from different contrastive sets.

In retrospect it is clear that Twaddell's approach distances itself from the post-Bloomfieldian concept

of the phoneme as a sound unit defined by distributional properties. Its anchoring in paradigmatic contrast was, on the other hand, shared by certain other versions of structuralism that were then in the making, particularly the Hjelmslevian trend.

As a philologist working on early German, Twaddell made a seminal contribution to the theoretical basis of historical linguistics by demonstrating how various major sound shifts can be understood as changes in the phonological pattern. He thus stands out as one of those who managed to establish a fruitful connection between traditional philology and structuralism.

Twaddell made significant contributions outside phonology proper. *The English verb auxiliaries* (1960) stands out as one of the highlights of descriptive English grammar from before the era when generative grammar became dominant.

Finally, it deserves mention that after moving to Brown University, Twaddell contributed substantially to the development of foreign language teaching in the United States. He worked out several textbooks dealing with the German language and introduced the use of the computer in handling text material. Nelson Francis, one of the scholars behind the *Brown standard corpus of present-day English* has explicitly acknowledged that it was inspired by Twaddell's computer-supported approach.

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## Viëtor, Wilhelm (1850–1918)

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Wilhelm Viëtor was born on December 25, 1850, and went to school in Cleeburg and Weilburg, Germany. From 1869 to 1872 he studied theology and classical philology at Leipzig, Berlin, and Marburg. He then taught in England from 1872 to 1874, and from 1874 to 1875 he studied for his doctorate in Marburg, after which he taught at various schools in Germany. From 1882 to 1884 he worked as Lecturer in Teutonic Languages in Liverpool and in 1884 was appointed Associate Professor of English Philology at Marburg, where he remained for the rest of his life. He died on September 22, 1918.

The main areas with which Viëtor concerned himself were foreign language teaching (FLT) reform (Viëtor, 1882), philology (Viëtor, 1876), phonetics (Viëtor, 1884), a national standard for German pronunciation, and marrying the philological disciplines with the demands of teacher training (Viëtor, 1902).

Viëtor made his name early with his notorious anonymous publication of 1882. This pamphlet is divided into two major sections. In the first section, 'Language,' Viëtor covered the problem of sounds and writing, the tasks of philology, aspects of grammar teaching, and the influence of classical models on the description of modern languages. He remarked caustically that if – on the classical model – the article were to be given four cases, then nouns ought to have six:

1. nominative: Berlin
2. accusative: Berlin
3. genitive: *ab* (or *von*) Berlin
4. dative: *zu* (or *nach*) Berlin
5. locative: *in* Berlin
6. instrumental: *mit* (or *durch*) Berlin.

The second section ('Teaching') dealt with first language pedagogy and the teaching of modern foreign languages and classics. Viëtor argued against the learning of rules and lists for grammar and lexicon. He also pointed out that the role of the text in FLT

had become perverted to the point of being simply a means of confirming the syntactic rules just taught.

The functions of the text were taken up again in his discussion of the main principles of FLT (Viëtor, 1902), which cover the language ecology (which languages ought to be taught, and in which order?), the role of phonetic instruction, morphological description (to be based on spoken rather than written forms), the importance of syntactic principles (insight) as opposed to rules, and the nature of the texts to be used.

Viëtor initiated a lengthy process of reform in language teaching in Germany (Hüllen, 1979: 1). Through his connections with other members of the reform movement – Sweet, Passy, and Jespersen – Viëtor helped to determine the shape of FLT in Europe.

*See also:* Foreign Language Teaching Policy; Passy, Paul Édouard (1859–1940).

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# SUBJECT INDEX

## NOTE

The index is arranged in set-out style with a maximum of three levels of heading. Major discussion of a subject is indicated by bold page numbers. Page numbers suffixed by T and F refer to Tables and Figures respectively. *vs.* indicates a comparison.

Cross-reference terms in italics are general cross-references, or refer to subentry terms within the main entry (the main entry is not repeated to save space). Readers are also advised to refer to the end of each article for additional cross-references - not all of these cross-references have been included in the index cross-references.

This index is in letter-by-letter order, whereby hyphens and spaces within index headings are ignored in the alphabetization. Prefixes and terms in parentheses are excluded from the initial alphabetization.

To assist the user, specific languages have main entries in **bold**. To save space in the index, subjects specific to a language (e.g. morphology, syntax) are found as subentries under the language and not the subject. Cross references to the specific subjects (e.g. syntax, phonetics) are assumed and not explicit.

The following abbreviation have been used:

L2 – second language

## A

- AAAL *see* American Association for Applied Linguistics (AAAL)
- Acquired dyslexia, multilingualism, 78–79
- Acquisition of language *see* Language acquisition
- Additive bilingualism, 417, 469
- Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages *see* UNESCO
- Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP, Australia), 42
- The advanced learner's dictionary of current English (Hornby et al.), 540
- Adverbial clauses  
facial in sign language, 207–208, 207*t*
- Aesthetics  
workers in  
Ogden, Charles Kay, 551  
Richards, Ivor Armstrong, 551  
Wood, James, 551
- Africa  
applied linguistics *see* Africa, applied linguistics  
Christianity *see* Christianity  
indigenous language dominance, 284  
languages *see* African languages
- Africa, applied linguistics, 31–36  
academic literacy development, 33  
critical discourse analysis (CDA)  
framework, 34  
integrated approach, 34  
Africanist perspective, 31  
colonialism, effect of, 31  
communitarian languages, 31  
countries  
Cameroon, 32  
Mali, 32  
Mauritius, 31  
Nigeria, 31, 32  
South Africa, 31, 32  
language development, 32  
languages of instruction, 31  
learning/teaching *see* Africa, language education  
education  
literacy, 34  
adult literacy, 35  
concept literacy, 35  
early literacy development, 35  
enliteration:challenges and responses, 35  
reading levels and literacy measures, 34  
multilingualism and role of ex-colonial languages, 31  
official languages, 31  
translation and interpretation, 32
- Africa, language education, 32, 283
- African languages, 33  
English language teaching (ELT), 33  
ex-colonial languages, 32  
French use, 283–284  
Portuguese use, 283–284  
South Africa, 33
- African-American English (AAE), 173  
nonfinite 'be', 173
- African languages  
language learning and teaching, 33
- American Association for Applied Linguistics (AAAL), 59–60
- American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL)  
foreign language teaching policy, 446  
National Standards for Foreign Language Education, 373
- American descriptive linguistics, 536
- American English  
descriptive grammar, 7–8
- American linguistics  
educational linguistics, 22  
structuralism *see* American structuralism
- American Sign Language (ASL)  
acquisition, 206, 207*t*
- American structuralism  
workers in  
Hall, Robert A Jr, 537  
Nida, Eugene Albert, 542
- Ancient Greek *see* Greek, Ancient
- Anthropological semiotics *see* Semiotic anthropology
- Applied linguistics  
definition, 3  
Europe, 6  
history, 3–13  
India, 72  
literature review, 3  
organizations, 8  
research in L3 acquisition, 223  
research methodology, 5  
South Asia, 72–81  
USA, 7  
workers in  
Catford, John C, 532  
Ferguson, Charles A, 534  
Fries, Charles Carpenter, 536  
*see also* Corpus linguistics; Critical applied linguistics; Language acquisition
- Applied Linguistics, Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, 59–60
- Applied science model of professional education, 360, 361*f*
- Appropriateness model of variation, correctness and purism, 428
- Aprendiendo a mirar: una investigación de lingüística aplicada y educación, 66–67
- Arabic  
lexicography  
bilingual dictionaries, 114  
modern *see* Modern Standard Arabic  
use of  
mother tongue education, 518  
*see also* Modern Standard Arabic (MSA)
- Argument structure  
syntactic processing, L2 acquisition, 230–231  
*see also* Syntax
- Aristotle  
fields of work  
early Greek education, 393  
rhetoric, 6
- Ars grammatica* (Priscianus Caesariensis) *see* Institutiones grammaticae (Priscianus Caesariensis)
- Ars minor* (Donatus), 395
- Asian Languages Project (Australia), 108, 108*t*
- Aspect-marking suffixes, Chinese, 176
- Aspects of rhetoric *see* Rhetoric, classical
- Aspectualism, 554
- Assessment  
argument, 105, 105*f*  
L2, 105–112
- Assimilation  
immigrant language education, 131  
*see also* Dissimilation
- Association Phonétique Internationale (API) *see* International Phonetic Association
- Athanaeum* (Richards), 551
- Attitude  
definition, 164  
L2 acquisition, 164–171  
*see also* Motivation; Sociolinguistic identity
- Attrition, L2 *see* Second language attrition
- Audiolingualism, 341, 417  
L2 teaching, 399–400
- Audiovisual media resources, teaching English as a foreign language (EFL), 552
- Augustine, Saint  
*Confessions*, 396  
fields of work  
medieval age education, 396
- Australia, applied linguistics, 37–44  
education, 38  
aboriginal languages, 40  
additional language, 41  
Aoteara/New Zealand, 40  
appropriate models of delivery, 39  
Asian Languages Project, 108, 108*t*  
Australia, 40  
English as a foreign language (EFL), 42  
English as an additional language (EAL), 38–39  
English as a second language (ESL), 38–39  
foreign language teaching policy, 446  
inclusion of culture, 41  
L2 teaching, 38



- Australia, applied linguistics (*continued*)  
 language backgrounds other than English (LBOTE), 42–43  
 literacy, 38  
 mother tongue education, 39  
 non-English speaking background (NESB), 39  
 Papua New Guinea, 39–40  
 proximal development, 41  
 Samoa, 39–40  
 Solomon Islands, 39–40  
 teachers, 40  
 Tonga, 39–40  
 language assessment, 42  
 language planning and policy, 42  
 languages for specific purposes, 40  
 social life, 41  
 translation and interpretation, 41  
 university departments, 37  
 workplace, 41
- Australian Applied Linguistics Association, 37
- Australian Language and Literacy Policy (ALLP), 38–39
- Australian Sign Language (Auslan)  
 acquisition, 206
- Austroasiatic languages  
 use of  
 Southeast Asia, applied linguistics, 82
- Austronesian languages  
 use of  
 Southeast Asia, applied linguistics, 82
- Authoring programs, computer-assisted language learning, 266, 267f
- Autochthonous languages  
 European Union, 53–54  
*see also* Minority languages
- Automatic speech recognition (ASR), 264
- B**
- Babbling (infant)  
 manual (sign language), 206
- Bachillerato test, 258
- Bahasa Indonesia  
 language education policies, 284  
 use of, 82–83
- Bahasa Malaysia  
 language education policies, 284  
 use of, 82–83
- Baker, C., 130–131
- Bakhtin, Mikhail Mikhailovich, 505
- Basic Education and Literacy Support Program, 38–39
- Basic English (BE), 7  
 Ogden, Charles Kay, 552  
 Richards, Ivor Armstrong, 552  
 Welby, Lady Victoria's influence on development of, 551
- BBC Languages website, 266, 267f
- Behavioral processes, transitivity *see* Transitivity
- Beijing Foreign language school, 48
- Bembo, Pietro, 398
- Bengali  
 language education policies, 284
- Bible translating* (Nida), 542
- Bilingual dictionaries, 113–122  
 commercial uses, 120–121  
 definition, 113  
 directionality, 117  
 source language, 118  
 target language, 118  
 electronic, 121  
 frameworks, 116  
 future work, 120  
 history, 113  
 17th Century Europe, 114  
 Ancient Greece, 113  
 Arabic culture, 114  
 China, 113–114  
 Hebrew, 114  
 Japan, 114  
 Mesopotamia, 113  
 Renaissance Europe, 114  
 issues, 117
- limitations, 120  
 modern, 115  
 corpus data, 115  
 source language analysis, 115  
 synthesis, 115, 120  
 transfer, 115
- monolingual learners' dictionary (MLD), 156
- pictorial/visual, 121
- structure, 116  
 discriminators, 117  
 grammatical subdivisions, 117  
 headword, 116  
 idioms, 117  
 phrasal verbs, 117  
 semantic subdivisions, 117
- symmetry, 120
- translation process, 119
- typography, 120
- Bilingual education, 243–250, 494  
 cost and administration, 494  
 developmental maintenance models, minority language education, 304–305  
 dual languages, 244  
 language separation and boundaries, 244–245  
 majority language dominance, 244  
 schools, 247–248  
 effectiveness, 247, 494
- English, 248  
 dominance in ICT, 248  
 limiting factors, 248
- ethnic conflict resolution, 245
- former colonial language, 494
- heritage immersion models, 304–305
- heritage language models, 244, 304–305  
 Canada, 244  
 immersion education, 243  
 partial immersion, 243  
 total immersion, 243
- immigrant language education, 131
- importance, 245–246
- inclusive models, 304–305
- intercultural education models, 304–305
- language awareness models, 304–305
- language revitalization, 246
- limitations, 248  
 educational concerns, 248–249  
 language use outside school, 249  
 social pressure, 249
- Macedonian/Albanian dual program, 245
- minority language monitoring, 245
- mother tongue education (nonstandard language), 501
- opposition, 245
- politics, 245
- rationale, 243
- South America, applied linguistics, 67
- submersion education, 243
- transitional models, 304–305
- two-way models, 304–305
- types, 243  
 null forms, 243  
 strong forms, 243, 246  
 weak forms, 243
- Bilingual Education Act (USA), 469
- Bilingualism, 413–419  
 acquired dyslexia, 78–79  
 children, 415  
 code mixing, 416  
 definition, 414  
 education programs, 417, 468  
 effect on L3 acquisition, 221  
 effect on language change, 455  
 Europe, applied linguistics, 53  
 metalinguistic awareness, 181  
 North America, applied linguistics, 62  
 Southeast Asia *see* Southeast Asia, applied linguistics  
*see also* Code mixing; Code switching; Interlanguage; L3 acquisition; Language acquisition device (LAD); Multilingualism; Second language acquisition
- Bimodal bilingualism, infancy, learning two languages, 149
- Black South African English (BSAfe), 33
- Bloomfield, Leonard, 8
- Boke named the Governour* (Elyot, Thomas), 398
- Borrowing  
 lingua francas, 483  
*see also* Loanword(s)
- Bourdieu, Pierre, 19, 505
- Bransford, J D, 181
- Brazil  
 applied linguistics, 69
- Brazilian Sign Language (BSL), 207t
- British American Scientific International Commercial English *see* Basic English
- British National Corpus (BNC)  
 idioms, 201  
 word use, 201
- British School  
 educational linguistics, 22
- British Sign Language (BSL), 206
- Broad transcriptions  
 Passy, Paul Édouard, 545
- Brown, Gillian, 531  
 fields of work  
 generative phonology, 531  
 publications, 531
- Brunei  
 bilingual education, 82–83  
 English language teaching (ELT), 87t
- Burma/Myanmar  
 English language teaching (ELT), 87t  
 languages, 84
- C**
- CA (conversation analysis) *see* Conversation analysis
- Cambodia  
 English language teaching (ELT), 87t
- Cambodian *see* Khmer (Cambodian)
- Cameroon  
 Language Committee, 32
- Canada  
 language education policies  
 bilingual education, 244  
 foreign language teaching policy, 445–446  
 language immersion, 418
- Canons of rhetoric *see* Rhetoric, classical
- Cardinal vowels  
 workers in  
 Passy, Paul Édouard, 545–546
- Casa Giocosa, da Feltre, Vittorino,  
 L2 teaching, 397
- Catalan, 465
- Catechetical schools, L2 teaching, 396
- Catford, John C., 532–533  
 fields of work  
 applied linguistics, 532  
 Caucasian languages, 532  
 dialects, 532  
 phonation types, 532  
 phonetics, 532  
 phonetic taxonomy, 532  
 Scots, 532  
 publications  
*Fundamental problems in phonetics*, 532  
*A practical introduction to phonetics*, 532
- Cathedral schools, L2 teaching, 396
- Caucasian languages  
 workers in  
 Catford, John C., 532
- 'The Center,' linguistic imperialism, 487
- Center for Applied Language and Literacy Studies and Services in Africa (CALLSSA), 35
- The Center for Applied Linguistics, 59
- Change, language *see* Language change
- Character sets  
 Unicode, 370  
*see also* Typography
- Character Simplification Scheme, Chinese, 47
- Children  
 bilingualism, 415  
 L3 acquisition, 221

- language acquisition, 413  
*see also* Language acquisition; Language development
- Children, language acquisition  
 mother tongue education (standard language), 518  
*see also* Language acquisition
- China  
 applied linguistics *see* China, applied linguistics  
 education policy *see* China, language education policy  
 language policy, 11
- China, applied linguistics, 45–51  
 Chinese, 47  
 Character Simplification Scheme, 47  
 machine translation, 47  
 proficiency tests, 47  
 Putonghua Shuiping Ceshi, 47  
 Yuyan Wenzhi Yingyong Yanjiusuo, 47  
 Zhongguo Wenzhi Gaige Weiyuanhui, 47  
 Zhuongguo Yuyan Xuehui, 47
- contemporary China, 46  
 Cultural Revolution, effect of, 45, 46  
 Deng Xiaopings 'Four Modernizations', 46, 48–49  
 ethnic groups, 45  
 Han Chinese, dialects, 45  
 historical background, 45  
 classical lexicography, 45  
 English teaching, 45–46  
 modern dialectology, 45  
 schools, establishment of, 45–46  
 Tongwen Guan, founding of, 45–46  
 treaty ports, 45–46
- languages, Putonga, 45, 47  
 minority languages, 47  
 dialectal variation, 45  
 endangered languages, 48  
 minority groups, 47  
 official policy, 47  
 modern linguistics, 46  
 domestic study, beginning of, 46  
 official language policy, 45  
 workers in  
 Fang Kuei Li, 46  
 Wang Li, 46  
 Yuen Ren Chao, 46
- China, language education policy  
 foreign language teaching, 48  
 Beijing Foreign language school, 48  
 Chinese English Language Education Association (CELEA), 49  
 English promotion, 48–49  
 Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press (FLTRP), 49  
 Guangdong University of Foreign Studies (GUFU), 49  
 International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language (IATEFL), 49  
 major journals, 49–50  
 phases, 48, 48*t*  
 Russian, 48  
 Soviet Union disintegration, 49  
 Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), 49  
 foreign language teaching policy, 444
- Chinese  
 applied linguistics *see* China, applied linguistics  
 aspect-marking suffixes, 176  
 lexicography  
 bilingual dictionaries, 113–114  
 Mandarin *see* Mandarin Chinese  
 use of  
 Southeast Asia, applied linguistics, 85
- Chinese English Language Education Association (CELEA), 49
- Chomsky, Noam, 420  
*see also* Formalism/formalist linguistics; Generative grammar; Philosophy of linguistics
- Christianity  
 L2 teaching, 395–396
- Classical rhetoric *see* Rhetoric, classical
- Classifiers  
 sign language acquisition, 207*t*, 209
- Classroom, role in language learning, 362
- Classroom discourse, research, 514
- Classroom observation in teacher education, 365
- Classroom talk, 251–253  
 analyses, 251  
 cultural practices, 252  
 functions, 252  
 history, 251  
 Initiation-Response-Feedback (IRF), 251  
 interactions, 251  
 L2 education, 252  
 language teaching, 252  
 observable sequences, 251  
 predictable sequences, 251  
 social practices, 252
- CLEF package, 262, 263*f*
- Close reading, 551
- CMC *see* Computer-mediated communication (CMC)
- CMSs *see* Course management systems
- Coady, J, 180
- Cobuild project, 155
- Code mixing  
 bilingualism, 416  
 lingua francas, 483
- Code switching  
 lingua francas, 483  
 as transgression *see* Sociolinguistics
- Cognates  
 L2 acquisition, 183  
 L2 vocabulary, 200
- Cognitive code approach (language teaching), 341
- Cognitive representation, lexicon *see* Lexicon
- Colonial languages, education, 283–286  
 colonization, 283  
 English, 283  
 educational language policy, 283  
 Africa, 283, 285  
 East Asia *see* East Asia  
 Indian subcontinent *see* India  
 individual academic effects, 284  
 political goals of ex-colonies, 283  
 development, 283  
 identity, 283  
 unity, 283
- Comenius, Johannes Amos  
 fields of work  
 L2 teaching, 398–399  
 publications  
*The Great Didactic*, 398–399
- COMENIUS program, 448–449
- Commercial uses, bilingual dictionaries, 120–121
- Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR), 53, 110–111, 373  
 "Common reference point", 496
- Communication  
 competence *see* Communicative competence  
 computer-mediated *see* Computer-mediated communication  
 strategies, L2 acquisition, 136  
 translation *see* Translation  
*see also* Discourse
- Communicative competence, 420–426  
 appropriateness, 420, 423, 424  
 definition, 254–255, 420, 421  
 ethnographic research, 421  
 identity construction, 425  
 L2 listening skills, 157–163  
 language revival education, 475  
 multilingualism, 73, 222  
 nonlinguistic domains, 423  
 socialization, 423  
 sociocultural context, 421, 425  
 speech communities, 422, 424  
 speech events, 422, 424  
 features, 422*t*  
*see also* Pedagogical grammars; Second language acquisition
- Communicative computer-assisted language learning (CALL), 262
- Communicative grammar of English (Quirk), 547
- Communicative language teaching (CLT), 254–260, 341  
 definition, 254  
 English language teaching and learning (ELT), 86  
 language revival education *see* Language revival, education  
*see also* Pedagogical grammars; Second language acquisition
- Community-based programs, endangered languages *see* Endangered languages, education
- Community languages  
 foreign language teaching policy, 444–445  
 of minorities *see* Minority languages
- Comparative corpora *see* Corpora
- Competence  
 transitional, 135  
*see also* Interlanguage  
*see also* Communicative competence; Sociocultural competence
- Complete local assimilation *see* Assimilation
- Compositionality, 233  
 process approach, 235
- A comprehensive grammar of English language (Quirk et al), 547
- Computational linguistics  
 artificial intelligence planning theory *see* Speech acts  
 South Asia, 77  
 speech acts *see* Speech acts
- Computer-aided assessment (CAA)  
 language learning, 268
- Computer-assisted language learning (CALL), 261–271, 367–374  
 authoring programs, 266, 267*f*  
 communicative, 262  
 computer-aided assessment (CAA), 268  
 definition, 261  
 early, 262, 263*f*  
 future, 268  
 history, 261, 262  
 intelligent (ICALL), 267  
 multimedia, 263, 264*f*, 265*f*, 266*f*  
 professional associations, 268  
 types, 261  
 Web-based, 264, 267*f*  
 whole class teaching, 268, 269*f*
- Computer-mediated communication (CMC)  
 use of language teaching, 368
- A concise grammar of contemporary English (Quirk), 547
- Concordancing programs, 369
- Conditional clauses  
 sign language acquisition, 207*t*, 208
- Conférence Internationale Permanente d'Instituts Universitaires de Traducteurs et d'Interprètes (CIUTI), translator education programs, 401
- Confessions (Augustine), 396
- Consecutive bilingualism, Europe, applied linguistics, 53
- Constructivism  
 translation pedagogy, 403
- Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), 52–53
- Context  
 discourse, L2 listening skills, 160
- Contrastive rhetoric, 235
- Contribuciones a la linguistics aplicada en América Latina, 68
- Controlled composition, 234
- Conversation analysis, 214–215  
 context approaches, 425
- Corder, S P, 135
- Core idioms, L2 vocabulary, 201
- Corpora  
 annotation *see* Corpus linguistics  
 bilingual dictionaries, 115  
 idioms *see* Idiom(s)  
 linguistic analysis *see* Corpus linguistics  
 monolingual learners' dictionary (MLD), 155  
 studies, 12  
 definition, 194

- Corpora (*continued*)  
 L2, 194–195  
 lingua francas, 485  
 use of language teaching, 216, 369  
*see also* Computational lexicons; Corpus linguistics
- Corpus linguistics  
 North America, applied linguistics, 64  
*see also* Corpora
- Costa Rica  
 education policy, language testing, 258
- Council of Europe  
 foreign language teaching policy, 447, 448
- Council of Trent  
 L2 teaching, 398
- A course in modern linguistics (Hill), 539
- Course management systems, 369
- Craft model of professional education, 360, 360*f*
- Cratylus *see* Plato
- Creativity  
 multilingualism, 526  
*see also* Compositionality
- Creoles  
 workers in  
 Hall, Robert A Jr, 537  
*see also* Pidgins
- Critical applied linguistics, 12, 14–21  
 definition, 17–18  
 domains, 15*t*  
 language policy, 326  
 political aspects, 18  
 theory, 326  
*see also* Applied linguistics; Language policy/planning; Linguistic imperialism; Politics; Sociolinguistic identity
- Critical discourse analysis (CDA)  
 applied linguistics, North America, 64  
 context approaches, 425  
 definition, 14  
*see also* Discourse analysis; Politics
- Critical Language Series CD-ROM, 264, 266*f*
- Critical language teaching  
 adults, 330  
 definition, 16–17  
*see also* Language teaching
- Critical language testing, 110–111
- Critical literacy  
 Critical literacy, 14  
*see also* Literacy
- Critical pedagogy *see* Critical language teaching
- Critical Period Hypothesis (language acquisition), 413
- Critical Period Hypothesis (of language acquisition)  
 L2 acquisition, 227
- Critical sociolinguistics  
 Critical sociolinguistics, 16  
*see also* Sociolinguistics
- Critical translation studies  
 Critical translation studies, 14  
*see also* Translation
- Cross-associations, L2 vocabulary, 203
- Crosslinguistics influence  
 attrition, 188  
 L3 acquisition, 222
- Crosslinguistic studies/variation  
 acquired language disorders, South Asia, 78–79  
 sign language acquisition, 206, 207*t*, 209
- Cross-national studies, minority languages, 384
- Cultural Revolution, China, 45, 46
- Culture  
 classroom talk, 252
- Culture-dependent domains, definition, 146–147
- Culture-independent domains,  
 definition, 146–147
- Cummins, J, 180
- Current trends in linguistics, 67
- Curriculum (language teaching)  
 development, 258, 341–349, 347*f*  
 definition, 341  
 philosophy, 342  
*see also* Communicative language teaching; Language education; Language teaching
- evaluation, special purposes language teaching (LSP), 322
- language revival education, 475
- language teaching, 256, 257
- syllabuses, 342
- D**
- DA (discourse analysis) *see* Discourse analysis
- Danish Sign Language (DSL)  
 acquisition, 206
- Data-Driven Learning (DDL), 263
- Defining vocabulary, monolingual learners' dictionary (MLD), 154
- Degree programs, 24
- De Interpretatione *see* Aristotle
- Democratization, Internet impact  
*see* Internet
- Derivational morphology  
 definition, 96  
 L2 acquisition, 96
- Descriptive grammar  
 definition, 547–548
- Designated languages *see* Official languages
- Design of documents, 147–148
- Development of language *see* Language development
- Dialect(s)  
 language *vs.*  
 workers in  
 Catford, John C, 532  
*see also* Variation
- Dialectology  
 workers in  
 Smith, Henry Lee, 553–554
- Dickens, Charles  
 Quirk, Charles Randolph, 547
- Dictionaries  
 bilingual *see* Bilingual dictionaries  
 dialect *see* Dialect(s)  
 Indian languages, 78  
 learners' *see* Monolingual learners' dictionary (MLD)  
 machine readable  
*see* Computational lexicons
- Differential substitution, 93
- Diglossia, 481
- Diglossia* (Ferguson), 534
- Direct approach (language teaching), 341, 417
- Discourse  
 communities  
 special purposes language teaching (LSP), 320  
*see also* Speech communities
- domain  
 classroom discourse, 514  
 interlanguage, 138  
*see also* Technical languages
- teaching, culture in, 278  
*see also* Narrative
- Discourse analysis  
 critical discourse analysis *see* Critical discourse analysis (CDA)  
 interpretive methods application *see*  
 Interactional sociolinguistics (IS)
- L2, 196–199
- L2 speaking, 215
- specialist languages, 145  
*see also* Communicative competence; Conversation analysis; Critical discourse analysis; Sociolinguistic identity
- Discriminators, bilingual dictionaries, 117
- Distance learning  
 languages, 369
- Diversity, 467
- endangered languages, 456
- Document(s)  
 design, 147–148
- Domain(s)  
 analysis, 106–107  
 modeling, 107
- Dominant language *see* Lingua francas
- Donatus, Aelius  
 fields of work  
 Latin grammars, 395  
 publications, *Ars minor*, 395
- Dual System Hypothesis (L2 acquisition), 415–416
- E**
- East Asia  
 language education policies, 284  
 Bahasa Indonesia, 284  
 Bahasa Malaysia, 284  
 English, 284  
 Filipino, 284  
 French, 284  
 Khmer, 284  
 Lao, 284  
 Mandarin Chinese, 284
- East Timor  
 language planning initiatives, 43
- Ecole Supérieure d'Interprètes et de Traducteurs (ESIT)  
 translator education programs, 401
- Education  
 Africa *see* Africa  
 Canada *see* Canada  
 China *see* China, language education policy  
 computer-assisted learning, 261–271  
 endangered languages *see* Endangered languages, education  
 foreign languages *see* Foreign language teaching  
 immigrants/migrants *see* Immigrant language education  
 language policy, 461–473, 481  
 definition, 462  
 South Asia, 74  
 language revival *see* Language revival, education  
 languages *see* Language education  
 Latin America *see* Latin America  
 learning disabilities, South Asia, 78–79  
 linguistic imperialism, 488  
 multilingualism in schools, 388  
 North America, applied linguistics, 62  
 role of English, 466  
 South Asia, 74  
 sign language as L2, 150  
 tertiary *see* Tertiary education  
 translation pedagogy, 403  
 USA *see* USA  
 workers in  
 Richards, Ivor Armstrong, 552  
 Smith, Henry Lee, 553, 554  
*see also* Language education; Schools; Teaching
- Education, multilingual society, 493–495
- bilingual programs *see* Bilingual education
- categorizing education, 493  
 Type I programs, 493–494  
 Type II programs, 494  
 Type III programs, 494  
 Type IV programs, 494  
 Type V programs, 494  
 global multilingualism, 493  
 societal multilingualism, 493
- Educational concerns, bilingual education, 248–249
- Educational grammars *see* Pedagogical grammars
- Educational linguistics, 22–27  
 American school, 22  
 Australian school, 22, 24  
 British School, 22  
 connection with other disciplines, 23  
 defining characteristics, 23  
 emergence, 22  
 future directions, 25  
 inter to transdisciplinary, 23  
 differences, 24  
 professional activities, 24

- degree programs, 24  
publications, 24  
workers in  
Halliday, Michael A K, 23  
Spolsky, Bernard, 22  
Education in a Multilingual World (UNESCO, 2003), 500  
EFL *see* English as a foreign language (EFL)  
E-language (externalized), 496  
*see also* Native speakers  
ELT professionals *see* English language teachers  
Elyot, Thomas, *Boke named the Governour*, 398  
Embodiment  
critical applied linguistics, 19  
*Émile* (Rousseau), 399  
Emilian *see* Italian  
Endangered languages, 456  
education *see* Endangered languages, education  
Endangered languages, education, 123–125  
community-based programs, 124  
Maori communities, 124  
master-apprentice program, 124  
potential difficulties, 125  
school-based programs, 123  
language nest model, 123  
partial-immersion programs, 123–124  
total-immersion programs, 123  
English  
accents, diversity of, 157–158  
African American *see* African-American English (AAE)  
American *see* American English  
bilingual education *see* Bilingual education  
change, 173  
EAP (English for Academic Purposes), 146–147  
political aspects, 328  
writing, 236  
education policies  
East Asia, 284  
Indian subcontinent, 284  
Europe, applied linguistics, 54  
European Union, 53–54  
as a foreign language *see* English as a foreign language (EFL), teaching  
foreign language teaching policy, 443–444  
grammar  
Quirk, Charles Randolph, 547  
survey of, 547  
grammars, 547  
immigrant language education, 132–133  
internet, 459, 466  
lexicography  
Hornby, Albert Sydney, 540  
linguistic imperialism, 14–16, 488  
minority language education, USA, 302–303  
sentence pattern, 540  
spelling *see* Spelling, English  
spread, 521  
stratification, 521  
Survey of English Usage (1959), 547  
Quirk, Charles Randolph's foundation  
of, 547  
teaching, 540, 547, 552  
Basic English, 552  
culture in, 278  
Hornby course, 540  
as a second and/or foreign language  
*see* English as a foreign language (EFL),  
teaching  
tertiary education, 300  
textbook, 540  
use of, 547  
African education, 285  
education, 466  
Papua New Guinea, 39–40  
South Asia, 74  
Southeast Asia, applied linguistics, 82, 84, 85  
Survey of English Usage (1959), 547  
workers in  
Fries, Charles Carpenter, 536  
Hornby, Albert Sydney, 540  
Ogden, Charles Kay, 552  
Quirk, Charles Randolph, 547  
Richards, Ivor Armstrong, 552  
*see also* Languages of wider communication;  
World Englishes  
English, Modern  
workers in  
Quirk, Charles Randolph, 547  
English, nonnative  
teachers, 307–314  
English as a foreign language (EFL)  
Basic English, 552  
teaching, 423, 552  
audiovisual media resources, 552  
Basic English, 552  
grammatical works, 548  
workers in  
Gibson, Christine M's work, 552  
Ogden, Charles Kay, 552  
Richards, Ivor Armstrong, 552  
English as an additional language (EAL), literacy  
in Australasia and the Pacific, 38–39  
English as a second language (ESL)  
literacy in Australasia and the Pacific, 38–39  
English for Academic purposes, North America,  
applied linguistics, 62  
Englishization, 523  
English language teachers  
nonnative speakers, 308  
professional development, 310  
*see also* Teaching English to Speakers of Other  
Languages (TESOL)  
English language teaching (ELT), Southeast Asia  
*see* Southeast Asia, applied linguistics  
English language teaching (Hornby), 540  
English morphophonics: implications for the  
teaching of literacy (Smith), 553–554  
Equivalence-to-action shift, translation  
pedagogy, 402–403  
Erasmus  
L2 teaching, 397  
publications, *On the right method of  
instruction*, 397  
Error(s)  
analysis, L2 acquisition, 134–135  
ESF project, Europe, applied linguistics, 55, 56  
Esperanto  
foreign language teaching policy, 449  
The ESP Journal, 59–60  
Estonia  
language planning and policy, 52  
Ethnicity  
China, applied linguistics, 45  
Ethnography  
L2 acquisition, 512  
Ethnography of communication (EC), 421  
*see also* Interactional sociolinguistics (IS)  
Europe, applied linguistics, 52–58  
Common European Framework of Reference  
(CEFR), 53  
European Union *see* European Union  
foreign languages, 53  
bilingualism, 53  
consecutive bilingualism, 53  
European Union policy, 53  
simultaneous bilingualism, 53  
future developments, 57  
language attrition, 56  
language planning and policy, 52  
Estonia, 52  
Russia, 52  
war divisions, 52  
psycholinguistic aspects of multilingualism, 56  
Chomskyan generative framework, 56  
ESF project, 56  
EUROSLA, 56  
L2 acquisition, 56  
sociolinguistic aspects of multilingualism  
bilingualism to multilingualism, 55  
English, 54  
ESF project, 55  
European Union inhabitants, foreign  
language knowledge, 54, 54*t*  
French, 54  
German, 55  
Germany, 55  
impact of national languages, 55–56  
L2 acquisition, 55  
language contact, 55  
maintenance and loss of minority  
languages, 55  
migration, 55–56  
multiethnic cities, 55  
regionalization, 56  
youth language, 55  
European Bureau for Lesser-used Languages,  
Europe, applied linguistics, 56  
European Charter for Regional and Minority  
Languages (1992), 465  
Europe, applied linguistics, 56  
European Union (EU), 52  
choice of languages, 53  
autochthonous languages, 53–54  
English, 53–54  
official national languages, 53–54  
Content and Language Integrated Learning  
(CLIL), 52–53  
Europe, applied linguistics, 52  
European Economic Community (EEC), 52  
foreign language learning policy, 53  
foreign language teaching policy, 448–449  
International E-mail Tandem  
Network, 256–257  
language policy, 10–11, 385, 388, 464  
minority language education, 303  
EUROSLA, 56  
Evaluation  
curriculum development, 346  
teacher education programs, 363  
Evidence-centred design (assessment), 106, 106*f*  
Existential processes, transitivity *see* Transitivity  
Experiential learning, teacher education, 363  
Experimental learning, teacher education, 363
- ## F
- Facial adverbials, acquisition, 207–208, 207*t*  
Facial expressions  
sign languages, 207–208, 209  
False cognates  
L2 vocabulary, 200  
Fang Kuei Li, 46  
Fascinated by languages (Nida), 542  
Ferguson, Charles A, 534–535  
fields of work  
applied linguistics, 534  
language change and development, 534  
language universals, 534  
sociolinguistics, 534  
Filipino  
language education policies, 284  
Philippines, 304–305  
Southeast Asia, applied linguistics, 82–83, 84  
Fishman, Joshua A  
publications  
*Post-Imperial English: Status Change in  
Former British Colonies*, 488  
Florentine *see* Italian  
Ford Foundation, 59  
Foreign language(s)  
Europe, applied linguistics, 53  
L3 acquisition, 222  
teaching *see* Foreign language teaching  
Foreign language teaching  
China *see* China, applied linguistics  
continental Europe, 447  
age of introduction, 448  
choice of language, 448  
Council of Europe, 448  
education programs, 448–449  
European Union, 448–449  
learning objectives, 448  
multilingualism, 447  
ranking language skill, 448  
culture in, 280  
definition, 443  
domestic *vs.* foreign languages, 443  
English-speaking countries, 444  
American Council on the Teaching of Foreign  
Languages (ACTFL), 446



Foreign language teaching (*continued*)

- Australia, 446
  - Canada, 445–446
  - community languages, 444–445
  - Council of Europe, 447
  - educational systems, 445
  - Gaelic, 444–445
  - Ireland, 447
  - Irish, 444–445
  - Limited English Proficiency (LEP), 444–445
  - Maori, 444–445
  - National Asian Languages and Studies in Australian Schools (NALSAS), 445
  - policy making, 445
  - United Kingdom, 446
  - USA, 445, 446
  - Welsh, 444–445
  - Western Canada, 445
  - future developments, 449
  - Esperanto use, 449
  - linguistic context, 443
  - methodology, 552
  - non-European linguistically homogenous countries, 444
    - China, 444
    - English, 444
    - Israel, 444
    - Japan, 444
    - Modern Hebrew, 444
    - Modern Standard Arabic, 444
    - Putonghua, 444
    - Southeast Asian countries, 444
  - North America, applied linguistics, 62
  - numerous domestic languages, 443
    - English, 443–444
    - French, 443–444
  - policy decisions, 443
  - workers in
    - Richards, Ivor Armstrong, 552
    - Smith, Henry Lee, 553, 554
  - see also* Second language teaching
- Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press (FLTRP), 49
- Form *see* Logical form
- Fossilization (L2 acquisition), 135, 137, 138
- The foundations of aesthetics* (Richards et al), 551
- 'Four Modernizations,' China, applied linguistics, 46, 48–49
- Frameworks
  - bilingual dictionaries, 116
- Frankfurt school, critical theory, 326
- French
  - Europe, applied linguistics, 54
  - language education policies
    - Africa, 283–284
    - East Asia, 284
    - foreign language teaching policy, 443–444
  - orthography, 546
  - teaching
    - culture in, 278
  - use of
    - Southeast Asia, applied linguistics, 82, 84
  - workers in
    - Passy, Paul Édouard, 546- see also* Lingua francas

French Sign Language (FSL)
 
  - acquisition, 206

Fries, Charles C
 
  - co-workers and associated workers
    - Lado, Robert, 541

Fries, Charles Carpenter, 7–8, 536
 
  - early life, 536
  - fields of work, 536
    - American descriptive linguistics, 536
    - applied linguistics, 536
    - English linguistics, 536

Frozen lexicon, sign language as L2, 150

Full access theories, L2 acquisition, 226

'Full-sentence' defining, monolingual learners' dictionary (MLD), 154

Fundamental problems in phonetics (Catford), 532

**G**

- Gaelic
  - language policy, 444–445
- Galileo, 397–398
- Gender identity
  - Gender identity, 19, 507
  - see also* Identity
- Generative phonology
  - workers in
    - Brown, Gillian, 531
- German
  - applied linguistics, 55
- Germany
  - applied linguistics, 55
- Gibson, Christine, M
  - co-workers and associated workers
    - Richards, Ivor Armstrong, 552
  - fields of work
    - teaching English as a foreign language
      - work, 552
    - teaching English as a foreign language, 552
- Gill, H S, 76–77
- Globalization, 454
- Grammar
  - definition, 547
  - descriptive *see* Descriptive grammar
  - history of
    - ancient world, 6
  - L2 teaching, 172
    - see also* Pedagogical grammars
  - nonnative English *see* English, nonnative
  - pedagogical *see* Pedagogical grammar
  - rules, L2 teaching, 173
  - transformational *see* Transformational Grammar
  - universal grammar *see* Universal grammar
  - workers in
    - Hall, Robert A Jr, 537
    - see also* Universal Grammar
- Grammarians
  - Quirk, Charles Randolph, 547
- A grammar of contemporary English (Quirk), 547
- Grammar-translation approach (language teaching), 341, 417
- Grammatical knowledge, sign language as L2, 151
- Grammatical subdivisions, bilingual dictionaries, 117
- Graphomorphemic segmentation, English spelling
  - see* Spelling, English
- Graphophonemic segmentation, English spelling
  - see* Spelling, English
- Graphs, workers in, Smith, Henry Lee, 553, 554
- Great Britain *see* United Kingdom (UK)
- The Great Didactic* (Comenius, Johannes), 398–399
- Greek, Ancient
  - bilingual dictionaries, 113
- Greenbaum, Sidney
  - co-workers and associated workers
    - Quirk, Charles Randolph, 547
  - fields of work
    - English grammar, 547
- Guangdong University of Foreign Studies (GUFS), 49
- A guide to patterns and usage in English (Hornby), 540
- Guoyu *see* Putonghua

**H**

- Hall, Robert A Jr, 537–538
  - criticism of Chomsky, Noam, 537
  - fields of work
    - American structuralism, 537
    - Creole languages, 537
    - grammar, 537
    - language change, 537–538
    - linguistics, 537
    - pidgin languages, 537
    - Proto-Romance reconstruction, 537
    - semantics, 537–538
    - publications, 537–538

- Halliday, Michael A K
  - fields of work
    - educational linguistics, 23
    - transitivity *see* Transitivity
- Handbook of second language acquisition (Doughty and Long), 61
- Harmonia didactica* (Wolfgang), 550
- Harmonia linguarum* (Wolfgang), 550
- Hawaiian
  - revival of
    - language nest model of education, 123
- Headwords, bilingual dictionaries, 116
- Hebrew
  - lexicography
    - bilingual dictionaries, 114
- Hebrew, Modern
  - foreign language teaching policy, 444
- Heritage, teaching, culture in, 281
- Hill, Archibald A, 539
  - fields of work, 539
  - structuralism, 539
- Linguistic Society of America, 539
  - publications, 539
    - A course in modern linguistics*, 539
    - Introduction to linguistic structures: from sound to sentence in English*, 539
    - Methods in structural linguistics*, 539
- Hindi
  - language education policies
    - Indian subcontinent, 284
  - passive constructions, 173
- Hong Kong, education policy, 258
- Hornby, Albert Sydney, 540
  - co-workers and associated workers
    - Palmer, Harold E, 540
  - early life, 540
  - English language teaching*, founding editor of, 540
  - fields of work
    - English dictionary, 540
    - English language teaching, 540
    - English language textbook, 540
    - sentence pattern, 540
    - teaching, 540
    - final years, 540
    - 'Hornby course', 540
    - The Hornby Educational Trust*, 540
    - publications, 540
  - Hornby course, 540
  - The Hornby Educational Trust, 540
  - Huayu *see* Putonghua
- Humanism
  - teaching, culture in, 276–277
- Humanities
  - tertiary education, 300
- Human language technology(ies) (HLT), 268

**I**

- Icelandic, Old
  - workers in, Quirk, Charles Randolph, 547
- Identifiable morphemes, in isolating language *see* Chinese
- Identity
  - construction
    - communicative competence and, 425
    - L2 acquisition, 507
    - see also* Gender identity; Sociolinguistic identity
  - Identity (sociolinguistics) *see* Sociolinguistic identity
  - Idiom(s)
    - bilingual dictionaries, 117
    - L2 vocabulary *see* Second language vocabulary
  - Idiomatic and Syntactic English Dictionary (Hornby et al), 540
  - Ignatius of Loyola, 398
  - Imagined communities (L2 acquisition), 507
  - Immersion education, bilingual education *see* Bilingual education
  - Immigrant(s)/immigration
    - L3 acquisition, 219
    - language education *see* Immigrant language education
    - language proficiency, assessment, 132

- Immigrant language education, 130–133  
 assimilation  
 definition, 130  
 pluralism *vs.*, 130  
 bilingual education, 131  
 English, 132–133  
 L2 acquisition, 132  
 language as a right, resource or  
 problem, 130  
 majority languages, 131  
 minority languages, 131  
 negative shift in appreciation, 132  
 pluralism  
 assimilation *vs.*, 130  
 definition, 130  
 proficiency tests, 132  
 public opinion, 130  
 state ideologies, 131  
 assimilation, 131  
 civic, 131  
 ethnicist, 131  
 pluralist, 131  
 workers in, Baker, C, 130–131
- Indefinite articles  
 English, 173
- India  
 applied linguistics, 72  
 language education policies, 75, 284  
 Bengali, 284  
 English, 284  
 Hindi, 284  
 Sinhala, 284  
 three-language formula, 74,  
 417–418, 467–468  
 Urdu, 284  
 language policy, 72, 73, 462–463
- Indian English  
 lexical innovation, 497  
 morphology, 497  
 non-native variety, 498
- Indian languages  
 use of  
 Southeast Asia, applied  
 linguistics, 82
- Indonesia  
 English language teaching (ELT), 87*t*
- Indonesian (Bahasa Indonesia)  
 use of  
 Southeast Asia, applied linguistics, 83
- Inference  
 L2 listening skills, 159
- Inflection  
 morphology  
 definition, 95  
 in inflecting language *see* Arabic  
 L2 acquisition, 95
- Information  
 gathering, curriculum development, 343  
 “Information superhighway” *see* Internet  
 Information technology, 372  
 use of language teaching, 367–374
- Initiation-Response-Feedback (IRF), classroom  
 talk, 251
- In-service teacher training,  
 L2 teaching, 312
- Institutiones grammaticae* (Priscianus  
 Caesariensis), 395
- Institutio Oratoria* (Quintilian), 395
- Institut Supérieur d’Interprétation et de  
 Traduction (ISIT), 401
- Instructed language acquisition, language  
 revival education *see* Language revival,  
 education
- Integrative approach, translation  
 pedagogy, 402
- Intelligence planning theory, artificial, speech acts  
*see* Speech acts
- Intelligence technology (IT), translation  
 pedagogy, 403
- Intelligent computer-assisted language learning  
 (ICALL), 267
- Interaction  
 classroom talk, 251
- Interactional sociolinguistics (IS), 216
- Intercultural discourse analysis, specialist  
 languages, 146–147
- Interdisciplinary  
 applied linguistics, 4
- Interference, L2 vocabulary *see* Second language  
 vocabulary
- Interlanguage, 134–139  
 definition, 134, 135  
 Interlanguage Hypothesis, 134, 137  
 research methodology, 136  
 Revised Interlanguage Hypothesis, 137  
*see also* Competence; Second language  
 acquisition
- Inter-language differences *see* Crosslinguistic  
 studies/variation
- International Association of Teachers of English as  
 a Foreign Language (IATEFL), 49
- International communication, lingua francas, 484
- International E-Mail Tandem Network, 256–257
- International English Language Testing System  
 (IELTS), 42
- International languages, 456  
 functions, 458  
*see also* Languages of wider communication;  
 Lingua francas
- International Phonetic Association  
 foundation  
 Passy, Paul Édouard, 545
- Internet  
 languages  
 English, 459, 466  
 use of language teaching, 368  
*see also* World Wide Web
- Interpretable forms, L2 acquisition,  
 227–228, 228–229
- Interpretation  
 speech acts, L2 listening skills, 159  
*see also* Translation
- Interpretation in teaching (Richards), 551–552
- Intransitive verbs *see* Verb(s)
- Introduction to linguistic structures: from sound  
 to sentence in English (Hill), 539
- Investment (L2 acquisition), 197, 506
- Ireland, Republic of  
 foreign language teaching policy, 447
- Irish  
 foreign language teaching policy, 444–445
- IS (interactional sociolinguistics) *see* Interactional  
 sociolinguistics
- Israel  
 foreign language teaching policy, 444
- Italian  
 use of  
 mother tongue education, 518
- Italian Sign Language (LIS)  
 acquisition, 206, 207*t*
- Iztapalapa*, 67–68
- J**
- Japan  
 education policy, 257  
 foreign language teaching policy, 444
- Japanese  
 dictionaries  
 bilingual dictionaries, 114
- Japanese Sign Language (JSL)  
 acquisition, 206, 207*t*
- Japan Exchange and Teaching Program, 257
- Jargon, 144–148
- Jerome, Saint  
 medieval age education, 396
- Jespersen, Otto  
 co-workers and associated workers  
 Viëtor, Wilhelm, 556
- Jesuits  
 L2 teaching, 398
- JET Program, 257
- Job opportunities, South America, applied  
 linguistics, 69–70
- Jones, Daniel  
 co-workers and associated workers  
 Palmer, Harold Edward, 544
- K**
- Kachru, B B, 307
- Kelkar, A R, 77
- Khmer (Cambodian)  
 language education policies, East Asia, 284  
 use of  
 Southeast Asia, applied linguistics, 82–83
- Kupwar, languages, 75–76
- Kura Kaupapa Maori movement, 40
- L**
- L3 acquisition, 219–224  
 children, 221  
 crosslinguistic influence, 222  
 effect of bilingualism, 221  
 foreign language effect, 222  
 language mixing, 221  
 metalinguistic awareness, 220  
 psycholinguistic processes, 220
- L3 teaching, 221–222
- LAD *see* Language acquisition device (LAD)
- Lado, Robert, 541  
 fields of work  
 American descriptivism, 541  
 Bloomfieldian behaviorism, 541  
 Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis, 541  
 Oral Approach, 541  
 pedagogical, 541
- Fries, Charles C, association with, 541  
 publications, *Linguistics across cultures*, 541
- Language acquisition  
 bilingualism *see* Bilingualism  
 Critical Period Hypothesis, 413  
 crosslinguistic differences *see* Crosslinguistic  
 studies/variation  
 definition, 413  
 multilingual societies, 84  
 phonological *see* Phonological development  
 research, 75  
 secondary *see* Second language acquisition  
 sign languages *see* Sign language acquisition  
 Language Acquisition Device (LAD), 135, 413  
 phonology, 94–95  
*see also* Universal Grammar (UG)
- Language Augmentation Hypothesis  
 (bilingualism), 416
- Language change  
 bilingualism, effect of, 455  
 internet *see* Internet  
 South Asia, 75  
 variation *see* Variation
- workers in  
 Ferguson, Charles A, 534  
 Hall, Robert A Jr, 537–538
- Language contact  
 Europe, applied linguistics, 55
- Language courses, definition, 173
- Language cultivation *see* Language policy/  
 planning
- Language development  
 workers in  
 Ferguson, Charles A, 534  
*see also* Language acquisition
- Language diffusion *see* Language spread
- Language disorders/impairment  
 South Asia, 78  
*see also* Language system
- Language dispersal *see* Language spread
- Language education  
 bilingual programs, 417  
 computer-assisted *see* Computer-assisted  
 language learning (CALL)  
 correctness and purism, 427–433  
 appropriateness model of variation, 428  
 definition, 427  
 multilingualism, 431  
 policy *vs.* practice, 432  
 spoken language, 430  
 standard variety, 429  
 written language, 430  
 current trends, 372

- Language education (*continued*)  
 curriculum development, 258, 341–349, 347*f*  
 definition, 341  
 policy, South Asia, 74  
 standards, 373  
 types of trilingual education, 220  
*see also* Education; Language teaching
- Language expansion *see* Language spread
- Language knowledge, variation *see* Variation
- Language laboratories, on-line, 369
- Language Learning: A journal of Applied Linguistics, 59
- Language management *see* Language policy/planning
- Language mapping, internal/external, 496
- Language mixing  
 bilinguals, 416  
 L3 acquisition, 221
- Language nest model, endangered languages, 123
- Language policy/planning, 14–16, 324, 458, 461–473, 481  
 assimilation, 463  
 critical applied linguistics, 326  
 definition, 462  
 East Timor, 43  
 European Union, 385, 464  
 expansion *see* Language spread  
 India, 72, 73, 462–463  
 L2 teaching, standards, 373  
 minority languages, 463  
 Mozambique, 325  
 official languages, 462  
 Pakistan, 73  
 priority languages, 389  
 South Asia, 73  
 USA, 110–111, 463  
*see also* Bilingualism; Critical language testing; Linguistic human rights; Multilingualism
- Language processing  
 special purposes language teaching (LSP), 320
- Language revitalization, bilingual education, 246
- Language revival  
 definition, 474  
 education *see* Language revival, education
- Language revival, education, 474–478  
 communicative competence, 475  
 communicative language teaching, 475  
 lack of materials, 475  
 lack of native speakers, 475  
 learning problems, 476  
 curriculum, 475  
 differing contexts, 475  
 importance of education, 474  
 instructed language acquisition, 477  
 classroom usage, 477  
 processes, 477  
 pedagogy, 475  
 differing expectations, 476  
 Quechua, 475  
 schools and revival efforts, 474  
 value of schools, 474  
 success measurements, 476–477
- Language shift, 481  
 language change *see* Language change  
 Pakistan, 73
- Languages in contact* (Weinrich, U), 55
- Languages of wider communication, 12, 454–460  
 definition, 454  
 EAP (English for Academic Purposes), 144  
 English, 196, 219, 256  
 functions, 74, 75*t*, 460  
 lingua francas, 479–486, 479*t*, 480*t*  
 definition, 479  
 Nagamese, 75–76  
 political aspects, 327  
 sociolinguistic identity, 460  
 South Asia, 74  
*see also* Bilingualism; L3 acquisition; Multilingualism; Second language acquisition; World Englishes
- Language-specific parsing, 230–231
- Language spread  
 English, 521
- Language teaching  
 audiolingual approach, 341  
 classroom talk, 252  
 cognitive code approach, 341  
 controlled composition, 234  
 culture in *see* Language teaching, culture in  
 curriculum, 256, 257  
 direct approach, 341  
 evaluation, special purposes language teaching (LSP), 322  
 grammar, 7–8  
 grammar-translation approach, 341  
 history, 359*t*  
 immersion programs, 137, 418, 469  
 languages for special purposes *see* Special purposes language teaching (LSP)  
 minority languages, 383–391  
 definition, 383  
 nonnative speaker teachers, 307–314  
 pedagogical grammars, 172–178  
 politics of, 324–332  
 South Asia, 75  
 teacher education  
 applied science model, 360, 361*f*  
 classroom observation, 365  
 communicative language teaching, 257  
 craft model, 360, 360*f*  
 evaluation, 363  
 L2 teaching, 310, 358–366, 372  
 minority languages, 387  
 practicum, 364  
 reflective model, 361, 361*f*  
 research component, 364  
*see also* Curriculum; Language teaching;  
 Second language teaching  
 technological aids, 367–374  
 Threshold Level of language ability, 254  
 transitional bilingual programs, 469  
 workers in  
 Richards, Ivor Armstrong, 552  
*see also* Applied linguistics; Communicative language teaching; Critical language teaching; L3 teaching; Language acquisition; Language education; Second language teaching
- Language teaching, culture in, 276–282  
 concept of culture, 276  
 modernist perspective, 276  
 humanist concept, 276–277  
 intercultural education, 277  
 sociolinguistic concept, 277  
 new integration, 279  
 foreign languages, 280  
 heritage, 281  
 historicity and subjectivity, 281  
 L2s, 281  
 post-modernist perspective, 278  
 discourse, 278  
 English, 278  
 French, 278  
 identity, 278  
 moral rights, 279
- Language testing  
 L2, 105–112  
*see also* Critical language testing
- Language transfer, 134, 135–136, 137, 138–139, 416  
 cognates, 183  
 lexicon, 182  
 lingua francas, 483  
 literacy, 180  
 phonology, 93, 93*t*  
 syntax, 182
- Language treatment *see* Language policy/planning
- Lao  
 language education policies, 284  
 Lao PDR, English language teaching (ELT), 87*t*
- Laotian, 82–83  
 ‘Last in, first out’ model *see* Regression Hypothesis (L2 attrition)
- Latin America  
 language education policies  
 bilingual intercultural models, 304–305  
 minority language education, 302–303
- Lave, Jean, 505–506
- Learner-centered approach *see* Special purposes language teaching (LSP)
- Learners’ dictionaries *see* Monolingual learners’ dictionary (MLD)
- A learner’s dictionary of current English (Hornby), 540
- Learning disabilities, 78
- Learning environment  
 classroom discourse, 514  
 home literacy, 184  
 L2 acquisition, 414  
 lingua francas, 482  
 writing, 236
- Leave your language alone! (Hall), 538
- Leech, Geoffrey N  
 co-workers and associated workers  
 Quirk, Charles Randolph, 547  
 fields of work  
 English grammar, 547
- LEONARDO DA VINCI program, 448–449
- Lesser used languages *see* Minority languages
- Lesser-used languages *see* Minority languages
- Lexicalism, morphology *see* Morphology
- Lexical resources *see* Dictionaries
- Lexicon  
 attrition, 189–190  
*see also* Dictionaries; Word(s)
- LIFO model *see* Regression Hypothesis (L2 attrition)
- Ligurian *see* Italian
- Limited English Proficiency (LEP)  
 foreign language teaching policy, 444–445
- Lingua francas, 479–486, 479*t*, 480*t*  
 Afrikaans, 480–481  
 Arabic, 480  
 Chinese, 480  
 definition, 479  
 English, 388–389, 481, 485  
 French, 480  
 L2 teaching, 485  
 nativization, 483  
 Russian, 480  
 Spanish, 479  
*see also* Languages of wider communication
- LINGUA program, 448–449
- A linguistic approach to English (Smith), 554
- Linguistic communities  
 cultural norms, 175  
 World Englishes, 522
- Linguistic competence  
 Linguistic competence, 420  
*see also* Communicative competence
- Linguistic creativity  
 multilingualism, 526
- Linguistic diversity, 467  
 endangered languages, 456  
*see also* Variation
- Linguistic grammars, definition, 172
- Linguistic human rights (LHRs), 327, 417–418, 461, 467  
 USA, 470
- Linguistic imperialism, 14–16, 327, 481, 487–489  
 definition, 487  
 educational opportunities, 488  
 English, role of, 488  
 mechanisms, 487–488  
 political independence, 487  
 ‘the Center’, 487  
 ‘the Periphery’, 487
- Linguistic minorities, 324, 463  
 L3 acquisition, 219  
 language rights, 417–418, 461, 467  
*see also* Minority languages
- The linguistic readers* (Smith et al.), 554
- Linguistics across cultures (Lado), 541
- Linguistics and your language (Hall), 538
- Linguistic Society of America (LSA)  
 Hill, Archibald A., 539
- Linguistic Society of India, 72
- Linguistic universals *see* Universals
- Listening comprehension *see* Listening skills
- Listening skills  
 L2, 157–163  
*see also* Second language acquisition

- Literacy  
 influence of home environment, 184  
 influence on L2 acquisition, 507  
 promotion of, 552  
 workers in  
   Richards, Ivor Armstrong, 551, 552  
   Smith, Henry Lee, 553–554  
*see also* Critical literacy; Second language literacy; Writing/written language
- Literature  
 stylistics, South Asia, 76  
 World Englishes, 526  
*see also* Style; Stylistics
- Loanword(s)  
 L2 vocabulary, 200  
*see also* Borrowing
- Lockhart, Leonora Wilhelmina, 7
- Logical form (LF)  
 interface roles, L2 acquisition, 227–228
- Lombard *see* Italian
- Long-distance assimilation *see* Assimilation
- Luther, Martin  
 L2 teaching, 398
- M**
- Machine translation (MT)  
 Chinese, 47  
 South Asia, 77
- Macquarie University, applied linguistics  
 degrees, 37
- Majority languages  
 bilingual education, 244  
 immigrant language education, 131
- Malay  
 use of  
   Southeast Asia, applied linguistics, 82–83
- Malaysia  
 English language teaching (ELT), 87*t*  
 languages, 83, 84
- Mali  
 African Academy of Languages, 32
- Mandarin Chinese  
 language education policies, 284  
*see also* Chinese; Sino-Tibetan languages
- Manual babble, 206
- Maori  
 foreign language teaching policy, 444–445  
 revitalization, 124  
   language nest model of education, 123
- Maori Language Act (1987), 42–43
- Marginalization  
 mother tongue education (nonstandard language), 502
- Markedness  
 attrition, 188  
 code switching *see* Code switching
- Master-apprentice program, endangered languages, 124
- Material processes, transitivity *see* Transitivity
- Mauritius  
 multilingualism and role of ex-colonial languages, 31
- Meaning  
 functions of  
   Ogden, Charles Kay, 551  
   Richards, Ivor Armstrong, 551  
 workers in  
   Ogden, Charles Kay, 551  
   Richards, Ivor Armstrong, 551  
*see also* Context; Meaning
- The meaning of meaning: A study of the influence of language upon thought and of the science of symbolism (Ogden and Richards), 551
- Medieval Hebrew *see* Hebrew
- Melanchthon, Philipp  
 fields of work  
   L2 teaching, 398
- Mencius on the mind: experiments in multiple definition (Richards), 551–552
- Mental processes, transitivity *see* Transitivity
- MERCATOR network, 56
- Mesopotamia, bilingual dictionaries, 113
- Messick, S, 109, 109*t*
- Metalinguistics  
 bilingualism, 181  
 L3 acquisition, 220
- Methods in structural linguistics (Hill), 539
- Mexico  
 applied linguistics, 69
- Middle English  
 Quirk, Charles Randolph, 547
- Migration  
 Europe, applied linguistics, 55–56  
*Mind and The Monist* (Welby), 551
- Minimal Trees Hypothesis, 96
- Minorities *see* Linguistic minorities; Minority languages
- Minority languages  
 cross-national studies, 384  
 definition, 383  
 education *see* Minority languages, education  
 Europe, applied linguistics, 55  
 language policy, 463  
 North America, applied linguistics, 62
- Minority languages, education,  
 302–306, 383–391  
 controversies, 302  
   English in the USA, 302–303  
   Spanish in the Americas, 302–303  
 definition and purposes, 302  
 demand  
   New Zealand, 303  
   Quebec, 303  
   Spain, 303  
   USA, 303  
   Wales, 303  
 historical aspects, 302–303  
 immigrants *see* Immigrant language education  
 organization, 304  
   developmental maintenance bilingual education models, 304–305  
   heritage immersion bilingual education models, 304–305  
   heritage language education models, 304–305  
   language awareness and inclusive models, 304–305  
   transitional bilingual education models, 304–305  
   two-way bilingual education models, 304–305  
 possibilities, 302  
   European Union, 303  
   Latin America, 302–303  
   New York City, 302–303  
   UNESCO declaration, 303  
   power related dimensions and access, 303  
   teacher education, 387  
   traditions and continuities, 302
- Minority languages, monitoring, bilingual education, 245
- Missing Surface Inflection Hypothesis, 96
- Mistakes, sign language as L2, 150–151, 151*f*
- Modern Standard Arabic (MSA)  
 foreign language teaching policy, 444  
*see also* Arabic
- Modern Standard Chinese *see* Putonghua
- Molteno project, 35
- Monitoring Learning Achievement Project (MLA), 34
- Monitor Model (interlanguage), 137
- Monnet, Jean, 52
- Monolingual learners' dictionary (MLD), 153–156  
 bilingualization, 156  
 corpora, 155  
 definition, 154  
   defining vocabulary, 154  
   'full-sentence' defining, 154  
   natural language preference, 154  
 examples, 153, 155  
 future work, 155  
 history/development, 153  
 main features, 153  
 syntax, 154
- Monomorphemic words, in isolating language *see* Chinese
- Moral rights, teaching, culture in, 279
- Morphemes  
 workers in  
   Nida, Eugene Albert, 542
- Morphology  
 acquisition *see* Morphology development  
 derivational *see* Derivational morphology  
 development *see* Morphology development  
 L2 acquisition, 95, 95*f*, 95*t*  
 sign language *see* Sign language  
 workers in  
   Smith, Henry Lee, 553, 554  
*see also* Syntax
- Morphology, a descriptive analysis of words (Nida), 542
- Morphology development  
 sign language acquisition, 207–208
- Morphophones, concept of, 553–554  
 Smith, Henry Lee, 553–554
- Mother tongue education (nonstandard language), 500–503  
 community response, 502  
 fear of marginalization, 502  
 progress liability, 502  
 definition problems, 500  
 choice of education language,  
   multilinguals, 500–501  
 identification of mother tongue, 500–501  
 interpretation of minority, 501  
 experimental results, 501  
 historical background, 500  
 language rights and pedagogical rationale, 502  
 resistance, 502  
   cost of teaching, 502  
   threat to national unity, 502  
 supporting grounds, 500  
 United Nations formulation, 500  
   legislation ensuring mother tongue education, 500  
   UNESCO reports, 500  
 various models, 501  
   bilingual education, 501  
   immersion system, 501
- Mother tongue education (standard language), 518–520  
 childhood language acquisition abilities, 518  
 colonial languages, 518  
 definition of standard, 519  
 distinguishing mother tongue language, 518  
 immigrant instruction variations, 518  
 schools, 520  
   flexibility, developing, 520  
   language forms, 520  
   linguistic invention suppression, 520  
 standards and conventions, 518  
   Arabic, 518  
   Italian, 518  
   linguistic conventions, 518–519  
 standard spelling, 519  
   American *vs.* English, 519  
   child learning, 519  
   Noah Webster, 519  
   reading, role of, 519  
   Scandinavian languages, 519  
 supporting language development, 520  
 written language standards, 520
- Motivation  
 definition, 164  
 L2 acquisition, 164–171  
*see also* Attitude; Sociolinguistic identity
- Motor action/control  
 sign language and, 206
- Movie Talk program, 264, 265*f*
- Mozambique  
 language policy, 325
- Multilingual Cities Project (European Union), 384, 385*f*
- Multilingualism  
 acquired dyslexia, 78–79  
 communicative competence, 73, 222  
 correctness and purism, 431  
 foreign language teaching policy, 447  
 lingua francas, 479, 482  
 psycholinguistic processes, 220



- Multilingualism (*continued*)  
 in schools, 388  
 South Asia, 73  
*see also* Bilingualism; Interlanguage;  
 L3 acquisition
- Multimedia  
 computer-assisted language learning, 263,  
 264f, 265f  
 personal computers (MPC), 263  
 use of language teaching, 367–374
- Myanmar *see* Burma/Myanmar
- N**
- Nagamese, 75–76
- Narrative  
 L2 acquisition, 515
- National Asian Languages and Studies in  
 Australian Schools (NALSAS), 445
- National Authority for the Accreditation of  
 Translators and Interpreters Ltd  
 (NAATI), 41–42
- National languages *see* Language policy/planning;  
 Official languages
- National Policy on Languages (Australia 1987), 41
- National Standards for Foreign Language  
 Education (USA), 373
- Native speakers, 496–499  
 communicative competence, 255  
 definition, 307, 496, 497–498  
 as language teachers, 217
- Nativization  
 lingua francas, 483  
 World Englishes, 523
- Natural language(s)  
 monolingual learners' dictionary (MLD), 154
- Negation  
 sign language acquisition, 207t
- Negotiation  
 L2 vocabulary, 202
- Neocolonialism, language policy, 458
- New alphabets *see* Spelling reform, English
- New Criticism, Richards, Ivor Armstrong, 551
- New York City  
 minority language education, 302–303
- New Zealand  
 literacy approaches, 39  
 minority language education, 303  
 mother tongue education, 40  
 Kura Kaupapa Maori movement, 40  
 Te Kohanga Reo, 40  
 Pasifika Education Plan, 41
- Nida, Eugene Albert, 542–543  
 fields of work  
 American structuralism, 542  
 morphemes, 542  
 patristics, 542  
 publications  
*Bible translating*, 542  
*Fascinated by languages*, 542  
*Morphology, a descriptive analysis of  
 words*, 542
- Nigeria  
 Language Development Center, 32  
 multilingualism and role of ex-colonial  
 languages, 31  
 River Readers project, 32
- Nigerian Ife-Ife project, 285
- No access theories, L2 acquisition, 226–227
- No Child Left Behind Act (USA: 2002),  
 110–111, 471
- Nominal morphology, in inflecting language  
*see* Arabic
- Nonlinguistic contextual information, internet  
*see* Internet
- Nonmanuals, sign languages *see* Sign language,  
 nonmanuals
- Nonnative speakers, definition, 307
- Nonsegmental phoneme  
*see* Phoneme
- North America, applied linguistics, 59–65  
 American Association for Applied Linguistics  
 (AAAL), 59–60  
 bilingual and language minority education, 62
- corpus linguistics, 64  
 critical discourse analysis, 64  
 critical perspectives, 64  
 defining and delimiting, 60  
 broad context, 60  
 language problems, 60  
 English for Academic purposes, 62  
 foreign language teaching, 62  
 history, 59  
 instructional approaches, 62  
 L2 acquisition, 61  
 cognitive SLA, 61  
 functional linguistic orientations, 61  
 neurolinguistic orientations, 61  
 reading and writing, 61  
 sociolinguistic orientations, 61  
 L2 teaching, 62  
 language assessment, 63  
 language learning and teaching, 62  
 language policy and planning, 63  
 language use of professional contexts, 63  
 new trends, 64  
 research, 61  
 societal bilingualism and language contact, 63
- Null forms, bilingual education, 243
- O**
- Objectives-based instruction, translation  
 pedagogy, 403
- Observable sequences, classroom talk, 251
- Official languages, 462, 464
- Ogden, Charles Kay, 7  
 co-workers and associated workers  
 Richards, Ivor Armstrong, 551, 552  
 Wood, James, 551  
 fields of work  
 aesthetics, 551  
 aesthetics work, 551  
 Basic English, 552  
 Basic English work, 552  
 functions of meaning, 551  
 meaning, functions of, 551  
 philosophical linguistics, 551  
 semiotics, 551  
 publications, 551  
 Welby, Lady Victoria, influenced by, 551
- Old English  
 workers in  
 Quirk, Charles Randolph, 547
- Old Icelandic *see* Icelandic, Old
- Online language *see* Computer-mediated  
 communication (CMC)
- On-line learning, languages, 369
- On the right method of instruction (Eramus), 397
- Organic alphabet, Passy, Paul Édouard, 545–546
- Organizations  
 Toffler's seven strategies, 343
- The other languages of Europe* (Extra and  
 Gorter), 56
- An outline of English structure* (Trager and  
 Smith), 553
- Overgeneralization, L2 acquisition, 136
- Overt Pronoun Constraint, 97
- Oxford advanced learner's dictionary of current  
 English (Hornby et al), 540
- Oxford progressive english for adult learners  
 (Hornby), 540
- P**
- Pakistan  
 language policy, 73
- Palmer, Harold Edward, 544  
 co-workers and associated workers  
 Hornby, Albert Sydney, 540  
 Jones, Daniel, 544  
 fields of work  
 English language teaching, 540  
 Tswana, 544  
 publications  
*The principles of language study*, 544
- The scientific study and teaching of  
 languages*, 544
- Second International Congress of Phonetic  
 Sciences in London, 544
- Papua New Guinea  
 mother tongue education, 39–40  
 English, 39–40  
 Tok Pisin, 39–40
- Paradigmatics  
 L2 vocabulary, 203
- Partial access theories, L2 acquisition, 227
- Partial-immersion programs  
 bilingual education, 243  
 endangered languages, 123–124
- Partial local assimilation *see* Assimilation
- Pasifika Education Plan, 41
- Passive auxiliaries, 173
- Passy, Paul Édouard, 545–546  
 co-workers and associated workers  
 Viëtor, Wilhelm, 556  
 fields of work  
 broad transcriptions, 545  
 cardinal vowels, 545–546  
 French orthography, 546  
 organic alphabet, 545–546  
 phonetics, 545  
 influences, 545–546  
 Daniel Jones, 545  
 role at International Phonetic Association, 545
- Patois, IL/EL mapping, 496
- Patristics, Nida, Eugene Albert, 542
- PC *see* Compositionality
- Pedagogical grammar, 540
- Pedagogical grammars, 172–178  
 definition, 173  
*see also* Communicative competence;  
 Communicative language teaching; Second  
 language teaching
- Peirce, Charles Sanders  
 Welby, Lady Victoria, correspondance with, 551
- 'The Periphery,' linguistic imperialism, 487
- Perspective  
 sign language acquisition, 207t
- Philippines  
 bilingual education, 82–83  
 English language teaching (ELT), 87t  
 languages, 84
- Philosophical language  
 Ogden, Charles Kay, 551  
 Richards, Ivor Armstrong, 551
- Philosophy  
 rhetoric, 551–552  
 workers in  
 Richards, Ivor Armstrong, 551–552
- Philosophy of rhetoric* (Richards), 551–552
- Phonation  
 Catford, John C, 532
- Phoneme(s)  
 workers in  
 Smith, Henry Lee, 553
- Phonetic(s)  
 nonnative English *see* English, nonnative  
 workers in  
 Catford, John C, 532  
 Passy, Paul Édouard, 545  
*see also* Phonology
- Phonetic form (PF), L2 acquisition, 227–228
- Phonetic taxonomy, workers in, Catford,  
 John C, 532
- Phonological development  
 'first word' period  
 sign languages, 206  
 hearing-impaired children  
 sign languages, 206
- Phonological fossilization, L2 acquisition, 138
- Phonology  
 acquisition *see* Phonological development  
 assimilation *see* Assimilation  
 development *see* Phonological development  
 L2 acquisition, 93, 93t  
 phonemes *see* Phonemes  
 transfer, 93, 93t  
 workers in  
 Brown, Gillian, 531

- Smith, Henry Lee, 553, 554  
Twaddell, William Freeman, 555
- Phrasal verbs  
bilingual dictionaries, 117
- Pidgins  
workers in  
Hall, Robert A Jr, 537  
*see also* Creoles
- Piedmontese *see* Italian
- Plato  
early Greek education, 393
- PLATO project, 261
- Poetry  
Richards, Ivor Armstrong, 551–552
- Políticas del lenguaje en América Latina, 67–68
- Politics  
bilingual education, 245  
critical applied linguistics, 18  
language planning *see* Language policy/  
planning  
of teaching, 324–332  
*see also* Critical language teaching; Language  
policy/planning
- Politics, discourse  
ideology in *see* Politics  
Internet impact *see* Internet
- Portuguese  
use of  
Africa, 283–284  
Mozambique, 325
- Post-Imperial English: Status Change in Former  
British Colonies (Fishman et al), 488
- A practical introduction to phonetics  
(Catford), 532
- Practicum, 364
- Predictable sequences, classroom talk, 251
- Preference organization *see* Conversation  
analysis
- Preparation  
special purposes language teaching (LSP), 319
- Pressure/volume, speech aerodynamics  
*see* Speech aerodynamics
- Principle-based structure, code switching *see* Code  
switching
- The principles of language study (Palmer), 544
- Principles of literary criticism (Richards),  
551–552
- Priority languages, 389
- Prior knowledge, special purposes language  
teaching (LSP), 319–320
- Priscianus Caesariensis  
fields of work  
Latin grammar, 395  
publications  
*Institutiones grammaticae*, 395
- Professional competence, nonnative speaker  
teachers, 308
- Proficiency, sign language as L2, 151
- Program Analysis of Educational Systems  
of the Conference of Education  
Ministers of Francophone Countries  
(PASEC), 34
- Progress liability, mother tongue education  
(nonstandard language), 502
- Prohibitive negation *see* Negation
- Project for the Study of Alternative Education in  
South Africa (PRAESA), 35
- Pronouns  
Overt Pronoun Constraint, 97  
sign language, 207*t*
- Pronunciation  
L2 vocabulary, 200
- Proto-Romance  
Hall, Robert A Jr, 537  
reconstruction, 537
- Psycholinguistics  
L2 acquisition, 135–136, 138–139
- Psychometric tests, 107–108
- Public opinion, immigrant language  
education, 130
- Purism *see* Language education
- Putonghua**, 45, 47  
foreign language teaching policy, 444  
Putonghua Shuiping Ceshi, Chinese, 47
- Q**
- Quebec Sign Language (LSQ)**, acquisition,  
206, 207*t*
- Quechua languages  
language revival, education, 475
- Question(s)  
hearing-impaired children  
sign language, 207*t*, 208
- Quintilian, Marcus Fabius  
fields of work  
Roman education, 395  
publications  
*Institutio Oratoria*, 395
- Quirk, Charles Randolph, 547–549  
co-workers and associated workers  
Greenbaum, Sidney, 547  
Leech Geoffrey, 547  
Svartvik Jan, 547  
early life, 547  
fields of work, 547  
English grammar, 547  
English-language usage, 547  
final years, 548  
publications, 547  
*Communicative grammar of English*, 547  
*A comprehensive grammar of English  
language*, 547  
*A concise grammar of contemporary  
English*, 547  
*A grammar of contemporary English*, 547  
*A university grammar of English*, 547
- R**
- Rasch analysis, 107–108
- Rask, Rasmus Kristian, 6–7
- Reference grammars  
definition, 172  
Quirk, Charles Randolph, published by, 547
- Reflective model of professional education,  
361, 361*f*
- Regional languages  
Regional languages, 328  
*see also* Minority languages
- Regression Hypothesis (L2 attrition), 188
- The Renaissance  
bilingual dictionaries, 114
- Research methodology  
applied linguistics, 5  
curriculum development, 343  
interlanguage, 136  
L2 acquisition  
ethnographic approach, 512  
sociocultural competence, 512  
L2 attrition, 191
- Restriction  
L2 vocabulary, 201
- Revised Interlanguage Hypothesis, 137
- Rhetoric, 233  
contrastive, 235  
workers in  
Richards, Ivor Armstrong, 551–552  
*see also* Question(s)
- Rhetoric, classical, 6  
Greco-Roman tradition, 6
- Richards, Ivor Armstrong, 551–552  
co-workers and associated workers  
Gibson, Christine, M, 552  
Ogden, Charles Kay, 551, 552  
Wood, James, 551  
early life, 551  
fields of work  
aesthetics, 551  
aesthetics work, 551  
art and science, 551–552  
Basic English, 552  
Basic English work, 552  
'close reading', 551  
educational theory and language  
teaching, 552  
functions of meaning work, 551  
literacy, promotion of, 552
- literacy studies and New Criticism, 551  
meaning, functions of, 551  
philosophical linguistics, 551  
poetry, 551–552  
reading and teaching of reading, 551–552  
rhetoric, 551–552  
semiotics, 551  
teaching English as a foreign language  
work, 552  
final years, 551  
publications, 551  
Welby, Lady Victoria, influenced by, 551
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques  
fields of work  
L2 teaching, 399  
publications  
*Émile*, 399
- Routines (in discourse), L2 teaching, 175
- Russia  
language planning/policy, 52
- Russian  
as foreign language, China, 48  
*see also* Lingua francas
- S**
- Sameness *see* Identity
- Samoa  
mother tongue education, 39–40
- Scaffolding  
L2 acquisition, 198, 213
- School-based programs, endangered languages *see*  
Endangered languages, education
- School of Rhetoric, Roman education, 394–395
- Schools  
bilingual education, 247–248  
*see also* Education
- Schwartz, D L, 181
- Science  
Richards, Ivor Armstrong, 551–552  
tertiary education, 299–300, 301  
*Science and poetry* (Richards), 551–552  
The scientific study and teaching of languages  
(Palmer), 544
- Scots  
Catford, John C, 532  
Scott, Fred Newton, 7–8
- SEAMEO regional language center (RELIC), 88
- Second language acquisition, 413–419  
adults, 416  
approximative system *see* Interlanguage  
classroom, 362  
communication strategies, 136  
computer-assisted learning, 261–271  
constructivism  
discourse analysis, 196–199  
Dual System Hypothesis, 415–416  
error analysis, 134–135  
Europe, applied linguistics, 55  
fossilization, 135, 138  
grammar, 226  
Critical Period Hypothesis, 227  
full access theories, 226  
no access theories, 226–227  
partial access theories, 227  
identity, 507  
imagined communities, 507  
immigrant language education, 132  
influence of literacy, 180, 507  
interface roles, 227  
interpretable forms, 227–228, 228–229  
logical form (LF), 227–228  
phonetic form (PF), 227–228  
syntax/morphology/phonetics, 228  
uninterpretable forms, 227–228, 229  
investment, 506  
Language Augmentation Hypothesis, 416  
learning environment, 414  
listening, 157–163  
morphology, 95, 95*f*, 95*t*  
motivation, 164–171  
North America *see* North America, applied  
linguistics

- Second language acquisition (*continued*)  
 overgeneralization, 136  
 phonology *see* Second language acquisition, phonology  
 psycholinguistic processes, 135–136, 138–139  
 scaffolding, 213  
 socialization, 198, 212–213, 511–517  
 definition, 511  
 narrative study, 515  
 research methodology, 512  
*see also* Communicative competence;  
 Communicative language teaching;  
 Sociolinguistic identity  
 sociocultural theory, 198, 213, 514  
 sociolinguistic identity, 138, 212, 504–510  
 definition, 504  
 literature review, 504–505  
*see also* Motivation  
 speaking, 212–218  
 syntactic processing, 230  
 argument structure, 230–231  
 language-specific parsing, 230–231  
 transitivity, 230–231  
 syntax, 97, 97*t*, 98*f*  
 Unitary System Hypothesis, 415  
 variation, 225–232  
 competence/performance distinction, 225  
 grammar *vs.* performance, 225–226  
 native speakers *vs.*, 225  
*see also* Applied linguistics; Bilingualism;  
 Communicative competence;  
 Interlanguage; Language acquisition device (LAD); Language transfer;  
 Multilingualism; Second language literacy
- Second language acquisition, phonology, 93, 93*t*  
 Second Language Acquisition by Adult Immigrants, 55
- Second language attrition, 187–193  
 age at onset, 189  
 extralinguistic factors, 189  
 grammar, 190  
 lexicon, 189–190  
 phonology, 190  
 research methodology, 191  
*see also* Language acquisition device (LAD);  
 Second language acquisition; Universals
- Second language literacy  
 North America, applied linguistics, 61  
 pedagogic issues, 238  
 reading, 179–186  
 writing, 233–240  
 definition, 233  
*see also* Curriculum (language teaching);  
 Literacy
- Second language teaching  
 adults, political aspects, 330  
 assessment, 105–112  
 children, 137  
 classroom talk, 252  
 cultural norms, 175  
 culture in, 281  
 in-service teacher training, 312  
 lingua francas, 482, 485  
 methods, 417  
 organizations, 373  
 politics of teaching, 324–332  
 professional development of teachers, 310  
 pronunciation, 370  
 research-based practice, 363, 371  
 teacher education, 358–366  
 writing, process approach, 235  
*see also* Foreign language teaching
- Second language teaching, history, 392–400  
 audiolingualism, 399–400  
 classical studies, revival, 397  
 Casa Giocosa, da Feltre, Vittorio, 397  
 Erasmus, *On the right method of instruction*, 397  
 early Greek education, 392  
 Aristotle and the Lyceum, 393  
 Plato and the Academy, 393  
 schools in Athens, 392  
 schools in Sparta, 392  
 medieval age education, 395  
 Augustine, 396  
 catechetical schools, 396  
 cathedral schools, 396  
 Christianity, 395–396  
 Jerome, 396  
 modern approaches to language education, 400  
 modern era, towards, 398  
 Comenius, Johannes, 398–399  
 Rousseau, 399  
 Roman education, 394  
 grammar school, 394–395  
 Latin grammars, 395  
 ludus, 394–395  
 Quintilian, 395  
*Institutio Oratoria*, 395  
 School of Rhetoric, 394–395  
 university, 394–395  
 tradition, lesson of, 399  
 universities, rise of, 397  
 degree levels, 397  
 Latin requirements, 397  
 University of Bologna, 397  
 University of Paris, 397  
 University of Salerno, 397  
 vernacular languages, rise of, 397  
 Bembo, Pietro, 398  
 Council of Trent, 398  
 Elyot, Thomas, 398  
 Galileo, 397–398  
 Ignatius of Loyola, 398  
 Jesuits, 398  
 Latin, effect on, 397–398  
 Martin Luther, 398  
 Melancthon, Philip, 398  
 Ratio studiorum, 398  
 Vivés, Juan Luis, 398
- Second language vocabulary, 200–205  
 deliberate and incidental learning, 202  
 first language definition, 204  
 idioms, 201  
 core idioms, 201  
 interference, 203  
 cross-associations, 203  
 paradigmatic relationships, 203  
 substitution, 203, 204*f*  
 involvement load, 202  
 learning burden, 200  
 learning conditions, 202  
 massed *vs.* spaced learning, 204  
 negotiation, 202  
 word form, 200  
 pronunciation, 200  
 spelling, 200  
 word meaning, 200  
 cognates, 200  
 false cognates, 200  
 loanwords, 200  
 technical vocabulary, 201  
 word use, 201  
 restrictions, 201
- Selinker, Larry, 134, 135
- Semantic(s)  
 bilingual dictionaries, 117  
 discourse *see* Discourse  
 workers in  
 Hall, Robert A Jr, 537–538  
*see also* Meaning
- Semiology  
 Smith, Henry Lee, 554
- Semiotic(s)  
 anthropology *see* Semiotic anthropology  
 South Asia, 76  
 workers in  
 Ogden, Charles Kay, 551  
 Richards, Ivor Armstrong, 551
- Semiotic anthropology, 76–77
- Semiotic triangle, 551
- Shakespeare, William  
 Quirk, Charles Randolph, 547
- Siam *see* Thailand
- Significs  
 Welby, Lady Victoria, 551  
 Welby, Lady Victoria, establishment by, 551  
*Signifische Kring* (Welby), 551
- Sign language  
 acquisition *see* Sign language acquisition  
 evolution of, 206  
 facial expressions, 207–208, 209  
 iconicity  
 L2, 149  
 infant-directed, 206  
 morphology  
 as L2, 150  
 motor control, 206  
 nonmanual *see* Sign language, nonmanuals  
 nonmanuals *see* Sign language, nonmanuals  
 question signs, 208  
 as second language *see* Sign language, as second language  
 Sign language, as second language, 149–152  
 delayed learning, 150  
 deaf babies, withholding sign language, 150  
 grammatical knowledge, 151  
 mistakes, 150–151, 151*f*  
 proficiency, 151  
 infancy, learning two languages, 149  
 deaf babies, 149  
 hearing babies, 149  
 sequential learning, two languages, 149  
 educational projects, 150  
 frozen lexicon, 150  
 iconicity, reliance on, 149  
 morphology and syntax, 150  
 visual modality bilingualism, 150
- Sign language, nonmanuals  
 markers, 207–208, 209
- Sign language acquisition, 206–211  
 common errors, 206, 208–209, 208*f*  
 crosslinguistic studies/variation, 206, 207*t*, 209  
 facial expression and, 207–208, 209  
 infant-directed sign language, 206  
 motor control, 206  
 stages, 207*t*  
 classifiers, 207*t*, 209  
 conditionals, 207*t*, 208  
 facial adverbials, 207–208, 207*t*  
 first word (sign), 206, 207*t*  
 manual babble, 206, 207*t*  
 morphology, 207–208  
 negation, 207*t*  
 perspective, 207*t*  
 pronouns, 206–207, 207*t*  
 questions, 207*t*, 208  
 reported action, 209  
 semantic one-sign stage, 207–208  
 semantic two-sign stage, 207–208  
 topics, 207*t*  
 verb agreement, 207*t*, 208–209  
 word combinations, 207–208, 207*t*
- Sign Language for the Netherlands (SLN)  
 acquisition, 206, 207*t*
- Simultaneous bilingualism, Europe, applied linguistics, 53
- Singapore  
 language education policies  
 English, 87*t*  
 languages, 83, 84, 85
- Singhalese *see* Sinhala
- Sinhala  
 language education policies  
 Indian subcontinent, 284
- Sinhalese *see* Sinhala
- Sino-Tibetan languages  
 use of  
 Southeast Asia, applied linguistics, 82
- Smith, Henry Lee, 553–554  
 co-workers and associated workers  
 Trager, George, 553  
 early life, 553  
 fields of work  
 aspectualism, 554  
 dialectology, 553–554  
 foreign language teaching, 553, 554  
 literacy, 553–554  
 morphology, 553, 554

- morphophones, concept of, 553–554  
 phonology, 553, 554  
 semology, 554  
 structuralist linguistics, 553  
 films, 554  
 final years, 554  
 publications, 553
- Social factors  
 bilingual education, 249  
 classroom talk, 252
- Socialization  
 communicative competence and, 423  
 L2, 198, 212–213, 511–517  
 research methodology, 512  
*see also* Communicative competence;  
 Communicative language teaching;  
 Sociolinguistic identity
- Social sciences, tertiary education, 300
- Sociocultural competence, 255, 256  
 definition, 511
- Sociocultural theory  
 L2 acquisition, 198, 213, 514
- Sociolinguistic(s)  
 competence *see* Sociocultural competence  
 identity *see* Sociolinguistic identity  
 interactional *see* Interactional sociolinguistics  
 (IS)  
 language contact *see* Language contact  
 language variation *see* Variation  
 teaching, culture in, 277  
 workers in  
 Ferguson, Charles A, 534  
*see also* Critical sociolinguistics
- Sociolinguistic identity, 19  
 L2, 138, 197, 212, 504–510  
 definition, 504  
 literature review, 504–505  
*see also* Motivation; Second language  
 acquisition
- languages of wider communication, 460
- SOCRATES Program, 448–449
- Software  
 development standards, 371  
*see also* Technological change
- Soloman Islands  
 mother tongue education, 39–40  
 Soloman Islands Pidgin, 39–40
- Somatic turn *see* Embodiment
- Sophists, 6
- Source language  
 analysis, 115  
 bilingual dictionaries, 118
- South Africa  
 African Association of Lexicography  
 (Afrilex), 32  
 language education policies, 33  
 multilingualism  
 ex-colonial languages, 31  
 Pan African Language Board (PanSALB), 32  
 Unit for Language Facilitation, 32
- South America, applied linguistics, 66–71  
 in  
 Brazil, 69  
 Mexico, 69  
 Uruguay, 68–69  
 bilingual education, 67  
 job opportunities, 69–70  
 publications, 66  
 outside South America, 67  
 shadow metaphor, 68
- South Asia  
 applied linguistics, 72–81  
 language education policies, 73, 74, 75  
 multilingualism, 73
- South Asian English, 76
- Southeast Asia  
 applied linguistics *see* Southeast Asia, applied  
 linguistics  
 language education policies  
 foreign language teaching policy, 444  
*see also* Southeast Asia, applied  
 linguistics
- Southeast Asia, applied linguistics, 82–89  
 bilingual education, 88
- Brunei, 82–83  
 Philippines, 82–83
- bilingualism, multilingual societies, 88  
 choice of individual repertoire, 88  
 language status, 88  
 societal bilingualism, 88
- colonial languages, 82  
 definition, 82  
 education system, 84  
 English language teaching and learning  
 (ELT), 86  
 communicative language teaching (CLT), 86  
 conditions, 86  
 recent developments, 86, 87*t*  
 SEAMEO regional language center  
 (RELC), 88  
 skills integration, 86  
 teacher shortages, 87–88  
 time in school, 87*t*  
 variation, 86, 87*t*
- foreign languages, 83, 83*t*  
 L2s, 83, 83*t*
- language acquisition planning, multilingual  
 societies, 84
- language families, 82
- languages  
 Austro-Asiatic, 82  
 Austronesian, 82  
 Bahasa Indonesia, 82–83  
 Bahasa Malaysia, 82–83  
 Burmese, 82–83  
 Chinese, 85  
 English, 82, 84, 85  
 Filipino, 82–83, 84  
 French, 82, 84  
 Indian languages, 82  
 Indonesian, 83  
 Khmer, 82–83  
 Laotian, 82–83  
 Malay, 82–83  
 Sino-Tibetan, 82  
 Tai, 82  
 Thai, 82–83  
 Vietnamese, 82–83  
 language use and social identity, 84, 85*f*  
 linguistic region, 82  
 national language adoption, 83  
 national languages, 83, 83*t*  
 national multilingualism, 84  
 official language policies, 82–83  
 policy making, 83  
 publications, 88  
 schools, language of instruction, 83
- Southeast Asian Ministers of Education  
 Organization (SEAMEO), 88
- Southern African Consortium for Monitoring  
 Educational Quality (SACMEQ), 34
- Spain  
 minority language education, 303
- Spanish  
 minority language education, 302–303  
 pronouns, 97, 97*t*, 98*f*  
*see also* Lingua francas
- SPEA KING acronym, 422*t*
- Speaking skills, L2, 212–218
- Speak Mandarin Campaign, Singapore, 84, 88
- Specialist languages, 144–148  
 definition, 144
- Special purposes language teaching  
 (LSP), 318–323  
 current trends, 319  
 curriculum evaluation, 322  
 genre-based approaches, 320  
 discourse community, 320  
 learner-centered approach, 319  
 language processing, 320  
 prior knowledge, 319–320  
 styles, 320  
 specific features, 318  
 preparation, 319  
 students' needs/expectations, 318–319  
 target language history/politics, 318  
 student assessment, 322  
 task-based approaches, 321
- teaching evaluation, 322  
 technological influences, 321
- Speech acts  
 interpretation, L2 listening skills, 159  
 L2 speaking, 216  
*see also* Discourse
- Speech communities  
 communicative competence and, 422, 424  
*see also* Linguistic communities
- Speech recognition  
 automatic *see* Automatic speech recognition  
 computational  
 computer-assisted language learning, 264
- Speech recognition programs, 370
- Spelling  
 American *vs.* English, 519  
 L2 vocabulary, 200  
*see also* Writing/written language
- Spelling, English  
 American *vs.*, 519
- Spoken language, correctness and purism, 430
- Spolsky, Bernard, 22
- Srivastava, R N, 77
- Standard variety, definition, 429
- Strong forms, bilingual education, 243
- Structuralism  
 language teaching, 417  
 workers in  
 Hill, Archibald A, 539  
 Smith, Henry Lee, 553
- Student assessment, special purposes language  
 teaching (LSP), 322
- Student-centered learning, translation  
 pedagogy, 403
- Students' needs/expectations, special purposes  
 language teaching (LSP), 318–319
- Style  
 special purposes language teaching (LSP), 320  
*see also* Stylistics
- Stylistics  
 South Asia, 76
- Submersion education, bilingual education, 243
- Substitution  
 L2 vocabulary, 203, 204*f*
- Subtractive bilingualism, 417, 469
- Svartvik, Jan, co-workers and associated workers  
 on English grammar, 547  
 Quirk, Charles Randolph, 547
- Sweet, Henry  
 co-workers and associated workers  
 Viëtor, Wilhelm, 556
- Symmetry  
 bilingual dictionaries, 120
- Syntax  
 argument structure *see* Argument structure  
 L2 acquisition, 97, 97*t*, 98*f*  
 monolingual learners' dictionary (MLD), 154  
 morphology interface *see* Morphology  
*see also* Morphology
- Synthesis, bilingual dictionaries, 115, 120

## T

- Tai  
 Southeast Asia, applied linguistics, 82
- Tandem learning, International E-Mail Tandem  
 Network, 256–257
- Target language  
 bilingual dictionaries, 118  
 Target language history/politics, special purposes  
 language teaching (LSP), 318
- Task-based approaches, special purposes language  
 teaching (LSP), 321
- Task Magic* package, 268, 269*f*
- Task ranges, translation pedagogy, 404
- Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages  
 (TESOL), 49, 59, 365  
 TESOL *Quarterly*, 59  
*see also* English language teachers
- Teaching language *see* Language teaching
- The teaching of structural words and sentence  
 patterns (Hornby), 540
- Technical languages, 144–148



- Technical languages (*continued*)  
 definition, 144  
 vocabulary, 201
- Technical medium, internet *see* Internet
- Technical writing, 147–148
- Technological change, 371  
 impact on education, 370  
 standards, 363
- Technological influences, special purposes  
 language teaching (LSP), 321
- Technology enhanced language learning *see*  
 Computer-assisted language learning  
 (CALL)
- Tell me more pro* programs, 264, 265*f*
- Temas de lingüística aplicada—primer congreso  
 nacional de investigaciones lingüístico-  
 filológicas, 66–67
- Tertiary education, 299–301  
 differences, disciplines and teaching levels, 299  
 humanities, 300  
 sciences, 299–300  
 social sciences, 300  
 English, 300  
 foreign language requirements, 301  
 sciences, 301  
 languages used, 299, 299*t*  
 problems, 300  
 teaching medium, 299
- TESOL *see* Teaching English to Speakers of  
 Other Languages (TESOL)
- Testing  
 critical language testing, 17, 110–111  
 L2, 105–112  
 languages  
 Costa Rica, 258  
 Hong Kong, 258
- Thai  
 use of  
 Southeast Asia, applied linguistics, 82–83
- Thailand  
 language education policies  
 English, 87*t*  
 languages, 84, 86
- Theory-practice relations, language teaching,  
 363, 371
- Third language acquisition *see* L3 acquisition
- Three Language Formula, 74, 417–418,  
 467–468
- Threshold Level, 254
- Toffler, A, 343
- Tok Pisin  
 use of  
 Papua New Guinea, 39–40
- Tonga  
 mother tongue education, 39–40
- Topic(s)  
 sign language acquisition, 207*t*
- Total immersion programs  
 bilingual education, 243  
 endangered languages, 123
- Trabalhos em lingüística aplicada, 67, 68
- Trager, George  
 co-workers and associated workers  
 Smith, Henry Lee, 553  
 fields of work  
 structuralist linguistics, 553  
 publications, 553
- Transfer, 134, 135–136, 137, 138–139, 416  
 bilingual dictionaries, 115  
 cognates, 183  
 lexicon, 182  
 lingua francas, 483  
 literacy, 180  
 phonology, 93, 93*t*  
 syntax, 182
- Transitional bilingual education, 469
- Transitional competence  
 Transitional competence, 135  
*see also* Interlanguage
- Transitivity  
 syntactic processing, L2 acquisition, 230–231
- Translation  
 bilingual dictionaries, 119  
*see also* Bilingual dictionaries
- India, 79  
 machine *see* Machine translation (MT)  
 machine/computer *see* Machine translation (MT)  
 mechanical *see* Machine translation  
 teaching, corpus-based applied translation  
 studies *see* Corpora  
*see also* Critical translation studies;  
 Interpretation; Machine translation
- Translation pedagogy, 401–405  
 competence development, 402  
 constructivism, 403  
 educational research, 403  
 equivalence-to-action shift, 402–403  
 integrative approach, 402  
 objectives-based instruction, 403  
 student-centered learning, 403  
 theory advancements, 402
- technology, 403  
 intelligence technology, 403  
 specialized areas, 403–404  
 task ranges, 404
- translator education programs, 401  
 Conférence Internationale Permanente  
 d'Instituts Universitaires de Traducteurs  
 et d'Interprètes (CIUTI), 401  
 Ecole Supérieure d'Interprètes et de  
 Traducteurs (ESIT), 401  
 Institut Supérieur d'Interprétation et de  
 Traduction (ISIT), 401
- Trilingual education, types, 220
- Twaddell, William Freeman, 555  
 fields of work  
 'Bloomfieldian' linguistics, 555  
 early German, 555  
 foreign language teaching, 555  
 Hjelmslevian trend, 555  
 the phoneme, 555  
 phonology, 555  
 publications  
*On defining the phoneme*, 555  
*The English verb auxiliaries*, 555
- Typography  
 bilingual dictionaries, 120  
*see also* Character sets
- U**
- UG *see* Universal grammar
- UNESCO  
 language policy, 465  
 literacy in the Pacific, 38–39  
 minority language education, 303
- Unicode, 370
- Uninterpretable forms, L2 acquisition,  
 227–228, 229
- Unitary System Hypothesis (L2 acquisition), 415
- United Kingdom (UK)  
 foreign language teaching policy, 446
- Universal Grammar (UG), 137–138  
 language acquisition device (LAD), 413
- Universals, 137–138  
 phonology, 93–94  
 workers in  
 Ferguson, Charles A, 534
- A university grammar of English (Quirk), 547
- University of Auckland, applied linguistics  
 degrees, 37
- University of Bologna, L2 teaching, 397
- University of Melbourne, applied linguistics  
 degrees, 37
- University of Paris, L2 teaching, 397
- University of Salerno, L2 teaching, 397
- Urdu  
 language education policies  
 Indian subcontinent, 284
- Uruguay  
 applied linguistics, 68–69
- USA  
 language education policies, 463, 469  
 Bilingual Education Act, 469  
 foreign language teaching policy, 445, 446  
 minority language education, 302–303  
 No Child Left Behind Act, 110–111, 471
- The use of Vernacular Languages in Education  
 (UNESCO, 1953), 500
- Utterance  
 interpretation, L2 listening skills, 159  
 meaning *see* Meaning
- V**
- Validity, 105, 105*f*, 109, 109*t*
- Variation  
 appropriateness model, correctness and  
 purism, 428  
 corpora studies *see* Corpora  
 creoles *see* Creoles  
 L2 acquisition *see* Second language acquisition  
 pidgins *see* Pidgins  
 sign language *see* Sign language  
 sociolinguistics *see* Sociolinguistics  
 speech community *see* Speech communities
- Venetian *see* Italian
- Verb(s)  
 agreement  
 sign language, 207*t*, 208–209  
 gerunds  
*see also* Verb(s)  
 morphology  
 in introflecting language *see* Arabic
- Videoconferencing, 369
- Vietnam  
 English language teaching (ELT), 87*t*
- Viëtor, Wilhelm, 556  
 co-workers and associated workers  
 Jespersen, Otto, 556  
 Passy, 556  
 Sweet, 556  
 fields of work  
 foreign language teaching (FLT) reform, 556
- Virtual learning environments, 369
- Visual modality bilingualism, sign language  
 as L2, 150
- Vivès, Juan Luis, 398
- VLEs *see* Virtual learning environments
- Vygotskii, Lev Semenovich, 198, 213
- W**
- Wales  
 minority language education, 303
- Wang Li, 46
- Washback, 258
- Weak forms, bilingual education, 243
- Weedon, Christine, 505
- Welby, Victoria  
 fields of work  
 'significs', 551  
 influences on  
 Basic English, development of, 551  
 Ogden, Charles Kay, 551  
 Richards, Ivor Armstrong, 551  
 Peirce, CS, correspondence with, 551  
 publications, 551
- Welsh  
 foreign language teaching policy, 444–445  
 use of  
 developmental maintenance bilingual  
 education, 304–305
- Weltlauschriftverein (WLV) *see* International  
 Phonetic Association
- Wenger, Etienne, 505–506
- Widdowson, H G, 17–18
- Wolfgang, Ratke, 550  
*harmonia didactica*, 550  
*harmonia linguarum*, 550  
 language teaching, 550
- Wood, James  
 aesthetics, 551  
 co-workers and associated workers  
 Ogden, Charles Kay, 551  
 Richards, Ivor Armstrong, 551
- Word(s)  
 combinations/compounds  
 sign language acquisition, 207–208, 207*t*

- Zhuongguo Yuyan Xuehui (*continued*)  
 forms  
   L2 vocabulary *see* Second language vocabulary  
 L2 vocabulary *see* Second language vocabulary  
 meaning  
   L2 vocabulary *see* Second language vocabulary  
 structure  
   *see also* Morphemes  
   *see also* Lexicon
- World Englishes**, 455–456, 521–528  
 Basic, 7  
 ‘concentric circles’ model, 219, 307, 522, 522*f*  
 creativity, 526  
 definition, 521  
 language teaching, 256  
 literature, 526  
 nativization, 523  
 political aspects, 327
- South Asian, 76  
 speech communities, 522  
*see also* Bilingualism; Languages of wider communication; Multilingualism
- World language**, 454  
 definition, 454  
 English, 455  
*see also* Languages of wider communication; Lingua francas
- World Talk** program, 264, 264*f*
- World Wide Web**  
 computer-assisted language learning (CALL), 264, 267*f*  
 disadvantages, 370  
 use of language teaching, 368  
*see also* Computer-mediated communication (CMC); Internet
- Writing/written language**  
 controlled composition, 234  
 correctness and purism, 430
- L2, 233–240  
 definition, 233  
 sign language *see* Sign language  
 technical, 147–148  
*see also* Compositionality; Literacy; Spelling
- Y**
- Yuen Ren Chao, 46  
 Yuyan Wenzhi Yingyong Yanjiusuo, 47
- Z**
- Zhongguo Wenzhi Gaige Weiyuanhui, 47  
 Zhuongguo Yuyan Xuehui, 47  
 Zone of Proximal Development, 198, 213