In this issue...

OUTSTANDING ARTICLES OF THE 20th CENTURY

We are pleased to continue to reprint "Outstanding Articles of the 20th Century." As Editor, my choice has not been an easy one; but, I feel that these theoretical and pedagogical articles, have contributed significantly to the teaching and learning of languages and have made an indelible contribution to the field. We often forget that there may be a whole generation of teachers who may not be familiar with these publications and we are pleased to reprint them. We are firmly convinced that these articles - and their authors - have made an indelible contribution to the field of second-language teaching and learning.

edited by Anthony Mollica

Mosaic

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The language graduate who never reads a professional journal and participates only minimally, if at all, in professional meetings, will stagnate. There is an onus on the profession in all areas to upgrade and keep abreast of current developments in the field. **– Peter Heffernan**

Nelson Brooks

Teaching Culture in the Foreign Language Classroom

There is general agreement that culture should be taught in a language course, but just what this means is unclear. To rough out a definition of culture that will be immediately useful to language teachers, statements are made as to what culture is not, viz.: geography, history, folklore, sociology, literature, civilization. A list of proposals invites discussion and development of the meanings of culture leading to wide professional acceptance.

Foreword

The purpose of this paper is to define and describe culture in terms that will be meaningful to classroom teachers of foreign languages, especially in the earlier phases of instruction. No attempt is made to portray culture for the literary scholar nor for the scientist in psychology or linguistics or anthropology. In each of these disciplines the concept must be developed according to the needs and insights of those immediately concerned. Whether or not the concept presented here is fully satisfactory to those who practice these disciplines is irrelevant. We have reached a point at which foreign language teachers must themselves decide what is to be understood by and done about culture as it relates to their professional responsibilities.

There is, at the same time, no intention of showing for these adjacent fields any less respect than in the past, or anything other than appreciation and approval of their aims and accomplishments. This is especially true of literature. The ideas and proposals set forth here are offered in full confidence that the goals now being pursued in language classes will continue to result in the presence of more and better prepared students in literature courses.

In learning a foreign language the words themselves count less than what they mean. The meaning of a word is, at bottom, the segment of personal or societal life to which it refers. The intent of this paper is to find ways of studying how language is linked to the way of life of which it is so significant a part, as well as ways of appreciating the attitudes and values of users of language that bind them so firmly to the culture in which they were nurtured.

The Problem

Our greatest immediate problem is that we are uncertain about what we mean by the word *culture*. For decades our profession has announced its intention of teaching culture. Teachers want to teach culture. Many have done so and continue to do so, with results that are more or less satisfactory. There has been a cultural dimension discernible in textbook materials for a long time. Its form has varied from the inclusion of a few footnotes to the preparation of an entire approach entitled "cultural" and incorporating culture as a principal factor.

Yet the need remains for a definition of culture that is widely agreed upon and is meaningful in terms of events in a language classroom. Well-intended phrases that relate cultural studies to the

desire for peace and friendship among nations need to be amplified with specific detail. The classroom teacher is entitled to say: "Better international understanding is a noble aim and I am for it. But what should I be doing at nine-fifteen on a Tuesday morning in my language class that will help bring it about?"

It appears that a suitable concept of culture needs first of all to be made explicit. It should then be communicated to those who prepare materials for classroom teaching and be reflected in plans, selections, exercises, and recommendations. It should also be communicated to those who teach and those who are preparing to teach so that they may know what is meant by the term *culture* as they deal with language learning and with examples of literature. The concept should be set forth in such a way that it may be grasped by students as well as teachers, first of all to understand what it is, then to see how the insight applies to those whose language is being learned.

The needed concept of culture should be expressed in terms that will be usable by those who teach and learn in schools as well as in colleges. It is during the early phases of language instruction that the inclusion of culture is at once the most significant and the most baffling. As every year passes an increasing number of students have their first encounter with another language in the schools, while colleges deal less with monolinguals and more with the advanced phases of language study and with literature. We are approaching a time when the teaching of the beginning phases will, in college, be principally for those who are already competent in a language other than their mother tongue.

Cultural anthropologists are by now reasonably clear as to what

they mean by the word *culture*, at least in their discipline. What the word means to the humanistic scholar, however, still remains diffuse and ill-defined. While anthropologists have a deep respect for language competence and recognize in language a most important component of culture as they conceive of it, they are motivated by no strong desire to influence the teaching of foreign languages one way or another. In this their outlook differs notably from that of humanistic scholars, many of whom feel that in the academic world language studies should be illuminated by and oriented toward one field only: literature. At the same time the linguistic scientist often takes the position that whatever is said or done about language, even language learning, should bear his stamp of approval. These varying winds of doctrine and cross currents of opinion and research make heavy going for classroom teachers. They are entitled to feel that their understanding of the problem should be clearly expressed.

Need for solution

The desire for a cultural accompaniment to language acquisition has long been felt though only vaguely understood by the great majority of language teachers. There is little need to exhort them to teach culture; their willingness is already manifest. But there is a need to help them understand what meaning they should assign to the word *culture* and how it can become significant and fruitful in a sequence of years of language study. There is a need for materials especially prepared for the teaching of culture and for tests that will measure the learner's progress in acquiring information and sensitivity in this area.

But it may well be asked whether the need for a more precise definition of culture is so widely justified after all. Is this really a central issue in providing students with control of a foreign language, which is, at bottom, the teacher's essential task? Is anything more than incidental encounter with and random reference to cultural matters required in establishing the language skills? Will special emphasis upon culture not be wasteful of precious class time and end by giving the student less rather than more of what he is entitled to expect from his language course? Should not the language class concern itself with language proper and postpone cultural matters until the student has greater maturity and greater language competence? There are already available many texts with a cultural ingredient in their total content: is it really necessary to do more than is already being done?

It appears that a suitable concept of culture needs first of all to be made explicit. It should then be communicated to those who prepare materials for classroom teaching and be reflected in plans, selections, exercises, and recommendations. It should also be communicated to those who teach and those who are preparing to teach so that they may know what is meant by the term culture as they deal with language learning and with examples of literature.

An immediate answer is that the proper time for the beginning of cultural understanding is important. Because of the large decrease in population in language classes with each succeeding year of advancement, the concept of culture can be communicated to only a relatively small number of students unless this is done in the earliest phases of their instruction. As the analysis of language in both its externalized and internalized forms is carried forward, it becomes increasingly clear that we have not taught even the beginnings of a foreign language unless we have taught what it means to those whose native language it is. The mere recording in new linguistic forms of one's native culture hardly justifies the effort involved in becoming adept at all the rules and practices of another language. But we cannot know what the new language means to the native speaker until we know in some systematic and fairly extensive way the meaning he attaches to the words and phrases he uses.

When the learner puts his newly acquired language to use he soon finds that there are overtones of meaning that are not captured by skills, grammar, or lexicon. If a student speaks to a teacher and uses forms of pronoun, verb, and possessive adjective that are in the second person singular, he will have committed a serious error that is either laughable or impertinent. But it is an error that nothing in pronunciation, grammar, or vocabulary can help him correct or avoid. Such a mistake is related not to any theory of language but to a theory of language users. This, of course, moves the problem out of linguistics as such and into culture. This amounts to saying that instruction in a foreign language, even at the start, remains inaccurate and incomplete unless it is complemented by appropriate studies in culture.

The study of culture in the foreign language classroom appears to be a matter of greater importance than we have hitherto supposed, due to the nature of language and to the circum-

stances encountered in learning a second language in formal education. This importance is intensified if we look closely at the full range of language as a means of communication.

In theoretical terms, we may analyze language in action into three distinct bands: syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic. By *syntactic* we refer to the grammar of sounds, marks, forms, and orders of words, and their relationshop to each other. It has been succinctly defined by Charles Morris as the relationship of signs to signs. The *semantic* area is immediately adjacent to the syntactic. Here we study how signs mean what they mean and how the modifications in the syntactic area bring about parallel modifications in meaning. This has been defined by Morris as the relation of signs to things signified. In the third area, the *pragmatic*, we may study the manipulation of syntax and semantics by an actual user of language. A new element is now introduced, for language at this point acquires a unique coloring and bias depending upon what the individual brings to the language act in terms of his age, status, attitude, intent, and similar factors. A spoken interview or a personal letter will tell us something about both the writer and his language that is not to be discovered by searching out in the dictionary the words he has employed or in a grammar the constructions he has used.

There are two principal ingredients in the individual's contribution to language in action. One is biological, having its origin in the genetic heritage of the speaker; the other is social, having its origin in the beliefs, habits, and practices of those with whom the individual comes in contact. These result in the cultural dimension of language, without which it remains, in an important way, wanting.

There are other less radical yet equally valid reasons for the systematic pursuit of cultural studies throughout the language course. An incessant problem in all classroom work is the involvement of the student's interest, attention, and active participation. A prime source of these motivating factors is the student's awareness of his own growth in mastering a new mode of symbolic expression. This source of motivation is especially powerful at the start of the language course, and often provides, in itself, sufficient forward thrust to keep the learner working at a productive rate for a long time. Another source of motivation, different in nature, but equally forceful, is the satisfying of an eager curiosity about what life is like in other places, in other climates, in other times. Information as to what it is like to be a member of another societal group is again precisely what is meant by systematic study of culture. A third source of motivation is the pleasure to be derived from the writings of talented authors whose works, either literary or expository, have an esthetic attractiveness and a humanistic appeal to which the young are sensitive, often to a remarkable degree, provided the manner of presentation is of the appropriate sort.

Up to now

References that can be termed cultural are of course to be discovered in almost any activities of language teachers and in any materials printed for student use. But up to now there have not been very many serious attempts to deal with the subject of culture in language instruction at a professional level and in a systematic way.

It may be useful to classify what has been done in the following manner:

a) Individual authorship
b) Research projects
c) Teacher training and retraining programs
d) College courses
e) Standard tests
f) Conferences and seminars supported by professional groups and followed by the distribution of printed reports

Cultural anthropologists are by now reasonably clear as to what they mean by the word culture, at least in their discipline. What the word means to the humanistic scholar, however, still remains diffuse and ill-defined.

At the level of individual authorship we find culture included, sometimes incidentally, sometimes in a purposeful and sustained way in many language texts and reading texts. In addition, not a few books have been published with the unique intent of portraying the culture of a given foreign country. A number of colleges and universities have offered courses for students who are already quite competent in language and who wish to pursue studies that are not exclusively literary in nature but in which literature is one of many facets of the target culture that are the subject matter of the course.

A landmark in professional attention to the role of culture in language instruction was the seminar held in the summer of 1953 at the University of Michigan. This seminar was supported by the Modern Language Association and resulted from a proposal presented to the Association by Albert Marckwardt in December 1952. The subject of the seminar was: "Developing Cultural Understanding through Foreign Language Study." The participants

were: R.W. Brown, J.E. Englekirk, D.H. French, M.C. Johnston, V.H.W. Lange, A.H. Marckwardt, R.L. Politzer, A. Sommerfelt, and B.W. Wheeler. Present also as junior assistants were L.R. Criminale and J.A. Davies. There were daily sessions during the four weeks from 29 June to 24 July. French, German, and Spanish, in addition to English, were selected as the languages to be represented. A twenty-three page summary report of discussions, findings and recommendations appeared in *PMLA* in December 1953.

The seminar was interdisciplinary, based upon the realization that only thus could the subject be properly dealt with. Most of the problems we now face were foreseen at that time and many excellent recommendations were offered. There was, however, little immediate effect of the publication of this report. For lack of funds, for lack of organizational facilities and personnel, perhaps most of all for lack of professional readiness for the problem in the terms in which it was presented, no widely based changes of significance came about as a result of this seminar.

A few years later, in the spring of 1960, the Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages selected as the topic for its yearly discussions and reports: "Culture in Language Learning." Several committees considered and wrote about aspects of this matter and, as is customary, their formal reports were printed and distributed widely in the area served by this conference. The views of both scientists and humanists are expressed in these reports, which are characterized by rather unsuccessful efforts to synthesize in a way useful to classroom teachers a number of points of view that differed widely in content, perspective, and basic

analysis.

Under the auspices of the NDEA, a research project for the examination of cross-cultural contrasts comparing the United States with a number of European countries was launched in 1959. Though classroom pedagogy was not the immediate concern of this research, the ultimate use of its findings in the preparation of teaching materials and in the training of teachers as well as upon classroom programs was envisaged from the start.

> *There is little need to exhort teachers to teach culture; their willingness is already manifest. But there is a need to help them understand what meaning they should assign to the word* culture *and how it can become significant and fruitful in a sequence of years of language study.*

Other research projects linking cultural studies to language instruction have also been supported by NDEA funds, notably the project under the direction of Howard Nostrand at the University of Washington.

Culture has played an important role in two other types of activity. One is the inclusion of a section on Culture and Civilization in the battery of seven tests that comprise the *MLA Proficiency Tests for Teachers and Advanced Students*. The other is the inclusion of culture as a major topic in the programs of the NDEA Institutes, both summer and academic year, presented on a long list of college and university campuses in each successive year beginning in 1959.

From a review of these projects, activities, and reports, two conclusions stand out in sharp clarity: there is an imperative need for a definition of culture in

all its meanings. Even greater is the need for a synthesis of culture as viewed by the scientist on the one hand and by the humanist on the other into an orderly and coherent program that can be meaningful in terms of the daily happenings in language classes at the earlier stages of instruction.

Clarification of concepts

Since a precise statement of what culture is in terms of classroom instruction will obviously be difficult, a degree of clarification may result from making some remarks about what culture is *not*. If they seem exaggerated, the overstatement is a consequence of the fog of confusion that now surrounds us. We shall make rough approximations knowing that they will inevitably need modification and refinement.

Culture is not the same as geography. The latter is a study of the surface of the earth, of its land and water areas, its temperature and climate, its mineral deposits and sources of power and fuel, its plant and animal life, and its characteristics that are favorable or unfavorable to human life. Though the study of geography began with the Greeks, geography itself is as old as the earth, and thus far older than the human culture which is our present concern. Geography is the stage upon which the drama of human culture is played. But the play's the thing, not the scenery. Geography can at best be no more than the material surroundings in which culture takes root, flourishes, and comes to fruition.

Culture is not the same as history. Of course everything has a history - even history - and human culture is no exception. But our reference is to the discipline of history, whose purpose is to tell the story of the past. It does this with the most careful reference to existing documents, these being almost

exclusively in the form of written records. There is some recognition of monuments, building, and artifacts, but in the main history is a matter of printed and written documents. The historian establishes with the greatest care the authenticity of prime sources, then collates, sifts, selects, interprets, and evalutates in terms of a coherent and meaningful pattern. Events that occurred before there were written records are called pre-history, which incorporates, to no little extent, conjecture and deduction. In general, it is fair to say that history goes back no further than the invention of writing, an event of the fifth century B.C. Though much younger than geography, human culture is vastly older than history, for culture appears at present to go back in time the greater part of two million years.

Culture is not the same as folklore, the systematically studied customs, legends, and superstitions that are transmitted in an informal way from one generation to another by means of oral communication. Tales of heroes, songs, dances, home remedies, childhood games and pastimes all loom large in folklore. These matters are important in that they are a part of the common experience of the young and serve to establish a sentimental bond among the members of a cultural group who have shared them in early life. At times they may serve to reflect national aspirations, attitudes, and values. There is no doubt of the worth of folkways as colorful and characteristic expressions of a societal group, and they can be very useful in the understanding of primitive societies. But folklore can provide only a limited and partial view of what we mean by culture.

Culture is not the same as sociology, a discipline that dates from the early nineteenth century. Sociology is the science of human groups, viewed essentially in their collective aspects. Usually noted are the family, the patterns of social classes or strata, the economic system, the legal system, the political system, and the organization and function of religious communities. Sociology seeks to formulate the laws governing the behavior of large numbers of people, and since its inception it has been interested in the general rather than in the specific. Broad generalizations, statistical analyses, and studies of the characteristic similarities and differences in the groups that make up a composite social order are its principal concerns. Sociology is, of all the social sciences, the most closely related to cultural anthropology. Yet the distinction between the two fields continues to be more sharply noted, a fact reflected in the growing number of separations in the academic world of Sociology and Cultural Anthropology into individual departments of study.

Culture is not the same as literature. Both the creation and appreciation of literature rest upon esthetic values which have at their very core patterns of preferment and rejection that are at marked variance with the totality of experience in which culture has its roots. A literary work presents a personal perspective on the predicaments of human life, upon which is superimposed - if it really is literature - a floodlight of intent, effect, and affect that is the very essence of fine art. Some of our most incisive penetrations into the ethos of a given culture come to us through the efforts of the literary artist. Yet in the nature of things, literature can supply us with but a part - though clearly a most valuable part - of what needs to be taught under the heading of culture.

Above all, culture is not the same as civilization. The distinction between these two presents a major problem for teachers and students alike. The word civilization itself, constructed upon the Latin word for the inhabitant of a town or city, is perhaps the best starting point in establishing essential differences. Civilization deals with an advanced state of human society, in which a high level of culture, science, industry, and government has been attained. It deals mainly with cultural refinements and technological inventions that have come about as the result of living in cities and thickly populated areas. Though the effects of civilization may have spread far and wide throughout an entire society, it is fair to say that civilization develops in and emanates from those areas in which persons of diverse classes live together in large numbers, permitting advancements and improvements in all walks of life that are not possible when family groups live in relative isolation. Consider the not unusual circumstance in which two young lovers express their affection for each other over the telephone. The instrument they are using is clearly a device that could have come into being only through the development of civilization. But the attitudes and sentiments the young people express, and the language they use to express them, belong not only to civilization but to culture, for they are events and systems of another order with a very different and far longer history.

Having said with this much emphasis and detail what culture is *not*, it is now time to attempt to say what it *is*. In doing this we do not deny the proximity of all the foregoing areas to the one we shall identify as culture. Nor do we deny the important interrelation of each of them to culture as well

as to each other. Indeed, our intention is not to cut off culture from these other matters but rather to focus our perspective in such a way that a foreground is clearly outlined and is sharply contrasted with the background to which it refers and relates.

The most important single criterion in distinguishing culture from geography, history, folklore, sociology, literature, and civilization is the fact that *in culture we never lose sight of the individual*. The geography, for example, of mountains, rivers, lakes, natural resources, rainfall, and temperature is quite impersonal and would be what it is whether people were present or not. It is only when we see human beings in this geographical picture and observe the relationship between their individual lives and these facts and circumstances of the earth's surface that our perspective becomes what we may call cultural. The census, so important in sociology, serves to count people, identify age groups, occupations, and salaries, to quantify types of dwellings and plumbing. But such information does not really become cultural until we see related to it a dark-haired sixteen-year old boy named Henry, tall for his age, who lives in one of these houses, goes to high school, and works part-time at a lunch counter, looks forward to college and a career in electronics, and who writes lyrics for the school paper.

With this criterion in mind, we come to grips with the dilemma of definition. The Humpty Dumpty approach ("When *I* use a word, it means just what I choose it to mean - neither more nor less") must give way to a more normal use of the verbal symbol. It is the fate of some words to have a number of meanings that are not only sharply different but at times contradictory. Such a word is *culture*. We find it used in refer-

ence to raising blueberries, improving one's speech, listening to string quartets, and training children in infancy. We find it used to refer to a nation's total character, thought, and action. We call cultural that which stands out as the *best* that people do; we also call cultural *everything* they do, and everything they think and believe as well. Clearly, no single word can mean all these things at once.

When dictionaries list an assortment of meanings for a given word, they assign a number to each one, then define it. We adopt this prodecure for the word *culture* in order to separate its various meanings and relate them to each other.

Culture - biological growth

Culture - personal refinement

Culture - literature and the fine arts

Culture - patterns for living

Culture - the sum total of a way of life

> *The most important single criterion in distinguishing culture from geography, history, folklore, sociology, literature, and civilization is the fact that in culture we never lose sight of the individual.*

It is not necessary to say very much about the first three meanings, nor about the last one, for they are all in general use and familiar enough. It is culture, that is the least well understood, yet the most important in the early phases of language instruction. We define it as follows:

> *Culture refers to the individual's role in the unending kaleidoscope of life situations of every kind and the rules and models for attitude and conduct in them. By reference to these models, every human being, from infancy onward, justifies the world to himself as best he can, associates*

with those around him, and relates to the social order to which he is attached.

There are certain basic dimensions in the pattern of human existence that are the same everywhere for everyone and always have been ever since man became man. Culture deals with man as a human animal as well as with man as man. It must talk about cleanliness and sanitation and the personal needs of food, sleep, and shelter. It must not only answer the question: Where is the bookstore? It must also answer the question: Where is the bathroom? Obtaining food and drink, finding protection against the weather and a place to sleep, communicating with those near us, taking care of the young and the sick or injured, continuing the race, being a child to parents and a parent to children, seeking an outlet for emotional urges and expression of intellectual activities, from idle curiosity to mechanical and artistic invention - all these are the terms according to which human life is lived. They are the constants of the human predicament. Of course they relate to the variable factors of geography, history, economics, civilization, and the others we have named, but these constants are always present for every living human being to deal with no matter how the variables may change, grow stronger or weaker, disappear entirely or dominate completely.

In culture, interest is centered upon the area where social pattern and individual cónform meet and interrelate. (The proposed noun *cónform* comes from the verb *confórm*, on analogy with *cónduct* from *condúct*, *cóntrast* from *contrást*, a procedure common in English.) Many factors contribute to shaping the social pattern into what it is, and quite as many contribute to making the individual what he is. What is

central in culture, is the interchange and the reciprocal effect of each upon the other. It is in these terms that we look to history, geography, sociology, linguistics, and psychology for background information that is indispensable. Yet we remember that they are but the casting and the stage setting for the drama of interaction that we call culture.

We reiterate that culture focuses upon the individual and the many social circumstances into which he must fit, upon the pattern of accommodation and the personal conform. What is important in culture is what one is "expected" to think, believe, say, do, eat, wear, pay, endure, resent, honor, laugh at, fight for, and worship, in typical life situations, some as dramatic as a wedding or a court trial or a battlefield, others as mundane as the breakfast table or the playground or the assembly line. And just as important is the extent to which that expectation is met. There can be no doubt that throughout life the force and prestige of the cultural model exert a powerful influence upon what the individual thinks and does. But important also, though in inverse ratio is the effect the individual has upon the model with which he is expected to comply. Small though this influence is, it is the principal origin of social change.

The proper adjustment of individual impulse and action to socially approved behavior is learned in great detail quite early in life, though with little awareness of recommendations to be followed, just as language, with all its complexities, is learned early in life without awareness of rules or formal instruction. Though individual human needs are constant the world over, because men everywhere are physiologically and psychologically the same, there are a thousand reasons why the patterns emerging from the inter-

action of personal need to group-approved behavior will differ, often very widely, from one locality to another. This is precisely what gives the study of culture its special quality and interest. It is also what makes it indispensable in the learning of another language, for a complete understanding of the new language is possible only in terms of the uniqueness of the patterns for living of those whose language it is.

> *Culture focuses upon the individual and the many social circumstances into which he must fit, upon the pattern of accommodation and the personal conform.*

While man as an animal has certain physiological needs that must be satisfied daily, man as man has certain emotional and spiritual needs that also require daily satisfaction. At all ages, man craves companionship and affection. He needs to satisfy his innate curiosity and to symbolize in various ways. He needs to give expression to the exploratory and creative urges within him. He is never wholly sufficient unto himself, but needs to share his life with others. Culture is the area of this sharing process. No individual could create culture by himself; no individual escapes having the imprint of his culture deeply pressed upon him. One of the purest examples of the results of man's association with man is language. Not to recognize language, the simple ability to communicate in words, for the amazing creative process that is is, and to denigrate it instead, is to fail to recognize the very fulcrum upon which all humanism rests.

From the point of view of language instruction, culture may upon closer inspection be resolved into two distinct and complementary areas: *formal* culture

and *deep* culture. Formal culture defines the individual's relationship to the refinement in thought, action, and surroundings of culture. It defines his relationship to the wide range of esthetic expressions of culture, poetry and prose, the theatre, painting, the dance, architecture, and artistry in whatever form. It relates him to the displays of heroism and leadership in word and deed that are known to all. It relates him also to the multiple and interrelated structures of social organization, economic effort, and professional discipline, and to the outward manifestations of politics and religion of culture. The features of formal culture are easily discernible in the total pattern of the social group and are actively present in or are accessible to the awareness of the individuals who are in it.

In formal culture, the social order turns to the individual, singles him out, and focuses upon him the attention of a small group or large. He is named, orally or in print or both, and comment is made upon his new status, his personal accomplishments. Note is taken of his achievements in the past or his prospects for the future. Such events are infant baptism, birthday celebrations, confirmation ceremonies, the awarding of diplomas and degrees in school and college, the winning of prizes of many sorts, engagement and marriage, appointment and election to rank or office in professional, social, and political organizations, citations for bravery in military life, for accomplishments in civil life and the academic world, and for artistic creations - and finally funerals.

We cannot overlook the negative counterpart of the foregoing, in which the individual is singled out for censure and punishment because of flagrant disregard of what the community expects. A

child is punished by being banished from the family table or by being given a place of humiliation and shame in school; an adult, by being expelled from the organization of which he is a member, by fine or imprisonment or even death if his acts are legally reprehensible. In all these instances too, the individual is pointed out, named, and brought to the attention of all concerned.

Deep culture functions in a different way. It is a slow, persistent, lifelong process that begins in infancy, and although its effectiveness is most notable in childhood it never really ceases. There is no naming of the individual, no focusing of public attention upon private behavior. Indeed, there is almost no awareness that the process is taking place. But through continued association with others the individual gradually accommodates his way of observing, speaking, eating, dressing, gesturing, thinking, believing, living, and valuing to that of those around him.

There is no reason why the facts of history and geography, the data of economics and sociology, information about and examples drawn from literature and the fine arts should not find their way into the content of language courses to the extent that they do not detract from the principal business at hand: language learning. But until such information has been related to a boy or a girl, a man or a woman with a name, a position in life described, and with a personal interest in and relation to the facts presented, we are not yet within the territory identified as culture. Whether this person is someone in real life or a character in fiction is not important. What is important is to see an individual relating to the people and the life around him. As long as we provide our students only with the facts of history or

geography, economics or sociology, as long as we provide them only with a knowledge of the sophisticated structures of society such as law and medicine, or examples and appreciative comments on artistic creations such as poems, castles, or oil paintings, we have not yet provided them with an intimate view of where life's action is, where the individual and the social order come together, where self meets life.

In retrospect it may seem that our analysis is perhaps too detailed and serves only to complicate an already complex situation even further. But realism suggests that if culture is taken to mean all that is subsumed under the five different definitions, then our task is impossible and we would do better to admit it and abandon the pretense. If, however, culture is taken to mean first of all and principally definition four, with as much of definitions three and five as can reasonably be added as the learner's competence increases, then the task, though still prodigious, at least becomes manageable.

The profile of a culture

In 1953 two anthropologists, Edward T. Hall, Jr., and George L. Trager, issued a pre-publication edition of a work entitled *The Analysis of Culture*. The authors were then at the Foreign Service Institute of the Department of State in Washington, D.C. Their purpose was, as scientists, to develop an outline or map according to which any culture could be analyzed and described.

In 1959 one of the authors, Edward T. Hall, published a book entitled *The Silent Language*, which is an amplification of *The Analysis of Culture*. In its simplest form the scheme upon which their presentation is based is a list of ten focal points of critical importance in the fabric of a cul-

ture's makeup. These ten points are plotted in two dimensions, horizontal and vertical, yielding a checkerboard or grid with 100 slots or squares, each marking a salient point in cultural analysis. This list is as follows:

1. Interaction
2. Association
3. Subsistence
4. Bi-sexuality
5. Temporality
6. Territoriality
7. Learning
8. Play
9. Defense
10. Exploitation

This is indeed a fascinating list, purporting as it does to mark the principal points in the web of human existence.

Under 1. *Interaction,* we see man interacting with all that he finds in the environment that surrounds him.

Under 2. *Association,* we see him associating with his fellows in the family, in study and sports groups, in clubs and guilds, and in many other ways.

In 3. *Subsistence,* we see him gaining the requirements of living: food, dwellings, clothing.

Under 4. *Bi-sexuality,* we see the two sexes characterized according to the different things they learn, the occupations they engage in, the lives they lead as men or women, and the ways in which they relate to each other as individuals and as groups.

In 5. *Temporality,* we consider the time concept and all that this means in the passing of the hours, the cycle of days and nights, of months and seasons, and their effect upon human living.

Point 6. *Territoriality,* treats of space in terms of a room of one's own, nearness to one's neighbors, the street on which one lives,

property of one's own, boundaries, frontiers, and other matters that have to do with space and our relation to it.

7. *Learning,* includes what we learn informally and unconsciously (this comprises a large part of our behavior and our thought) as well as what is learned in formal education in childhood and in later life.

8. *Play,* is concerned with games, sports, amusements, recreations, and pastimes for all ages.

9. *Defense,* deals with our means for defending that which we value and our innate responses that lead us to protect what we consider ours or that which we feel merits our action to defeat aggression.

Finally, 10. *Exploitation,* studies our control over things, our handling of tools and resources, our development in technology and engineering.

This is a stimulating analysis, and *The Silent Language* can be warmly recommended as useful reading for any language teacher. At the same time, we are likely to feel that this analysis has many of the limitations that characterize a great part of scientific thought in America today. There are many matters that are not brought up for consideration which may appear to those who teach the young equally important in mapping or charting the way of life of a people or a nation. Without denying the value of the ten points listed above, we may propose another list of matters that appear central and critical in the analysis of a culture. Our list is as follows:

1. Symbolism
2. Value
3. Authority
4. Order
5. Ceremony
6. Love
7. Honor
8. Humor
9. Beauty
10. Spirit

An analysis of *Symbolism* would tell us not only about a nation's language but also about its literature and art, its myths, its politics, and its religion.

Under *Value* we would consider personal preference and rejection, conscience, morality, and philosophy.

Under *Authority* we would note whose word is accepted and acted upon at various ages in one's life and in various situations and circumstances.

Under *Order* we would study what dispositions there are toward a clear, methodical, and harmonious arrangement of thoughts and things in the life of both individual and community.

Ceremony would focus our attention upon the almost excessive human fondness for elaborate dress and complicated ritual, for congregations great and small on occasions gay and solemn.

And what analysis of culture would be complete without discussing *Love,* whether it be the attachment of parent and child, of husband and wife, the devotion of one friend to another, or the attitude of an individual toward a supreme being? Even if we see in love no more than the reciprocal of aggression, it would appear to merit a place in our list.

Under *Honor* we would consider the high standards of personal conduct that give evidence of our attitude toward ourselves, our families, our friends, our country.

Under *Humor* we would note not only how important and popular is the sense of what is witty, comic, and laughable but also what is found to be humorous and how this varies from one age group to another and from one culture to another.

Under *Beauty* we would seek for and describe in the products of man's brain and hand that which is over and above the practical and the utilitarian, and marks a striving toward innovation and perfection, and is an indication of the esthetic sense which man is motivated to express.

Finally, under *Spirit* our attention would be turned upon the evidence of man's awareness of himself as man, the special human capacity whereby his thoughts may range in time and space far from the situation in which he finds himself, contemplating both reality and non-reality, and permitting him to pursue the eternal quest of what it is that he is.

Culture in the classroom

How can the transition be made from these theoretical matters to the active, crowded, noisy, vital, potentially chaotic, and potentially eager reality that is the classroom?

A class session is a notable example of culture. Here the forces of formal as well as deep culture are exerted strongly upon the individual. Here he learns for the first time about many of the social models he will eventually face and what his attitude and behavior regarding them is expected to be. There is a prescribed location and décor, a typical atmosphere, a complicated pattern of rapport between peers and persons of unequal station. There is a task at hand to be accomplished together with stated and valued rewards when the pattern and the expected cónform mesh and fit.

It is a special characteristic of the foreign language classroom (when its purpose is to teach communication) that one language is superimposed upon another, producing a result not unlike a dou-

ble exposure in photography. Ideally the original picture quickly fades as the second picture slowly establishes itself in clarity and detail. Of all the elements of the target culture, the most typical, unique, and challenging, yet the most easily available, is the target language. Its authentic use from the beginning is therefore a most valid cultural objective.

This recommended use of language brings us to an analysis of the classroom as a situation. We ask the usual questions: Where are we? Who is present? What is the interrelationship between one person and another? What are the special features and circumstances of the location? Upon what is attention focused? How is language used and how does it reflect the various factors in the environment? When those present address each other, are the forms used intimate or polite? If proper names are spoken (everyone has at least a half-dozen), which ones are used and by whom? If a name is preceded by a title, what title and which part of the name? What formulas of politeness appear, what requests, what directives? To all these questions neither grammar nor semantics has an answer. They are not matters of language but of language users. As such they are cultural, and rightly observed they can give a cultural dimension to every language class beginning with the first day.

In comparing and contrasting the mother culture with the target culture we may expect to find similarity in the types and range of social models that are to be adjusted to. Differences are less likely to appear in the hierarchy of models than in the details of expectation and the manner of cónform. In this we may see a deeper significance in the establishing of a cultural island in the classroom.

Posters, pictures, maps, signs, and realia of many kinds are all helpful. But they remain peripheral to the main features of the situation we are concerned with. What is central is the use of language, the role being played by each of those present, where people stand or sit or how they move about, their attitudes, their gestures, whether the students speak singly or in unison, how permission to speak is asked for and granted, whether replies are memorized or created, how answers are approved of or disapproved of and corrected, what ensues when expected patterns of deportment are not conformed to. The fact that many of these details are different in the target culture gives them an interest and an appeal that easily invites attention and participation on the part of those whose mother tongue is English.

Culture, especially as it is reflected in the use of language, is the dominant feature in the basic course.

The next important concern is to see how language itself is studied and learned in the target culture, and to imitate or make appropriate adaptations of such procedures in our American classrooms. This concern has to do with the correctness of pronunciation, the rightness of grammatical forms, orthography, and semantic selections. It has to do with all the various skills, particularly of writing, with the role of literary texts in language learning, and with the analysis of language structure. It has to do with the dyadic of language, a behavior pattern which involves far more than question and answer and takes us into the mutual exchange of utterance and rejoinder, which is the commonest form of overt language behavior the world over.

The element of culture that is closest to language, though at bot-

tom non-linguistic, is music. Alike in so many ways, there are basic differences between language and music that result in the listener's always knowing whether the person to whom he is listening is speaking or singing. The reason for this is that vocal music is based upon rigorously enforced patterns of tempo, rhythm, and pitch, all so different that if the message conforms to one it cannot conform to the other. Singing inevitably does violence to the norms of speech in length of sounds, in dynamic stress, and in pitch phonemes. Although music can be of little aid in phonology and syntax, this does not mean that it cannot be moderately helpful in semantics. But the chief value of music lies elsewhere. The non-linguistic characteristics of music are culturally valuable essentially for their originality and their uniqueness, when they are authentic to the culture in which they developed. Music is welcomed in the language class not because it teaches language but because it represents other elements of culture in a most appealing form.

The human voice and the printed line are not the only vehicles of culture available in the language classroom. The physical menace of a towering mountain, the sound of a waterfall, the three-dimensional facade of a cathedral or a castle, the interior of a powerplant or a capitol building, the taste of a sparkling wine or the odor of a perfume shop cannot be made an immediate experience of the classroom. But pictures can go a long way toward suggesting and acting as surrogate for such detalis of the target culture. Again, care must be exercised. What is selected for presentation must be authentic, typical, and important; otherwise false impressions may be created. Pictures have been widely used, and rightly so, in pre-

senting culture. But if pictures are to be effective in culture, they must in every case relate the cultural configuration to individual participation. It is not enough to see a market display of fruits and fish and vegetables; we need to see the vendor and a client engaged in a transaction. It is not enough to see the facade of a school and some empty classrooms; we need to see a class in session and observe the posture and attitude of teacher and students. It is not enough to see a picture of a busy street scene in a large city; we need to see a closeup of a pedestrian waiting, more or less patiently, for the signal to cross. It is not enough to see a painting displayed in a museum; we would also like to see the artist in his studio working at an unfinished canvas.

> *In comparing and contrasting the mother culture with the target culture we may expect to find similarity in the types and range of social models that are to be adjusted to.*

Culture, especially as it is reflected in the use of language, is the dominant feature in the basic course. But as the student advances from one level of language learning to another the nature of instruction in culture changes and develops. In the second phase, culture continues to be a principal concern, but the learner now has enough language competence to appreciate comments about and discover and preceive for himself significant matters in culture. As the learner progresses in his reading, he will, if the right things have been done in the basic course, find an added dimension of cultural significance in the stories he reads, in the characters that are depicted, and in the situations that are developed. He will find cultural values reflected in what the author chooses to talk about, to have his characters say and do, to have the reader understand, infer, and react to in his presentation. In this second phase, the learner should begin to understand what is being aimed at in the cultural objective and to see how there can be both a scientific interpretation and a humanistic interpretation of cultural matters. He should begin to be made aware that he too lives in a culture and that these analyses can appropriately be made of his own way of life as well as of that of a foreign country.

In phase three there can be a systematic study of the target culture along the lines suggested in the section of this paper entitled "The profile of a culture." Literary and non-literary works can be read with both analysis and synthesis in mind, enabling the learner to interweave and interrelate the triple objectives of this phase: the perfecting of the control of language skills, an acquaintance in depth with a significant number of literary works of the highest order, and a sophistication in cultural awareness, insight, and sympathy with regard to the way of life of those whose language he is studying.

Proposals

Proposal I

That the concept of culture as herein defined be reviewed, perfected, and confirmed professionally in a representative and supportive way. That the statement of this concept then be given wide circulation so that it may be made available to teachers in service, teachers in training, authors of materials for classroom instruction, and authors of tests of progress and achievement in language courses.

Proposal II

That materials be prepared to teach students the various meanings of the word *culture* and how they may expect to identify it in the language they learn and the books they read - and how a better understanding of their own culture may result from this study.

Proposal III

That materials be prepared to help teachers know about, analyze, and teach culture in the foreign language in which they are giving instruction.

Proposal IV

That materials be prepared to help teachers give instruction concerning the target culture in English.

Proposal V

That materials be prepared to show how elements of the target culture are embedded in the target language itself.

Proposal VI

That teaching dialogues be prepared that are based not only upon basic matters of linguistic structure and semantics but equally upon situations that are authentic and important in the target culture.

Proposal VII

That the distinction between culture and the other meanings of culture be sharpened, and that all areas receive appropriate attention at the proper time and in a suitable way according to the gradually increasing competence of the language learner.

Proposal VIII

That culture be generally recognized as a specific goal from the early phases of language instruction onward, with all that this implies in terms of the preparation of materials, the training and retraining of teachers, classroom procedures, and measurement.

Proposal IX

That increased attention be given to the role of pictures in language

instruction, recognizing that while pictures cannot teach the sounds or the structure of a language, they can often show with remarkable success what language stands for. Sharper distinctions are necessary than have been made in the past concerning the power of words to generalize and the power of pictures to particularize.

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Mosaic

Appendix

The following is taken from:
Nelson Brooks, *Language and Language Learning: Theory and Practice.*
New York: Harcourt Brace World, 1964, pp. 90-95.

Greetings, Friendly Exchange, Farewells

- How do friends meet, converse briefly, take their leave?
- What are the perennial topics of small talk?
- How are strangers introduced?

The Morphology of Personal Exchange

- How are interpersonal relationships such as differences in age, degree of intimacy, social position, and emotional tension reflected in the choice of appropriate forms of pronouns and verbs?

Levels of Speech

- In what ways are age, provenance, social status, academic achievement, degree of formality, interpersonal relations, aesthetic concern, and personality reflected in the standard or traditional speech?

Patterns of Politeness

- What are the commonest formulas of politeness and when should they be used?

Respect

- Apart from overt expressions of deference and discipline, what personages and what cultural themes, both past and contemporary, are characteristically held in sincere respect?

Intonation Patterns

- Apart from the selection, order, and form of words themselves, what overtones of cadence, interrogation, command, surprise, deference, and the like are born exclusively by the dynamics of pronunciation? (For example, the French *Vous vous en allez ce soir* may be pronounced in such a way that it is clearly either a statement, a rejoinder, a question, an order, or a sentence read by a child from a book.)

Contractions and Omissions

- What words or sound are normally telescoped into contractions (for example, *can't*) or frequently dropped altogether (for example, the French *ne*) in spoken speech?

Expletives

- What words and intonation patterns are commonly used to enliven one's speech by way of commentary upon one's own feelings or actions, those of the person addressed, or the nature or behavior of other elements in the immediate situation?

Types of Error in Speech and their Importance

- What errors is the speaker of English likely to make in the new language?
- What is the relative seriousness of these errors in the new culture? (For example, in French, a mistake in the gender of a noun is deeply disturbing, but the failure to make a past participle agree, if noticed at all, is readily condoned.)

Verbal Taboos

- What common words or expressions in English have direct equivalents that are not tolerated in the new culture, and vice versa?

Written and Spoken Language

- Aside from richness of vocabulary and complexity of structure, what are the commonest areas of difference between spoken language and writing?

Numbers

- How are numbers pronounced, spelled, represented in arithmetical notation, written by hand, and formally printed in ways that are peculiar to the new culture?

Folklore

- What myths, stories, traditions, legends, customs, and beliefs are universally found among the common people?

Childhood Literature

- What lyrics, rhymes, songs, and jingles of distinct aesthetic merit are learned by all young children?

Discipline

- What are the norms of discipline in the home, in school, in public places, in the military, in pastimes, and in ceremonies?

Festivals

- What days of the calendar year are officially designated as national festivals?
- What are the central themes of these occasions and what is the manner of their celebration?

Holidays

- What is the usual thythm of work days and days off?
- What do young people do with their days off?

Observance of Sunday

- How does Sunday differ from weekdays with regard to what an individual does or does not do, may or may not do?

Games

- What are the most popular games that are played outdoors, indoors, by the young, by adults?

Music

What opportunities are offered the individual for training and practice in vocal and instrumental music?

Errands

- What are typical errands that a young person is likely to be asked to do, either at home or in school?

Pets

- What animals are habitually received into the home as pets? What is their role in the household?

Telephone

- What phrases and procedures are conventional in the use of the telephone?
- What is the role of the private telephone in the home?
- Where are public telephones to be found and how is the service paid for?

Comradeship

- How are friendships and personal attachments likely to be formed and what provisions are made for fostering comradeship through clubs, societies, and other group organizations?

Personal Possessions

- What objects are often found decorating the bureau and walls of a young person's bedroom?
- What articles are likely to be discovered in a boy's pocket or a girl's handbag?

Keeping Warm and Cool

- What changes in clothing, heating, ventilation, food, and drink are made because of variations in temperature?

Cleanliness

- What is the relation between plumbing and personal cleanliness?
- What standards of public hygiene and sanitation are generally observed?

Cosmetics

- What are the special conditions of age, sex, activity, and situation under which make-up is permitted, encouraged, or required?

Tobacco and Smoking

- Who smokes, what, and under what circumstances? What are the prevailing attitudes toward smoking? Where are tobacco products obtained?

Medicine and Doctors

What are the common home remedies for minor ailments?

What is the equivalent of the American drugstore?

How does one obtain the services of a physician?

Competitions

- In what fields of activity are prizes awarded for success in open competition?
- How important is competition in schools, in the business world, in the professions?

Appointments

- How are appointments for business and pleasure made?
- What are the usual meeting places?
- How important is punctuality?

Invitations and Dates

- What invitations are young people likely to extend and receive?
- What formalities are involved?
- What is the counterpart of "dating" in the United States?

Traffic

- How does vehicular traffic affect the pedestrian?
- What are the equivalents of traffic lights, road signs, crosswalks, safety islands, parking meters, hitchhiking?

Owning, Repairing, and Driving Cars

- Are young people interested in gasoline motors?
- Are they knowledgable about them?
- What is the role of the car in family life?
- What are the requirements for obtaining a license to drive?

Science

- How has modern science affected daily living, inner thought, conversation, reading matter?

Gadgets

- What mechanical devices are commonly found in personal use, in the home, in stores, and in travel?

Sports

- What organized and professional sports are the most popular and the most generally presented for the public?

Radio and Television Programs

- How general is the use of radio and television and what types of programs are offered, especially for young people?

Books

- What are the facts of special interest concerning the printing, punctuation, binding, selling, and popularity of books?

Other Reading Matter

- In addition to books, what types of reading matter, such as newspapers, weeklies, magazines, and reviews, are generally available and where can they be bought or consulted?

Hobbies

- In what individaul hobbies are young people likely to engage?

Learning in School

- What course of study is usual for an individual of a given age and academic orientation when compared with that of a student in similar circumstances in the United States?

Homework and Learning in the Home

- What is the importance of homework in formal education?

- What is taught at home by older members of the family?

Penmanship

- What styles of handwriting are generally taught and used? What kinds of writing tools are available at home, in school, in public places?
- What are the conventions concerning the writing of dates, the use of margins, the signing of names?

Letter Writing and Mailing

- How do letters customarily begin and end?
- How are envelopes addressed?
- Are there typical kinds of personal stationery?
- Where are stamps bought?
- Where are mailboxes found?

Family Meals

- What meals are usually served en famille?
- What is the special character of each meal, the food eaten, the seating arrangement, the method of serving dishes, the general conversation?

Meals away from Home

- Where does one eat when not at home?
- What are the equivalents of our lunchrooms, cafeterias, dining halls, lunch counters, wayside inns, restaurants?

Soft Drinks and Alcohol

- What types of nonalcoholic beverages are usually consumed by young people and adults?
- What is the attitude toward the use of beer, wine, and spirits?
- What alcoholic drinks are in frequent use at home and in public?

Snacks and Between-meal Eating

- Apart from the normal trio of daily meals, what pauses for eating or drinking are generally observed?
- What is the customary hour and the usual fare?

Cafés, Bars, and Restaurants

- What types of cafés, bars, and restaurants are found and how do they vary in respectability?

Yards, Lawns, and Sidewalks

- What are the equivalents of American back yards, front lawns, and sidewalks in residential and business areas?
- What is their importance in the activities of young people?

Parks and Playgrounds

- Where are parks and playgrounds located and with what special features or equipment are they likely to be provided?

Flowers and Gardens

- Of what interest and importance are flower shops, house plants, gardens for flowers and vegetables in town and in the country?

Movies and Theaters

- Where are moving picture houses and theaters to be found?
- What procedures are involved in securing tickets and being seated?
- What can be said of the quality and popular appeal of the entertainment?

Races, Circus, Rodeo

- What outdoor events are in vogue that correspond to our auto or horse races, circuses, and similar spectacles?

Museums, Exhibitions, and Zoos

- What types of museums, exhibitions, and animal displays are generally provided and what is their role in the education of the young and the recreation and enjoyment of adults?

Getting from Place to Place

- What facilities for travel are provided for short distances about town or from one city or part of the country to another, by bus, rail, or airplane?

Contrasts in Town and Country Life

- What are some of the notable differences in dwellings, clothing, manners, shopping facilities, public utilities, when life in town is compared with life in the country?

Vacation and Resort Areas

- What areas have special climate, scenery, or other natural features that make them attractive for vacation?

Camping and Hiking

- How popular are summer camps, camping, hiking, and cycling trips, and what organizations are especially interested in their promotion?

Savings Accounts and Thrift

- In what ways do banks or other organizations provide for the deposit of small amounts of money by individuals?
- To what extent and in what ways are young people encouraged to practice thrift?

Odd Jobs and Earning Power

- What kinds of chores and odd jobs are young people expected or permitted to do?
- If these are paid for, how is the individual reimbursed?
- To what extent are regular paying jobs made available to younger persons?

Careers

- What careers have strong appeal for the young?
- How important is parental example and advice in the choice of a career?
- What financial help is likely to be forthcoming for those who choose a career demanding long preparation?

Constance K. Knop

Directions for Change in an Audio-Lingual Approach

The article examines recent research and thinking in the field of second-language teaching to find directions and suggestions for change that we can interweave into a basically audio-lingual approach.

We teachers who were trained in the audio-lingual approach absorbed definite, prescribing principles to observe in the classroom. All students were to acquire a second language first by listening, then speaking, next reading, and finally writing. Rote repetition and memorization of dialogues and patterns drills were the base of most learning activities. Exact pronunciation was expected in sounds and words produced. Errors were to be avoided through use of minimal steps in drills and frequent teacher modeling. When errors did occur, they were to be eradicated at once with class repetition and practice on the correct model. Grammar was to be presented inductively, with students memorizing examples of a pattern and then creating parallel examples through analogy. Many teachers restricted all their teaching techniques and activities to a strict, even rigid adherence to these principles.

Recent research has called into question several of the basic principles in audio-lingual methodology. Nevertheless, many of us still remain satisfied with various aspects of the audio-lingual approach. Use of dialogues helps our students discover and internalize basic structures in the language. Pattern practices teach them how to generate new utterances on their own. Structured question-answer work provides them with useful vocabulary. Emphasis on the little "c" culture has familiarized our students with daily life and interactions in the target culture. Moreover, most of the textbooks we teach from use these various audio-lingual activities. Thus, totally abandoning an audio-lingual approach seems foolish, especially when no alternate, viable method has yet appeared.

What we might attempt to do, instead, is to examine recent research and thinking in the field of second-language teaching to find directions and suggestions for change that we can interweave into a basically audio-lingual approach. As seen in the communicative competence movement, in research on cognitive mapping of learning styles, and in studies on classroom climate these changes would affect our teaching techniques, classroom activities, and interactions with students.

Communicative Competence

Drawing on recent research in second-language learning, the communicative competence movement has emerged as an attempt to emphasize the development of communicative skills. In the audio-lingual approach, the ultimate goal of language study was the ability to communicate in a second language. This was stated as a goal of the audio-lingual approach but was, we find, rarely reached. Observations of classes taught audio-lingually and examination of texts based on this method show that its techniques and activities were primarily structured for memorization of subject matter and the automatic production of responses. Little, if any, time or planning was devoted to free responses and to more active communicative activities.

In contrast, communicative competence theorists stress the importance of including daily activities that encourage open communication. They make the obvious, but previously unobserved, point that students only learn to communicate if they engage in communicative activities.[1] That is, as a further step beyond memorization of dialogues and pattern practices, students need to have daily activities that encourage and allow them to engage in realistic conversation and communication.

A crucial point to note in planning these communicative activities is the theorists' definition of communication. They define it as an interchange between people in which new information is exchanged. We actually learn something from the students' conversation. Thus, the question "What is this?" (when the answer is cued by an object) is not defined as communication because the answer is teacher-controlled and already known; nothing new is learned. On the other hand, an open-ended question such as, "What are you going to do this weekend?" - when we do not really know - will lead to communication, by definition of the communicative competence field, because an exchange of information or ideas occurs. We have student imput, not teacher cues, as answers. It seems obvious that communication can not occur without previous structured practice. Students must learn and internalize the vocabulary, structures,

and pronunciation of a language before they can engage inconversation. Yet it appears equally obvious that students must have opportunities for communicative activities, if they are to learn to communicate on their own. In our teaching, we need to include rote-level drills and more open-ended activities wherein students actually supply, obtain, and exchange information and ideas.

When planning such activities, we must consider other points raised by proponents of communicative competence. One guiding principle states that students must initiate as well as respond in the communication. This reminds us that students must learn the question formations and information-seeking structures in a language. This can easily be done in classroom question-answer work by saying, "Now ask me that question," encouraging students to repeat and learn the question form. Activities can also move to chain drills where an individual student asks another individual the teacher's question. Thus, even in pattern drills or question-answer work, students prepare themselves for communicative activities by learning question forms.

Finally, the theorists state that the communication must be realistic and meaningful to students. This implies that topics for communicative activities must be based on actual experiences and interests of students. They can not communicate about taking a subway train if they have never been on one. But they can communicate about their football team; they can vote on changes they would make in their school; they can discuss their favorite television show. Choosing topics on students' experiential level and in their field of interest insures that students understand what they

are talking about and that they will WANT to say something. In this way, comprehension and motivation are provided for in the activities.

Underlying these three principles is the main tenet of communicative competence: students only learn to communicate by doing so. This leads to an important change in the audio-lingual approach. Teachers themselves must plan daily communicative activities, keeping in mind the three principles just presented: that the activities should involve an exchange of information, that students are to initiate as well as respond, and that the activities must be meaningful and realistic. Planning such activities does not mean that we have to abandon vocabulary, structures, or topics from our text. Instead, we help students restudy and review these materials in a different format. We may look on communicative activities as the final learning stage, as a last review. It is the format of how students review that changes. Rather than again repeating sentences or answering our questions, students will use the structures and questions/answers to converse with each other.

Possible communicative activities that could easily be set up in our classes include:

1. Interviews

Students obtain information from each other and then share it with the class. We often conduct such an activity in our classes but it usually is a teacher to student one with other members listening to an individual's answer. To change this, we would plan student to student small-group work. As a specific example, consider the topics "family" or "house," both first-year level in vocabulary. The teacher might first have the class repeat sample

questions, such as "What is your mother's name?" or "How many brothers or sisters do you have?" or "Which room do you study in?" or "What is your favorite room?" These questions could be listed on the board or on a sheet of paper to guide the interviews. After practising the questions (i.e., learning to initiate), students break into groups of two to ask each other the questions and obtain information (taking notes or writing out whole sentences). Afterwards, group sharing could occur when individuals report on answers or when the teacher elicits group responses (e.g., by asking "Who has one or more brothers?" to gain group information). In this format, students will have been responsible for obtaining information and for giving information - in other words, engaging in communication. Almost all question-answer activities could be organized in interview form, with students conversing in small groups.

2. Problem-solving

This activity also stresses the importance of exchanging information and ideas. It could be carried out in groups of two or three or it might begin with a large-group discussion, with each member contributing an idea.

One simple topic is "You have $10 to spend this weekend. How are you going to spend it?" Involved here is the use of the present tense of different verbs (or the "I'm going to" future form), numbers, and concrete objects, all of them items usually covered even in first year. In groups of two, students would then discuss and decide together how to work out the problem.

They need not communicate in whole sentences. "$6. for a record. - No, $4 for a movie. - I want $2 for roller-skating" is similar to what they would really say in such a situation in their native language. The important element is that the students are using the language as a means to discuss and solve a problem.

Other possible topics include planning a visit of your town for a French friend, deciding what items to take to Mexico with a 40-pound limit, or discussing how to spend an afternoon when school has been cancelled. These activities all have limits and parameters (money, weight, time) within which students must work out the problem. Possible solutions could then be shared with the entire class.

3. Talking your way out of a situation

This is similar to problem-solving, but is more conversational. Again this could be worked on with the whole group first, with each individual adding one or two ideas. Then the small groups could develop this in greater detail, in oral or written form. Possible situations: "You arrive home at 2 A.M. when you were supposed to be home at midnight. Explain why you are late." (This would be useful as a follow-up study of past tenses.) Another situation: "You want an increase in your allowance. Explain and justify why - first to a friend, then to your parents." A further situation: "You received an F on your report card. Explain why to your parents."

4. Role-playing

This activity can be combined with problem-solving. Role-playing is especially useful in getting students to see someone else's point of view and to articulate it. This approach can also be humorous, of course, allowing students to make an exaggerated stereotype out of the role or to turn it about completely from the usual, expected behavior. Thus, a role-playing situation could be a parent/student discussing a bad grade or a teacher/student discussing the grade or two students discussing it. In fact, such contrastive role-playing could be used in sequence to show students how the topic could be discussed in different ways, depending on the participants. Another role-playing, combined with talking one's way out of a situation, could involve asking your parents for the car that night and explaining why you want it.

It should be pointed out that all these communicative activities have generally focused on real problems and information in a student's life. It is doubtful whether communicative activities can work well if they are not based on the experiential background of students. Moreover, these activities MUST be based on the vocabulary and structures worked on in the text. If students have not had numbers and verbs, they cannot decide on how to spend $10. On the other hand, think how much more motivational it is - and how much longer lasting the learning - if students use numbers and verbs to discuss a problem with each other and to justify how they would spend that money. In other words, communicative activities allow students to use memorized vocabulary and memorized structures for real-istic, personalized, meaningful exchanges. Students are using the language for a purpose, not memorizing the language as the only or final goal in their learning. Students' motivation in memorizing basic structures and vocabulary will increase when they know that later on they will engage in conversation, actively using the language to communicate their own ideas and wishes to each other.

So if we are going to engage in communicative competence activities, one thing we must do is to plan and include communicative activities, like interviews and problem-solving, in our daily teaching. Another change in our teaching involves our attitude and tolerance toward errors. In the audio-lingual approach, we based all our planning on error avoidance. We structured drills with minimal steps, we had students repeat after us at all times, we corrected errors immediately. It will be difficult to avoid errors in communicative activities. Communicative activities can not be structured with minimal steps; students are to engage freely in unplanned exchanges. We do not have students repeat after us; they talk to each other. If we constantly correct errors, we interrupt the flow of conversation and intimidate students.

However, that does not mean that we totally ignore student errors during communicative activities. It would be a great disservice to them to let students think that they are speaking correctly when they are not. Moreover, if we let errors go uncorrected, they may become fixed or fossil-

ized.[2] The suggested role of teacher in communicative activities is that of diagnostician. The teacher moves among the groups of students as they are communicating and mentally notes errors being made. Later in the period or the next day, the teacher conducts remedial drills based on the errors heard (e.g., the pronunciation of /y/ or the use of estar/ser). If mention is made of the reason for the drill, students will undoubtedly be more motivated to take part in drills to enhance their communicative ability.

Thus, instead of error avoidance, the teacher engages in error analysis: this involves noting frequently made errors, deciding what the errors indicate about students' learning (e.g., they may know the forms of ser and of estar but it is work on usage contrasts that they need), and then preparing follow-up drills to eradicate the errors. It is rather like the role of a parent: we can not protect our children from making mistakes but we can help them learn from their mistakes. Often that is the most effective way of learning for students: they are more willing to engage in practice based on immediate needs and errors just made than in drills that seem useless or simply a part of the textbook.

A clarification must be made at this point. Error avoidance is still an important principle when working on materials for rote learning (such as memorization of dialogues or pattern practices). For rote learning, we probably want to insure correct practice: it saves classroom time, it gives students a sense of security and achievement be-cause they are not making errors, and it avoids the possibility of students' internalizing mistakes. Thus, minimal step changes in drill, frequent teacher modeling and choral repetition, correction of individual's mistakes with choral repetition afterwards - these are all appropriate activities during structured practice, the "skill-getting" or memorization level.3 But when the type of activity changes (from rote learning to communication), when the goal changes (to that of students communicating), when the focus changes (from pronunciation and producing correct forms to the exchange of information), then the teacher's role must change. At that point, error analysis - noting errors, analyzing the problem involved, constructing remedial follow-up drills - and teaching from errors become our function and role.

Cognitive Mapping of Learning Styles

Directions for changes in our teaching are indicated in a second area of research that concerns our students' learning styles. Cognitive mapping of learning styles uses inventories and interviews with students to find out how they prefer to go about learning new materials, or how they most often go about learning. By discovering students' strategies and approaches in learning, we can present lessons that build on their preferences, their habits, and their strengths. In this way, students will feel more comfortable in approaching the learning task and will be able to use strategies that generally bring them success in learning.

Specifically, the questions brought out by the research on cognitive mapping of learning styles deal with the following topics:

1. Which skills does the student generally use or prefer to use in learning? (e.g., using the listening skill? speaking? reading? writing?). In the audio-lingual approach all students were forced to progress through the same sequence: first through listening activities, then speaking, then reading, and finally writing. It is more and more apparent that not all students can learn efficiently, comfortably, or successfully through this preordained, fixed sequence. The cognitive mappers suggest more flexibility and variety in the sequence of skills used. This might include, for example, seeing and reading sentences before practicing them orally or writing out answers to questions before producing them orally. Starting an activity with reading or writing before oral work would meet the needs of those students who rely on the skills of reading and writing for successful learning.

2. What kinds of social interactions or groupings does the student prefer for learning? Some students are helped by large-group instruction with the teacher as the leader. Others interact and learn better if they work with their peers in groups of two or three. Yet others prefer solitary work, such as a "uni-pac" or individual study time during the class hour. The typical audio-lingual interaction used whole-class practice, with all activities conducted by the teacher. Little, if any, small-group practice took place. Individual practice occurred only in the language laboratory and even then the

student was not working at his/her own pace but rather was cued by the exercises on the tape. Yet current research indicates that many students learn very effectively through small-group interactions and individual study time.

3. What modes of inferencing, on the part of the student, or what types of presentation, on the part of the teacher, best facilitate learning for an individual student? This question focuses on deductive versus inductive presentations: does the teacher give the rule first and then examples based upon it (i.e., deductive approach) or are several examples practiced from which students generate a principle or rule (i.e., inductive approach)? This question also refers to the process of analysis versus analogy. In the audio-lingual approach, all students were expected to learn inductively (on the basis of many examples from the pattern practice, the students were to generate a rule). All students were expected to learn through analogy (on the basis of previously practiced examples, they were to create parallel examples).

Strict audio-lingualists contended that students did not need rules or analysis; all learning was to occur by analogy. We who have taught older learners recognize how frustrating it is for them when they can not use the analytical skills which, at their age, typify their thinking and which they use successfully in other subject areas. So it is not surprising to learn that cognitive mappers have found that some students prefer knowing a rule first before beginning an activity, while others prefer to have the rule

presented to them on the basis of learned examples. Yet other students want to try to discover the rule on their own.

To answer the question as to which skills students prefer to use in learning, which groupings and interactions they are most comfortable with for learning, and which processes of reasoning and learning they generally use, specialists in mapping of cognitive learning styles have developed several tests.[4] Given our busy schedules, not all of us have the time or interest to administer these tests and then to analyze computer print-outs based on each student's replies. However, we can profit from some of the research and ideas in this area. To that end, let us consider two practical, easily-implemented applications for our classroom teaching.

One application consists of a brief set of questions to be given to all students in a class after several weeks of language study.

Possible Questions for Determining Students' Learning Styles

1. When trying to learn a new word, do you:
- say it aloud from memory?
- look at it?
- look at it and say it aloud?
- write it out?
- write it out and say it aloud?
2. When studying new sentences, would you rather:
- hear them first and then see them?
- see them first and then hear them?
- doesn't matter.

These questions help us discover which skill(s) a student prefers to

use or generally uses in learning.
3. In doing exercises in class, would you rather:
- have the teacher give the rule first and then do examples?
- do the examples first and then have the teacher give the rule?
- do the examples and try to figure out the rule on your own?

This question focuses on preference for inductive versus deductive learning.
4. When studying Spanish, would you rather:
- study alone?
- study with a friend?
- study with several friends?
- study with an advanced student?

Answer to this question indicates a student's preference for interactions and groupings while learning.

The inventories previously mentioned contain many more questions that seek to discover students' preferences in these three areas but the above questions can gather basic information to guide our teaching. By simply totalling up the count on each question, a teacher can discover an over-all profile of learning styles and preferences for any given class. This profile would then give direction to planning and presenting of activities.

If, for example, a given class had a distinct preference for peer-group teaching, a teacher would be sure to plan small-group activities every day. This could include giving each other a dictation, practicing the dialogue in groups of two or three rather than in a large-group, or reading a passage aloud in pairs and then correcting each other.

If the class indicated a preference for visual learning, dialogues could first be seen and read aloud, after the teacher, in contrast to the audio-lingual custom of having

totally aural-oral practice prior to reading. Students would still have oral practice but their need to see materials would be met. Therefore, they would be more at ease during the learning activity.

In addition to helping teachers plan class activities, answers to these questions would also guide the teacher in advising students on how to study. For example, if students indicate that they are only writing out words when they study, the teacher might encourage the students to say the words out loud for reinforcement. These questions might also be useful as suggestions to students for ways of studying and learning that they had not considered previously. In short, these questions and answers would give the teacher insight into how students generally learn or prefer to learn. The items may be equally useful as a guide for helping students vary and expand their learning strategies.

If a teacher does not have time to administer these questions and to do a class profile, (s)he can still profit from the over-all, general ideas proposed by current research in mapping of cognitive learning styles. That is, one could systematically plan to present each activity in a class hour by using a different skill. For example, the warm-up could include writing (answers to questions) or listening comprehension or speaking practice. The dialogue could be seen first and then practiced orally, breaking the usual sequence of oral to reading activities. Question-answer work on the dialogue could be a written activity in lieu of oral practice. A cultural activity could be presented with slides or pictures and written outline (for those who are visually-oriented) and an accompanying taped commentary (for those who are aurally-oriented).

Methodologists have often suggested that materials should be presented using different skills in order to overlearn and to reinforce learning. Now we see that activities should vary in the skills used so that every student has some satisfaction as regards learning style. Individual students do rely on various skills for learning. We must make sure that all those skills have a chance to be used for greater learning to occur during a class hour.

In addition to involving all skills in planned activities, we must take into account the second point raised by cognitive mappers: students' preference for social interactions or groupings during learning. Besides the usual teacher-led interactions, we could plan a small-group activity every day as well as five to ten minutes for individual study. Stevick has referred to the importance of a pause in learning during a class hour so students can assimilate new material.[5] This principle could be applied to small-group or individual practice for overlearning of newly-presented items (be it a dialogue, pattern practice, or reading a paragraph). This would also allow the teacher to move among groups and to answer questions or problems the students encounter as they internalize the material.

Finally, specialists in cognitive mapping show us that we must satisfy different kinds of reasoning processes. Thus, we should consider presenting grammar in different ways to help both those who absorb best through induction and analogy and those who rely on deduction and analysis. One compromise that could be struck is to introduce pattern practices with an overview that announces the grammatical point to be drilled and also states what students are to discover in the drill. For example, "Now we are going to work on the pronoun y. At the end of the exercise, you are going to tell me what kinds of phrases y can replace." Throughout the drill, those who learn by analogy can focus on the emerging pattern. Those who prefer analysis already know the point to be discussed and can be trying to figure out how to state the rule.

Another possible compromise is to provide a weekly syllabus of grammar points or to indicate one day which grammar point will be covered the following day. Those who prefer deduction can go home and look over the rule in the textbook. Then the next day's exercise will reinforce the rule for them. Their need for a deductive approach will be met. Those who prefer an inductive approach will still know the topic to be covered but can wait to generalize the rule after practicing examples in class. If one were to be "realistic" and cynical, one might ask "What student will do that extra work and look up the rule?" The author's experiences with high school and college students have shown that many students do, in fact, look up the rule. They recognize the need for in-class practice of examples but are uneasy and unhappy over practicing drills without knowing the rule. Telling them a day ahead of time about the next day's topics allows them to satisfy their need to learn deductively.

Thus, from the research done in cognitive mapping of learning styles we must keep in mind three principles:

- to systematically and consciously present activities which will draw upon as many different skills as possible

- to plan for large-group practice, for small-group activities, and for individual study time; and

- to provide for inductive learning and analogy in our presentations as well as deductive learning and analysis. Only in this manner will we succeed in providing maximum opportunities for students to apply

their preferred approaches to studying and learning. In this way we teachers will be more certain of meeting students' intellectual needs for studying and learning. Of equal importance, we will at the same time give them psychological satisfaction and confidence by encouraging them to use learning approaches with which they are most comfortable and generally successful.

Classroom Interactions

Thus far, changes in the audio-lingual approach have been looked at in terms of goals and types of classroom activities, namely, including more communicative activities and changing our attitudes toward errors. Changes have also been suggested in presenting daily activities (using all skills, trying different groupings, and planning varied grammatical presentations). In short, the discussion has examined ways to change our goals, activities, and types of presentations.

A third area left to discuss is the research dealing with interactions in the classroom. In the audio-lingual approach, the focus in interactions was on the overt, observable linguistic responses of students. Little, if any, attention was paid to the psychological drives and inner needs of the students – nor to the role of the teacher in motivation.

In contrast, Earl Stevick speaks specifically to the psychological needs of students as seen on the Maslovian scale of development.[6] The psychologist, Abraham Maslow, states that people move through five stages of psychological development and expansion: first, they must meet their needs for survival, then the needs for security, then the needs for social interaction, then those for self-esteem, and finally, those for self-actualization.[7] Humans move on to the next level of development only after satisfying needs at the previous level. That is, people do not concern themselves with security until they have met basic survival needs. Similarly, they concentrate on social interactions - shall we call it communication - only when they have met their needs for survival and security.

Stevick likens the development of our students in classroom interactions to human beings moving up the scale of psychological development. He points out that students must have survival and security needs met in the classroom before they can move to the higher levels of development of social interaction and self-esteem. In other words, before they can communicate with others and take pride in their work, students must feel secure. Stevick suggests that we can help students survive and feel secure if, in our interactions with them, we teachers are accepting and respectful to students - and if we create a climate conducive to security. How can we do this?

Research shows us that the interactions of an accepting and respectful teacher are characterized by frequent, positive reactions to and comments on students' performance.[8] The students need to know that the teacher has listened to, understood and approved of their responses. We usually call this reaction "rewards." In analyzing teachers' rewards, the author has been struck by the fact that our classroom rewards are very unlike real communication and often lack acceptance or respect. For example, if a friend told us, "I went to a movie last night," how often would we say, "Very good," "Bravo," "That's right." One might consider such an interaction or reaction condescending. One might even liken such rewards to a "pat on the head." Instead, we would probably interact on a more personalized level by commenting on what that person had said: by agreeing, by disagreeing, by stating our own preference or thinking on the topic. To expand our thinking on rewards, let us analyze teachers' rewards in four categories:

- linguistic,
- non-verbal,
- verbal-communicative,
- and communicative personal.

Purely linguistic rewards, such as "très bien," "muy bien," "sehr gut," are certainly necessary to let students know whether or not their answer was correct. These rewards are very useful in practice and drill sessions when certain structures are being overlearned. Using these rewards builds students' vocabulary in the second language. However, they may become very rote and non-meaningful if we do not vary them (how many "très bien" would we believe?). Such rewards may not show acceptance and respect if they are not accompanied by non-verbals. How often have we said, "très bien, c'est ça, bravo" while looking for our notes? Nonverbals add realism and add conviction to our linguistic rewards.

Non-verbal rewards include a smile, nod of the head, eye contact while saying the reward, even touching a student. Such non-verbal interactions are common with people we care about, people we respect and accept as equals. It shows that we have heard and understood what they had to say. Rewards of this nature are likely to build a belief and trust in the teacher's acceptance of answers and his/her acceptance of the students on an equal, human level. They are probably more effective than linguistic rewards in building a relationship of trust and respect.

Similarly, verbal-communica-

tive rewards accept and respond to the student's statement. These may be general comments, such as "Thank you" or "Wasn't that an interesting answer?" I use "Merci" quite a bit because it shows I am grateful for the information and volunteering and it seems typical of French interactions.

Even more communicative rewards are the communicative-personalized ones in which the teacher responds to the information or ideas of the answer, not just the linguistic production. Examples: S. "I prefer steak." T. "You must be rich!" S. "My favorite actor is Robert Redford." T. "So is mine!" A humorous response from the teacher enlivens learning. For example: S. "I like studying French." T. "Doesn't he have good taste?" This kind of human interaction is typical of friendships and good relationships in general. It indicates that the listener (the teacher) accepts and respects what the speaker has to say. The students are rewarded by the teacher's showing an understanding of the answer and an interest in it. This is a much more subtle form of reward than just linguistic reinforcement. Non-verbal and communicative rewards help establish an accepting and respectful climate in the classroom.

In addition to reshaping our rewards, we can also work toward an accepting and respectful climate by reconsidering the commands we give in class. How often in English would we say to someone, "Repeat" or "Listen"? Such an interchange would be considered rude and degrading to the listener in interactions outside the classroom. Yet commands like that permeate our classroom interactions. Not only do such commands reduce a positive climate in our class. They may also impede our students' interactions in another culture. Consider the response our students would get

from a French person if they said "Écoutez" or "Répondez". Reshaping our commands and directions to conform to patterns of politeness would indicate a more equal relationship and accepting attitude toward our students: it would show more respect for them. Also it would enable them to interact more appropriately with us and with a native speaker. Thus, changing "répétez" to "répétez, s'il vous plaît" or "Voulez-vous répéter?" or even "Voudriez-vous répéter?" would show politeness and respect for our students as well as acceptance of them on an interactive, not authoritarian and totally controlled level. It would also provide them with polite and appropriate structures for communication in the language.

In addition to reshaping rewards and commands, another way of developing a feeling of mutual respect in the classroom is to have some TEACHER input of information during question-answer sessions. This refers to a teacher's answering some of the same questions asked of students. For example, we know how many brothers or sisters our students have - or where they are going after school - or who their favorite TV personality is. We expect them to supply information about themselves, from the factual to the valuing level. Yet how often do we reciprocate?

This does not mean to imply that we should have a lengthy monologue from the teacher on all his/her activities - or an in-depth psychological probing from students. But students do need to know more about us as human beings, our likes and dislikes, our activities and interests, our idealistic goals and our foibles. Studies have shown that students value realness and openness on the part of a teacher and learn more from teachers who demon-

strate these qualities.[9] Sharing in the question-answer activities - so that students learn things about the teacher as well as say personalized things about themselves - helps create a more accepting, respectful, and egalitarian climate in the classroom. Students are more likely to be open in their personal statements if the teacher is willing to do likewise.

By accepting students and by showing respect for them, the teacher is working on creating a sense of trust and security in the classroom. Stevick suggests that this feeling of security can be further developed by stating expected behaviors, most conducive to learning, for both the teacher and students.[10] Often students do not know what to expect from a class or a teacher in terms of acceptable classroom behavior, studying outside of class or evaluation. One way to clarify this is to write out a student-teacher contract early in the semester. Such a contract was developed in an advanced workshop at UW-Madison.[11] The teacher stated her responsibilities and duties as well as those of the students. Each student was to discuss and sign the contract individually with her. During this meeting, students were invited to add their own suggestions to either the teacher's responsibilities or the student's. During the semester, she and the students met again to decide which elements of the contract had been successfully met. Such a contract might help students better understand and appreciate all that we do as teachers! But, for their sense of security, it also provides specific directions as to what are acceptable classroom behaviors to facilitate learning.

Such a contract meets yet another point raised in studies on students' motivation and learning: students are more receptive to learning when they feel they have

a stake in the learning.[12] That is, instead of learning defensively - because the teacher or parents are forcing them to - students will learn receptively, more willingly, if they are given input into the content and sequence of learning activities. For example, in the contract just mentioned, the students are asked for additional suggestions and then are asked to make a mid-semester evaluation on both the teacher and themselves. Additional ways of insuring that students have a stake in learning include the following activities:

1. passing out an interest inventory early in the semester. A teacher could list various cultural topics and points to be covered. Students would indicate which ones they would like to study. They could also indicate topics for which they could do a presentation (e.g., folk music, art, architecture). When the teacher introduces these topics, (s)he could mention that it was one suggested by students in that class.

2. similarly, a personal background inventory elicits information that could be included in daily drills, homework, or tests. This inventory could ask students for their favorite TV personality, favorite film or actor, preferred books or magazines, favorite song or singer, leisure-time activities, etc. We can then include such information in our daily exercises, homework, and tests. This also reinforces the ideas of communicative competence: our activities will contain information based on actual reference to our students' life.

3. planning a "mot de passe" or "word a day" activity. We could ask our students what expressions they would like to learn in the second language; this could include cheers for sports events, exclamations, probably even insults. (The teacher may list some items as examples to start students thinking. Slang expressions are usually popular.) Teaching from students' desired and expressed needs will insure more learning and a feeling of being more involved in planning activities.

4. giving out evaluations to students. Once again, the students have a chance to evaluate classroom activities and presentations. Such evaluations could be "closed" (listing specific points such as clarity of instructions) and open-ended (such as "the best things about this class are..." or "one thing I would change in this class is..."). In a sense, this reinforces the mapping of cognitive styles of learning: students may indicate that there is too much oral work or not enough written practice or a desire for more reading of materials. The teacher would then return the next day and indicate that (s)he is conducting an activity a certain way because of the students' comments.

Summary

To integrate recent research in second-language learning with a basically audio-lingual approach and, thus, overcome rigid and limiting adherence to a fixed methodology, language teachers might consider the findings and directions suggested by studies in communicative competence, cognitive mapping of learning styles, and classroom interactions. The following suggestions for a change in activities synthesize the previous discussion in this paper:

1. We need to plan a communicative activity every day. This may be as simple as an open-ended question (e.g., "What do you like to order in a restaurant?") or a chain-drill in which students question and answer each other. The information exchanged is not teacher-cued or controlled but is, rather, realistically supplied by students.

2. We might plan a small-group activity every day to break up the usual grouping and interaction of a teacher speaking with a whole class. Students may work on homework together or give each other dictations or carry out a communicative activity. In this way, they are learning from and working with each other.

3. We could plan some reading and writing activities during every class period to meet the needs of those who learn best through these skills. Dialogue or grammar work may even begin with reading aloud after the teacher to give eye satisfaction or visual support to those who need it.

4. We might analyze our classroom commands and rewards to see if they vary from authoritarian and mechanistic ones (such as, "Repeat!" or "Well done") to more respectful directions ("Would you please repeat?") and communicative, understanding reactions to an answer ("I like steak too.") Nonverbals, such as eye contact and open-body movements, might also be considered for their effectiveness in showing positive support and reaction to students.

5. We might re-evaluate the importance of a correct linguistic utterance as compared to a student's self-esteem and confidence. In that vein, trying to understand the content of an answer, paraphrasing it if there is a glaring error, and refraining from correcting every

error made could be considered as viable alternatives to continual correction of errors.

The preceding ideas are meant to suggest alternate ways of planning and conducting a class while still using activities set up in audio-lingual methodology (e.g., dialogue work, question-answer practice, pattern practices). Such alternatives are suggested to help us develop more communication in the classroom and, thus, reach the stated goal of an audio-lingual approach. In addition, these suggestions are meant to help us meet the individual learning needs and styles of our students in a more flexible and understanding manner.

Notes

1. Sandra J. Savignon, *Communicative Competence: An Experiment in Foreign Language Teaching* (Philadelphia: Center for Curriculum Development, 1972), p. 9.

2. Jack Richards, "Error Analysis and Second Language Strategies," in *Focus on the Learner: Pragmatic Perspectives for the Language Teacher*, ed. John W. Oller, Jr. and Jack Richards (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1973), p. 117.

3. Wilga Rivers, *Speaking in Many Tongues* (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1972), p. 22.

4. See, for example: Helen S. Lepke, "Discovering Student Learning Styles through Cognitive Style Mapping," pp. 15-20, and Harry Reinert, "ELSIE is No Bull! Or On Utilizing Information Concerning Student Learning Styles," pp. 21-8, both in *Personalizing Foreign Language Instruction: Learning Styles and Teaching Options*, ed. Renate A. Schulz (Skokie, Ill.: National Textbook Co., 1977).

5. Earl W. Stevick, *Memory. Meaning and Method* (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1976), p. 14.

6. Stevick, *Memory*, pp. 50-1.

7. Abraham Maslow, *Motivation and Personality*, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1970).

8. Gertrude Moskowitz, "The Classroom Interaction of Outstanding Foreign Language Teachers," *Foreign Language Annals*, 9 (April 1976), 135-7.

9. Carl R. Rogers, *The Interpersonal Relationship in the Facilitation of Learning* (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1968), p. 9.

10. Earl W. Stevick, "Language Instruction Must Do An About-Face," *Modern Language Journal*, 57 (Dec. 1974), 379-84.

11. Beverly Spilde, *Creating a Classroom Climate Conducive to Communicative Competence*, Master's thesis, Madison, Wis., 1978.

12. Stevick, *Memory*, pp. 38-41