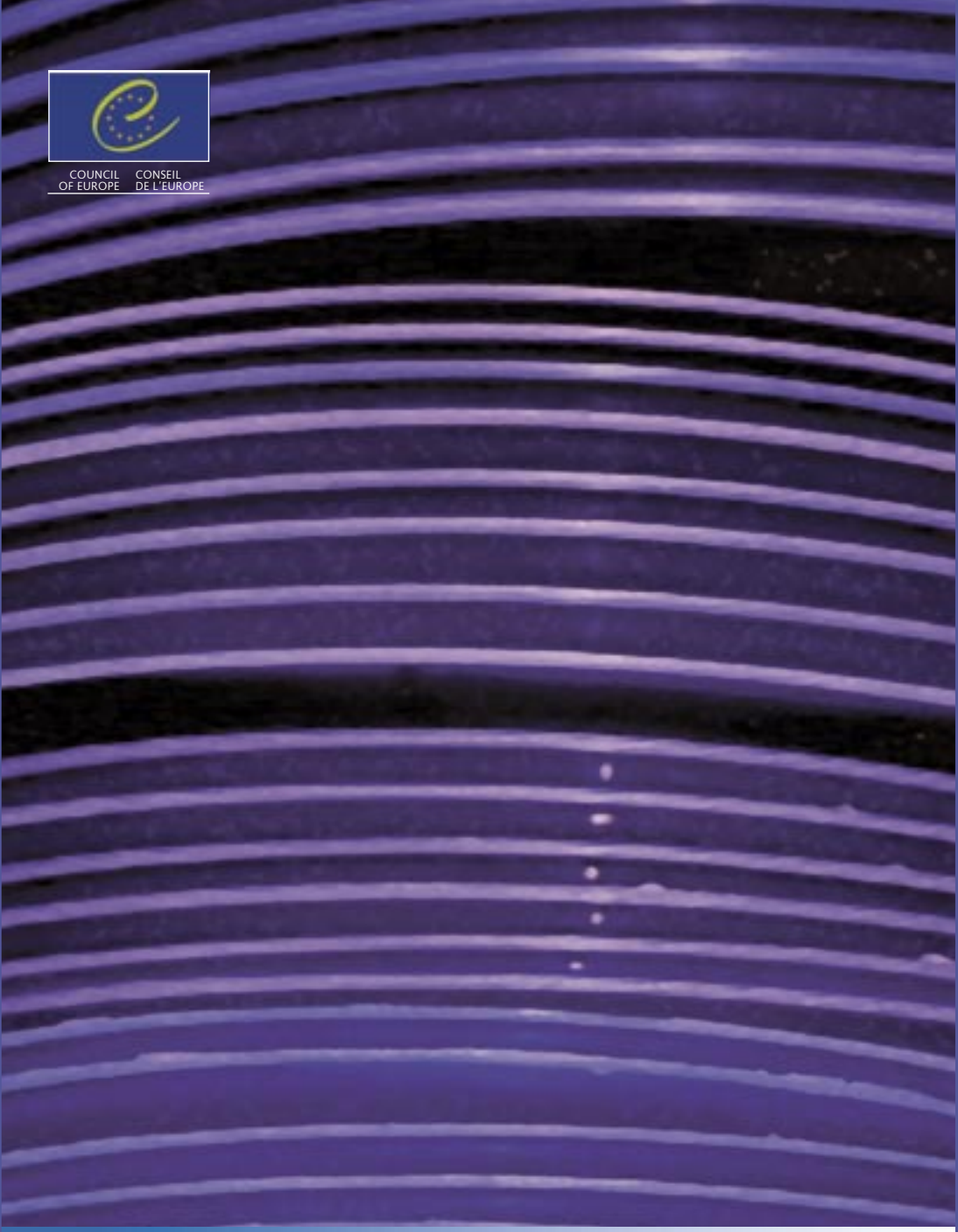

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The Plurilingualism Project: Tertiary Language Learning – German after English

Britta Hufeisen, Gerhard Neuner

European Centre for Modern Languages
Centre européen pour les langues vivantes

The Plurilingualism Project: Tertiary Language Learning – German after English

In 1994, upon the initiative of Austria and the Netherlands, with special support from France, eight states founded the European Centre for Modern Languages (ECML) as an Enlarged Partial Agreement of the Council of Europe. It was to become "a forum to discuss and seek solutions to the specific tasks and challenges that face them in the coming years and which will play a decisive role in the process of European integration". At the time of writing, thirty-three states[1] subscribe to the Partial Agreement. Following a successful initial trial period (1995-1998), the continuation of the activities of the Centre was confirmed by Resolution (98) 11 of the Committee of Ministers.

The aim of the Graz Centre is to offer – generally through international workshops, colloquies and research and development networks and other expert meetings – a platform and a meeting place for officials responsible for language policy, specialists in didactics and methodologies, teacher trainers, textbook authors and other multipliers in the area of modern languages.

The Plurilingualism Project: Tertiary Language Learning – German after English is published within the framework of the first medium-term programme of activities of the ECML (2000-2003).

The ECML's overall role is the implementation of language policies and the promotion of innovations in the field of teaching and learning modern languages. The publications are the results of research and development project teams established during workshops in Graz. The series highlights the dedication and active involvement of all those who participated in the projects and in particular of the group leaders and co-ordinators.

1 The 33 member states of the Enlarged Partial Agreement of the ECML are: Albania, Andorra, Armenia, Austria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Latvia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Romania, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, "the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia", United Kingdom.

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Tertiary Language Learning – German after English

Britta Hufeisen, Gerhard Neuner (editors)

This project is the result of co-operation between the European Centre for Modern Languages of the Council of Europe and Goethe-Institut Inter Nationes.

European Centre for Modern Languages

Council of Europe Publishing

French edition:
ISBN 92-871-5143-1

German edition:
ISBN 92-841-5146-6

Cover design: Gross Werbeagentur, Graz
Translation: Austria Sprachendienst, Vienna
Print: Bachernegg, Kapfenberg

Council of Europe Publishing
F-67075 Strasbourg cedex

ISBN 92-871-5145-8

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1. Introduction

Britta Hufeisen, Gerhard Neuner

The project entitled "Learning more than one language efficiently: Tertiary language teaching and learning in Europe. Example: German as a subsequent foreign language after English" was carried out within the framework of the medium-term programme of activities 2000-2003 of the European Centre for Modern Languages (Graz) in co-operation with the Goethe-Institut Inter Nationes.

The term "tertiary languages" refers to foreign languages learned after the first foreign language, i.e. as one's second, third, fourth, etc. foreign language (cf. Hufeisen, 1991).

The project focused on the question of how the teaching and learning of tertiary languages can be structured in such a way as to consciously incorporate the learner's existing language knowledge and language learning experience (mother tongue, first foreign language) more efficiently.

The sequential constellation of "English as the first foreign language and German as the second one" is common in the foreign language programmes offered in the schools of many countries (with teaching of the first foreign language beginning at the age of 9 to 10 and introduction of the second foreign language at the age of around 13 to 14). For this reason, it was agreed that the present project would be carried out as a co-operative effort by the European Centre for Modern Languages in Graz and the Goethe-Institut Inter Nationes in Munich.

It should be noted that in the school context learning of the first foreign language has not yet been completed when teaching begins in the subsequent language(s). The institutional organisation of the foreign language programme in schools is thus characterised, on the one hand, by the time sequence in which the individual languages (e.g. German *after* English) are taught and, secondly, by a learning process in which several foreign languages are learned concurrently at different levels of competence (e.g. learning German with existing knowledge of English).

Within the context of the project organisation, at the first two – of a total of five – conferences (Graz 2000, Munich 2001) the fundamental conditions for the concepts of multi- and plurilingualism were explored (e.g. aspects of language and educational policy, institutional conditions, linguistic and learning theory principles, didactic-methodological principles of tertiary language teaching; cf. *Project Report on Workshop No. 11/2000,* Graz, October 2000). This served as the basis upon which procedures with respect to regional planning of tertiary language teaching and specific concepts of the didactics of plurilingualism (e.g. immersion) were developed at the following conferences (Riga, Latvia, 2001; Biel, Switzerland, 2002).

The regional conferences on the concept made it clear that in the individual countries very different conditions and guidelines apply to the definition of the concept of plurilingualism and tertiary language didactics. This is the result, on the one hand, of the, in part, very diverse language and educational policy environments, which lead to different decisions regarding, for instance, the number of languages offered, choice and the degree of importance, when teaching begins, the amount of time involved, the chronological sequence of languages and the selection of a model for plurilingual teaching. On the other hand, an important factor for the didactic concept is also how close the linguistic relationship is between the respective first language (mother tongue) and the foreign languages chosen and between the various foreign languages themselves.

The closing conference (Graz 2003) was devoted to the question of how tertiary language teaching and the learning of subsequent foreign languages can be structured in specific terms, taking as an example "German after English" (cf. the distance education unit we published: *Tertiärsprachendidaktik – Deutsch im Kontext anderer Sprachen*, Goethe-Institut Inter Nationes, Munich 2004).

The present volume brings together papers presented at the individual conferences. They deal with fundamental issues of tertiary language didactics and present different versions of the concept of plurilingualism as models.

Darmstadt and Kassel, January 2003

I. Foundations

2. A brief introduction to the linguistic foundations

Britta Hufeisen

Given the limited length of this volume, I would like to restrict myself here to a brief description of the linguistic basis of the curricular, didactic-methodological considerations that have led to the possibility of teaching subsequent foreign languages (that is, second and further foreign languages, i.e. [L2+n (n←1)]) in a manner different from that used for the first foreign language in order to tap the potential already developed through the teaching of the mother tongue and the first foreign language.

Previously, teaching of different foreign languages was often characterised by strict separation. In English classes in Germany, for example, no French (the second foreign language) could be spoken, and as far as possible recourse could be made to L1, the mother tongue, only when absolutely necessary. All languages were taught very systematically, with the use of translation exercises and grammar tables, and there was no real connection to the actual use of the languages in daily life (on the development of methodologies, cf. Neuner and Hunfeld, 1993). These methods usually put into practice the findings of language acquisition research current at the time. When, for example, linguistics was based on the premise that language acquisition and language learning were a matter of habituation, the teaching of foreign languages was expected to reflect this by stressing the memorisation and automatic application of language patterns. Over the decades, three major language acquisition research lines were developed, each of which was expressed in various models and hypotheses: the contrastive hypothesis (which focused on comparing and contrasting languages, and to which we owe the delineation of *interference*); the nativistic hypothesis (which postulated an inherent language acquisition sequence within each individual and identified development-related *errors* such as *er gehte); and the interlanguage hypothesis (which described language acquisition as a dynamic and systematic process focused on the new language to be learned, and in particular described transfer processes) (cf., for instance, Riemer, 2002).
All of these hypotheses, however, assumed as self-evident the involvement of two languages and implied at best in passing that the acquisition or learning of other (foreign) languages did not differ from the learning of the first foreign language.[1]

[1] I will not devote any further attention to language acquisition, i.e. in the target language environment, usually without instruction and formal teaching, but will concentrate on the learning of foreign languages in the school and university context. I am not thereby denying the fact that learning can always also imply acquisition and that learning is a special form of acquisition. However, since learning

In the 1990s it became increasingly apparent that there are qualitative and quantitative differences between the learning of a first foreign language and the learning of a second, and first steps were taken to analyse and describe these differences from various perspectives. The results of this work were a number of new models for multiple language learning:[1]

1. DMM [dynamic model of multilingualism] (Jessner 1997, Herdina & Jessner 2002).
2. Role-function model (Williams & Hammarberg 1998, Hammarberg 2001a).
3. Factor model (Hufeisen 1998, 2000a, 2001).
4. Ecological model of multilinguality (Aronin & O'Laoire 2001 and 2002).
5. FLAM [foreign language acquisition model] (Groseva 1998).

The ecological model is firmly based on sociolinguistics and regards factors in the learning environment to be decisive; DMM and the role-function model are psycholinguistic models and concentrate on the dynamic development of individual learning processes; FLAM is a type of follow-up model to contrastive approaches, whereas the factor model reviews the learning stages from foreign language to foreign language in a step by step manner, thereby isolating the relevant factors that determine the learning of a specific foreign language. All the models are, of course, language-independent.

The factor model chronologically describes the individual factors that constitute the four following stages: the acquisition of the first language (L1), the learning of a first foreign language (L2), the learning of a second foreign language (L3) and the learning of other foreign languages (Lx). From language to language, factors are added that did not apply to the learning of the previous foreign language. The model assumes that the largest qualitative jump in this systematic-dynamic learning process occurs between the learning of the first (L2) and the second foreign language (L3). All stages of acquisition and learning are governed by the fundamental language acquisition and learning capabilities of the individual and the various learning environments responsible for qualitative and quantitative input. When children begin to learn L2 (e.g. in the first, third or fifth school year), they already have gained a certain degree of experience in life and possess a number of cognitive abilities such as awareness, knowledge about what kind of learners they are, actual learning experience and contact with such emotional factors as motivation and/or anxieties about learning/speaking (cf. Hufeisen, 2001b). It is at this stage that the foundation for basic individual plurilingualism is laid. If a pupil then begins to learn a further foreign language, he/she is no longer a blank

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is characterised by a number of features that do not play a major role in the acquisition process, it is legitimate to examine learning separately. To me, plurilingualism continues to be the linguistic norm, and monolingualism and bilingualism, which has been the subject of considerable research, merely constitute special forms of this norm.

[1] These are not language production models!

page as far as foreign language learning is concerned – he/she has already gained experience in learning a foreign language, experienced the feeling of not being able to understand everything, observed among other things that language mixtures can occur, and accepts the fact that new words have to be learned and perhaps also how to accomplish this (i.e. they recognise their own learning type). In effect, pupils realise that in learning, understanding and using the new language, they can have active recourse to the foreign language already learned. Possibly, they may have also developed very specific foreign language learning strategies that they did not yet have when they began learning L2.

Tertiary language didactics are now using this qualitative difference to advantage, expressly including in L3 teaching learners' previous cognitive and emotional experiences. If the languages to be learned are very similar, this recourse can also be closely related to linguistic aspects; if they are rather different, then it is more the case that learning strategies and cognitive factors come into play. Particularly in the latter case, it is not absolutely necessary for teachers to be perfect speakers of L2. It is not primarily the languages that they activate, but rather the learning potential established during the learning of preceding languages. Thus previous experiences are no longer ignored or left unexploited. Instead, it is possible for L3 foreign language teaching to begin at a higher level, for faster progress to be made and for the content to be more demanding.

This is an initial stage of a total language teaching curriculum (also referred to as integrated language didactics) that takes the plurilingualism of individuals seriously. Many of the examples in this volume relate to English as L2 and German as L3. This language constellation is only one of many possibilities, but it is quite typical in the real world, even if we have come to accept that it is possibly not the ideal (cf. also Krumm in this volume and Krumm 2002, 75). Since English seems to satisfy all communication needs as a lingua franca, there is often a decline in the motivation to learn (an) additional foreign language(s) after English. In contrast, anyone who learns German, French, Spanish or another language as L2 still has generally sufficient interest and motivation to learn English as L3 (or even as L4 or L5). Further research on emotional factors such as motivation must be carried out on this issue and possibly more appropriate educational policy decisions need to be made regarding the sequence of languages.

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3. The concept of plurilingualism and tertiary language didactics

Gerhard Neuner

1 The concept of plurilingualism didactics

Discussion of the development of plurilingualism didactics is closely linked with the trend towards the *examination and development of the learner's perspective* that has been characteristic of foreign language teaching and learning research during the past 30 years.

Traditional foreign language didactics tended to focus on:

- questions pertaining to the content of the curriculum (e.g. the breakdown of the grammar material and the development of a strict progression as the presentation of this material unfolded);
- questions regarding teaching (the development of binding and uniform teaching methods, monitoring and direction of learner behaviour);
- questions involving the monitoring of learning success (testing of the subject material presented, marks).

Within the context of this concept, little attention was paid to learners, since foreign language teaching (which was limited to secondary schools) was provided to a relatively homogenous elite in terms of age, origin, general education and willingness to perform.

The need to deal more intensively with the learner and the learner's perspective grew in Europe along with the increase in demand for foreign language teaching and the need to provide this instruction to new groups of learners (e.g. "English for all" in the Federal Republic of Germany beginning in the mid 1960s and the enormous increase in the number of foreign language programmes offered in the field of adult education and vocational training), which made it clear that the objectives set could not be achieved with conventional teaching methods.

Other dimensions that have pointed the way towards learner-focused research and the development of learner-focused foreign language didactics include:

1. Previous language knowledge:

What previous experience and knowledge do learners bring with them, e.g. previous language knowledge and previous knowledge about the world of the target language? What role does this prior knowledge play in the learning of the foreign language?

2. Language needs:

What pragmatic ideas do the various groups of learner and individual learners have of the opportunities to use the foreign language they are learning?

3. Language learning experience:

What learning experiences have previously shaped learning behaviour in the learning of foreign languages?

How can one make learners aware of this learning experience and communicate new learning experiences for more efficient foreign language learning?

4. Language profiles:

What objectives should be met through the teaching of the foreign language in question? Should these objectives be the same for all foreign languages being taught and for all learners?

With respect to plurilingualism didactics, the following statements can be made about the individual components of the learner-focused concept:

1.1. Language knowledge and language experience

More than 20 years ago, in his book *Die Mehrsprachigkeit des Menschen* (1979), Mario Wandruszka argued that plurilingualism is innate in all individuals, because even in their mother tongue they shift back and forth between a number of often clearly differentiated language variants (standard language, dialect, colloquial language, specialist jargon, knowledge of earlier linguistic forms of their own language [e.g., among Germans, the language of Luther in the Bible and in hymns]) that are nonetheless linked with each other. He referred to this as "internal plurilingualism". To this was added individuals' ability to learn other languages in addition to their own in the course of their intellectual development ("external plurilingualism").

On the whole, it is a question of the unfolding of fundamental human abilities with respect to language. Moreover, "foreign" can apply not only to the language of a different linguistic community, but also to equally foreign varieties of one's own language, such as dialects or the jargon of some scientific disciplines.

There are basically three different types of plurilingualism (Königs, 2000):

Retrospective plurilingualism

This means that a learner brings his/her plurilingualism into the classroom. He/she is (to a large extent) bilingual, with considerable knowledge of L2, the language being taught, and thus has a substantial advantage in terms of knowledge and skills in this language over the other learners.

Retrospective-prospective plurilingualism

This means that a learner brings his/her plurilingualism into the classroom and therefore has a substantial lead in linguistic knowledge over the other learners, but neither of these two languages is the subject being taught. Through teaching in an L3 (or Ln) the learner is extending his/her plurilingualism.

Prospective plurilingualism

This means that the learner arrives in the foreign language classroom as a monolingual and first begins to develop and extend his/her plurilingualism in the teaching of the foreign language. This is the situation that is assumed to be typical for foreign language teaching in the first foreign language.

A number of pupils around the world can be assumed to represent a form of retrospective plurilingualism, since they grow up plurilingual. For most learners in the school context in Europe and in our model of tertiary language didactics – German after English – the concept of a prospective plurilingualism can be assumed. Knowledge of a foreign language is acquired by initially monolingual learners in the school context, in one language after another, and in part through the overlay of several languages taught concurrently. To date research has only applied the term "plurilingualism" to cases in which learners are characterised as bilingual or plurilingual as a result of natural language acquisition processes and have a similar level of competence in all languages.

However, plurilingualism as it is beginning to emerge in the current discussions of foreign language teaching and as it is also used in Council of Europe documents is a different concept.

Characteristic of this new concept of plurilingualism is that:

- when several languages are learned, the learner does not begin "at zero" in each case, but rather the existing language possession is continually extended by each new language;
- there is no need to achieve the ideal of "near nativeness" in each of the languages to be learned;

- the level of competence and the language profile in each language learned can be very different.
- Christ (2001, 3), using the metaphor of a "threshold level", suggests an interesting definition: "A person is plurilingual if, with respect to a number of languages, he/she has learned to cross the *threshold* into these different language houses."

1.2. Language learning experience

Attention to the learner's perspective has led to a decisive change in perspective, above all in the field of learning theory, providing us with fascinating new findings that could result in long-term changes in our concept of foreign language learning.

In the behaviourist learning theory concept the fundamental assumption with respect to foreign language learning was that there is a strict separation of linguistic inventories of specific languages in a person's memory. The development of "structured co-existence" – *no compounding of linguistic systems, but their co-ordination* (Lado 1964, Brooks 1963) – was the principle for language input, storage and processing during the learning of a foreign language. Mixing the languages during foreign language learning was considered to be a source of error (interference). This led, among other things, to the principle of monolingualism in teaching, i.e. the strict exclusion of the mother tongue from foreign language learning. However, are these assumptions of "unconnected co-existence" of the languages in our memory really true?

Even cursory self-observation during the process of learning a foreign language casts serious doubts on this theory. It goes without saying, for example, that we do not learn words in a new language in isolation, but attempt to relate them to words of other languages that we already know. Our memory is apparently not divided into "waterproof compartments", but is more like a network in which the individual knowledge elements ("nodes in the network") are linked with each other in a variety of ways.

This concept is corroborated by many different kinds of evidence. According to the findings of memory research, the theory of information processing, the psychology of knowledge and psycholinguistics (cf. Königs 2000, 5 et seq.), *learning generally* occurs in such way that new knowledge is only permanently stored in the memory if it can be integrated and anchored in the existing knowledge inventory. If no hold can be found, it disappears quickly from our memory or is "submerged" and we can no longer directly access it.

We can, therefore, assume that there is *one* fundamental human language ability and thus – speaking metaphorically – *one* network for language(s) in our memory, alongside many other interconnected networks for other knowledge and experience inventories. In the course of language learning processes, this language network becomes increasingly differentiated and more closely linked with the other knowledge

networks. This assumption is also the basis of expositions of plurilingualism in the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, teaching, assessment* (Council of Europe 2001, 4):

> the plurilingual approach emphasises the fact that as an individual person's experience of language in its cultural contexts expands, from the language of the home to that of society at large and then to the languages of other peoples (whether learnt at school or college, or by direct experience), he or she does not keep these languages and cultures in strictly separated mental compartments, but rather builds up a communicative competence to which all knowledge and experience of language contributes and in which languages interrelate and interact.

This fundamental learning theory assumption of a *single* language ability of human beings that is deployed during the learning of foreign languages has far-reaching consequences for our concept of tertiary language learning:

1. The mother tongue is not excluded from foreign language learning. On the contrary, it forms the basis and point of reference for further language learning.

2. On the one hand, language learning experience with respect to the first foreign language extends the language inventory established by the mother tongue. On the other, it adds new dimensions to the language learning experiences accumulated during the acquisition of the mother tongue. Thus in tertiary language learning – metaphorically speaking – this experience opens the door for the expansion of language knowledge (substantive knowledge) and of language learning awareness (procedural knowledge).

3. We can assume that although the fundamental "language network in the mind" may have structures capable of generalisation, it is different at least to some degree in the case of each individual with respect to knowledge inventories (including both substantive language knowledge and procedural language learning awareness) and the type of links. And even the way in which expansion and differentiation take place in the learning process is very strongly characterised by individual features (cf. Riemer 1997).

In other words, every pupil brings to the foreign language learning process different preconditions and foundations, and each pupil learns differently, at least in part. Plurilingualism didactics must take these factors into account. Questions related to internal differentiation of teaching and to autonomous learning (the basis for lifelong learning of foreign languages) thereby take on new significance.

1.3. Plurilingualism in the school context: Development of language profiles and language learning awareness

The traditional concept of plurilingualism reflects to the type of person who has developed approximately equal language competence in two or more languages (such as bilinguals who are equally "at home" in two languages). The goals of traditional

foreign language teaching in schools, in which absolute priority is placed on *one* foreign language – as, for example, is the case in academic secondary schools in Germany, where the first foreign language (usually English) is taught for 9 school years – assume that a level of competence corresponding to the ideal of near-nativeness can and should be achieved. This orientation is still today bolstered by the ideal of the "educated person", who has almost perfect command of the target language, not just as it is spoken, but even more so as it is written, and who also understands the culture of the target language "like a native". Reality on this point is, however, rather sobering. We know from experience that in schools the results of foreign language teaching in the first "long-term foreign language" falls far short of this objective, and after a time stagnation sets in that can only be overcome by a longer stay in the country of the target language.

From the point of view of plurilingualism didactics, the goal of language teaching is changing fundamentally. In the school context the aim cannot be to teach as many languages as possible in accordance with this ideal model or to ensure that learners accumulate as much language knowledge and language skills as possible in the individual languages. It makes much more sense to structure the basic elements of foreign language learning in such a way that (a) profiles can be developed in the individual languages that correspond to the communicative – pragmatic, (inter)cultural, etc. – needs of learners in using the language and that can be further developed later on, if needed, after the completion of schooling.

Pragmatic objectives, however, are easier to specify and implement in the field of adult education than in the field of foreign language teaching in schools, since in the latter interdisciplinary pedagogical objectives (personality development) play a major role, alongside pragmatic considerations.

What foreign language teaching in schools can achieve, however, is (b) the development of language learning awareness (procedural knowledge), i.e. knowing how to learn a foreign language efficiently. Use can be made of this type of knowledge if learners wish to further improve their foreign language skills after the completion of schooling or want to learn new foreign languages. For this reason, the development of language learning awareness is an important independent objective of school foreign language teaching, in particular of tertiary language teaching.

The *Common European Framework of Reference* provides very interesting stimuli, which still need to be elaborated, for the various possibilities of developing this profile – with respect, for example, to language skills (e.g. reading competence), tasks and activities in different contexts (in domestic and professional spheres, situations, roles, etc.). In this respect of the *Framework of Reference* has laid the groundwork through its development of descriptors of language competence in the individual skill areas in the form of "can" descriptions that apply across languages. They make it possible for foreign language teaching to be planned in modular form as a whole and across languages, and for partial competencies achieved in each respective language profile to be elated to each other.

2 Demands placed on mother tongue teaching (L1) and the teaching of the first foreign language (L2) from the perspective of L3

What role does the mother tongue and mother tongue teaching play in tertiary language learning? What role does the first foreign language play with respect to the learning of subsequent languages and how can the didactic concept of the teaching of the first foreign language be designed in such a way as to pave the way for efficient learning of other foreign languages?

2.1. The role of the mother tongue (L1) and mother tongue teaching with respect to L3

The discussions of the learning theory principles of the plurilingualism concept have made it clear that the mother tongue is the point of reference for the acquisition of a foreign language. For this reason, it should not be blocked out "in the learner's mind" during the process of foreign language learning, but rather should be deliberately and actively included in foreign language learning, since it fundamentally structures the mental language network in which all elements, units and structures of the new language will be anchored.

It should be remembered moreover that the individual language knowledge and also the language learning awareness of each pupil can vary considerably at the beginning of primary schooling and at the start of the learning of foreign languages.

From the perspective of foreign language didactics – and, in particular, tertiary language didactics – a number of proposals can be developed that could be taken into account in mother tongue teaching in order to pave the way explicitly for foreign language learning. Two aspects in particular should be emphasised:

2.1.1. The development of sensitivity to language and languages and the development of language awareness

There are many possibilities in mother tongue teaching for sensitising pupils to linguistic phenomena and language learning.

a) This pertains first of all to their own language:

Some examples are:

- including dialects (hearing differences and attempting to imitate them; comparing dialects and standard language);

- developing awareness of language registers (for instance, how is something said politely or impolitely, cheerfully or sadly?);
- making rhymes and tracing language rhythms/ grasping language and language melody;
- inventing new languages (a secret language for one's own class/group – this is particularly popular among younger pupils);
- playing with language:
- e.g. the visualisation of meanings (e.g. in the typographic representation of words: LARGE – small)

This can also include, for example, experimenting with the appearance of a sentence in the pupils' own language in different typefaces on the computer (and also secret codes, which can be created very easily on a computer)

Examples:

The effect of different typefaces

I love you;

I love you;

I love you;

I love you

Secret codes that can be created using the computer

I love you

I λοϖε ψου

- The alienation of the pupils' own language (e.g. writing or saying one's own name backwards – which pupils do of their own accord anyway); writing or speaking entire sentences backwards; looking for words and sentences that mean the same forwards and backwards, such as madam – or able was I ere I saw Elba.
- Learning to grasp one's own language – e.g. how it is structured – leading up to a conscious discussion of the grammatical categories of the mother tongue.

This does not mean that I am arguing that language teaching in the mother tongue should be focused primarily on linguistic forms such as grammar. What I want to make clear is that conscious perception of and experimentation with one's own language are important for the subsequent learning of foreign languages and this certainly includes the deliberate awareness and identification of the linguistic forms of the mother tongue.

b) However, pupils at the primary level have certainly also had experience with other languages and this can be discussed in the class:

Possibilities include:

- Discussing other languages found in the pupils' own surroundings or present in the classroom (pupils with other mother tongues or different kinds of language experience);
- Drawing language portraits: which parts of my body do I think or imagine belong to which language?
- Finding out what other languages look like (e.g. comparing scripts) and what they sound like (audio samples of languages);
- How languages are distributed around the world (where do people speak English, French, etc.);
- Words from other languages – especially L2 and L3 – that are found in one's own language (internationalisms, borrowings). How can we tell that they come from another language (spelling/pronunciation)? What languages do they come from?
- Comparing language structures: how are specific formulas (e.g. formulaic greetings or leave-takings) conveyed in different languages?
- How does one express certain linguistic intentions (e.g. "I love you"; greeting formulae; how much does that cost? etc.) as formulas in different languages?

2.1.2. Developing language learning awareness

This means discussing one's own language learning process (how, for instance, we learn to distinguish important from secondary information when reading a text; how we remember things; how we remember, for example, how words are spelled correctly; how we recognise language categories; how we learn to name and remember them, etc.).

From the perspective of foreign language learning, there are therefore two "wishes" to be addressed to the teaching of the mother tongue:

1. to lay the foundation for language and language awareness (declarative knowledge); and
2. to develop language learning awareness (procedural knowledge).

2.2. The role of the first foreign language (L2) and of the teaching of that language for L3

When pupils learn their first foreign language, *new* dimensions of language experience and language learning experience open up for them that have not been a part of the acquisition of their mother tongue.

2.2.1. Extending language experience and language awareness

A new language introduces a new foreign world, broadening horizons but also leading to a kind of alienation with respect to language and experience of the world, which have hitherto been dominated by the mother tongue. All the familiar things pertaining to "language" and "the world" that have been learned from experience up to this point and what has previously been regarded to be "normal", now appears in a new light and from a different perspective. At the same time, it is the mother tongue and its world that form the system of co-ordinates within which the new information is located and classified.

This indicates the appropriateness of encouraging language awareness by comparing L1 and L2, and encouraging discussion of what is noticed:

Examples: What is similar? Where can links be found? What is completely different? Where are there "traps" (interference)? What is "odd" about the new language? Specifically, this means relating selected words, sentences and texts in the mother tongue to those of the first foreign language, and discussing the learners' observations (Selecting – Ordering – Systemising, the so-called SOS strategy in German). This learner-oriented inductive and comparative approach to working with languages and "talking about language(s)" is very different from the traditional learning of grammar (learning pre-defined rules by heart, forming correct sentences). However, it also somewhat different in nature and function from memorising and repeatedly practising model sentences. This point will be taken up again later. The more closely the mother tongue and the first foreign language are related to each other in terms of language typology, and the more internationalisms and borrowings from the new language there are in the mother tongue, the more links and transfer opportunities one will be able to establish – for example, in the language systems (grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation, spelling).

2.2.2. Awareness and expansion of language learning experience

This principle of creating awareness also applies to language *learning* experiences. In the learning of the new language, new learning processes are activated that in part did not play a role in mother tongue teaching, and learning strategies are applied that can also be used in the learning of subsequent foreign languages. It is precisely in this area of "learning to learn" that teaching in the first foreign language can have the important long-term effect of laying the foundation for efficient learning of subsequent foreign languages, thereby encouraging "continuing lifelong learning" of foreign languages.
Specifically, this means:

- Making pupils aware of their own learning behaviour when learning the first foreign language (What type of learner am I? What motivates me to learn? What do I need in order to feel comfortable learning? How do I do my homework? How, for example, do I learn new words? How do I approach a text I have never seen before?);
- Discussing how one can change and improve one's own learning behaviour if necessary (discussing and trying out new learning techniques and strategies), and continually discussing the experiences that these new attempts at conscious foreign language learning lead to.

From the perspective of tertiary language learning, there are thus four "wishes" to be addressed to the teaching of the first foreign language:

a) Laying the foundation of the "pragmatic-functional-communicative" aspect of using the new language (e.g. learning "model everyday dialogues" by heart and re-enacting them; understanding texts in the foreign language; expressing oneself orally and in writing in the foreign language);

b) Sensitising pupils to language(s) by such things as repeatedly referring to relationships to linguistic phenomena in the mother tongue and discussing these observations in the class. This takes place in the mother tongue during the early stages of the teaching;

c) Sensitising pupils to the "other world" that is opened up in the teaching of the new language (intercultural learning) by discussing these observations (in the mother tongue during the early stages of teaching);

d) Discussing (in the mother tongue during the early stages of teaching) how to learn the new language efficiently (language learning awareness).

3 On the objectives and principles of tertiary language didactics

These comments clearly indicate that with respect to tertiary language teaching and learning the task is *not* to develop a completely new didactic-methodological concept, but rather to delineate and differentiate the specific features of the teaching and learning of subsequent foreign languages.

Overall, foreign language teaching in Europe in the school context incorporates the objectives and didactic principles that have been developed over the last two to three decades, to a large degree as a result of the Council of Europe's campaign encouraging the dissemination of foreign language knowledge (e.g. *Threshold Level*; *Common European Framework of Reference*).

Its two aims are:

- *Communicative objectives*: Enabling the use in everyday situations of the foreign languages learned, i.e. using foreign languages as instruments of communicative activity.
- *Intercultural objectives*: Learning foreign languages not only enables a person to make himself/herself understood in everyday situations, but should also lead to a better and deeper understanding of the way of life and thinking of the people of the target language community and of their cultural heritage, as well as that of the learner's own world.

3.1. The dual objectives of tertiary language teaching: Increasing language possession/language experience and increasing language learning experience

3.1.1. Interference or transfer as a starting point?

In the planning approach of tertiary language didactics, emphasis is initially *not* placed on the question of differences in elements, units and structures of the languages – as was characteristic of the early concepts of contrastive linguistics, which was based on the assumptions that these differences are the main cause of errors and consequently that the languages must be taught and learned completely separately from each other in order to reduce errors. If the plurilingualism concept assumes that there is *one* fundamental human language ability that is developed and differentiated through the learning of foreign languages, the question of the interference of language systems does *not* initially play the key role in didactic considerations. More important is the aspect of *transfer*: where can the learning of the foreign language link up with and expand existing language knowledge and fundamental language experience and language *learning* experience? For this reason, transfer in the plurilingualism concept relates above all to two dimensions:

3.1.2. The 1st transfer area: Increasing language possession

The starting point is the question of how "transfer bridges" (Meissner, 2000) can be constructed between L1 and L2 and the new language to be learned, L3: what elements, units and structures of the mother tongue (L1) and the first foreign language (L2) can be related and linked to comparable elements, units and structures of the tertiary language (L3)? When pupils begin to work with the new language, what can trigger a "*recognition transfer*" (Meissner, 2000)? In the "construction of these transfer bridges", a fundamental role is initially played by similarities in language type between L1, L2 and L3, and, with regard to vocabulary, the question of the intensity of language contact (inclusion of internationalisms and borrowings). If there is a close language type relationship and intensive language contact, as is the case with English and German, identical or similar linguistic forms yield relatively broadscale *crossovers between the languages*, which the learners themselves can easily identify, for instance, in the area of vocabulary or grammatical structures (sentence structure, word formation). These trigger recognition transfer in the form of the development of hypotheses about similarities (in linguistic form and meaning). Bringing this initially "silent" process of forming hypotheses about discernible linguistic similarities to the surface and repeatedly encouraging learners to talk about their observations regarding the new language they are learning is a major characteristic of the task of tertiary language teaching.

It appears to be relatively unimportant for tertiary language learning whether these language bridges are constructed between L1 and L3 or between L2 and L3. For instance, in the constellation "German after English", there are language learning contexts – for example, if Dutch, Danish, Swedish or Norwegian is the mother tongue – in which there are more links between L1 and L3 than between L2 and L3. In the teaching and learning of L3, attention is initially focused on what linguistic forms in the new language learners can already recognise as being identical or similar to the languages they already know. In this way, *an area of understanding* gradually develops in L3 that can be further extended by adding on and integrating both what is *recognisable and known* and what is *different and contrary*. It is essential to note that the activation of "transferable" elements, units and structures from previous languages is initially and primarily aimed at developing this area of understanding in L3 (especially with respect to reading comprehension)!

In the active, productive use of the new language – i.e. during the course of practising speaking and writing – it is also necessary to consciously discuss those language phenomena to which there are no direct links but, on the contrary, clear differences. The failure to take these into account can lead to interference phenomena and hence to the incorrect use of the new foreign language (e.g. to incorrect sentence structure that reflects the mother tongue or the first foreign language, incorrect articulation and intonation when speaking (accent), misspelled words, etc.). As a result, these areas of active, productive language use require particularly intensive discussion (creating an

awareness of differences, developing language knowledge) as well as intensive practice and training (developing language skills).

3.1.3. The 2nd transfer area: Increasing language learning awareness through discussion of language learning processes and language learning experience

A further major element of the didactic concept of tertiary language learning relates to linking up with existing foreign language *learning* experience and *learning* processes, bearing these in mind and expanding them for the purposes of efficient foreign language learning. To this end, it is necessary to examine more closely the *processing methods of foreign language learning* (e.g. learning techniques and learning strategies). For example, in order to be able to make statements about the efficient learning of vocabulary in tertiary language learning, it is necessary to consider not only language comparison on the level of linguistic forms (identical/similar meaning or "false friends"), but also to address with equal intensity the nature of the mental lexicon and how vocabulary learning takes place (input, storage and activation of semantic units).

Transfer here means taking up, making pupils aware of and, if necessary, expanding and differentiating the language *learning* experience they have acquired while learning their mother tongue and – even more important –their first foreign language. It is thus a question of the further development of the awareness of language *learning*.

If it is true that schooling should prepare "for life" and if foreign language knowledge is of fundamental importance to job success, leisure, the understanding of others and communication with them, it then follows that foreign language teaching in the schools must lay the foundation for independent, continuing lifelong learning of languages. It thus must also enable learners to understand their own foreign language learning processes and, if necessary, to independently structure them to meet their needs efficiently. From this perspective, an *independent and important learning objective* of tertiary language learning is the conscious focusing of attention on:

- learning techniques and strategies to improve the efficiency of foreign language learning;
- communication strategies for the more efficient use in life of what has been learned in school.

3.2. Principles of tertiary language didactics

The *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (Trim *et al.* 2001) rightly emphasises that the formulation of general and comprehensive objectives of foreign language teaching does *not* mean that uniform teaching methods for all foreign language teaching in the school context can be derived from them.

Thus although it is indeed possible to formulate a number of *comprehensive didactic principles*, teaching methods and learning processes are dependent upon the very specific conditions in a region and even within a particular group of learners. They are determined by a number of factors and the way in which these interact in specific situations. Here we list:

a) Objectives

- The shared universally applicable concept of foreign language teaching in the school context: communicative/intercultural and pedagogical teaching goals.

b) The syllabus for the L3 to be learned (language/country studies)

c) The learners

- Group-specific characteristics such as age, existing language(s), previous knowledge (about the target language and the target language culture, about foreign language learning, culture-specific learning styles, etc.);
- Individual characteristics such as previous knowledge (about language(s) and L3 and their cultural contexts; motivation; interest; learner type; etc.).

d) The teaching context

- Language situation, language policies and sequence of (foreign) languages;
- Teachers (foreign-language competence in L3 and L2, subject competence);
- Teaching methods and traditions characteristic of the learner's own culture;
- Time available for the teaching of L3;
- Teaching media available (course books, technical media, etc.);
- Proximity to/distance from target language region.

This constellation of factors provides the basis for the development of *adapted* teaching methods and learning procedures for tertiary language teaching and tertiary language learning. In the following section, five didactic principles are set out that must be adapted to take into account specific regional and learner-group conditions affecting tertiary language teaching:

3.2.1. First principle – Cognitive learning: Development of language awareness and language learning awareness

Language awareness and language learning awareness, as decisive factors in foreign language learning (cf. Section 3.1), entail, in a plurilingual approach:

a) increasing awareness and knowledge about languages (declarative knowledge),

- consciously relating the learner's own language, the first foreign language and subsequent language(s) to each other; and
- repeatedly discussing in the classroom features observed about the new language being learned, such as how it relates to the learner's existing language knowledge, whether stemming from the mother tongue or the learning of the first foreign language, and how it can be firmly anchored in the learner's mind.

But also:

b) increasing awareness and knowledge of one's own foreign language learning process (procedural knowledge),

- experiencing foreign language learning in a conscious manner, i.e. in the classroom regularly talking about experiences acquired during the learning of foreign languages;
- about how these experiences can be extended (discussing learning techniques and strategies); and
- about how one can make one's own individual learning process more efficient (enhancing procedural knowledge).

In this vein, Christ (2000, 6) speaks of the "culture of 'thinking aloud in the classroom' and of a new culture of pupil contributions to the language learning process." The discussion of observations of language and learning during lessons means developing meta-cognitive skills. Cognitive learning signifies in particular:

- comparing and discussing;
- conscious activation of all the language knowledge and language learning experience that the learners have stored in their minds.

This process of comparing and reviewing (discussing, making assumptions and forming hypotheses to be discussed) turns learners into active discoverers of the language worlds in their own minds and of their own personal language learning processes. Activating this pleasure in discovering the "world of languages" and the "linguistic world in their own minds" – how languages are structured, how they are interrelated, what can be done with them, how they are learned – can be highly motivating for language learning and can greatly contribute to making teaching more lively. Recent studies (e.g. De Leeuw 1997) have shown that even children of primary school age are open to making language comparisons and are able to describe and discuss their learning process (Christ 2000, 6).

3.2.2. Second principle – Understanding as the basis and starting point for learning

It has already been emphasised how important the aspect of understanding is for tertiary language learning. It is the foundation and starting point for learning in general and for foreign language learning in particular. Understanding in tertiary language teaching is actually concerned with questions of information processing, that is of the perception, integration and anchoring of new information (the language itself and the language learning processes) in the inventory of knowledge and experience already existing in the memory.

Thus understanding initially means taking cognizance of similar (or contrasting) linguistic phenomena in a comparison of existing languages and the new language, and then organising these and anchoring them in the memory in such a way that they can be reactivated when needed. Understanding also means consciously analysing one's own learning behaviour.

Often, understanding takes place initially as a "silent process" of dealing with a new phenomenon (perceiving, reflecting, comparing, interpreting, making assumptions and forming hypotheses, classifying and linking, etc.). The function of teaching would then be to "put into words" these silent processes in the mind and to discuss these processes of understanding. Thus at this point, we again encounter the "culture of thinking aloud" in foreign language teaching that has been referred to above. This discursive "talking about the subject", which takes place above all in the mother tongue during the early stages of teaching, is a characteristic didactic element of tertiary language learning on the basis of understanding. It *supplements* the unfolding of the partner-related use of language in everyday contexts. Developing understanding, therefore, means in teaching:

- first of all – in order to promote the development of understanding – specifically offering learners selected, transferable texts that can be integrated (e.g. synthetic or authentic parallel texts in existing languages, which can be compared by the learners themselves; and in activating the so-called "bridges of understanding", e.g. in work on vocabulary and grammar);
- secondly, offering learners more redundant "language material to play with" than they are expected to master actively, and helping them learn how to deal with this material (what use is it to me and what purpose does it serve?).

This brings us to the next principle:

3.2.3. Third principle – The orientation of content

In tertiary language teaching, learners are older than they were when they learned their first foreign language. In our model of "German after English", they are already teenagers, with broader experience in learning, different learning behaviour (more cognitive than imitative), and different interests and ways of processing information than was the case when they were in primary school or in the first years of secondary school. For this reason, they do not find it particularly motivating during the learning of subsequent foreign languages to be once again confronted with topics frequently used in mother tongue teaching in primary schools (and occasionally in the initial stages of the teaching of the first foreign language) that correspond to the experience level of younger learners and are supposed to be used in a form of play (topics in which one's actual experiences are pinpointed and put into linguistic form in the foreign language: "this is my hand; this is my foot"; "the book is on the desk", etc. Such topics are geared to language acquisition in preschool!). As a matter of principle, it can be assumed that pupils can be more easily encouraged to learn a foreign language if:

- they are stimulated through well-organised materials to explore topics in the foreign world which interest them and to which they can bring experiences from their own world, throwing into relief what is similar and what different, and in this way to view their own world from a new perspective (what is the root of the differences between the foreign world and my world?);
- one helps them use their own initiative in dealing with the subject (e.g. through an inductive approach to learning grammar or vocabulary etc., or through their own topic-related research on the Internet); and
- it can be made clear to them what use can be made of the things they are learning (such as preparing a pupil exchange programme, establishing e-mail friendships, etc.).

Example: Within the framework of the "German after English" constellation, it is possible at a relatively early stage of learning to address *many topics which are relevant to teenage learners*, since there is a broad "common vocabulary in terms of understanding" (cf. the list in Hufeisen 1994). Thus to a large extent learners can themselves (globally) access (*synthetic or authentic*) texts in these areas. The orientation of content, however, also encompasses making language and the learning of languages the subject matter of instruction, giving interesting assignments on language and learning phenomena that are challenging to teenage learners (e.g. analysing a linguistic phenomenon on their own; making connections; formulating and testing hypotheses; presenting results; etc.).

3.2.4. Fourth principle – The orientation of texts

This principle is derived from the principles concerned with understanding and content. The foreign language and the foreign world are, in foreign language teaching, almost exclusively brought into play via many different kinds of text types: reading and listening comprehension texts, pictures, videos, the Internet etc. Thus working with texts (global, selective or detailed comprehension, depending on the type of text) and assignments based on texts (summarising, evaluating, commenting on, supplementing and continuing, etc.) are of particular importance. For this purpose specific L3 text didactics must be developed. This can fulfil very different objectives and functions:

Examples relevant to the initial stage of teaching "German after English":

- Inductive exploration of language systems (with respect to vocabulary and grammar, pronunciation and spelling) in the new language based on a comparative analysis of L1, L2 and L3 texts that have been prepared as "synthetic parallel texts" on specific linguistic phenomena being addressed in L3 teaching;
- Development of global comprehension strategies using authentic texts taken for example from topic areas in which much shared vocabulary, including internationalisms and anglicisms, is present.

3.2.5. Fifth principle – Economy in the learning process

In general, less time is available for teaching subsequent foreign languages than for the first foreign language. However, it is often expected that approximately the same level of language proficiency will be achieved. Usually, this means that the teaching material is covered faster and more compactly – and often more abstractly – and that there is less time for exercises and hardly any time to revise. This often leads to *a concentration simply on going through the grammar!* For tertiary language didactics this situation poses a new type of challenge: namely, the development of economical, i.e. time-saving and efficient teaching and learning processes.

Examples for German after English:

- The numerous parallels in the linguistic systems of the two languages – in particular in the area of vocabulary, but also in grammar – permit a more rapid and more efficient entry into the Germany language if in the beginning one deliberately concentrates on these transfer bridges.
- For example, much of the "shared vocabulary of comprehension" can be covered relatively quickly without spending a lot of time on procedures concerned with semantics and context if one first of all prepares a bilingual pictorial lexicon for the relevant subject areas or semantic fields (this could also be trilingual, if the mother tongue were included) to which reference can be

made regularly when working on vocabulary and to which new words only found in L3 can be added in the appropriate semantic fields.

- Explicit comparative discussion of differences and areas susceptible to interference (along with subsequent intensive practical familiarisation with these linguistic phenomena in the target language context, e.g. in pronunciation training) also has the effect of saving time and making learning more efficient.
- The same applies to discussing and trying out efficient learning strategies and techniques.
- Also important here is the provision of guidance on working independently with learning aids (dictionaries, reference sources, etc.).

This process is supported by the active involvement of learners as discussed above (the use of inductive methods for the independent investigation of linguistic regularities [the "collecting – classifying – systematising strategy"], the efficient use of aids), which can contribute on a long-term basis to independent learning for which learners themselves assume responsibility. All this means that a very important objective of tertiary language teaching is to include learners as "active participants" in teaching and learning (and not to treat them as containers to be filled with knowledge which is then regurgitated). Actively involving learners means, for instance, prompting them to think, compare, debate, talk about, question, formulate and verify hypotheses, experiment, try out, become independent in learning and collaborate with others. Motivation lies at the heart of all this – that is, becoming interested in the subject and applying oneself to learning it.

4 In conclusion

In closing it is perhaps appropriate to add a few critical reflections to what has been said about the teaching and learning process. In our enthusiasm for the new perspectives in foreign-language didactics opened up by the plurilingualism principle, there is a danger of succumbing to didactic bias in implementing the principle. For example, there is a risk of again assuming an "ideal learner", bright enough, aware and flexible enough, motivated and independent enough to understand and shape his/her own language-learning process and to respond with interest to the stimuli we provide, absorbing them into more efficient learning. However, we all know from our own experience that these conditions and this type of learner behaviour are certainly not equally represented in all learners! In conclusion, therefore, we must emphasise two questions that will have to be explicitly examined in the development of tertiary language didactics:

1. How can we ensure that not only motivated pupils who are actively interested in learning are encouraged, but also that pupils whose past experience has indicated problems in foreign language learning are encouraged and enabled to learn foreign languages successfully?

   A pupil will only successfully learn a new foreign language in the school context if we succeed in interesting him/her in the "foreign-language learning undertaking". What motivates a pupil to learn a foreign language may vary a lot, and a fascination for language(s) and for learning as such is certainly only one factor of many that may lead to success – and for most pupils it is quite possibly not even the decisive one!

2. How can we deal with individual differences in the teaching of foreign languages in schools (cf. Riemer 1997), i.e. how can teaching approaches be adapted to the personal needs/profiles of individual students?

It must also be emphasised that a learning theory concept based exclusively on cognitive considerations certainly cannot adequately describe and explain all the processes of foreign language learning. Foreign language learning is not just a rational matter, and emotional aspects must also be afforded equal concern if it is to be successful. Knowledge about language and language learning processes is never a guarantee that efficient language skills will be developed. In order to successfully learn and master a foreign language, one must apply oneself to it with "heart and mind", practising it regularly and with perseverance. Nonetheless, the concept of plurilingualism does, in fact, open up fascinating new perspectives for efficient tertiary language learning, and it is well worth the effort to continue to pursue this path systematically and with didactic creativity.

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4. Language policies and plurilingualism

Hans-Jürgen Krumm

In many models and concepts concerned with the learning of languages, the factor of the "learning environment" plays an important role, but often in a relatively abstract and sterile way. From the perspective of language policies, plurilingualism is not something that is primarily located in the mind, in mental processes, but is rather a constituent part of people with rich and often contradictory (language and learning) biographies. The following explores the language policy implications and consequences of plurilingualism for the structuring of language learning processes and language teaching systems.

1 The European Year of Languages 2001 – Contradictory findings on plurilingualism

The European Year of Languages 2001 made fundamental contradictions in European language policies quite clear:

The Council of Europe, a political creation in the wake of the world wars, has for many years addressed language issues with the aim of fostering plurilingualism as a means of securing peace and stabilising the development of democracy.

The European Union, which grew out of an economic community, has (re)discovered plurilingualism in the course of internationalisation and the necessity for professional and economic mobility, as is set out quite clearly in the White Paper "Towards the Learning Society" (European Commission, 1995).

The Year of Languages has brought the two institutions and their approaches together. However, plurilingualism is far from being a reality in Europe. An overview of the number of foreign languages a pupil learns on average shows for Luxembourg an average of 2.9 languages, for Finland 2.4 and for Denmark and Belgium 1.9. Compared with other countries in Europe, Germany's 1.2 languages per pupil – in Austria the figure is slightly higher, namely 1.36 languages per pupil – puts it in last place, with a rather negative overall result (these calculations are taken from the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, No. 36, dated 13 February 2001, Section V, pp. 15-16).

Despite their rhetoric of plurilingualism, the programmes of the European Commission and the Council of Europe for the Year of Languages exclude multilingualism. For example, the Centre for Modern Languages in Graz, whose homepage (http://www.ecml.at, of January 2001) invited foreign language teachers from around

the world to participate in the "Teachers of the Week Project" as part of the European Year of Languages, stated, "*Teachers of any language are invited to participate, submission of entries is only possible English and French*".

The EU's internal language practices indicate even more clearly that a scarcely tolerable hegemony of English and French has been established – after all, all EU member states send their civil servants to the EU administrative offices in Brussels. According to a survey carried out in the European Community at the beginning of the 1990s, French accounted for 69% of EC employees' internal communications, English 30% and German 1%. In intergovernmental communications within the EC, French accounted for 54%, English 42% and German 3%, and with non-EC states English 69%, French 30% and German 1%. An updating would probably show a continuation of the dominance of English and French, with a shift to the benefit of English, and a slight improvement of the German position.

Of course, it is repeatedly argued that an increase in the number of languages would lead to exploding costs. Especially in light of the enlargement of the EU, which will add 5 or even 11 new languages, this argument is being expressed even more forcefully.

With 11 languages, if each were translated into all the others, there would be 110 translation permutations, with 16 languages 240, and with 22 languages 462 translation permutations.

However, it must be stated that the costs are in fact by no means so exorbitant: the EU Commission's internal translation service accounts for 0.8% of the EU Commission's Budget, a trivial amount compared, for instance, with the agricultural budget (cf. McCluskey, 2001).

Public discussion of the contradictory nature of European language policies is still taboo, as was demonstrated, for example, by the reactions to the German and Austrian objections to the working language regulation proposed by Finland during its EU Presidency and by the secrecy with which – in order to avoid such public discussion – German has in the meantime indeed been established as a semi-official working or negotiating language. It is to be hoped that the European Year of Languages will initiate a more open discussion and search for solutions.

And, in fact, the situation is not free of problems even with respect to English. According to the Eurobarometer Survey of December 2000, 47% of EU citizens cannot speak any foreign language at all and only 41% can speak English.

Nevertheless, the European Year of Languages gives us the opportunity to take stock and develop new perspectives. It is here that I also see the opportunity afforded by the Synergy Project: namely – fuelled by the enthusiasm generated by the Year of Languages and by the disappointment at the persistence of European language policies lacking any coherence and consisting of mere multilingualism rhetoric – to come up with realistic approaches to the implementation of plurilingualism. For this reason, it is in my view correct and important not just to view this project as a matter for language-

teaching professionals, but also to recognise its broader implications for language policy.

The Year of Languages has at long last made languages a topic of discussion once again. Politicians have also discovered how important European multilingualism is for the functioning of democracy in Europe. One only has to imagine the reaction if every citizen standing for office as Member of the European Parliament first had to take an examination in English to prove he/she capable of representing his/her own country competently in English. Political rights in the EU, if it wishes to survive, cannot be tied to knowledge of a language. For this reason, the Council of Europe has also in recent years increasingly placed its language projects within the context of its concept of democratic citizenship.

2 On the situation of German in the context of European plurilingualism

The situation described above is a cause of concern about the place of the German language in Europe. The language market is – at least to some extent – guided by the principle of reciprocity. When a total of only 12% of pupils in Austria learn French, and even in Germany recent statistics indicate only 14%, we should not be surprised to learn that the teaching of German in France has now fallen below the 10% level. The same is true in other countries.

Statistics on the current state of a language, on the number of its speakers and of those who learn it as a second and foreign language are always a problem. At what point does one know a foreign language well enough to declare it in a survey?

However, various studies and surveys on the status and number of speakers of languages provide some orientation and at least indicate the dimensions of the problem. Specifically for German, reference can be made to the 1985 Language Report of the German Federal Government, various articles by Ammon (1991, 2001) and the so-called *Laender Report* of the GI in 2000. All these reports indicate a number of clear tendencies.

Among the approximately 6 000 languages in the world, German is generally included among the leading languages on a variety of criteria. It is thus a "strong" language, in 11th or 12th place in terms of the number of mother tongue speakers and in 6th or 7th place in terms of economic strength, reflecting the fact that knowledge of German continues to be in demand in business.

In Great Britain, for instance, university graduates who have specialised in the study of the German language are among those with a rather low unemployment rate compared to graduates in the fields of business administration, computing, etc.

As a mother tongue, as an economically strong language, and as a language that is established in a number of European countries as an official language, German can in general be regarded as a strong language. However, as a learned language and language of use for non-native-speakers, German lags considerably behind. In fact, 23% of all EU citizens are German speaking, but only 8-9% of non-German-speaking EU citizens learn German, while 32% of non-English-speaking EU citizens speak English and a good 10% learn French.

Within the EU, the increase of foreign language teaching in schools means above all an increase in the teaching of English, leaving aside such situations as in Greece, where German is now being offered for the first time ever in the school context. In a number of cases inside and outside the EU, the decline of German in the school sector contrasts with an increase in the university and adult education sectors. This trend can also be seen in our own education system, where languages in school are being displaced by English teaching and are being shifted to the adult education and tertiary sector.

German is still in a strong position in central and eastern Europe, but, as has been shown in the last few years, is stable only as a second language alongside or behind English, generally tending to be stronger in rural schools than in urban academic secondary schools.

The most important reason for the weaker position of German as a learned language naturally lies in the history of the past 100 years:

- The two world wars, in particular National Socialism and the Second World War, discredited the German language at the international level.
- The expulsion and murder of Jewish academics and scientists under National Socialism led to a huge decline in the international presence of German-speaking learning. Along with this, the economic, technical and political dominance of the USA over the last few decades has dramatically reduced the role played by German as an international language, with the exception of a very few fields such as architecture, music, theology and pedagogy.

After the fall of the Iron Curtain, German initially played a stronger role again, because in the socialist countries German, the language of the German Democratic Republic – in contrast to English, the language of the enemy in the class struggle – was the most widespread language after Russian and was regarded by many central and eastern Europeans as a bridge to the West. However, in the meantime the situation has begun to change there as well, to the benefit of English, *inter alia* because the people of central and eastern Europe have seen how weakly German is represented in the official EU.

Pavel Cink, a senior official at the Prague Ministry of Education, states with respect to German what is also true of other European languages:

> … time is flying in terms of language policy. The motivation to learn foreign languages is changing. … When those who have learned German with great effort and diligence are

> obliged to discover (and accept) that there is hardly any use for their German in most European institutions or in the international organisations that are located or have branches in Europe, there is bound to be a change in the social characteristics of German learners over the course of time (Cink, 33, in: Krumm 1999).

Overall, however, other countries are behaving in a manner similar to Germany and Austria with regard to foreign languages: English dominates as the first foreign language. German (like French, Italian and Russian in Germany and Austria) only has a chance if an active policy of plurilingualism is pursued.

Maintaining and promoting one's own language abroad only succeeds if there is a credible policy of plurilingualism in one's own education system.

3 Credible plurilingualism requires recognition of the equal standing of languages

That not all languages are equal is demonstrated by the EU's own language regime. To cite one final piece of evidence, approximately 6 to 7 million Turkish speakers live more or less permanently in the EU, but because Turkish is neither the language of a Member State nor a minority language recognised in one of these countries, it is excluded from almost all language promotion programmes of the EU.

Although there are considerable regional differences on this point, being linguistic neighbours does not always mean increased demand. On the contrary, proximity is often felt to be threatening and to require linguistic demarcation. For example, a survey in French-speaking Switzerland in 1990 in which pupils were asked what language they would learn if there were freedom of choice did not reveal a particularly strong demand for German and Italian. It is not surprising that all these pupils wanted to learn English (previously not a compulsory foreign language in French-speaking Switzerland). What is remarkable is that German, a national and neighbouring language with immediate professional relevance in Switzerland, was named by fewer learners (in fact, German is still a compulsory language) than the non-national and non-neighbouring language Russian. And the gap between English and Italian (likewise a national and neighbouring language) was also surprisingly large.

Languages are valued and in demand to different degrees. Making multilingualism a reality, especially if neighbouring and minority languages are to be included, means overcoming resistance from almost all sides. The education system and language teaching should not be obliged to fight these battles alone. On the contrary, we have a right to expect policy support, of a publicly resonant kind, from politicians and the media.

A policy that, for instance, requires knowledge of German as a condition for acquiring citizenship, but does not *at the same time* say anything about the value of the native languages spoken by the prospective citizens and does not provide any programmes for the preservation and passing on of these languages contributes to the public impression that other languages are of lower value. Within a country, multilingualism requires the abandonment of assimilation and the willingness to live with differences, with linguistic and cultural variety.

All too often our society is unable to provide an answer to the legitimate question of whether learning other languages is worth the effort. Where are the quotas for language speakers in our ministries, where are the salary increments for the knowledge of other languages, as is, for example, usual in Hungary and the Czech Republic?

4 Why the European future will nevertheless remain plurilingual in the long-term

4.1 One's own mother tongue is an essential part of a European identity

Mobility and globalisation do not lead, as many feared a few years ago, to the elimination of linguistic and cultural differences. The music television channel MTV, for example, which originally assumed that it would be able to successfully market its pop music worldwide on an English-speaking channel, has in the meantime set up 28 regional studios – in Europe inter alia in Paris, Barcelona, Warsaw, Rome and Munich. In the words of the head of German programming, "A regional programme with culture and information from the reality of your own life provides cosiness of the familiar… One's own language is for many a kind of emotional anchorage in our complicated world."[1]

A significant factor here is that the imposition of other languages always involves suggestions of economic, military or political domination, which are also perceived as "linguistic imperialism". People resist this hegemonisation by emphatically insisting on their mother tongue. This is even apparent on the Internet. In the beginning the Internet was, in fact, primarily in English, but this is no longer the case. The number of homepages in languages other than English has increased to such an extent that in 1999 English-homepages represented only 62% of the total compared with 84% in 1995. The share of homepages in German has almost tripled, from 4.5% to 13% (= 24,251,665). The share of the Japanese language has risen from 3.1% to 5% and that of French has more than doubled from 1.8% to 4% in 1999 (Ammon 2000, 251). The Internet helps people present themselves in their own language around the globe and to take their own language out into the world.

[1] "Weltweite Nestwärme"; article about the MTV music channel. DER SPIEGEL No. 44, 30.10.2000, 234- 238.

It is precisely the mobile people in a globalised world who value local, regional and national identity. A European identity will only be accepted if one's own language and culture are part of it.

4.2 European identity was and is plurilingual

How did people actually understand each other in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries? There was, of course, Latin as the language of learning, and the languages of rulers. Generally, however, the European world was always multilingual. Despite the dominance of the nation-state in the 19th century, this plurilingualism is (again) present today thanks to minorities, migrant workers and refugees, as well as the mobility of professional life and leisure activities. I would like here to refer to the works of Ingrid Gogolin (e.g. 1994) that raise the issue of the plurilingual nature of our education system and our society, which we simply refuse to notice because of our "monolingual disposition".

Where, however, except in compartmentalised teaching of the language of origin, does the wealth of languages spoken by pupils and university students come to light? When I ask teachers whether they know how many and what languages their pupils speak, they usually have no idea. In the past few years I have regularly asked teachers to have their pupils draw and write their own language portraits and language biographies.

Dyah, an Indonesian woman, grew up speaking 4 languages: Timorese, the language of her father; Javanese, the language of her mother; Batavian, the language of the region in which she lived; and the official state language, Bahasa Indonesia. At school she also came into contact with Arabic, as the language of religion in which the Koran was read and copied, as well as English, German and Japanese. With her German husband, she lived for a time in Spain, which led to the mixing of languages in daily life.

She writes about her experiences as follows:

> I also hope that my letter will encourage people to learn and use one or even more languages. I always have a wonderful feeling when I notice that I can understand many languages at the same time. For example, once I was sitting with an Indonesian friend in a café on the Plaza Mayor in Madrid … where there are always many tourists no matter what time of year it is. I was speaking Indonesian with my friend, and all around me people were speaking languages that I also know: English, German, Spanish, Japanese … I think that such situations are great, since I can understand these languages without much effort. After a while, I have the feeling that all these people are actually speaking one language.

Melanie, who attends the European secondary school in Vienna, writes about her colour portrait:

> I always have Dutch in my head, even when I am speaking other languages. You can tell this by the mistakes I make. I only work in German and English, hence the colour (for these languages) in my hands. The smallest parts of my body represent French and

> Spanish, which corresponds to my knowledge of these languages. But in fact, it all flows together and "circulates" in my body (cf. Krumm, 2001, 68 et seq.)

Ebi from Iran writes:

> My mother tongue is Persian. I learned English and Arabic in school. English is green, because it is always raining there. Arabic is brown, since the Arabic countries have lots of desert. German is black, because German is difficult. Persian is blue, because there is a beautiful sky there. (Krumm, 2001, 75).

Schools and society must at last make use of the languages and language experiences that pupils and students bring with them.

With respect to plurilingualism concepts, this also means not reducing people to one or two school languages, but encompassing the rich variety of languages they bring with them from their own lives.

5 Approaches to a concept of European plurilingualism

The preservation of European plurilingualism requires that as many people as possible be given the opportunity to acquire as many languages as possible at an acceptable financial cost, despite limited learning time and the limited resources of education systems. This can only succeed if things are done differently than they have been done in the past and if language learning is re-evaluated from the perspective of plurilingualism. Instead of a number of separate individual measures and projects, what is needed is something like an "overall concept for language education" in which the individual interests of learners and society's demands for foreign language skills are related to each other and in which our entire methodological approach is subjected to critical examination.

I should like to illustrate this with 5 points.

5.1. Diversification

The French Minister of Education Jack Lang has made diversification in the foreign language sector a central part of his education programme, i.e. the dominance of English is to be replaced by increased choice for French pupils, at least with respect to their second foreign language. Many French teachers of German are not happy with this, since they fear that if choice is increased, many pupils will tend to choose Spanish rather than German and German could end up being only the third foreign language. What the teachers of German fail to realise is that while ministers may be able to help prevent English from being the only or first foreign language learned, they cannot create protected domains for specific languages. Although diversification exposes the

teaching of one language to competition from other languages, it also gives it the opportunity to create a distinctive profile vis-à-vis instruction in the other languages. In a world in which parents and pupils are demanding greater participation in decision making regarding education, and schools are insisting on more autonomy, in a world in which English plays such a dominant role, diversification with attractive programmes is the only feasible way of securing a teaching programme for other languages prior to, alongside and after English. But diversification has two basic requirements: firstly, the providers of courses in other languages must also accept smaller teaching groups, i.e. learning groups with 5 to 10 learners; and secondly, teachers must regard this situation to be an opportunity and a challenge to develop an attractive programme and to implement it as a part of European multilingualism.

At the present time many European ministers of education are transgressing against the principle of diversification, especially with respect to the early start of foreign languages. In Germany, for instance, this is currently being standardised in a widespread manner as an early start of English. Simply beginning the teaching of English earlier is not, however, a step in the direction of plurilingualism. This will only occur when early start programmes facilitate the acquisition of languages not previously offered or at least when the early start of English teaching makes space available at subsequent learning levels that can be used for other languages.

In my opinion early start programmes would be the proper place to teach neighbouring languages and languages of encounter from the children's actual surroundings, which would facilitate the languages' being learned through play. Then at the age of 8 to 10, when they start using computers and listening to pop music, children would learn English very eagerly and quickly as their second foreign language.

5.2. Using synergies: curricular plurilingualism

When pupils learn more than one foreign language, the learning of the different languages should be interrelated. The teaching of the first foreign language should help prepare the pupil for the learning of other languages, for instance, by developing learning strategies for learning words and understanding texts, and, generally, by inculcating language awareness. Language teaching in the first language provides a window on other languages – it creates *language awareness*. The teaching of subsequent foreign languages should then systematically use what has already been learned. A second foreign language, for example, following English, should not be taught as if the classroom were full of absolute beginners. The pupils learning a second foreign language already know a great deal about language learning, such as how to remember vocabulary and how to understand a text even if one doesn't know all of the words. They already know that languages differ from their mother tongue in terms of sounds and script, in word order, etc. All this can be called upon in the teaching of a second or third foreign language. No one needs to learn again in each foreign language

how to do the most basic things, cf. for instance, Hufeisen and Lindemann, 1998, Hufeisen 1999.

This is the core of "Synergies in language-teaching" project. However, attention should also be paid to types of co-learning, such as those developed by the EuroCom projects on inter-comprehension within language families.

I would specifically like to refer to the field report by Elisabeth Neurohr, which documents that in Japan, French and German are so interrelated, as "European languages", that co-ordinated teaching of the two languages is successful (Neurohr 1997).

Among the prejudices, even affecting the academic world, that have prevailed up to now is the one that the close relationship of Portuguese and Spanish disturbs the concurrent acquisition of these languages and thus that they should be acquired at separate times. Such statements are empirically untenable. However, a distinct didactics of plurilingualism is necessary in order to prevent teaching from becoming a chaotic collection of language fragments.

a) The didactics of plurilingualism are not restricted to English

Unlike beer, the German language has never had a purity regulation. Additions to our language, which help learners get their first foothold in German, have only recently come from English. Our language-internal plurilingualism stems from a number of languages, which means that the teaching of German should certainly not concentrate only on its proximity to English.

For the teaching of German as a foreign language, internationalisms provide an invaluable advantage: German often has the reputation of being a difficult and inaccessible language. "What is then more obvious than to facilitate the approach to it by means of those parts of the language that have opened up to internationalisation, *a phenomenon that extends far beyond the process of anglicisation*. When efforts are made in France or Italy to persuade learners to choose German, these naturally make full use of the cross-border elements of linguistic and cultural recognisability" (Bader 1996, 36; emphasis added by the author).

b) The didactics of plurilingualism are not simply a matter of word comparisons

Just as the German Abitur (the school-leaving exam taken at the completion of academic secondary school) cannot be equated with the Austrian Matura (13 versus 12 years of schooling, *numerus clausus* versus free access to university studies), English *humour* and our *Humor*, English *club* and German *Klub* are not the *same*. Although it is correct to start with internationalisms and – leaving aside false friends – to use them as easy aids to comprehension, it is also important to communicate the insight that cultural values and meanings can even be divergent at the level of lexis.

Up to now our foreign language teaching has been additive and unco-ordinated, even in cases where several languages are offered. Many language teachers know as little about the languages their pupils are learning concurrently or will learn subsequently as they do about the languages that the pupils bring with them. It is left up to the learners themselves to establish order in their linguistic diversity. This is one of the reasons why many learners demand to be taught English without fail, since they have no clear idea of how our education system views or handles the overall language portfolio of learners, and which languages are offered to them when. What we need is what I call *curricular plurilingualism*, a co-ordinated diversity in which courses supplement and build upon each other.

5.3. Abandonment of "near nativeness" as a precondition for successful plurilingualism

As a rule, foreign language teaching seeks to achieve as complete a mastery of the language as possible, i.e. even at the beginning of teaching it evaluates the learner in terms of the end goal of attaining a complete and impeccable command of the foreign language.

Until this final state is reached, the learner is considered to be deficient. This is also the usual perspective of linguistics – with the end goal in mind, it naturally always discovers deficits in the learner's language, which it compares to that of *native speakers*. A reversal is urgently needed here. Language learners are not barren deserts where *input* is needed before anything will grow. They bring with them a depth of experience in other languages and from the very first word in a foreign language are already endowed with more communicative competence than any monolingual speaker. Every additional word and sentence of the new language expands their existing abilities to communicate. And, depending on the situation and the combination of different languages, it can be entirely sufficient to acquire only partial competence in a language and to jettison the goal of absolute correctness. A "shared language society" or receptive plurilingualism could mean, for example, that each person could speak in his or her mother tongue and everyone would be able to understand each other. In the Netherlands language teaching oriented towards achieving partial competence is currently being tried out. Here teaching those who have opted for oral fluency or the acquisition of receptive skills how to write or speak the language is not avoided, but the focus of the teaching and the giving of marks is based on the choice of partial competence. The European language standard specifications will allow various types of partial competences to be specified and evaluated in a differentiated manner.

Making plurilingualism a reality means that instead of having isolated teaching programmes in different languages, a curricular plurilingualism should be developed in which learners are offered various options for the realisation of individual plurilingualism profiles.

Plurilingualism can be achieved if we abandon the goal of attaining complete command of every language. Shorter language programmes are needed that are aimed at the development of linguistic capabilities in particular sub-areas or for specific skills.

6 The possible effects of the "Synergies in foreign-language teaching" project

In the light of what has been said above, my own conclusions can be summarised in six points:

1. *From the perspective of language policy a "Synergies in foreign-language teaching" project should not concentrate on the development of teaching materials, since this would involve too strong a commitment to a particular constellation of languages. Priority should be placed on:*

   a) The development of plurilingualism didactics

   b) The development of continuing education concepts and background materials to help teachers greatly enhance their teaching by taking advantage of the wealth of languages and language experience possessed by course participants

   c) The development of concepts for teacher training, so that in the future teachers – as plurilingualism experts – will be able to promote language variety even in changing language constellations

2. *"German after English"*

   Given the international position of English and the situation of German in the education systems of other countries, it is pragmatically correct, in the first stage, to specify the question of German as the second foreign language more simply as "German after English", as long as the following risks and constraints are taken into account:

   a) The general impression must not be given that anyone who wants to learn German must first learn English.

   b) It must also be taken into consideration that even in countries where English is strongly represented as a foreign language, there will always be teachers and learners who do not know and have not learned English;

materials for "German after English" must be designed in such an open way that they will also be acceptable for such learners.

c) It can be expected that not everyone will have positive memories of their English instruction, i.e. the teaching must not continuously seek to remind learners of their English instruction.

d) Teaching of German that very strongly restricts the reference to English to word similarities falls short of the aim of construing German as an extension of access to the world, as a new language learning adventure. The reference to English should bring into play not only the elements that facilitate learning, but also the differences at all levels of the language system, texts and contents.

3. The didactics of plurilingualism

The core of a concept that aims at creating synergies in the teaching of German by taking full advantage of existing language experience should be curricular and didactic prepositions that do not simply use isolated fragments of English as points of comprehension, but – at the levels of language, content and learning process – raise the question of how experiences of language and language learning in a number of languages can be used in the teaching of German.

4. The teaching of German and diversification

It is equally pressing to develop didactics of plurilingualism that examine the constellation of "German as second or subsequent foreign language" in the context of linguistically rich and non-homogenous groups of learners, independently of English. The decision to learn German should not restrict freedom of choice with respect to other languages. The roles of neighbouring languages, languages of encounter and minority languages in specific learning contexts make it necessary for the curricula and teaching materials for German to be open with respect to many languages.

5. German as the first foreign language

German will continue to be learned by many people and, in the school systems of a number of countries, as the first foreign language. Existing didactic concepts are also inadequate with respect to the function of a first foreign language preparing the way for the learning of other languages. "German in the context of plurilingualism" requires rethinking – for instance, it demands the abandonment of near nativeness and needs concepts of receptive plurilingualism and partial skills. The didactics of plurilingualism must not exclude the specific situation of German as the first foreign language.

6. *Finally, care must be taken to prevent plurilingualism for everyone from ultimately leading to new forms of selection or exclusion and undesirable marginalisation, i.e. it is also necessary for assistance programmes to be developed and implemented in the area of foreign language learning for slow learners. Precisely German teaching based too closely on foreign languages already learned could have unintended negative effects.*

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II. Curricular and pedagogical-methodological implementation

5. The promotion of intercultural competence in tertiary language teaching: German after English

Martina Rost-Roth

1 Introduction

Ideas about how the fact that German is often learned as a second foreign language, i.e. after another foreign language, can be used to full advantage in foreign language teaching have already been discussed on a broad basis. With respect to "intercultural communication in foreign language teaching", however, this discussion is still in the early stages, and even here has tended to be related to civilisation and cultural studies (*Landeskunde*), and specific content has not yet been suggested. The following article, therefore, focuses on the question of how German often learned as a second foreign language after English can be explicitly exploited to promote intercultural competence in the communicative-pragmatic area i.e. in the sphere of practical language skills.

In general, there have hitherto been two points of reference for the concern with intercultural communication and foreign-language teaching: the culture of the learner's native language and the culture of the target language. If, however, as is the basic premise of tertiary language teaching, account is also taken of learners' previous knowledge of another foreign language, it seems advisable to embrace other points of reference in the investigation of other cultures and the promotion of intercultural competence, and to assume not two but three points of reference. Analogous to conventions in the area of tertiary language research – where a distinction is made between the first, second and third language (L1, L2 and L3) – it is also possible to speak of first, second and third cultures (C1, C2 and C3) in the exploration of cultures.

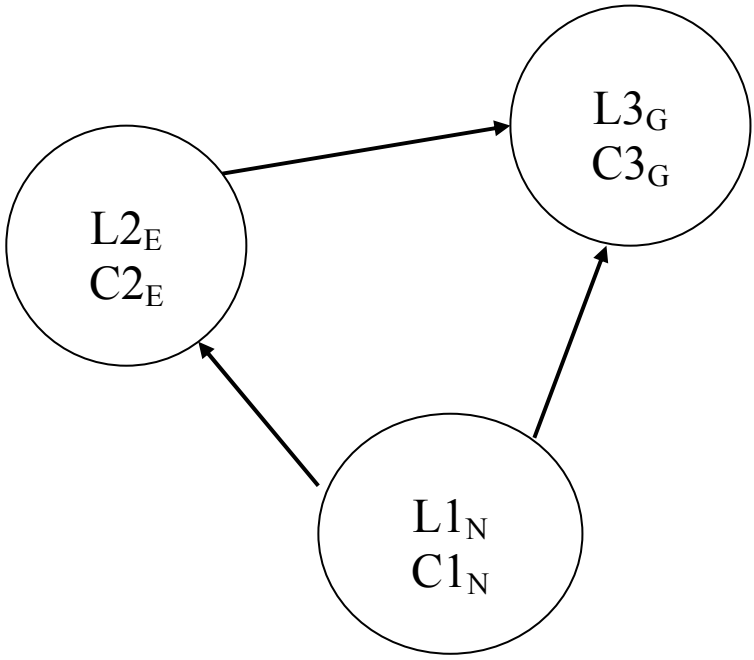

Fig. 1: Cultural relationships in tertiary language teaching (Example German after English)

Based on the particularly frequent case of German after English, German (G) is both the third language and the third culture (GL3, GC3), while English (E) is the second language and second culture (EL2, EC2). The native language and culture can be referred to as NL1 and NC1, and will vary from case to case.

With respect to the promotion of intercultural competence in foreign language teaching, the question is then to what extent the development of this competence can be advanced in the exploration of culture 3 when references are made to culture 2 and learners are made aware of similarities and differences between the two cultures (in this case English and German language and culture). Suggestions along these lines have already been formulated by Neuner (1999a) and Christ (1999) with respect to civilisation and cultural studies and aspects of understanding things that are foreign, however their suggestions have not so far been given concrete form. Recommendations for the promotion of intercultural communication skills through a focus on communicative practices such as greetings or requests have not yet been made for tertiary language teaching. For this reason, the primary aim of the present article is to suggest ways in which the circumstance that German is often learned after English can be sensibly exploited to produce a more effective approach to teaching intercultural aspects, the German target culture and the target culture of the other foreign language.

To this end, in Section 2 reference is made to literature and investigations that could be of conceptual significance to the development of intercultural didactics for tertiary language teaching. Since the term "intercultural communication" can be used in a number of different ways, Section 3 distinguishes between various areas that are relevant to the complex topic of "intercultural communication" and foreign language teaching. Section 4 then discusses findings on cultural differences based on comparisons between German and English, particularly the language constellation German after English (hereinafter abbreviated as "GaE"), in order to indicate areas in which the creation of awareness of common features and differences could be useful. Section 5 discusses consequences for teaching practice, while Section 6 summarises outstanding questions and the need for further investigation. Conclusions are drawn in Section 7.

2 Relevant fields of literature and investigation

A number of areas of study have an important bearing on the development of intercultural didactics for the tertiary language field (see Fig. 2 on the following page).

In first place is literature on the objectives and methods of tertiary language teaching. The task is to derive from this literature methodological principles – including the search for common features and differences, and the establishment of links with previous experience in foreign language acquisition (with reference to use in language learning) – and to examine to what extent they are transferable to the promotion of intercultural competence.

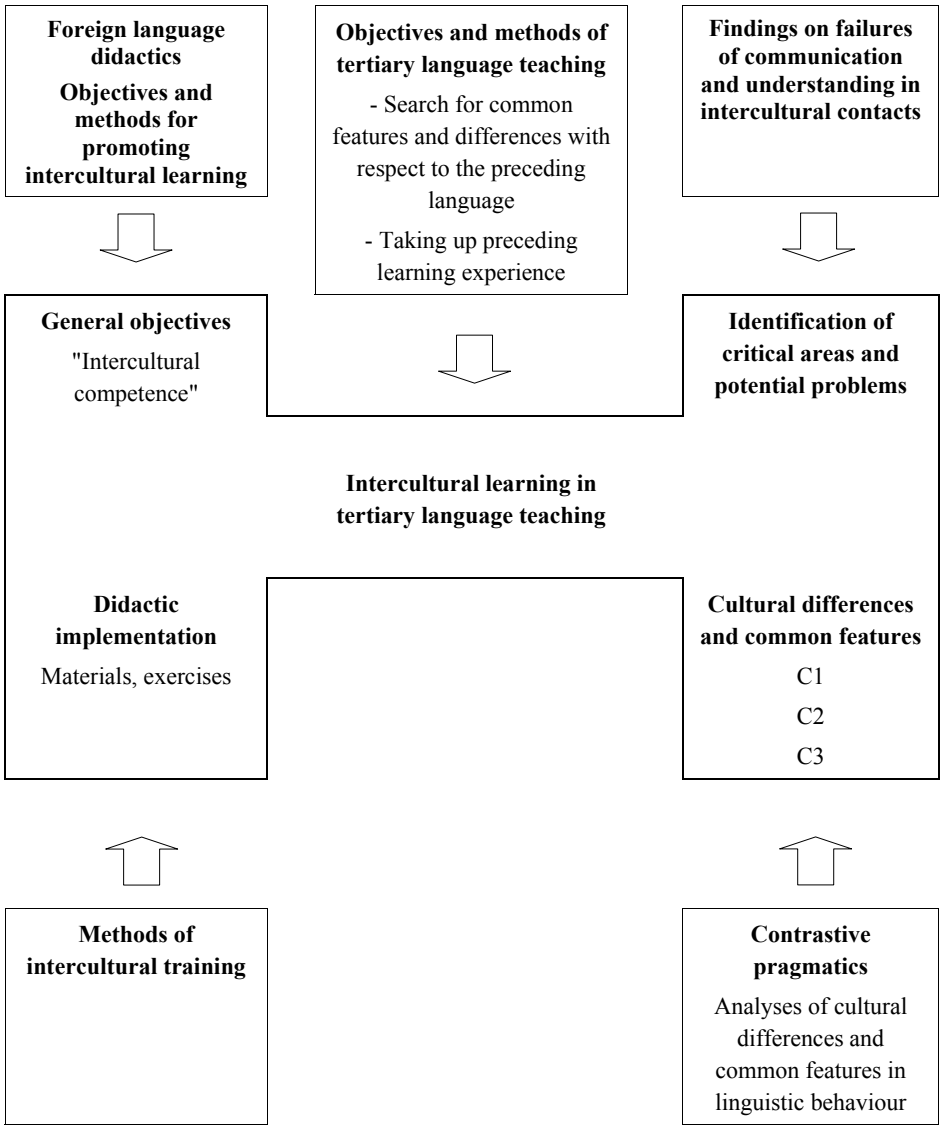

Fig. 2: Areas of investigation relevant to an intercultural orientation of tertiary language teaching

Also of importance is literature on the objectives and methods for the promotion of intercultural learning that have been developed within the framework of foreign language didactics. These yield general objectives such as the development of "intercultural competence", in the sense of promoting a perception of the "other" and

the self, and the ability to take appropriate linguistic action in various cultural contexts. It is here that methodological principles applied to materials and exercices can also be derived. Additionally, experiences in and approaches to intercultural training can offer a useful contribution.

Linguistic and cultural anthropological studies are likewise of interest. Findings on failures of communication and understanding in intercultural interaction can provide us with information on critical areas of communication and potential problems. Empirical research from contrastive pragmatics is also significant here. With regard to GaE tertiary language teaching, comparative studies of German and English communicative behaviour are of particular interest. Further, comparisons with the native languages, cultures, as well as dialect differences within specific language areas are also important.

3 Intercultural communication and foreign language teaching

3.1 Relevant areas

In foreign language didactics the term "intercultural communication" is associated with a very wide variety of concepts and in the teaching of German as a foreign language it is assigned quite diverse functions (cf. the recent findings of Pommerin 2001). Therefore it should be noted that attention is directed in the literature to many different aspects of the complex topic of intercultural communication (for more details cf. Rost-Roth 1996). The following relevant areas can be differentiated:

- determination of learning objectives
- teaching content
- teaching materials
- teaching methods
- teaching interaction

Notwithstanding these very different aspects of foreign language teaching, there is a common denominator: An overriding element in these discussions is the notion that there is a very close relationship between teaching a language and conveying knowledge about the culture in which the language is spoken – and that foreign language teaching should contribute not only linguistic competence, but also to the development of intercultural competence. However, with respect to the furtherance of intercultural competence, a number of different areas must also be distinguished.

3.2 Intercultural competence: learning objectives and teaching content

On the one hand, intercultural competence has a social and social psychological dimension, in that it is concerned with the ways in which different cultures are perceived and the value judgments that are made about them. At the same time, it has a communicative-pragmatic dimension, in that it facilitates appropriate linguistic behaviour in the context of other cultures.[1]

Intercultural competence

	Social and social psychological dimension	*Communicative-pragmatic dimension*
Learning objective	Understanding other cultural groups and becoming aware of one's own culture in order to increase understanding in international and multicultural contexts	Facilitating appropriate communicative behaviour in other cultural groups: a) receptive skills (in order to be able to correctly interpret the linguistic behaviour of members of other cultures) b) productive skills (in order to be able to express oneself appropriately
Teaching content	Exploration of other ways of life (family, gender relationships, the organisation of public and private life, etc.) ▪ problems related to attitudes and stereotypes	Specific areas of language use: ▪ the influence of cultural differences in the semantics of vocabulary and idioms ▪ pragmatic aspects of the use of language: teaching rules for appropriate behaviour in particular situations in other cultural groups

[1] To prevent any misunderstanding, I would like to note that I do not intend here to become further involved in the controversy regarding the concept of intercultural learning (cf. House and Edmondson 1998, Hu 1999 and 2000, and Edmondson and House 2000). In this article I am not addressing the concept of learning or the learning process, but rather intercultural competence in the communicative-pragmatic sense, as an objective of foreign language teaching.

In principle, two learning objectives reflect these considerations:

- On the one hand, intercultural competence can be seen as the understanding of other culture groups and the development of an awareness of one's own culture in order to increase international and multicultural understanding. A more detailed discussion of this objective can be found inter alia in Müller (1986 a and b), Krumm (1988), Krusche (1996), Neuner (1999a), Christ (1999), Luchtenberg (1999) and Pommerin (2001).1
- On the other hand, intercultural competence can also be seen as the ability to take appropriate communicative action in other cultural groups, namely a) with respect to receptive skills, being able to correctly interpret the behaviour of members of other cultures, and b) above all with respect to productive skills, being able to carry out appropriate linguistic acts oneself. Such an intercultural orientation in language teaching tends to be instrumental in nature and, as Seel (1985) puts it, "a logical consequence of the communicative approach" (cf. also Feigs 1990, Byram and Leman 1990 and Günthner 1989; for an overview, cf. also Krumm 1995b).

Depending on which learning objective is being pursued, different aspects of intercultural communication play a relevant role in classroom teaching content:

- Firstly, there is the question of exploring different lifestyles (family, gender relationships, the organisation of private and public life, etc.) and addressing problems related to value judgements and stereotypes.
- Secondly, for the promotion of communicative competence, individual areas of language use are important, especially the teaching of rules and conventions that will enable learners to carry out linguistic behaviour appropriate to the target culture and to specific situations.

Since this article is primarily focused on links between the promotion of intercultural competence and language teaching, I will primarily address the communicative-pragmatic dimension of intercultural competence in what follows.

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[1] Krumm (1988) views foreign language teaching in general as a means of promoting better understanding. To quote Krumm (1995, 158): "… being able to tolerate differences and the readiness to question one's own assumptions are part of the learning objectives of intercultural education – also and particularly in foreign language teaching." Pleines (1989) and Fix (1991) express similar views. Hexelschneider (1988) explicitly makes a close connection between the learning objective of intercultural understanding and peace education. The treatment of socioethical aspects of intercultural communication and the treatment of experiences, attitudes and approaches to other cultures in teaching are also addressed by Göhring (1980), Großkopf (1982, 1987) and Bausinger (1988). Keywords here are self-perception and the perception of the "other", culture shock and stereotypes. More recent positions can also be found in Bredella and Christ (1996), Bredella and Delanoy (1999), Christ (1999) and Luchtenberg (1999).

3.3. Intercultural competence: Interim languages and interim world (pictures)

In principle, two types of knowledge are required for intercultural competence in the communicative-pragmatic sense:

a) Language knowledge and knowledge of the target language

b) Knowledge about social conventions and the appropriateness of linguistic speech acts.

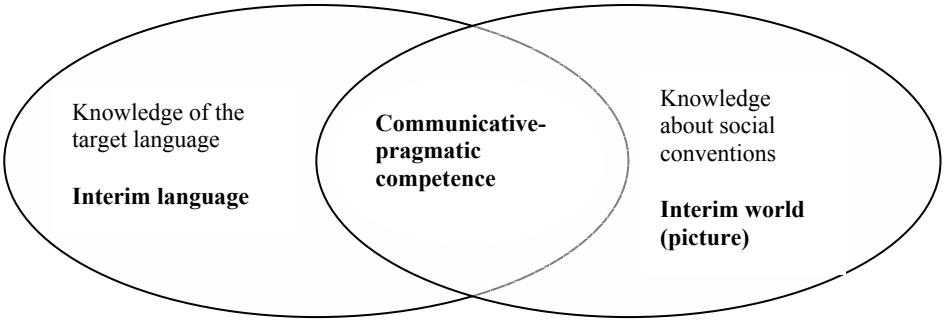

Fig. 3: Interim languages and interim world pictures

Re: a): With respect to knowledge of the target language, the prevailing view is that the language competences achieved by learners can be described as independent systems which – in the best of cases – progress and approximate to the target language. The terms used here are interlanguage or interim language (for an overview cf. Klein 1987 and Dietrich, in press).

Re: b): Borrowing from the term "interim language", Neuner (1999a) coined the term "interim world", applying it to knowledge gained through "*Landeskunde*" (civilisation and cultural studies). Analogous to ideas about stages and developments in the linguistic field, he assumes that knowledge about the target country can also be described as independent and can be conceived of as an approximation to actual conditions in the country or culture of the target language.

> In the part of foreign language teaching that is concerned with civilisation and cultural studies (*Landeskunde*), there are phenomena similar to those found by interlanguage research in the learning of linguistic systems – such as the phenomena of "transfer", "interference" and "universals". (Neuner 1999a, 272).

Neuner's arguments are primarily based on the fact that the ideas of the target culture learners form are not identical to reality and are communicated and given their characteristic features to a considerable degree via teaching.

> Thus what learners encounter in foreign language teaching is not the target language world "as it is", but rather a "pre-filtered construct" of the target language world. They encounter an intermediate world (interim world I) that has been tailor-made for them on the basis of very specific – socio-political, pedagogic, linguistic or learning theory – premises. (Neuner 1999a, 269).

Although the term "interim worlds" is used by Neuner more in reference to ideas related to civilisation and cultural studies (*Landeskunde*), and covers more than merely communicative aspects, it seems to me that it can also be profitably used with respect to intercultural communication and culturally different forms of pragmatic language use. However, in the following I will speak of an interim world *picture* in order to emphasise that we are dealing with imaginary constructs.

If we assume that it is the task of language teaching to promote the development of communicative-pragmatic competences that enable learners to behave in an appropriate linguistic way in the target culture, it is also necessary to develop an understanding of the communicative practices in the target culture. For tertiary language teaching, then, this means not only focusing on interim world pictures and ideas about the cultural practices and conventions of the specific target language and target culture, but also devoting attention to the cultures of other foreign languages.

It is thus necessary to discuss not only the culture of the third language (C3), but also that of the second language (C2) and the interim world pictures associated with it.

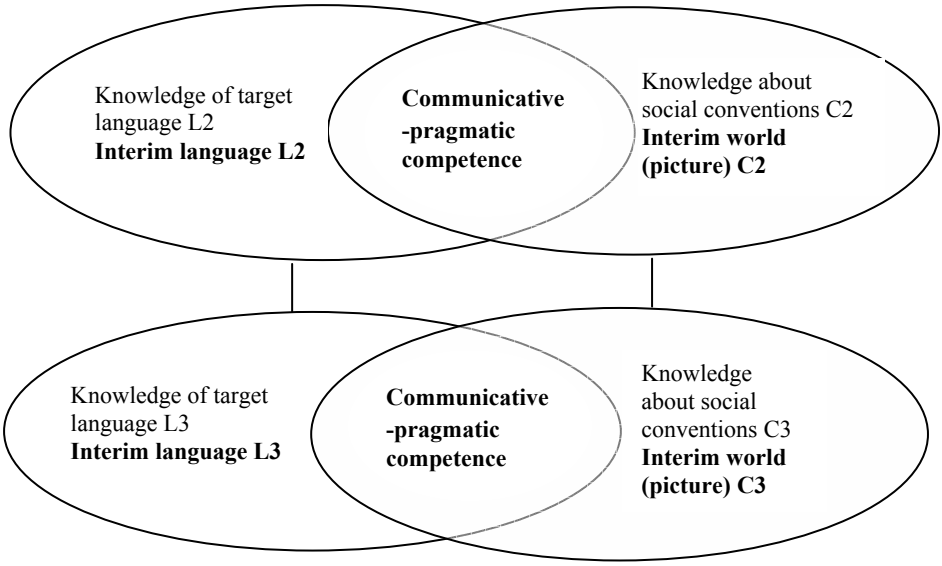

Fig. 4: Interim languages and interim world (pictures) in tertiary language teaching

Since one of the fundamental principles of tertiary language teaching is to include knowledge about the common features and differences between cultures and the cultural particularity of each of respective foreign languages being taught, it follows – in the tertiary language case of German taught after English – that in the development of interim world pictures of the German-speaking cultural and language areas attention is also paid to common features and differences with respect to English-speaking cultural and language areas.

Corresponding differences and common features in German-speaking and English-speaking communication can be derived in particular from linguistic and cultural anthropological enquiries into intercultural contacts and contrasts.

4 Cultural differences and communicative preferences in a comparison between German and English

Since tertiary language teaching *inter alia* involves a focus on comparisons with previous foreign language experiences and images of other cultures, we must ask what findings on common features or differences are available and to what extent they can be incorporated in foreign language teaching.[1]

In principle, there are two categories of literature that are of interest in the present discussion: Firstly, analyses of communication problems in intercultural contexts which illustrate when different cultural conventions can lead to problems, and, secondly, literature from contrastive pragmatics, which compares conventions among cultures. Since, however, there are partial overlaps between these phenomena, these two categories will not be dealt with separately, but taken together and applied to specific areas.[2]

In the light of the fact that there are very many interesting findings, the following discussion can only present some aspects as examples. Accordingly, the following overview table must not be regarded as exhaustive.[3]

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1 In principle, of course, both differences and common features are of interest. Since the following discussion is intended as an example, however, it is restricted for reasons of space to studies on cultural contrasts and differences. Common features are reported inter alia in studies on East-West cultural contrasts – particularly in the area of rhetoric. Cf. for instance Choe (1987).

2 Methodological problems in the analysis of intercultural communication and cultural contrasts are of less interest here than the phenomenological areas they investigate. With respect to methodological differences and implications, cf. in particular Rost-Roth (1994).

3 It should be noted in passing that for a specific contrast (here German and English) the choice is determined, firstly, by the relationship between the two cultures and, secondly, by the relevant state of research. An exploration of other foreign language combinations for tertiary language teaching could also naturally focus on different differences and areas.

Examples of findings on German-English differences with respect to communicative-pragmatic competence

Studies	**Communicative-pragmatic competence**	**Languages/ cultural groups**	**Reference to other linguistic and cultural contrasts**
Otterstedt 1993	Greetings (hand greeting)	German and English	German and various other languages/cultures
Stolt 1989	Addressing using *Du* and *Sie*	German and English	German and Finnish
Kotthoff 1989	Ending a conversation	German and American	
Otterstedt 1993	Leave-taking	German and English	Various
Coulmas 1981	Expressing gratitude and making apologies	German and English	German and Japanese
Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989	Requesting and demanding	German and English	
House 1979	Reproaches	German and English	
Rasoloson 1994	Listener activities	German and English	German and Madagascan French
Barron 2000	Accepting offers	German and Irish	
Byrnes 1986	Arguing and disagreeing	German and American	
Kotthoff 1989	Arguing and disagreeing	German and American	
Bickes 1986	University communication (conversation classes)	German and English	
Stahl 1999	Business (training, critical incidents)	German and American	

Müller/Thomas 1991	Business (training, critical incidents)	German and American	
Schroll-Machl 1991	Problem-solving strategies (business)	German and American	
Mißler *et al.* 1995	Curricula vitae	English and German	German and various other languages
Clyne 1991 and 1994	Academic texts	German and English	German and French
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

This table also indicates (in the right-hand column) if other (contrasting) cultures are addressed. Possibilities for further cultural comparisons are of interest, whether through the inclusion of learners' native cultures and the acquisition of other foreign languages and thus contact with other target cultures.

The following discussion, however, is focused on contrasts between German and English. Most research findings relate to the USA and England/Great Britain, but studies have also been done on Ireland and especially Australia.[1]

In what follows, I would like to present a number of examples from the above-mentioned studies in order to demonstrate communicative-pragmatic areas and findings on German-English contrast which could prove useful in the tertiary language teaching of GaE.

4.1. Differences found in interactional and pragmatic comparisons

As part of the "Communicative Competence as an Achievable Learning Objective" and the "Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realisation" project (cf. House, 1979, and Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper, 1989), an examination was made of communicative-pragmatic contrasts in utterances German students of English and in English and German control data.

[1] In principle, with respect to the German-speaking world a difference should be made between German in Switzerland, Austria and the Federal Republic of Germany, and in the latter possibly between east and west or north and south (with further regional references or sub-differentiations being possible). However, the picture presented here is considerably more homogenous, since the studies on German speakers are generally confined to the (old) Federal Republic.

Requesting and demanding

It has been shown that in English requesting and demanding are toned down. Typical formulas here are:

would you mind (signing it, Sir)
I'm just wondering if (I could possibly back down)
I wonder if (we shouldn't take a taxi)
I suppose we could (walk along that road)
do you think you could (find another chair)
are you sure you don't (want to come in)
so why don't you (come along some day)

Similar toning-down in German is expressed chiefly by structuring signals and affective particles:[1]

vielleicht, doch, mal, einfach
e.g.
Könnten Sie's vielleicht noch unterschreiben, Herr Seidel
Ginge das vielleicht, daß wir das nochmal rückgängig machen
Kommen Sie doch einfach mal vorbei

It is immediately apparent that the means of toning-down are different in the two languages. In addition, different degrees of toning-down can be identified in the two language systems. For the differentiation between the different degrees of toning-down, the study followed the approach of Wunderlich (1976: 302), who distinguished among various forms of request:

The imperative constitutes the most direct form of realisation, cf. for instance:
Mach jetzt deine Schularbeiten!

Less direct are explicit performative comments such as:
Ich bitte dich, das mal durchzulesen.

Implicit context references are regarded as the least direct form of realisation:
Es zieht hier.
Ich denke, Ihr schreibt morgen eine Klassenarbeit (ibid. 85 et seq.).

[1] The authors speak of "structural signals", but in the current conventional terminology these are primarily referred to as affective or modal particles (cf. Weydt 1981 or Helbig 1994).

Overall, five forms of realisation are distinguished and used to describe different degrees of directness in the comparison between utterances in German and in English. Firstly, a common feature is that indirect speech acts are by far the most frequent in both the German and the English data. One difference, however, is that explicit/performative requests (category 2) are used more often by German speakers. The German conversation style was thus described as being more direct in terms of the wording of requests.[1]

Reproaches

Different degrees of directness are also apparent in the wording of reproaches.

Here too, various modes of expression were examined in terms of the degree of directness (with a total of seven levels). The most direct variant was the expression of a negative opinion about the person addressed:

e.g.. Ich finde es gemein von Dir, einfach... xxxx machen (cf. House 1979, 83)

This variant was observed above all in German dialogues. In the English dialogues, in contrast, indirect formulations predominated, restricted to establishing the facts to be criticised, such as

There is a stain on my jacket (cf. ibid., 82f.)

Expressing gratitude

Differences were also observed in the expression of thanks. In German, wording varied with degree of formality. More elaborate formulas and expressions with greater linguistic variation were used in more formal situations, e.g.:

ich bedanke mich ganz herzlich
ich danke Ihnen vielmals
ich bin ja so dankbar (cf. ibid., 81)

In English, in contrast, rather simple thanking formulas are used even in formal situations.

thanks very much (cf. House 1979, 82)

Coulmas (1981) compared thanking and apologising in Japanese, English and German. He observed that by German or English standards, Japanese learners of German apologise much too frequently. This phenomenon is often ascribed to the fact that different conventions apply in Japanese and with the distinction between thanks and

[1] Further differences are reported, for instance, in the analyses by Barron 2000 of differences between German speakers and Irish speakers of English in the wording of offers and refusals.

apology being less sharply drawn. Apology formulas are also used, for instance, when taking leave.

Examples such as these indicate that in intercultural comparisons not only can distinctions be made in the way speech acts are realised, but also that there may be differences in the appropriateness or not of a speech act to a particular situation. Such examples also show that, depending on the language and culture of origin, similarities may be as important as differences. With thanks and apologies, for instance, German and English practice may look very similar when viewed from Japan.

Greetings

In addition, in the analysis of greetings, it was observed that in German exchanges asking about the other person's wellbeing is usually not reciprocated and that such reciprocity appears to be more ritualised in English:

How're you doing okay ->	*yeah I'm okay – what about you?*
	oder:
	yeah, okay, and you?
	(House 1979, 79)

Examples such as these show that the modes of expression can also vary according to the number of steps involved. Greetings in particular, as a socially important and frequent communicative event, constitute an important element of foreign language teaching oriented towards interculturality. Particular attention has also been devoted to greetings in interculturally focused teaching materials.[1] A distinction is made especially between shaking hands and other forms of greeting, including particular forms of bowing in Japan. The so-called "hand greeting" is, however, a phenomenon that is not by any means uniform. A comparison between German and English contexts indicated that different conventions govern handshaking. Handshaking is more common in the German context than in Great Britain, where it primarily occurs among friends or when one offers congratulations (cf. also Otterstedt 1993, 95). A focus on such differences in English and German practices may well assist in assessing their situational appropriateness in a more differentiated way.

Ending a conversation

When German and English are compared, there are differences not only in greetings, but also in leave-takings and conversation endings. This was examined in detail by

[1] Didactics covering the different forms of greetings for interculturally oriented German teaching can be found, for instance, in the textbook *Sprachbrücke*. Cf. also Rösler (1988).

Kotthoff (1989a) in a comparison of German and American English.[1] Among other things, she found that on average it takes longer to end an American conversation than a German one. The concluding comments also contain more frequent explicit expressions of appreciation *("it was nice meeting you/it was my pleasure/you've been so helpful and I appreciate your support")* and more extended sequences of thanks.

Argument and disagreement

Differences in styles of discussion have also been observed in German and American English. On this point, Byrnes (1986) found that Germans tend to focus on substance, whereas Americans tend to stress friendly forms; Germans tend to place more emphasis on information and truth values, Americans are more concerned with the development of relationships. Byrnes saw a connection here with the way social relationships are structured and assumed that social ties in the German-speaking world are more strongly based on agreement on substance. Display of a high degree of commitment is also prized, even in the discussion of controversial views and in jousting over substance. As far as dialogue and discourse strategies are concerned, Kotthoff (1989) came to the conclusion that when opinions differ the German style signals disagreement more openly. The interactive behaviour of German participants in a discussion is described as being less conducive to consensus, since less emphasis is placed on shared aspects and contradictions are expressed more directly. She described as an adversarial format the way in which parts of the discussion partner's statements are taken up word for word and repeated, leading to a very direct signalling of contradictions (cf. also Kotthoff 1991).

In addition, German speakers also use more "intensifying adverbs" such as "*überhaupt*", "*durchaus*", "*wirklich*", while American speakers use more indicators of vagueness such as "as far as I know", "and so on" or mitigating lexemes such as "actually" and "probably" (Kotthoff 1991, 391). The greater emphasis on disagreement among Germans in the eyes of others has also been described, for instance, by Torres and Wolf (1983), based on German-Spanish twinning contacts; by Reuter *et al.* (1989), based on German-Finnish business communications; and by Günthner (1993), based on a comparison of German and Chinese discourse strategies. These also contained examples of typecasting such as "Germans argue aggressively", which indicate that this field of language is particularly revealing concerning the perception of others and the formation of stereotypes.

[1] Kotthoff's findings were based on a study (Kotthoff 1989a) in which the conversational behaviour of American students and students who were native speakers of German was examined during consultation hours at university.

Listener signals

There are also differences in the use of listener signals. The analyses of Rasoloson (1994) are particularly interesting with respect to differences between German and English. She showed, for example, that the use of "*oh*" as an expression of disapproval is usual in German, but not in English. Conversely, the use of "*oh*" for self-correction and announcements of topic changes is observed in English, but not in German.

Discourse types

Cultural differences are also evident in more extensive communicative events. This is particularly true of communication in institutions (cf. Rehbein 1985, Redder and Rehbein 1987 and Knapp *et al.* 1987).[1] In these dialogue forms and discourse types considerable differences were observed in the approach to dialogue roles, dialogue organisation and individual dialogue phases.

Analyses by Schroll-Machl (1991), who examined problem-solving processes in job contexts and identified key differences in approaches and expectations, provide examples of how discourse types may differ. These differences come to light, for example, in group discussions in which procedures are discussed and developed. There are different conceptions of the role of problem analysis and the binding nature of proposals for dealing with the problems identified. In the American point of view, less importance is attached to problem analysis and, accordingly, greater flexibility is expected in the search for appropriate solutions – a flexibility that tends to allow adjustments in procedures. There are also divergent ideas about the exchange of information between different people during the search for solutions. In German contexts employees tend to work in isolation, while in American ones there is a greater exchange of information. Other investigations of intercultural business contacts are of interest with respect to contrasts between German and English, as they refer to a large number of differences in discourse forms and communicative practices, including work instructions and negotiations (cf. in particular Müller and Thomas 1991 and Stahl 1999).

Curricula vitae

Cultural comparisons also reveal different standards with respect to written text-types (cf. Clyne 1981 on the cultural comparison of texts in general). For example, there are

[1] These investigations examined inter alia official communications, advisory discussions, discussions in the fields of medicine, law, and the retail trade, and in schools and recruitment discussions (cf. also Rost-Roth 1994). Since they primarily examined communications with migrant workers in German-speaking areas, however, there are no specific findings on contrasts in German and English communication. These can be more readily found in the fields of (university) education and business communication.

different conventions for curricula vitae. These have been analysed by Mißler, Servi and Wolff (1995) in German, British, French, Portuguese and Danish CVs.

Academic texts

A comparison of academic texts is also illuminating. Clyne (1991) observed that English language texts are generally constructed in a more linear manner, i.e. the sequence of propositions and their dependence on macro-propositions play a more decisive role in the structural organisation of texts. In comparison, German texts include considerably more digression. Further differences are that German texts provide fewer definitions and that data and evidence are less integrated in the text.[1]

Conversation classes

Differences are also apparent in other academic areas. For instance, language assistants at English universities often observe that the behaviour of students in conversation classes differs from that of students at German universities. English students are described as being more passive and less willing to enter into discussions (cf. Bickes 1986 and Lang 1986).

Many additions could be made to the list of differences in communicative behaviour identified so far in cultural comparisons between German and English. However, the objective here is not to present an exhaustive inventory, but to suggest starting points for incorporating communicative-pragmatic contrasts in tertiary language teaching.

4.2. Language levels at which cultural differences are apparent

Analyses of comprehension problems in intercultural contact indicate that the starting perspective is decisive for the identification of contrasts and for the precision of descriptions of differences:

- On the one hand, eastern and western discourse as a whole can be contrasted. It is primarily the common features of German and English that come to light in so doing.
- On the other hand, there are differences between German and English conventions in a variety of areas.
- Finally, even within the individual German-speaking or English-speaking cultural areas, there may also be definite variations.

[1] Further investigations dealing with contrasts among other cultures are also interesting, such as (Sachtleber 1991), who analyses differences between German and French academic texts.

Findings show that in German-English language contacts, there are a variety of communicative-pragmatic contrasts that can be incorporated into foreign language teaching. In many cases, a very close link to language teaching is also possible. Since often speech acts and differences of a more subtle kind are involved, contrasting seems to be a particularly suitable means of clarifying the finer details of linguistic expression and various preferences in different cultural contexts. This is particularly apparent in the examples of differing degrees of directness in the formulation of requests and reproaches, but it also applies to greetings, leave-takings and even more complex interactive situations. Thus the studies referred to here also show that very different areas of linguistic communication are involved. Cultural differences are evident not only in the realisation of speech acts, but also at subordinate and superordinate levels. There are, namely, differences related both to more subtle aspects of the organisation of a conversation, such as speaker and hearer signals, and to more general principles of the organisation of a conversation and discourse strategies, as well as superordinate aspects such as the realisation of the individual stages of a conversation or discourse types.

Language levels at which cultural differences and different communicative preferences are apparent[1]

Discursive styles

- Development of argument
- Signalling disagreement
- Directness vs. indirectness
- Dealing with topics, etc

Realisation of discourse types

- a) *oral:* class discussions/conversation classes, etc
- b) *written:* curricula vitae, academic texts, etc.

Realisation of the individual stages of a conversation

- Conversation openers and greetings
- Ending a conversation and taking leave, etc.

[1] Here too it should be pointed out that this list is based exclusively on studies discussed above and thus makes no claim to be exhaustive.

Realisation of individual speech acts
Requests
Demands
Thanks
Apologies
Offers, etc.
Speaker and listener signals
Gambits
Listener signals, etc.

Findings at the speech act level have already attracted more attention because they constitute central categories both for the communicative-pragmatic orientation of foreign language teaching and for contrastive studies of communicative-pragmatic differences. Other aspects which could be regarded as subordinate or superordinate with respect to the development of intercultural competence in foreign language teaching have hitherto been largely ignored however.

Against this background, the listing of findings on cultural differences can be interpreted as an attempt not only to illustrate German-speaking and English-speaking areas, but also to point out that aspects and levels which have hitherto received less attention can profitably be included in foreign language teaching.[1]

5 Consequences for teaching

5.1. Taking different linguistic and communicative levels into account

Given the focus on cultural contrasts and different communicative preferences, it seems appropriate to also include levels above and below the speech act level. This especially applies to rather subtle features that are not always immediately accessible to everyday perception, for example, listener signals or different degrees of directness in signalling disagreement. Since these differences can cause misinterpretation and misjudgements, and since the additional risk of incorrect typecasting also exists, it seems eminently

[1] It appears to me to be particularly important to draw attention to this point, because in didactic considerations and the practice of foreign language teaching since the so-called communicative revolution, the greatest emphasis has been placed on differences in speech acts. This is true also, for instance, of the Threshold Level Model of the Council of Europe.

worthwhile in foreign language teaching to pay greater attention to communicative preferences on these levels.

The approaches indicated here could be further developed in relation to discourse types with a view to promoting awareness that dialogue organisation and perceptions of dialogue roles are culturally determined and can take very different forms.

It is clear that existing didactic approaches can be brought into play in the "German after English" teaching area and in the attempt to go beyond focusing on the culture of the target language (C3) by also establishing connections with other foreign-language cultures (C2), in this case with English-speaking cultures. Thus, as mentioned above, the inclusion of greetings and forms of address is standard practice. Also now standard (since the adoption of the textbooks *Deutsch Aktiv* and *Sichtwechsel*) is the view that cultural differences can be mobilised in principle for teaching purposes. These initial steps can be developed and refined and applied to comparison between communication in German and in English. For instance, it could be shown that in the German-speaking context shaking hands is widespread, whereas in English-speaking contexts it is restricted to only a few situations.

In a similar way, different tendencies in beginning and ending a conversation and to the use of fixed formulas can also be covered. Here, too, comparison can create an awareness of the forms that are normally expected and to help prevent misinterpretations. Such misinterpretations are in particular possible with respect to fixed formulas in American English.

The same applies to the clarification of different degrees of directness in requesting and demanding, and in the expression of disagreement. Here, again, differing communicative preferences and expectations could be shown especially clearly in a comparison between German and English. This clarification can again be achieved by paying close attention to the use of specific linguistic means.

These few examples indicate that for the presentation of intercultural contents a) a comparison at different levels of language and communicative behaviour is sensible and worthwhile, and b) this can be achieved in close connection with language work in a more narrow sense. Finally, c) a comparison of conventions in different foreign language contexts can also generally be regarded as favourable for the promotion of intercultural competence.

5.2. Sensitising learners to cultural differences in tertiary language teaching

The contrasting of conventions in different foreign language cultures is not only advantageous for the formation of appropriate behaviour in the communicative-pragmatic area – thanks to the fact that contrasts are an excellent means of clarifying what we regard as normal or take for granted – but at the same time it also demonstrates that language behaviour in general is subject to cultural variation. This

plays an important role in efforts directed at sensitising learners more effectively to cultural differences.

In response to the demand that teaching should include comparisons with the native culture and reflection on one's own culture, greater attention should be paid to these matters. Especially in view of the fact that many things are not immediately accessible aspects of everyday knowledge, the question often used in teaching, "What is it like in your country?" is often insufficient, since it cannot be adequately answered by learners as far as more subtle areas of communication are concerned.

6 Outstanding questions and the need for further investigation

In principle, it is clear that there are still many outstanding questions with respect to key components[1] of tertiary language teaching with an intercultural and communicative-pragmatic orientation (C1, C2 and C3), and likewise concerning the relationship between these components. An important factor in the need for further research is the fact that particular countries play a dominant role in the studies done to date, with the result that findings are available for certain cultural contrasts, but not for others.

Overall, there is a need for broader knowledge about cultural contrasts in specific communicative and linguistic areas in which there are cultural differences that affect communicative-pragmatic competence. Appropriate analyses are namely a prerequisite for the further development of teaching materials and exercises in which the German target culture and the culture of English speakers are contrasted – and these contrasts relativised by the perspective imposed by differing starting cultures/cultures of origin.[2]

Another question concerns the kind of image learners might have of the target culture. Here, it must be determined which groups in the target culture predominate in the learners' minds.[3] In connection with a focus on cultural differences in foreign language teaching, consideration must be given to the question of which English-language

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1 It should be mentioned here in passing that the term "culture" and in particular problems related to shutting out other cultures need to be further explored in a broader and more intensive manner (cf. in particular Sarangi (1995), Welsch (1992) and Wimmer (2001).

2 There are also considerable imbalances in this within Europe, particularly with regard to the Central and Eastern European countries and the newer and smaller member states of the Council of Europe.

3 Here it can be assumed that learners have very different images of, for instance, Great Britain, the USA, Canada and Australia, and that these images can be related to both background knowledge about the culture and knowledge about linguistic conventions. It can also be assumed that in the course of globalisation especially aspects of American culture have increased in significance. This is also important for the teaching of German after English in Europe. It can also be assumed that in various national contexts relationships resulting from migration movements play a major role. For example, it can be assumed that in Poland – due to past migrations alone – there are often closer ties with the USA than with Great Britain. Conversely, it can be assumed that for India, British culture is of decisive importance.

culture provides the frame of reference and to what extent it makes sense to address different English-language cultures in the comparison. With respect to English a differentiation must above all be made between Great Britain (including England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland) and Ireland, and the USA, as well as Canada and Australia – with British and American English probably being of key importance as far as teaching is concerned. For German, a differentiation at least between the so-called DACH countries of Germany, Austria and Switzerland would be desirable.

In addition, a more detailed investigation should be undertaken of the role played by the native language and culture in the perception of the relationship between culture 2 and culture 3 (cf. Neuner 1999, 278 et seq. for questions of the didactics of interculturally oriented civilisation and cultural studies teaching). It can also be assumed that whereas from a European perspective contrasts between German and English are generally expected, from a non-European perspective common features tend to be expected and transfer possibilities are relevant. The validity of the assumption that the proximity or distance to the target language culture plays a role, must, however, still be evaluated.

In addition, there is little firm knowledge about the extent to which previous knowledge about specific cultures influences the perception of other cultures and in which areas this occurs.[1] For instance, the assumption has still to be fully tested that in the teaching of German as a third language (DC3) ideas about the cultural practices and conventions of the German-speaking world are filtered in the learner's perception via those associated with the English-speaking world (EC2) and conveyed through the teaching of English as a second language. The fundamental assumption of tertiary language didactics that learners establish links with their past experiences and make comparisons between the interim languages L2 and L3 has been sufficiently demonstrated in the area of language acquisition and in structural aspects, in particular by Hufeisen (1991, 1994, 1998). However, there are as yet no investigations into the actual nature of the relationship between interim world images (images of C2 and C3).[2] As yet, no in-depth examination has been made of the extent to which the transfers of previous language learning experience observed with respect to language structure have counterparts in the communicative-pragmatic area in images of cultural contexts and cultural practices.

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1 On this point, there is also a need for studies to determine in what areas learners expect common features and differences, in what areas there may be transfers, and whether the latter have a positive or negative effect, i.e. whether in teaching they should be encouraged or avoided in particular cases.

2 It can also be assumed here that images of target cultures are not necessarily correlated with the sequence in which languages are acquired. Thus there can be specific ideas about target cultures and language conventions even before a learner begins to acquire a particular foreign language.

7 Conclusion

In conclusion, there is still a need for more detailed investigations of key issues if well-founded intercultural didactics – going beyond tertiary language teaching – are to be developed further. Irrespective of this, however, it can also be said that as far as the promotion of intercultural competence in tertiary language teaching is concerned, focusing on cultural contrasts and common features of different foreign language cultures is in many respects useful. This is also specifically true in the tertiary language teaching of German after English.

- Specific features of one culture group or of communicative-pragmatic conventions of a target language area (C3) can be made more obvious in a comparison with other culture groups (C2).
- References to the conventions of other culture groups in tertiary language teaching can also help promote intercultural competence with respect to the other foreign language's culture (C2).
- In addition, addressing the culture groups of a number of foreign languages (C2 and C3, as well as C1) can also yield benefits for the more general goals of intercultural learning. The more cultures that are addressed, the clearer the relativity and cultural dependence of language behaviour become. This also makes it easier to pursue the learning objective of becoming aware of one's own cultural behaviour and of understanding it in relationship to other cultures.

Thus in conclusion devoting in-depth attention to a number of culture groups and communicative-pragmatic differences promotes the development of communicative competence in a variety of ways. It is therefore worthwhile investigating the questions still outstanding regarding interim world images and ideas about cultural differences in communicative practices, as well as integrating existing findings on German-English contrasts in communicatively oriented cultural comparisons and to include these in the development of tertiary language teaching didactics.

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6. Learning strategies for the L2 to L3 threshold: the minimum profile

Ute Rampillon

1 Learning strategies in a different learning culture – why should this be?

Normally it takes a number of years for innovations in foreign language teaching to become established in schools and teaching practice. In the case of autonomous learning, however, the arguments for the introduction and elaboration of learning strategies are so obvious that hardly any teacher can deny they are part of the learners' fundamental know-how and that teaching must change to encompass more self-direction. A wide variety of reasons for changing the traditional learning culture in favour of a new one can be set out:

Self-direction and individual responsibility

Independence, self-direction and individual responsibility have long been among the primary objectives of foreign language teaching. It has been demanded that learners be brought to the point of being able to develop their own personal learning process independently and then to manage and monitor it in a largely autonomous manner. This yields a learning model that contrasts sharply with that of heteronomous school, in that learners participate in the planning, implementation and evaluation of teaching and are not constrained and externally directed by uniform learning speeds, undifferentiated learning objectives, one-sided learning materials, etc.

What is involved here is not, as some critics maintain, the reduction of learners to isolated and egoistic individuals who devise their learning strategies on the basis of cost-benefit calculations (cf. Faulstich 2001, 53), but rather the self-realisation of learners who develop their personalities through the learning process, expand the dimensions of their learning and structure their learning processes through the reduction of tension and stress, co-operation and reciprocity, responsiveness and skill, and creativity and imagination.

The aim is to achieve independent competence, which is of importance to all learners, since it fosters interest and motivation and makes lifelong learning of foreign languages possible. By contrast, traditional book learning in school is prefabricated and hence often uninteresting and really not worth learning. On this point, Postman writes:

> Textbooks [and thus any lecturing type of instruction] are concerned only with teaching certain ties. They are not concerned with doubt, with developing a feel for the provisional nature, the unreliability and the ambivalence of human knowledge. Knowledge is presented as a commodity to be acquired, not as a continuing struggle to understand, to overcome mistakes, to strive painstakingly for the truth. Textbooks, in my opinion, are the enemies of education, instruments for promoting dogmatism and trivial learning. (Postman 1995: 116)

For foreign language learning self-directed learning means, for example, that pupils are able to recognise a grammar rule on their own, to formulate it independently, to memorise and practise it independently, and to evaluate their mastery of it independently.

Constructivism

In the constructivist view human learning takes places in accordance with individual patterns that cannot be generalised. Each learner processes, memorises and reactivates his knowledge individually, often in a different manner from fellow learners. This leads to different ways of learning as well as divergent understanding of the material learned. An example from actual teaching: a poem is no longer interpreted in the way the teacher desires, but rather learners approach it in their own way in order to achieve a personally meaningful understanding of the poem.

A second example: a group of learners memorise a grammar rule, each in the manner best suited to him-/herself. Some use the rule as a well-formulated sentence; some prefer to express the rule in a succinct formula; others restrict themselves to an exemplary sentence; and yet others remember the rule in the form of an image or a diagram.

Subjective didactics

Subjective didactics serve as an epistemological theory from the filed of the psychology of learning for the self-direction of learners. Learners have individual principles of action and learning intentions that relate to the world at large and to themselves. These principles of action are not externally determined, but are produced by the individuals themselves. There is a close relationship between these principles of action and the personal interests of the learners. They have "good reasons" for behaving or acting in specific ways. In learning/teaching situations, the person who wants to learn behaves as follows:

- He/she sizes up the situation: Is there anything worth learning and capable of being learned?
- He/she sets individual goals: What do I want to learn? How do I want to learn?
- He/she assesses the consequences of his/her acts: What/how have I learned? What/how do I still want to learn?

A look at research on adult education and on young people

We know from research conducted on adult education that roughly 50% of the participants in foreign language courses have not previously learned any foreign language and that, in addition, they have got out of the habit of learning or are not accustomed to learning. They have simply forgotten or have not even realised that there are certain favourable and unfavourable learning methods, and they do not know how to use them. They have also forgotten how to deal with the learning workload, the resulting pressure and the differing opportunities for learning. The objective here is to reawaken and reactivate what has been forgotten and perhaps even to convey new insights.

Adults are predisposed towards self-direction by their personality development. They govern themselves and their lives; in business and in society they have learned to assume social responsibilities and to carry these out in purposeful ways.

Adults have established themselves in the family and in society, with purposive sensible approaches to problem solving. The idea of being controlled by others is inconceivable to them.

The identity of adults is often clearly marked. Regulation imposed from outside conflicts with their self-image and the rhythm of their personal and professional lives.

Adults in continuing education courses often come from non-European culture groups. As a result, they have usually acquired other learning habits, which do not fully mesh with the "new learning" approach. Here, one must cautiously and gradually develop a reorientation of thinking, of the learner's self-image and of his/her understanding of the roles of others.

Especially young people must learn to view themselves and teachers differently in the learning process. Inundated by new media such as television and the Internet, saturated by the motivational tricks of compères and programme presenters, many of them have lost their sense of wonder and of anticipation. Instead, their motto has become *Let's have fun!* Let's experience immediate pleasure! They have come to regard it as a normal state to have fun in every situation. However, teachers are not compères or circus performers who provide entertainment for others. The everyday task of learning presents a different picture. School is the real world – it involves responsibility, and success in learning is as a rule inconceivable without serious intellectual effort. On the

path towards personal responsibility for learning, it will be necessary to initiate a process of rethinking and to provide learners with the assistance they need.

Lifelong learning

In today's fast moving world, it is essential to convince both young people and adult learners of the importance of lifelong learning. Given the fact that our knowledge doubles approximately every six years, we can speak of a half-life of our knowledge. In an age in which more and more knowledge must be processed in an ever shorter period of time, it is quite clear how necessary it is for people to be able to learn more effectively and faster. New media and individual information processing in the learning process play an important role in this. A further consideration is that living languages increase each year by several thousand new words. Even fluent speakers of a foreign language must thus continue to add to their vocabulary. Finally, each year many people join the numbers of the unemployed in many countries of the world. They are often obliged to change their occupation and require retraining in which foreign languages often play a prominent role. They need to be able to extend the language knowledge they have already acquired. This can be done without serious problems if they have already acquired the necessary learning skills.

European developments

European integration and the resulting need to learn foreign languages to a greater extent than was previously the case make it necessary for people today to be able to continue learning the foreign language they have already started learning and/or to learn subsequent foreign languages. As learners, they need autonomous learning skills that enable them to acquire and master the following strategies:

- direct strategies for foreign language learning (memorizing strategies, language processing strategies);
- indirect strategies for foreign language learning (strategies for self-directed learning, affective learning strategies, social learning strategies);
- language use strategies (e.g. communication strategies such as facial expressions and gestures, changing the subject, inventing words, etc.).

Learner types

Each participant in a language course represents a different learner type.

Visually oriented learners respond well to pictorial materials of all kinds, graphs and visual emphases, which often also remain in their memories. In addition, they produce their own images – either on paper or in the mind – to help them learn. These learners reject an exclusively acoustic presentation unless they are able to produce their own accompanying images.
Learners with an auditory orientation feel comfortable if information is presented to them acoustically. It sometimes even disturbs them if this is accompanied by a written text or pictures. They are particularly attracted to languages in which words are easily remembered because of the way they sound. For this reason, learners of this type especially enjoy mnemonics, memory tricks, rhymes, etc., which they frequently repeat under their breath or whisper to themselves in order to make the information stick in their minds.
Learners with a communicative or co-operative orientation like to work with partners and in groups, since conversations and joint activities create situations in which they can process, store and use knowledge and skills. Talking with others about something sharpens their thought processes and promotes retention.
Learners with a tactile or sensory-motor orientation like learning materials they can touch or things they can make themselves while incorporating things they have learned. Making collages, preparing learning aids and constructing models help them learn. In addition, some like to stand up, move around or walk while they are learning.
Empirically oriented learners attach considerable importance to actually trying things out. The insights they gain in doing this serve as the criteria for what they do next. It is not enough for them simply to be given information; instead, they seek opportunities to increase their knowledge through their own experience and perceptions. Learning by doing is a suitable approach for these learners.
Abstract-analytical learners like systematic and clearly structured presentations. They prefer generalised statements (e.g. grammar rules) to an accumulation of specific individual cases. They also like to analyse things themselves in order to make new discoveries. They reject making things and learning by doing.

Fig. 1

A teaching method that treats all learners alike is at odds with these insights. Instead, teaching must address and support learners in accordance with their individual learning

habits and styles. And each learner must also be allowed to learn in his/her own manner. Only in this way will it be possible for learners to discover and strengthen their own learning style and to develop their own personal learning culture by means of individual learning habits.

Learners as managers of their own learning

When learners manage their own learning independently, they plan, organise, monitor and evaluate themselves. In this way they learn how to avoid or reduce stress by structuring their learning process themselves and using appropriate aids at the right time. They set up their time schedule autonomously and motivate themselves by means of appropriate (auto-suggestive) exercises. Through independent monitoring of their learning, they themselves become the means of enhancing their learning, since this increases their self-confidence and improves their learning abilities. They recognise problems as they arise and know how to deal with them. This keeps them from developing prejudices about their own learning and makes them immune to negative images and fear of failure. Again, the precondition for all these activities is autonomous learning competence.

Interim conclusion

All of the aspects discussed above constitute reasons for placing greater emphasis on the pupils themselves by increasing opportunities for autonomous learning. Each one of these factors is so far-reaching that it alone would be sufficient grounds for a refocusing of foreign language teaching that places self-monitoring, self-organisation, self-direction and individual responsibility at the centre of all teaching. A major role in this would be played by learning strategies.

2 A progression towards basic knowledge of learning strategies

2.1. Preliminary comments

The form and number of learning strategies depend on the creativity of both teachers and learners. For this reason there can be no definitive list of learning strategies, but simply a compilation of the most important and frequently used methods. This is the perspective from which the following list of basic learning-strategy skills has been drawn up. It presents a minimum profile of the learning competence achieved in L2 and at the same time also represents the basis for transferring learning competence to L3. Additions are possible at any time. With respect to time, a threshold of around two learning years has been assumed for the communication of the skills. This means that it can be assumed that after three or a maximum of four years of learning all of the

learning strategies listed in this overview will have been completely covered and should have been mastered by the learners.

One of the difficulties of determining what the basic knowledge with respect to L2 and L3 should be is that guiding principles for drawing up a minimum profile, a development profile and perhaps even a perfection profile have been lacking. In addition, the starting point of the learners' knowledge of learning strategies is hypothetical, since we also do not know what learning strategies each individual brings with him/her from preschool learning and primary school instruction or to what extent he/she has actually mastered these and can apply them. Since an element of speculation is involved here, certain assumptions have had to be made. This approach is legitimate insofar as the table which follows has created a basis on which further development is possible, a discussion can begin and changes naturally made if necessary.

It seemed sensible to break down the following table first of all in a horizontal direction, since in this way it can be assured that the learning strategies are allocated to the proper sub-competences in the foreign language (the skills and the knowledge). However, this separation should not be treated as rigidly as is suggested by the lines of separation in the grid, but should be regarded as a theoretical guideline that can be adjusted in practice to reflect specific learners, textbooks and learning/teaching situations. In fact, one should not forget that many learning strategies can be used in an overlapping way for two or more sub-competences. For example, the reconstruction technique can be used for listening comprehension, as well as for reading comprehension or spelling. Or, in the field of productive skills, the technique of preparing notes can be used for speaking or for writing. For reasons of clarity and conciseness, the table does not include multiple listings.

The vertical breakdown in terms of L2 and L3 is also intended to provide general orientation rather than a precise delimitation and in concrete cases is dependent on basic teaching conditions. The allocation of the various learning strategies to L2 or L3 has in many cases been made arbitrarily, since there is not always a progression based on difficulty. Thus the distribution often tends to be made on a quantitative basis and the learning strategies are in the end also interchangeable.

In interpreting the table, one should note that it seems to suggest that handling a particular learning strategy once in a class is sufficient. However, this would be a misunderstanding. Rather, any learning strategy adopted as a learning target must be presented, commented upon, compared, categorised, practised, tried out and ultimately also individually assessed by the learners before it can be assumed that they have actually internalised it. The learners' autonomy in using the learning strategies thus continuously increases. In addition, attention should always be paid to the fact that the treatment of an individual learning strategy must take into account the different learner types in a class and thus must offer a wide variety of programmes for learning and practising. The following chart shows the interaction in the form of a basic grid.

Autonomous learning						
Experimenting with learning techniques, practising their use, assessing their usefulness, and trying out self-directed learning						
Collecting learning techniques, comparing and arranging them, and making preparations for self-directed learning						
Getting acquainted with learning techniques, becoming aware of them, and initiating self-directed learning						
Progression / Learning pattern	visual	auditory	communicative / co-operative	tactile/ sensory-motor	empirically-oriented	abstract-analytical

Fig. 2
Source: Rampillon, 2000, 40

Finally, learning strategies are best broached in the context of the "normal" learning situation and in connection with the foreign language learning objectives that are to be achieved. For example, if the aim of a lesson is to achieve reading comprehension of a text, it might be appropriate to use the technique of mind maps, that of taking notes or that of w-questions.

The above discussion leads to the following four-stage approach:

1. determining the foreign language learning objective;
2. stating the learning strategy objective;
3. defining the degree of autonomy in the use of the learning strategy;
4. identifying learner types and learning patterns.

The following questionnaire may be used as an instrument for one's own orientation and direction when preparing "learning strategy lessons":

Systematic communication of learning strategies

Foreign language learning/teaching objective:	.....
Learning strategy learning/teaching objective:	☐ ..... ☐ ..... ☐ ..... ☐ ..... ☐ .....
Degree of autonomy	☐ Becoming acquainted with learning techniques, becoming aware of them ☐ Collecting, comparing and classifying learning techniques ☐ Trying out and assessing learning techniques ☐ Using learning techniques autonomously
Learning patterns:	☐ visual ☐ auditory ☐ tactile/sensory-motor ☐ communicative-co-operative ☐ empirically oriented ☐ abstract-analytical

Fig. 3

2.2. Basic learning strategy knowledge at the threshold from L2 to L3

Underlined items: Competence must be taken up and consolidated in L3.

Conditions for use of learning strategies	**Learning competence achieved in L2**	**Continuation of the learning competence in L3**
Primary learning strategies		
Listening		
Knowledge of proper names in the target language Knowledge of geographical designations in the target language Mastery of the most important structural words The ability to use a cassette recorder	Identifying and marking word stress Identifying and marking intonation Linking what is heard with real things Listening to and repeating things presented on audio cassettes <u>Listening and taking notes</u> Listening and arranging information in a table Listening and completing a table <u>Hypotheses before listening: inferring from title</u> Co-ordinating what is heard with what is read <u>Listening and reading notes, adding further notes</u> Listening and writing: dictation	Segmenting Sequential combining Searching for information Hypotheses: inferring from sounds Hypotheses: inferring from other languages

Reading		
	Reading and arranging information in a table	
	Reading and understanding a table	
	Hypotheses before reading: inferring from title	Hypotheses: inferring from layout
	Hypotheses before reading: illustrations, etc.	
	Reading and taking notes	Excerpting
	Learning (a poem) by heart	
	Scanning	Making associograms
	Skimming	Looking things up
		SQ3R method
		MURDER diagram
		Marking
Speaking		
Knowledge of *classroom phrases*	Working with dialogue plans	Learning by heart
Understanding various social modes	Using a language "construction kit"	Repeating things/speaking at the same time
Understanding different task modes	Making a report according to a report plan	Silent monologue
	Telling a story using keywords	*Backward-build-up technique*
	Answering w-questions	Using reference tools
		Localisation method
	Using sentence models	
	Using facial expressions/gestures	Using paraphrasing strategies

Writing		
Arranging the work place	Copying Writing something up following a system Collecting arguments *(for and against)* *Writing a text using keywords* *Note taking* Making a table Compiling a list according to ordering systems Making a table out of sentences Doing an exercise alone Working with others	Making an outline for a text Preparing summaries Note taking Establishing subordination/ superordination Putting oneself in the place of other learners
Vocabulary		
Knowledge of the alphabet of the target language	Working with alphabetical lists of words Working with list of words from the textbook Linking words with associations to form prior knowledge Forming word groups Communicating words and expressions through gesture and facial expressions Analysing words and expressions	Recognising and using word formation rules Comparing languages with each other Devising contexts for new words

	Learning words in connection with pictures	
	Sorting and separating words on the basis of meaning	
	Completing gap texts	
	Making diagrams/mind maps	
	Completing diagrams	
	Writing vocabulary cards	Keeping a vocabulary file
	Looking words up in a dictionary	Looking words up in a bilingual dictionary and later in a monolingual one
	Keeping a vocabulary list in an exercise book	Keeping vocabulary in a loose-leaf binder
	Understanding via other languages	Understanding via context
Grammar		
Knowledge of grammatical terminology	Working out a rule of grammar on one's own	Looking things up in a grammar book
	Adding to grammar rules	Knowing various forms of a rule
	Formulating grammar rules on one's own	Looking things up in the grammar supplement
	Referring to grammar summaries in the textbook	Looking things up in the index
Knowledge of different types of tasks	Marking word forms	Rounding off grammatical terminology
		Doing grammar exercises on one's own
	Making a grammar table on one's own	Keeping a grammar card index
	Developing and formulating mnemonics	Keeping a grammar notebook

	Collecting memory aids Writing grammar cards Understanding graphics (e.g. sentence-structure models) Making verb tables	Being familiar with visualisation techniques Keeping error statistics
Pronunciation		
	Recognising and repeating word stress Recognising and repeating word intonation Recognising phonetic script Using sound relationships	
Spelling		
	Using word formation rules Understanding with the help of words in the target language Understanding with the help of words from other foreign languages Understanding with the help of words from the mother tongue	Using etymological derivations Understanding with the help of internationalisms Understanding with the help of dialects Understanding with the help of the context

***Secondary learning strategies*:**		
	Discussing foreign language teaching and one's own learning	Keeping a learner diary
	Determining one's own learning objectives	
	Discussing the textbook and one's own learning	
	Discovering how something can be learned	
	Trying out learning tips	
	Monitoring one's own learning process	
	Self-evaluation: "I can …"	
	Monitoring the achievement of learning objectives	
	Drawing conclusions for future learning	
	Making and using learning aids	
	Reducing the stress in one's own learning	
	Encouraging oneself	Relaxing
	Recognising and expressing one's own feelings	Rewarding oneself
		Asking for explanations
		Asking for correction
		Learning with others
		Asking for help from third parties
		Becoming aware of the feelings and thoughts of others
		Developing understanding for different cultures

Fig. 4

3 Hypotheses on the transfer and communication of learning strategies at the threshold of L2 to L3

The relevant literature on the influence of L2 on L3 indicates that there are a variety of transfer possibilities that are also actually used by learners. The following are some examples (cf. Mißler 1999):

- Intelligent guessing: This assumes general knowledge in learners, as well as implicit knowledge about the target language (intralingual knowledge), context knowledge, interlingual knowledge (influences of the mother tongue and foreign languages).
- Testing of hypotheses:
  - recognition of a problem
  - reflection
  - construction of a hypothesis
  - formulation of the hypothesis
  - testing the hypothesis.
- Relating new knowledge to existing knowledge.
- Parallel use of a variety of sources of information and learning materials.
- Memorizing strategies, e.g. note taking, writing aide-memories.
- Using words from L1 or L2.
- Creating words in the target language/converting words from L1 or L2.
- The recognition and use of language relationships.
- The use of metalanguage terminology, etc.

These examples of learning strategies, to which additions can easily be made – for example, from the realm of affective strategies – imply relatively good basic knowledge of strategies and the ability to use them. However, the following list of ten hypotheses should indicate rather that learners' prior knowledge of learning strategies is meagre.

Hypothesis 1:

> From the teaching in primary school, from the teaching of other subjects and from their mother tongue, learners bring with them a basic knowledge of strategies that has been acquired implicitly and hence is generally used intuitively. However, learning strategy competence presupposes explicit knowledge of the advantages and disadvantages of specific learning methods and of how they function.

Hypothesis 2:

Although learners may know a number of learning strategies from L2, they often only use them subconsciously. As a rule, they have only very limited explicit knowledge of strategies.

Hypothesis 3:

The specific strategies mastered by learners from a particular culture group are often related to the learning traditions of their culture. Knowledge of learning strategies is thus sometimes very one-sided.

Hypothesis 4:

Knowledge about and command of a broad range of learning strategies cannot be regarded as well-established, since these strategies are not communicated systematically in the teaching of L2. On the contrary, they tend to be treated as something unusual. They are not a self-evident part of the learning process.

Hypothesis 5:

Specific learning strategies are internalised by learners in different ways, depending on:

- learner type
- previous experiences of learning strategies
- self-image/learning styles/learning habits
- previous experience with respect to foreign languages (number of foreign languages learned, frequency of use, duration of learning, competence achieved)

Hypothesis 6:

Knowledge about and command of learning strategies also cannot be equally assumed for all pupils, since there are various learning methods for achieving a single learning objective and since each learner emphasises different things in the learning process.

Hypothesis 7:

Learners of L3 must often first be made aware of the fact that learning strategies exist at all and then of what kinds there are and how they can be used.

Hypothesis 8:

It must be made clear to learners that learning strategies for foreign language learning can be transferred from one language to other languages.

Hypothesis 9:

The teacher must find out what level of learning competence pupils possess.

Hypothesis 10:

Finally, learning strategies must be communicated systematically, taking into account the knowledge that pupils already possess.

4 Summary

This minimum learning strategy profile is intended as a discussion paper for the elaboration and identification of the basic knowledge required for L2 and also for the enhancement of learner competence in L3. It demonstrates that the number of imponderables is currently still quite high and that there is a need for further research in order to achieve reliable results.

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7. Plurilingualism and immersion

An attempt, from a Swiss perspective, at the classification of the external parameters of immersion teaching, and of the learning-theorie and didactic principles underlying it.[1]

Christine Le Pape Racine

1 The current situation in immersion teaching

It is one of the declared objectives of the Council of Europe to educate the population of Europe in primary school to achieve functional plurilingualism and pluriculturalism (*Common European Framework of Reference* 2001), i.e. no longer merely bilingualism. Plurilingualism is defined and distinguished from multilingualism as a plurilingual competence that does not simply add on the skills in one language to those of another, but rather combines and interrelates them in a variety of ways. This is a plurilingualism that is inter alia characterised by interlinguistic and intercultural awareness (Abendroth-Timmer & Breidbach 2000). It assumes one to two languages from neighbouring territories and a lingua franca. In order to achieve this objective, the teaching of the first foreign language should begin earlier in primary school and methods other than simply those of traditional foreign language teaching should be used. The most effective teaching method is considered to be immersion, which "could become the most important development of the century with respect to foreign language teaching and could finally achieve the 'turning-point' that has been repeatedly demanded – hitherto in vain – for generations." (Freudenstein 2001). What is only rarely touched upon in the discussion is the effect that these two changes will have on the school system as a whole.

Piepho 2002 is of the opinion that by starting foreign language teaching at an early stage, part of the secondary school system will become imbalanced and will need to be recast:

> Primary school foreign languages are part of a new pedagogic plan for foreign language learning in the German education system. Without a clear stage-by-stage profile and core curricula, the primary school – which is intended as the beginning of citizens' lifelong learning – is an isolated area.
>
> What is needed are logical, tried and tested, i.e. validated principles and didactic standards that will have to be renegotiated for the lower secondary level. The level-specific characteristics of language development constitute the foundation for subsequent

[1] This article is also addressed to non-language teachers.

> stage, where they must be taken into account and continued. From 2005 on, there will be a complete change in foreign language teaching, and it will be necessary to fall back on tried and tested (and often forgotten) practices. Simply going through lessons in a linear way is "out". Active learning is "in" (Piepho 2002, online).

And Thürmann 2000, 90 writes:

> Demands for *whole-school policies* and *programmes* have hitherto been raised everywhere where bilingual teaching or immersion programmes have been in place for some time. (…) In deliberations on the methodology for teaching subjects bilingually, the need for a holistic interdisciplinary and subject-linking approach is becoming increasingly apparent.

How early foreign language teaching that is linked with immersion can be integrated with the whole school and education process will be discussed at the end of this article, which is primarily concerned with immersion and addresses early foreign language acquisition only in connection with this.

Anyone who examines the question of immersion will discover how complex the conditions are under which immersion operates. Even the way the concept is defined depends on differing perspectives in Canada and within Europe. In Germany, reference is frequently made to "bilingual teaching" (Bach 2000, 15), while in Austria reference is made, for instance, to a "foreign language as a working language" (Vollmer 2000, 153, Biederstädt 2000, 127). The spectrum of the definitions of "bilingual" is very broad and can easily give rise to misunderstandings. In this article, therefore, "bilingual" is used as little as possible, with "immersion" being preferred. For purposes of simplification, the term "immersion methods" covers all teaching situations in which a subject (say, geography) is taught in the target language and in which it is primarily the learning objectives of the subject that are evaluated rather than those of the language. Teaching in which the content of the subject and not (exclusively) the language is evaluated also constitutes the boundary between foreign language teaching and immersion, although this likewise gives rise to complications.

> Didactic discussion about what exactly bilingual learning is continues to revolve essentially around the question of what the relationship is between language learning and subject learning. These are regarded as two dimensions of the learning process that must somehow be integrated. In my approach to the issue, however, I assume that bilingual learning is only possible as an integrated process of content and language learning (Hallet 2000, 1).

The concept of an integrated process does in itself conflict with the above statements about the primacy of the content subjects, nevertheless content subject teachers who are confronted with the concept of immersion tend to feel that their professional image is being called into question and, as a result, are often uncertain at the outset. What has hitherto been insufficiently addressed in the training and further education of content subject teachers is the link between the subject and the language of origin (mother-tongue), and indeed between the subject and language in general. The hypothesis here is that even in content-subject teaching in the mother tongue explicit attention to

language significantly influences the progress of understanding. If, for example, physics and geography teachers had in-depth knowledge of language acquisition, of certain research in linguistics and word-formation, the step towards teaching in the foreign language would not be such a big one and it would be easier to anticipate what is involved. From the current language acquisition point of view, immersion didactics does not differ fundamentally from foreign language didactics, but is simply differently applied, offers different opportunities, and is argumented by the didactics of the relevant content subject and specific phenomena associated with this.

In current publications from Germany (Tönshoff 2002, Bach 2000, Bausch 2002), it is agreed that to date a comprehensive didactics of immersion has not been formulated. Nevertheless, teachers working with immersion deliberately or subconsciously teach in accordance with an underlying provisional (common-sense) theory. However, various approaches – which, although not mutually contradictory, primarily shed light on different sub-aspects – give hope for a more comprehensive theoretical base in the near future (inter alia Wolff 1996, Thürmann 2000, Bach 2000, Vollmer 2000, Melde & Raddatz 2002).

In Switzerland a great deal has already been written about early immersion teaching (Fuchs 1999, Brégy 2000/2001, Brohy 2001, Merkelbach 2001/2002, Schwob 2002, Serra 2002), but this has not been widely reviewed in Germany. A three-year study by Stern *et al.* 1999 supported by the Swiss National Fund took the lower secondary level into account as well. It dealt with immersion teaching to near beginners recruited from non-grammar school, non-selected 12 to 15 year-olds. Comprehensive empirically based investigations were carried out, including on the increase in language acquisition and on motivation, leading to the formulation of didactic principles and to the development of immersion teaching materials with practical examples for the lower secondary level (Eriksson *et al.* 2000). A separation is evident in the publications between early acquisition and acquisition from the lower secondary level onwards (for upper secondary level, cf. Brohy 2002).

The question is still open as to whether there is a need for different didactics depending on the age at which immersion teaching is begun. In any event certain types of assertion require the age group involved to be specified. Despite the continued lack of up-to-date and methodologically sound empirical studies, the time has surely come to gather together findings and experience from practice worldwide and to formulate a didactics or methodology for immersion teaching (a task which might, for instance, be carried out by an interdisciplinary group of authors working in the field of CLIL – Content and Language Integrated Learning). As well as generally applicable principles, such a methodology should establish categories capable of accommodating widely differing models and approaches (cf. also Rautenhaus 2000, 115). It would be rooted in learning theory and take account of the requirements of associated disciplines.

Drawing on experience in Switzerland (2), the following remarks attempt first to describe the external parameters of immersion projects (3), and then to identify foundations in language-learning theory (4), and, in outline, their methodological

implications (5), in the process reflecting on the position of traditional foreign-language teaching. Under the heading of perspectives (6), an overall plan for school education and proposals for empirical research work are presented as further support for the hypothesis that immersion teaching is more efficient than traditional foreign language teaching.

2 The Swiss experience

In Switzerland with its four languages, no immersion project in any of the 26 cantons with their different school and education systems is like any of the others. Contrary to what an outsider might expect, immersion is not implemented anywhere on a canton-wide basis. Instead, there are approximately 200 different projects for all age levels, and it is only in a few cases that continuity is provided with schools at a higher level.

Contrary to the opinion that multilingual Switzerland is more advanced in terms of immersion didactics than other countries, immersion is proving relatively difficult to establish. In fact, it still depends too heavily on the goodwill of individual people and/or institutions. Nevertheless, in a variety of cantons larger and long-term definitive projects have been initiated at upper secondary level where implementation is the easiest, since the pupils involved are strong learners who already have a good background of foreign language knowledge and in addition have undergone a process of selection. Of interest also is a major project in the vocational schools of eastern Switzerland, where the teachers can obtain certificates for their specialised training (Middle School and Vocational Education Office of the Canton of Zurich) – by contrast, their colleagues in academic secondary schools are also trained, but do not receive certificates. Similarly, bilingual programmes are beginning establish themselves in teacher training, for example, in Fribourg/Freiburg. Immersion at the preschool and primary school levels of the public system exists in the cantons of Grisons, Valais, Freiburg/Fribourg, Bern, Neuenburg and Jura (cf. Brohy in this volume).

3 External parameters in the planning of immersion projects

The following table shows that the choice of method is subject to the interaction of a great many variables that need to be clarified before a project begins, in order to provide a basis for the methodological approach adopted (explanations follow the survey).

1.	Age at beginning	Infancy/very early: 0 - 3/4 Early: 3/4 - 5/6 (before learning to write) Middle: 7/8 - 14/16, up to puberty (possibly with a break at 11/12, abstract thinking) Late: from 16 until an advanced adult age		
2.	Objective	Perfect knowledge Like a native speaker	Functional knowledge	
3.	Class composition	Monolingual	Plurilingual = all possible variations	Bilingual = reciprocal bilingualism reciprocal immersion
4.	Teachers	1 person = 1 language, i.e. each class needs at least 2 teachers, who as a rule are native speakers	1 person = 2 languages, i.e. 1 person with good competence in L2 is needed	
		Collaboration of subject and language teachers		
5.	Competence of learners	Beginners, low competence	Good existing competence in all communicative skills	
6.	Subjects	Tendency to specific content, action oriented	Tendency to abstract content	
7.	Materials	Not available	Available	
8.	Methods	Not adapted	Optimal	
9.	Foreign language acquisition simultaneous or consecutive	Concurrent Simultaneous	Consecutive Successive	
10.	Number and type of languages as well as sequence	Local language, 1st neighbouring language, immigrant language, English as lingua franca, 2nd neighbouring language, etc.		

11.	Standing of the target language Standing of the language(s) of origin	Language with low prestige Subtractive bilingualism Submersion Negative effects on motivation		Language with high prestige Additive bilingualism Immersion Positive effects on motivation	
12.	Proportion of time	Total immersion		Partial immersion	
13.	Scheduling / proportion of timetable e.g.:	Morning or afternoon	1st or 2nd half of the week	50% of each lesson	Other scheduling possibilities
14.	Admission conditions	For all pupils		For selected pupils	
15.	Participation status	Compulsory for teachers	Compulsory for learners	Voluntary for teachers	Voluntary for learners

Fig. 1: External parameters and variables for immersion teaching

In the establishment of a teaching setting for each type of immersion teaching, account must be taken of the following 15 organisational and situational differences, which are the source of a considerable degree of variability in terms of both organisation and methods (Le Pape Racine 2000):

1. Beginning of the acquisition of 2nd/3rd language:

- Early total immersion: teaching in the first two or three preschool and school years is conducted entirely in the second language (e.g. for German-speakers in the Romansh-speaking districts of the Canton of Grisons).
- Early partial immersion: at the beginning of schooling, a number of subjects are taught in L2 (e.g. Brig, Sitten, Siders, Monthey, Bözingen/Biel).
- Intermediate immersion: following traditional foreign language teaching in the lower forms, some subjects are taught by immersion from the 3rd/4th to the 7th/8th school year.
- Late partial immersion: immersion from the 8th/9th school year (e.g. academic secondary schools, Biel, Basle, Thun, Zurich, etc.).
- Minimum immersion: when the second language is only used in one subject in 1 or 2 lessons per week (Speicher, Canton of Appenzell).

2. Teaching objective:

- How teaching is structured is affected by whether a symmetrical bilingualism or only a working knowledge of the target language is to be acquired.

3. Class composition with respect to languages already possessed:

- Normally, the assumption is that of monolingual classes learning a language important within the society, e.g. in western Switzerland, a French-speaking class learning German or in Canada, English-speaking learners learning French.
- If a class is multilingual, as is frequent, for instance, in cities and conurbations, recourse cannot be had to a single first language, particularly if teachers have no knowledge of the first languages of his/her students. In such cases, teaching must be exclusively carried out in the target language (the local national language).
- The term reciprocal immersion (dual direction bilingual immersion) is used if, in a bilingual class in which pupils speak one of languages, teaching is conducted in both languages, with the result that pupils develop (almost) equal competence in each (Biel-Bienne, Samedan).

4. Teachers' language knowledge:

Bilingual teachers with a virtually symmetrical knowledge of both languages or those who have good L2 competence can conduct teaching in two languages on their own (1 person = 2 languages). If such human resources are not available at a location, there is a need, particularly because of the easier acquisition of pronunciation especially by young children up to the age of 10, but also by older beginners, for teachers who are native speakers (Peltzer-Karpf and Zangl, 1998, 15). The language knowledge of teachers constitutes the main problem for the launch of immersion, since their training is time-consuming and costly. Unless one is willing to wait years before launching immersion, a way must be found to allow even teachers with incomplete knowledge to begin, i.e. to proceed with the resources available. It goes without saying that teachers must be willing to improve their own foreign language knowledge, through their own immersion, so to speak. A number of approaches can provide support for these efforts and mitigate the problem:

- Even with immersion, there are means of teaching in a relatively tightly organised way in the initial stages. Teachers can prepare themselves carefully for example, as far as language is concerned, so that they pass on as few inaccuracies as possible, and can continue to improve their functional language competence in their own subject areas.
- They can use as many authentic listening and reading texts as possible to provide correct language models.

- Depending on the pupils' language level, passages in the mother-tongue facilitate the assimilation of content, especially in cases where the content is linguistically difficult.
- Once the learners have achieved an advanced degree of linguistic competence, they become resistant to faulty input (Peltzer-Karpf and Zangl 1998, 8).

5. Methodologically, very much depends on the learners' competence (beginners or advanced). Since immersion can be initiated at any age, this variable is very influential.

6. The degree to which the contents to be communicated are abstract, the feasibility of concrete exemplification and/or visualisation, and the degree to which a particular subject is activity-orientated all clearly influence the type of immersion method. Relevant links to subject didactics have been published by a number of authors (e.g. Rautenhaus 2000, Biederstädt 2000).

7. Only rarely are materials for a particular subject which are both adequate to the available L2 competence and appropriate in terms of content to the age-group and degree of challenge required. Teachers need guidance in making materials themselves and making these available to others. Networking structures are needed.

8. Methods used: The ability – or inability – of teachers optimally to promote language learning as well as teach the subject in question is quite important. This requires appropriate training for the teachers in the delivery of integrated language teaching.

9. Concurrent or consecutive acquisition: Acquisition can take place concurrently (simultaneously) or consecutively (successively). A pupil can, for example, learn two first languages at the same time at pre-school age, which does not affect teaching, and a third and/or fourth language concurrently or one after the other at school.

10. Depending on how closely related the language systems are, the **choice of languages and the sequence of acquisition** have an influence on the acquisition of a further language, in that there are different synergy effects (inferences and interferences). The step from L1 to L2 is, for instance, much bigger than that from L2 to L3 or from L3 to L4, since with each language there is also an increase in transfer potential. For some time, researchers have been intensively investigating the field of tertiary language acquisition (see Chapter 4.3).

11. The standing of the target languages and social standing of the languages of origin: There are languages with low prestige and those with high prestige. The way in which languages are valued in school and in society has an effect on learner motivation.

There are languages that only very few people want to learn – languages the knowledge of which does not lead either to more status or to a higher income. Immigrants who are

members of such language communities are in a very different psychological situation and bring different circumstances to the acquisition of a further language. Their mother tongue is frequently rejected or ignored abroad and this can lead to its neglect or even its abandonment. This is referred to as *subtractive* bilingualism, while the learning of a prestigious language leads to *additive* bilingualism.

12. Proportion of time for L2 exposure: Prevailing circumstances should determine whether to begin with minimum, partial or total immersion.

13. Scheduling of the first and second: The switch from one language to another can range from one extreme – i.e., for instance, switching in every lesson (bilingual subject teaching) – to the other, e.g. switching every half year.

14. Admission conditions: Hitherto, immersion has frequently been provided to selected learners, even though all learners at elementary school level could benefit from it. There is a risk that immersion will acquire the reputation of being elitist.

15. Participation status: It makes a big difference whether teachers and/or learners participate in immersion teaching programmes voluntarily or on a compulsory basis.

In summary, it is clear that the teaching of a foreign language through immersion is dependent upon very many external organisational parameters and that its implementation must be carefully prepared.

In what follows the "internal parameters" of language teaching are addressed, from the perspective of the learner and of the teacher, and also its foundation in general learning theory and in language-learning theory.

4 Basic principles of learning and teaching theory in general and with specific reference to language learning

At present, the theory of constructivism occupies the dominant position in the discussions of those concerned with language didactics, and is most frequently cited in support of learning-theory and methodological positions. It should be mentioned at the outset that this article can only touch upon the complex scholarly controversies regarding (radical) constructivism as an epistemological theory and its significance with respect to learning psychology, language-learning psychology, methodology and pedagogy. In the field of language learning theory and methodology, its supporters include Wendt 1996 and Wolff 2002, and its opponents. Predella 1999, Reinfried 1999 & Schüle 2000.

4.1. Principles of general learning theory

For many years language-learning psychology has primarily been based on the principles of cognitive-constructivist learning psychology, largely shaped by its pioneer, Piaget. It is assumed that individuals are as a matter of principle "their own creation", in that even though influenced by and interacting with their surroundings, they have learned everything they know and can do in a process of self-determination. Depending on individual objectives learners perceive phenomena which they discover outside or inside themselves as a "mental act", order them, compare, relate, weight and link them, fit them into a provisional structure, integrate them in a hierarchical scheme and, ultimately, in a flexible non-hierarchical system. This entails mental activity because the selected information entering the brain (stimuli, input) must be continuously processed. If the self-established goal set cannot be achieved and/or if learners encounter inconsistencies, they feel disturbed or unsuccessful – which is something that occurs relatively frequently. In such cases, there are two basic modes of behaviour: either learners give up, bypass, or postpone the achievement of the goal or they regard the situation to be a problem that they attempt to solve in a different way, perhaps alone or with the help of others (Aebli 1994, 13-83, 386-388). Whether or not learners make advances in the development of their knowledge of the world will depend on how superficially or in-depth they wish to understand things, i.e. they must always be willing to question and rework what they already know. The nature and encouragement of motivation play a major role (Karsenty 1999, Deci & Ryan 2000). The intellectual effort and stamina with which someone searches for solutions depend inter alia on his/her personality. Self-confidence also plays a very important role.

In the context of the cognitive-constructivist point of view, the encouragement of learner autonomy is a general teaching principle, which Holec introduced for foreign language teaching in 1981 (Wolff 2000). Since then, much rewarding endeavour has been made in this regard in foreign language teaching, for instance, in the switch from frontal teaching to other organisational forms (including co-operative forms), to what are known as extended teaching and learning forms, and hence to a new learning culture. This has also led to major changes in the field of teaching materials (e.g. Envol, Dahinden *et al.* 2000).

Alongside learner autonomy, the concept of metacognition has also contributed to improved learning performance. Metacognition, according to Wolff. 1996, is the ability to recognise, evaluate and improve one's own learning processes. One must also learn how to learn. It is useful to gain an idea of the various processes involved in one's own learning, e.g. through learner diaries or learning records (Reusser & Reusser – Weyerneth 1994).

With respect to teachers, the findings of the psychology of learning have led to a real change of paradigm, namely the well-known switch from instruction to construction, and hence to interactive teaching and learning environments (Stebler, Reusser & Pauli 1994). It is generally the case that teaching does not automatically mean learning. Teachers must change the role that they play. To overstate the case, the teacher must

move from being an omniscient source to being the learner's companion and a facilitator, who, through pupil-centred teaching and (self) evaluation, hands over a larger part of the responsibility for learning to the learners themselves than was previously the case. He or she is important as a model of someone who is also a learner who makes his/her own learning transparent for the pupils, as a model for the lifelong learning envisaged by society. It is precisely for this reason that a difficult modification of teachers' subjective theories will be necessary (Dann 1994). The setting of new emphases in school education, the social backgrounds to this, together with research in the psychology of learning and its methodological implications, can be followed up in Reusser, 2001. The general insights of the field of learning theory also apply to the teaching and learning of languages, but specific conditions must be taken into account, as is described in the next section.

4.2. Basic learning theory principles with specific reference to foreign language acquisition

The scope of constructivist learning theories currently also encompasses language learning (inter alia Wendt 1996, Wolff 2002). These theories are based on the following, by no means definitive, statement: a precondition for the learning of foreign languages is that one wants to learn them – for whatever reason – in order to be able to communicate in them.

In language communication, four communicative competences are initially distinguished: with respect to reception, listening and reading comprehension; and with respect to production, speaking and writing. Therefore, communication can be oral (listening comprehension and speaking) or written (reading comprehension and writing). According to the European Language Portfolio, which sets standards for all of Europe, a further distinction in speaking is made between monologues which can be prepared, and the more difficult dialogues, in which the participants in the conversation must spontaneously react to the unforeseen. It is precisely this speaking competence that teachers conducting examinations frequently use as the criterion for assessing language skills, without also taking into account other competences. In the initial stages of learning greater emphasis is placed on reception (listening comprehension and reading (input)) than on production (speaking and writing (output)) because over a long period of time learners must hear and read a great deal of the language in order to be able to assimilate it in terms of comprehension and pronunciation. Learners always understand more than they can produce. As a result of the circumstances of their lives and the demands of their jobs, learners usually reach different levels with respect to the four competences. This is perfectly acceptable, since the European demand for plurilingual European citizens has led to an abandonment of perfection, which can only rarely be achieved. People should be able to function plurilingually in their everyday lives and at work. Depending on the circumstances, specific competences must be encouraged to varying degrees. This also applies to pronunciation.

A second dimension is building up an inventory of vocabulary, since without content there cannot be linguistic communication. Over the last 10 years, the acquisition of vocabulary and related research have taken on considerable importance (Kielhöfer 1996, Scherfer 1997), including the formation of concepts in the mother tongue (Seiler 1994, Aebli 1994). The development of knowledge about the world, which can take place in both the first language and other languages, is open-ended and thus can never be completed. The often simplistic, uninformative and pseudo-realistic foreign language teaching materials once described as communicative were rarely able to encourage motivation or curiosity, and did not lead to in-depth discussions (Le Pape Racine 2000). On the contrary, they were not challenging enough for most learners. In contrast, involvement in and identification with the teaching materials (Wolff 1996) increase the depth of treatment and hence the memory's retentive capacity.

The last dimension is knowledge of the language system at the level of the word (morphology), the sentence (syntax) and the text (text linguistics). Unlike vocabulary, knowledge of the language system is finite and thus capable of being completed and easily measured. Traditionally, the principle long held true in schools that the conclusion of a particular school year or grade should be accompanied by the achievement of targets in learning about the linguistic system of a language. This led to the well-known overemphasis on the teaching of grammar to the detriment of reception/production and vocabulary, as well as to a progression in grammar that was far too steep (Diehl 1999) and demanded too much of pupils. This demand for the impossible is not the least of the reasons why foreign language teaching in schools has left many learners with a feeling of inadequacy and failure – even of frustration and dislike of the foreign language in question. In connection with the learning of a language system, tertiary language acquisition has established itself as a new field of research in applied linguistics over the past few years. Trilingual and plurilingual people differ from bilinguals in the complexity of their language processing, which allows intralingual and interlingual transfer. Answers to questions regarding the effects that existing bilingualism has on the learning of subsequent foreign languages, what the impact of cultural phenomena is, and which learning strategies are to be used, etc., will play an influential role in the integrated plurilingual didactics of the future (Hufeisen & Lindemann 1998, Meissner & Reinfried 1998, Cenoz, Hufeisen & Jessner 2001, Meissner 2001, Neuner 2002).

In the last 20 years, in connection with content-focused foreign language teaching, the focus has widened to embrace the whole text (text linguistics) (cf. Hufeisen 2002), whereas in the past focus tended to be placed on sentences. In the three different fields of competence of foreign language acquisition already referred to, namely communication (pragmatics), vocabulary and the language system, there are different progressions that can be individually structured.

General insights regarding the importance of pupil autonomy, of metacognition, of learner-centred teaching, etc., also apply specifically in the foreign language sector (Bimmel & Rampillon 2000). Linked with this is the encouragement of specific language learning strategies (Oxford 2000) and of language awareness (Hawkins

1999). The Envol teaching materials for French (Dahinden *et al.* 2000), which are used in some Swiss cantons for the 5th to the 9th school year, attempt to combine these requirements and explicitly prepare pupils for immersion teaching. Multiculturalism in Europe will in future require learners to have intercultural knowledge at an early stage and to be open to other cultures in their attitudes (Schade 2000, Allemann-Ghionda 1997). Only increased knowledge of the world will lead to the replacement of widespread prejudices and clichés by an in-depth and realistic discussion of other cultural conditions and values.

4.3. Learning theory differences between foreign language teaching and immersion teaching

Put simply, immersion teaching comes close to the natural, freely evolving acquisition of the mother tongue or of a second language, simulating in a certain sense natural language acquisition. The following discussion will demonstrate this.

- The objective of the teaching is only secondarily the improvement of language competence, since understanding of the content subject is of primary importance. The language serves as a means of communication, as a tool.
- The oral and written input in the foreign language is richer, more difficult and more complex in immersion teaching than in foreign language teaching. Although the degree of difficulty is adjusted to the learners' knowledge of the language, the input nevertheless reflects the comprehensive nature of the language and is not limited to what has already been introduced in the language teaching materials. Written texts have hitherto largely been based on what has already been learned, introducing a few new words. In immersion teaching, in contrast, learners are confronted from the very beginning orally and in writing with much greater linguistic complexity and a larger quantity of material, from which they can select the elements they need in order to complete their current assignments. (Le Pape Racine 2000, 65-68).
- The question of output, i.e. oral and written statements, bears similarities to traditional foreign language teaching, since in both situations the "instructionist" model as a rule requires too little language production (Vollmer 2000, 52). But in terms of quantity and quality of output, differences can nevertheless be seen. In immersion teaching the focus is on content, not on form. Learners must understand complicated subject matter and, in turn, orally express genuine questions. Asking questions is made easier by the fact that it is not necessarily construed to be a lack of knowledge or understanding of the factual material, which might have negative effects on marks, but serves the purposes of linguistic clarification (negotiation of meaning), which is legitimate in immersion teaching. Swain (1985) justifies her output hypothesis as follows: First of all, it gives pupils an opportunity to use meaningfully what they have learned. Secondly, they must also move from the semantic to the syntactic,

> which means that gaps in vocabulary and difficulties in formulation become apparent and statements that cannot be understood can be corrected either by discussion partners or the questioners themselves. This results in a gradual improvement in the level of correctness. In immersion teaching learners cannot get stuck at the level of vague statements, since they need to be able to understand the subject in an in-depth, precise way – otherwise they will not make any progress in it (Vollmer 2000, 67).

Alongside dialogue speech situations, there are also situations that call for monologues. In immersion teaching learners are required to make longer coherent statements, a skill that is known as presentation competence (Stern *et al.* 1999, Le Pape Racine 2000). The triggers for writing often differ substantially from those of traditional foreign language teaching, in which the reproduction of texts tends to dominate more than in immersion teaching, where complicated subject matter must be communicated, such as the course of a chemical experiment.

Authenticity of the contents: Those who are sceptical about the method fear that teaching and learning objectives can be better achieved through teaching in the mother tongue. The fact that this is not the case has been shown by innumerable studies in Canada. Experience in Europe projects the same picture, but to date there has generally been little empirical research on performance in the subjects taught. In bilingual studies carried out in the cantons of Valais and Grisons, the knowledge of mathematics of the pilot and control classes were approximately equal (Schwob 2002, Serra 2002). This despite the fact that the communication of the subject matter progressed more slowly at the beginning. How can this remarkable result be explained?

Vollmer 2000, 67 argues

> … that the main challenge is to link cognitive-conceptual demands involved in the handling of subject knowledge to linguistic functions of a generalised nature, and to develop and secure their implementation in the foreign language. Such an effort can in the best of cases lead not only to the communication of a second code system (…) but also to the verification (…) of the cognitive system as a whole – and this can probably be better accomplished indirectly through the second or foreign language than through reflection about action and cognition in the mother tongue, which are as a rule presumed to be known and yet are actually less available.

And Hallet 2000, 1 writes:

> The core of this cognitive process is considered to be the process of concept formation, to which is ascribed a particularly in-depth effect among learners. The introduction of the didactic notion of the concept should serve the purpose both of defining the distinction between advanced foreign language teaching and bilingual subject teaching and of determining the subject matter of bilingual subject didactics.

In immersion teaching, thinking processes are more frequently externalised (thinking aloud), i.e. the learning stages become more transparent to all, which leads to deeper involvement and is especially helpful to weaker learners. In explanations of the success of immersion teaching, maximum attention will have to be given to the process of

concept formation and links with in-depth understanding of the teaching matter of the content subject.

In the area of learning strategies and of learning and working techniques, Wolff 1996 is of the opinion that certain working techniques can be introduced and used in immersion teaching with more success than in conventional foreign language teaching, because in foreign language teaching learning techniques are immediately applied to language as a complex subject. In immersion teaching, however, the techniques must be applied concretely as in subject teaching generally. Comparing and contrasting within a content subject, for instance, can also be applied as a technique for the comparison between L1 and L2 constitute feedback (transfer) (cf. Imgrund, in press).

5 Didactic concepts

Teachers can draw logical conclusions from constructivist learning theory that in immersion teaching, as in any teaching, imply a range of consistent didactic approaches:

- They attempt to create the best possible learning conditions and the richest possible learning environments to enable the learners to develop their potential.
- They teach learners to work independently (learner autonomy), which is something that must be developed slowly, by means of transparency of the teaching and learning objectives (and of teaching materials) and appropriate forms of (self-) evaluation.
- In addition, teachers can address the specific needs and requirements of individual pupils, showing them different approaches to learning (learning strategies) that they can apply and test in specific learning situations.
- Associated with this are also metacognitive phases of teaching during which the class as a whole or individual pupils reflect on pupil learning, e.g. in the form of a learner diary.
- Against a constructivist learning background, inter-personal relationships must also be adjusted. Full-frontal teaching can remain as a form of teaching, but its efficacy must be examined. Increasing use is made of extended teaching and learning forms (ELF), such as project work, weekly plans, group work, and partner work, which encourage joint co-operative learning in the peer group.
- Wherever possible, new media are meaningfully included and used in teaching.

For sometime now, it is not only in Canada (Cummins 1996, quoted in Vollmer 2000, 52) that efforts based on new findings have been under way to promote the "natural" acquisition of a foreign language in immersion teaching through the use of targeted measures in foreign language didactics. Many detailed suggestions have already

contributed to a more comprehensive immersion didactics from a linguistic point of view. In this, it not a matter of continuous systematic language teaching, but rather of conscious contact with language in what are known as "islands of functional language work" (Vollmer 2000).

5.1. Focus on receptive skills

In order for immersion teaching to be successful, the following demands must be met:

- Reactivation of previous language knowledge, inter alia through brainstorming methods such as mind-mapping, clustering, etc. (Krechel 1999).
- The use of oral and written texts that are not too difficult. The degree of difficulty of a text depends on variables in the text (number of unknown words, complexity of the grammatical structures, length of the text; in the case of audio texts, additional factors include (dialect) pronunciation, background noises, speed, etc.), the task set (achieving global, selective or detailed comprehension of the text), the learner's previous knowledge, and, for reading texts, the parameters for reading, such as the time allowed (Thürmann 2000).
- Listening comprehension and reading comprehension skills: introducing learners to interactive reading with top-down and bottom-up skills, and training them to make inferences from the context (Stern et al. 1999, 64-72) using a variety of methods such as reciprocal teaching (Eriksson, Le Pape Racine & Reutener 2000).
- Provision of lexical language tools and concepts concerning the subject (Thürmann 2000), as well as
- Provision of terms and "transport" vocabulary (Stern 1999, 47-55, Biederstädt 2000) which facilitate the use of specific working methods in the subjects involved – such as, in geography, the reading of diagrams, graphs and charts; or, in other subjects, defining and describing conditions or processes, summarising, classifying, interpreting, explaining, evaluating, preparing arguments, drawing conclusions, etc. These working methods can also be introduced in the teaching of German or the first language, which contributes to the creation of interdisciplinary synergies.
- General vocabulary work encompassing every existing didactic possibility of expanding and differentiating vocabulary, such as reference to rules of word formation, word families, subject fields, international words, etymology, figures of speech, etc. Also included, for example, is the critical questioning of translations such as that of "Reichskristallnacht" as "The Night of the Broken Glass" (Rautenhaus 2000, 122).

- Redundancy formation, i.e. use by the teacher of intelligently applied linguistic repetitions of content using different words or paraphrasing (Rautenhaus 2000).
- Working techniques for accessing information from content-subject texts (Thürmann 2000, Trumpp 1998).
- Beate Helbig (1998, 131-146) has compiled a methodological repertoire of such techniques.

5.2. Focus on productive skills

Oral and written production in appropriate contexts must be initiated often (Thürmann 2000, Stern *et al.* 1999, Le Pape Racine 2000).

Oral production

Bilingual subject teaching helps learners develop oral and written discourse abilities that reinforce each other. Teachers have numerous techniques at their disposal that encourage speech, such as those presented, e.g., in Rautenhaus 2000:

- *Bridging*: The teacher bridges the gap between what the learners can say and what they want to say by providing linguistic aids when needed, thus assisting successful communication.
- *Prompting*: The teacher anticipates pupils' questions and provides the desired answers, because he/she realises that the learners do not yet know the word.
- *Differentiation of vocabulary*: The pupil, for instance, only knows the generic word "bird" and the teacher provides the more specific word "seagull".
- *Correction of the choice of words, pronunciation and grammar, idioms*. The teacher has a conscious highly differentiated style of correcting errors.
- *Extension* of what has been said by the pupils.
- *Weighting*, e.g., by writing particularly important words on the blackboard.
- *Code switching*: Opinions are divided as to what extent the mother tongue or another language can be used as a means of bridging in immersion teaching. In keeping with the position generally accepted in foreign language didactics, Butzkamm 2000 is clearly of the opinion that the dogma of absolute monolingualism no longer applies (cf. Wüest 2001) and refers to "enlightened bilingualism". Bilingual sequences must be used in an aware and well-founded way. (Stern 1999, Vollmer 2000, 141).
- *Encouraging learners* by showing them that it makes sense to repeat and/or expand upon correct statements made by the teacher by taking these up in the following sentence.

- *Compering communications* between learners.
- *Ignoring spontaneous expressions* of dissatisfaction or humorous reactions on the part of learners.
- *Encouraging self-evaluation* and self-correction by learners.
- *Language awareness*: From time to time, creating an awareness of the communication strategies used in class and encouraging a communal attempt to improve them and to promote language awareness (cf. also Stern et *al.* 1999, 81-101 and 107-151).

Written production

In the articles mentioned so far, focus is primarily placed on oral production, and it is only rarely that one finds detailed work on writing. Insights into writing as a process that promotes the learning of languages in immersion teaching are provided by Stern *et al.* 1999, 75-81, who also sheds light on the role played by methods that formally create awareness and teach grammar in a contrastive manner (Stern *et al.* 55-64).

Visual, non-verbal and media assistance (Thürmann 2000) help to prompt learners – in a rich and authentic learning environment in which phenomena as described by Wagenschein are initially presented unchanged – to raise questions of their own, to formulate hypotheses themselves and to seek possible solutions, not only with respect to the subject being taught, but also at the same time, in interaction, regarding language phenomena.

Alongside these predominantly language-focused proposals, it is also necessary, in collaboration with those responsible for content subject didactics, to implement and consolidate the concepts of multiculturalism (*Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment*) and integrated contrastive grammars.

6 Outlook

Proceeding from these comments, the following model, anticipated in the first section of this contribution, shows how immersion teaching, as part of an overall design for language teaching, could be implemented – especially if foreign language teaching in the next few years were to begin at an earlier age.

Key to Fig. 2:

Transversal grammar, comparative, contrastive,
Language across the curriculum
Intercultural and pluricultural aspects
Tertiary language acquisition research

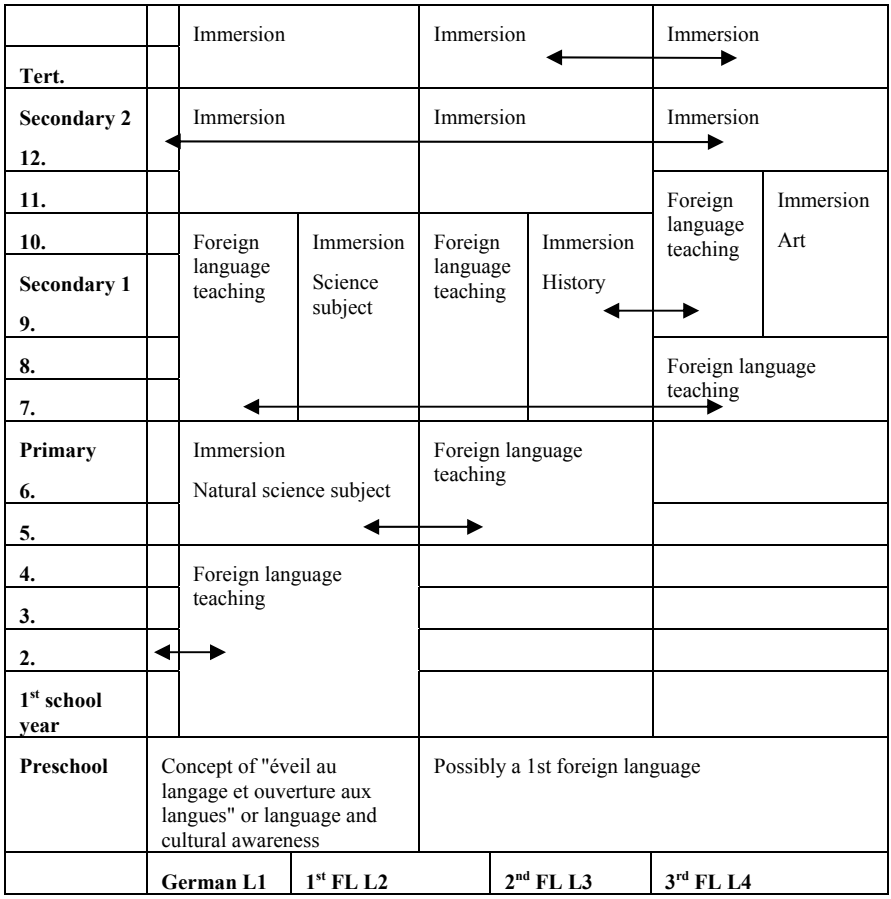

Fig. 2: Model of an overall concept of foreign language teaching in the school context for pupils whose mother tongue is e.g. German

This overview shows that there is a need for considerably more co-ordination between the disciplines, due to the complex interlocking of content subject and language learning objectives. It is not only a question of avoiding a superfluous and demotivating overlap of content (Vollmer 2000, 153, 2002), but also of a qualitative change in subject teaching, irrespective of whether it is conducted in the first language

or a second or third one. For this reason, immersion teaching should no longer remain primarily a concern of only linguistics and language didactics. For instance, how long will it take for the interest that in practice is certainly present among subject teachers to extend even further to the tertiary level of teacher training and in-service training?

If immersion teaching is to be developed further it needs to be underpinned by theory. The next few years will show whether a comprehensive theory of wide scope or several theories each of narrower scope can be formulated, probably as a result of empirical research. The publications mentioned and the general consensus suggest extensive research projects, such as the description and systematic, comparative portrayal of the existing models of immersion teaching at all levels and their evaluation (Henrici, Königs & Zöfgen 2001), which should encompass both the language and the subject dimensions (Tönshoff 2002). Another research topic would be the postulated added value of immersion teaching. At the teaching level special methodological features could be examined or the connections between and interaction of learner language and teacher language in classroom discourse in immersion teaching, as well as that of learner-learner discourse in pair work and co-operative learning environments (Vollmer 2000, 145). A discourse analysis approach would require precise records of teaching, with a focus on qualitative aspects of teacher feedback and the associated reaction of learners. Studies are also needed on heterogeneous learning groups at all age levels. It would go beyond the space limitation of this article to suggest further research topics. Heribert Rück (2002, 166) proposes extensive research projects in the field of early foreign language teaching, which are also of importance to immersion teaching, as do Timm (2002 193 and Tönshoff (2002, 200-205), and Vollmer (2002, 218) with respect to foreign language teaching in general and to immersion teaching in particular.

Journal articles, including American and Canadian research, primarily review work from a national perspective and relatively seldom from a European one, with the exception of, for instance, Breidbach 2000. Fortunately enough, numerous didactic approaches are being developed in many places that should be introduced into the classroom. Consideration should be given to how academic approaches and findings could be communicated to a broader teacher public and how they could be implemented. The relationship between theory and practice could be substantially improved. It is not only due to the alleged hostility of teachers to theory that the results of scholarly research either do not reach them at all or do so only after a delay of many years. It would be a welcome development if the representatives of foreign language didactics would increasingly be disseminators of new knowledge. In Switzerland there may be an opportunity to do this, thanks to the newly established specialised Teacher-Training Institutes with associated research departments and integrated in-service teacher training.

In future, there will be a need for teachers with dual qualifications – in the content subject and in the language – who have been specifically trained for bilingual teaching, either in their basic courses or in subsequent programmes. Early foreign language teaching and immersion teaching need appropriate financial support and careful long-

term advance planning, embracing training the necessary trainers in time to monitor the projects.

It will also be necessary to solve a major language policy problem that has been publicly raised by renowned language scholars, namely, the status of English or American English in European schools (see also Krumm in this volume). The question posed is whether English should be learned as the first or second foreign language or lingua franca. The following argument from the field of the psychology of learning speaks against the choice of English as the first foreign language: The fact that English is relatively easy to learn in the initial stages (flat progression in system acquisition) leads to a number of difficulties when, two or three years later, French or German etc. are added as the third language, since they are initially more difficult to learn. A study carried out in Slovenia by Cagran in 1996 compared the achievement in classes with English as the first foreign language and German as the second with classes in which German was the first foreign language and English the second indicated a significantly better performance by the learners who began with German as their first foreign language. Other such studies are urgently needed. Without denying the necessity of learning English for commercial reasons and as language of science, the people of Europe must ask themselves to what degree they want to promote and protect the variety of European languages and cultures (conserving languages as an ecological undertaking, as it were) and to what extent they want to continue investing billions in order, inter alia, to allow the English-speaking Americans to persevere in their traditional monolingualism and monoculture (though English-Spanish bilingualism may be on the horizon). If, for political reasons, English must be learned as the first foreign language, this is consciously or subconsciously a signal to the population – to parents, pupils, students, teachers etc. – that American English is the most important language, which does not exactly increase motivation among many young people to learn other languages. Giving the greatest value and encouragement to English hinders the desired and propagated European plurilingualism. Linguistics does not move in a value-free space – it bears responsibility for future generations (cf. Krumm and Racine, Language Policy Resolution of the 12th International Conference of Teachers of German, 2002). The selection of research projects will always be influenced by social issues. Only a continued in-depth interdisciplinary discussion will provide clarification and establish a basis for further decisions.

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8. Bilingual teaching: immersion in Switzerland

Claudine Brohy

1 Introduction

Opinions abound on the linguistic skills of the Swiss population: Some foreign authors extrapolate the four-language Swiss situation, i.e. its official and institutional multilingualism, to the individual inhabitants, and state that all are at least trilingual. Others assert that because of the territorial principle – i.e. the legal and constitutional principle in accordance with which a language is allocated to a territory – there are actually only monolinguals. The truth is somewhere in between, and naturally depends on the criteria used to define the term "plurilingual".

Various biographical scenarios lead to plurilingualism. In a country that officially has four languages and a high rate of immigration, this plurilingualism can develop within the family and as a result of international or domestic migration. Informal contacts between the different language communities at the language borders also lead to the spontaneous acquisition of a second language. For a long time, foreign language teaching in the schools has been the institutional response to the social, political, economic and cultural challenges of a multilingual country in the heart of Europe, and this has led to a certain democratisation of foreign language learning. However, the implementation of foreign language teaching has been very uneven as a result of the federal system in Switzerland. The start and the intensity of foreign language teaching has always depended on the 26 individual cantons – and the majority or minority status of the language community in question and the proximity of a language border are major factors. The success of this teaching has been assessed very differently, both objectively and subjectively. Whereas certain people are able to develop (near) mother-tongue skills, others admit that they are totally unable to speak a language since "they only learned it in school". In the course of communicative and post-communicative approaches to foreign language teaching from the 1970s onwards, efforts have been made to find ways of optimising language learning through, for example, exchange programmes and bilingual teaching.

2 A short historical summary of bilingual teaching in Switzerland

Certain forms of bilingual teaching have been in use for a relatively long period of time in Switzerland. For instance, as early as the 19th century and in a few cases the 17th century, teaching in a number of schools on the German-French language border was bilingual or in the second language, and there are historical evidence of unusual forms. Thus Zimmerli writes about the teaching situation in Marly bei Freiburg, "Until 1840 the school was bilingual. The teacher namely combined the German-speaking and French-speaking pupils class by class in the same classroom, and gave the German speakers work to do in writing, while he taught the French speakers orally, and vice versa. An older woman of French origin told me that she had acquired a decent knowledge of German in this system 'simply by listening to the others read'… Church Parish Council minutes dated 1832 expressly state that the teacher must have a command of both languages" (Zimmerli 1895, 106). The famous Swiss educational reformer Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827) and the Fribourg/Freiburg priest Grégoire Girard (1765-1850) also used bilingual teaching in their reform pedagogy. Academic secondary schools and vocational schools on the language border traditionally tended to develop bilingualism among the language minorities – in the case of Fribourg/Freiburg, the German-speaking Freiburger, and in the case of Biel/Bienne, the French-speaking Biennois, since the minority had to adapt to the majority. There are families on the language border that have maintained bilingualism for generations by sending their children to the "other-language" school or section, as also happens in other language border areas that offer completely parallel school systems. This is referred to as "spontaneous immersion". Early on, private schools created niches for bilingual teaching, such as the "Guglera" in Giffers near Fribourg, which was founded in 1886, three years before the bilingual university of Fribourg/Freiburg. Other private schools in the Geneva-Lausanne-Montreux region also set up bilingual educational structures. The Romansh and Italian speaking school system in the Canton of Grisons has also been bilingual since the introduction of compulsory schooling. Transitional phases in the school system or before starting a job have been used to improve language competence through practical experience, exchange programmes, stays abroad and the like. These are above all documented for temporary migration by German-speaking Swiss citizens to west Switzerland, but many cases of French speakers staying for a year in the German-speaking area are also known. The latter organised themselves into networks, i.e. the farmers, vintners, mechanical and technical trades, as well as bakers sent their apprentices to the other language area, and banks, insurance companies and public service companies also sent their employees. Before the existence of European exchange programmes, a semester in Vienna or Heidelberg was considered good form for students of law at the universities of western Switzerland. However, generalised political and academic discussion of bilingual teaching and learning only developed in the course of the 1980s. Thus the terms "two-language" or "bilingual" teaching and learning refer to two different situations. On the one hand, it refers to a more or less spontaneous use of

existing resources and on the other, much later, to a deliberate process in development at school. Generally, in Switzerland the term "two-language teaching" is preferred to the term "bilingual teaching". The term "immersion" is also used, having been adopted from Canadian research, and describes a learning situation in which a relatively large proportion of subject material is taught over a longer period of time in the second language, in principle without recourse to the first language. The use of these individual terms is, however, not consistent.

As far as terminology is concerned, it should also be noted that the term "second language" in Switzerland refers to a different national language, while the term "foreign language" tends to mean an external language such as English or Spanish. This contrasts with the terminology used in the Federal Republic of Germany, in which "second language" refers to the learning of German in a German-speaking environment, while "foreign language" denotes learning in a foreign-language environment. As far as the diglossia situation between standard German and the Swiss-German dialect is concerned, there are big differences in attitudes among both the German-speakers and among speakers of the other national languages. Certain German speakers refer to standard German as a foreign language that is taught and learned by immersion from the first primary school year, and others see it as a supplementary variety of German that has many forms in common with the dialect. In general, dialect plays a major role in the discourse about the relationship between the language communities and the learning of languages in Switzerland, above all in western Switzerland.

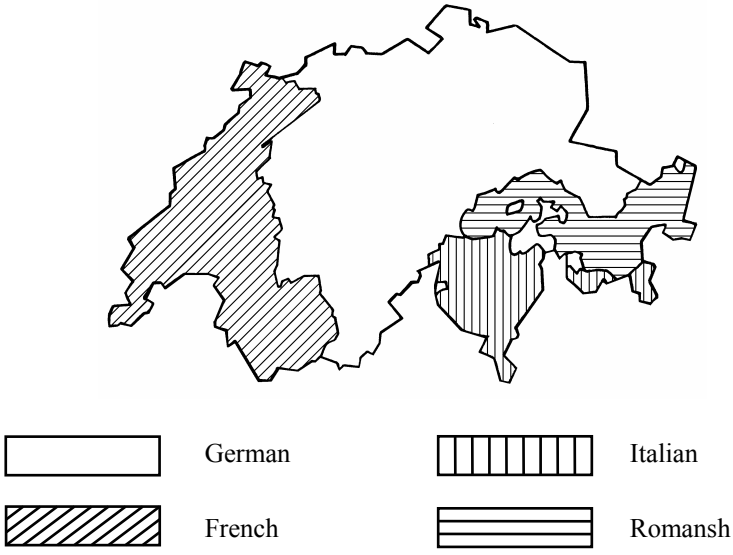

Fig. 1: Geographical distribution of the language groups

Even the age of starting and the intensivity of learning – just two parameters – yield a broad range of models.

		Intensity		
Model	Start	L2 100%	L2/L1 ≈ 50%	L2 < 40%
Early	Playgroup Preschool 1 Preschool 2			
Middle	Primary 3 Primary 4 Primary 5			
Late I	Sec. I			
Late II	Sec. II			
Late III	Tertiary			
Late IV	Quaternary			

Fig. 2: Bilingual teaching and the parameters "start" and "intensity"

A number of countries and regions use "strong" models of bilingual teaching, i.e. models in which the initial stage is entirely in the second language, followed by a reduction to roughly 50% in this language (Canada, Finland), or those that from the very beginning divide the teaching into roughly equal shares of the first and the second language (Sitten, Siders, Monthey in Valais; Aosta, Alsace; USA, Australia). Certain countries and regions use flexible transitions between the languages (the French-speaking part of the Canton of Grisons, Luxembourg, Singapore). Most "strong" models are *optional*, i.e. the parents can choose the bilingual school alternative, but there are also cases in which bilingual teaching is firmly integrated in the curriculum for linguistic and educational policy reasons, and cannot be selected or rejected (the Romansh-speaking part of the Canton of Grisons, Luxembourg, Aosta, Catalonia).

On and along the Swiss German-French language border, models are currently being developed that can be classified as "light" models of bilingual teaching. These are characterised by:

- an *early* start (preschool or first primary school year);
- compulsory participation by the children (class or school projects);

- two to four teaching units per week in L2;
- communication of *content subject* through the second language (not language teaching).

The implementation of compulsory models can be explained as follows:

- Switzerland has little experience with private education.
- There are no alternatives to the public school.
- There is little acceptance of specialised schools and they are not paid for by the state (as is the case in France).
- The neighbourhood and village schools are part of Swiss civic and educational culture.

Who, then, teaches these subjects, projects and activities in the second language? There are a number of approaches, listed here with the advantages and disadvantages.

	Advantages	**Disadvantages**	**Corrective measures**
Class teacher teaches in L2	A high degree of interdisciplinary teaching; L2 stages can be distributed throughout the entire curriculum; The class teacher is a model of bilingualism in action	Teachers must be bilingual or very competent in the second language; Self-discipline, to prevent L2 from being submerged; If pupils do not reply in the second language, teacher easily slips into L1; No allocation of language to person	Exchange activities with classes of a different language; Further training in L2 if the teacher is not bilingual
Pupil exchange (mixed language classes)	Peer teaching/ learning; L1-teachers; Teacher tandems; Intercultural didactics	Risk of dominance by the majority language; Complicated organisation; Only feasible on the language border	Didactic measures to strengthen the minority language; Good co-ordination between the school districts (start of school, holidays, gymnasium, etc.)
Exchange of teaching personnel	L1 teachers; Teacher tandems; Intercultural didactics	Relatively complicated organisation; Only feasible on the language border	Exchange activities; Further training in immersion didactics

Peripatetic teachers	L1 teachers	Little interdisciplinary teaching; Isolation in the school building	Class teacher introduces concepts in L1 teaching; Create a good working climate in the class
Combination of the above categories	Combined advantages	Combined disadvantages	Combined corrective measures

Fig. 3: Modalities

3 Measures at the federal (national) level

3.1. National language programmes

Switzerland has no federal ministry for education and teaching, and thus education from preschool until the end of the first secondary level (from the age of five to the age of sixteen) comes under the educational sovereignty of the cantons, in keeping with the principle of subsidiarity. This naturally also applies to language-learning in the compulsory schools. The Conference of Cantonal Directors of Education in Berne (EDK) and the four Regional Conferences (Western Switzerland and Ticino, Northwestern Switzerland, Central and Eastern Switzerland) are discussion and co-ordination bodies. The "Recommendations and resolutions concerning the introduction, reform and co-ordination of teaching in the second national language for all pupils during compulsory schooling", dated 30 October 30 1975 constitutes a major milestone in school language policies. These recommendations were supplemented on 30 October 1986 by the "Foreign language teaching at the transition from compulsory schooling to the higher schools". These documents, however, do not mention bilingual teaching.

At the level of Switzerland as a whole, bilingual teaching and learning were discussed for the first time during the preparations for the 7th Forum of the *L2 Commission*, a committee of the EDK that was given the task of introducing bilingual teaching at the primary level. This three-day Forum provided the participants with an opportunity to get know bilingual school models used in Switzerland and in neighbouring countries, and to discuss the academic effects of this approach. The conference was also intended to lead to a broader base for bilingual teaching. A number of follow-up activities resulted from the Forum – in 1994 the Working Party for the Promotion of Plurilingual Teaching in Switzerland was founded; in 1995 the proceedings of the Forum were published (Multilingual Country – Multilingual Schools 1995); and, also in 1995, the EDK issued a declaration on the promotion of bilingual teaching in Switzerland.

Towards the end of the 1990s, the need was felt for generally applicable guidelines for the learning of languages in Switzerland. At the same time, the Canton of Zurich announced that it intended to introduce English as the first foreign language in its

schools, and presented its "School Project 21", which provided for sequences in English from the first primary year onwards, under the motto of "Language across the curriculum". The "Global Language Concept" working party was founded and delivered its report on 15 July 15 1998. Of the 15 measures proposed on language learning, three deal with the topic of plurilingual learning:

1. Different forms of bi/plurilingual teaching are to be encouraged, tested and followed on a broad basis.

2 All pupils should have the opportunity to participate in forms of linguistic exchange integrated into the other language-teaching activities.

3. For the purposes of methodological diversification, alternative language learning and teaching methods should also be used, encouraged and developed. (Cf. "What languages should the pupils of Switzerland learn during compulsory schooling?")

On the basis of this language programme, the EDK issued 19 recommendations concerning the co-ordination of language teaching in compulsory schooling in November 2000. Since a two-thirds majority was not achieved, the decision was postponed. (13 were in favour of a second national language and 12 in favour of English, with one abstention). Two of these recommendations directly concerned bilingual teaching:

Recommendations put forward in November 2000:

1. Language acquisition can be encouraged through particular measures introduced before the beginning of foreign language teaching in the schools.

2 An improvement in quality and an increase in the efficiency of language teaching can be achieved by using appropriate didactic forms, specifically through integrated language didactics and through a targeted use of various forms of language teaching and learning, including in particular subject teaching in a foreign language.

3.2. Federal Act on National Languages and Understanding between Language Communities

The Federal Act on National Languages and Understanding between Language Communities, known as the Language Act, (the preliminary draft of which is currently being revised[1]) provides for a Competence Centre for the Promotion of Plurilingualism, to be concerned with the development, monitoring and evaluation of plurilingual school models:

[1] This future Act will supplement Art. 70 (the so-called Language Article) of the 2000 Federal Constitution.

Art. 21 – Institution for the Promotion of Plurilingualism

- The Federal Government and the Cantons shall jointly maintain an academic institution for the promotion of plurilingualism.
- The institution shall have the following functions:
  - It shall pursue applied research on plurilingualism.
  - It shall develop, monitor and evaluate new forms of plurilingual education and training.
  - It shall maintain an information and documentation centre.
  - It shall assist the co-ordination of research on plurilingualism in Switzerland.
  - It shall promote understanding for plurilingualism in the population.
- The Federal Government and the Cantons shall establish an advisory board to provide guidance for the institution.

3.3. Bilingual school leaving certificate (Matura/Abitur)

After the twelfth or thirteenth school year (depending on the canton, and not including preschool), pupils who are not in vocational schools complete their education at the upper secondary level with an examination known as the "Matura". Passing this examination entitles the pupils to study at Swiss universities. The recognition of this school-leaving certificate is regulated at the federal level.

Since the beginning of the 1990s, it has been possible to conclude academic secondary school with a bilingual Matura. This possibility was first introduced at private schools and in the bilingual cantons, then in western Switzerland, which offers more bilingual models than German-speaking Switzerland, and now also applies in many German-speaking cantons and in Grisons. The Federal Office for Education and Science sets out guidelines on the number of hours to be taught in the second language and regarding the subjects that can be included. Thus 600 hours in the second language (exclusive of language subjects) and at least one humanities subject taught in the second language are the conditions for the "bilingual Matura" certification.

There are a number of bilingual Matura models on the language border. At certain academic secondary schools, far more than 600 hours are taught in the second language – the percentage can amount to approx. 50%. Some schools offer "reciprocal immersion" in mixed language classes. Certain schools with two language sections offer "bilingualism à la carte", i.e. the pupils can attend the other language section for a period of time at their own choice; in others, in turn, it is possible to take a Matura with two mother tongues.

3.4. Regulation dated 15 February 1995 on the Recognition of Academic Secondary School-leaving Certificates (Matura)

Art 18 – Bilingual Matura

The Bilingual Matura certificate issued by a canton according to its own regulations may also be recognised.

Art 20 – Formal Requirements of the Certificate

- The Matura Certificate must include:
  - the heading "Swiss Confederation" and the designation of the canton;
  - the stamp "Matura Certificate, issued pursuant to …";
  - the name of the school issuing the Certificate;
  - the holder's family name, given name, place of residence (for foreigners: nationality and place of birth) and date of birth;
  - details regarding the time during which the holder attended the school;
  - the marks in the nine Matura subjects pursuant to Article 9;
  - the topic of the Matura project and the mark it received;
  - where appropriate, a reference to the bilinguality of the Matura, with details of the second language;
  - the signature of the competent cantonal authority and of the school headmaster.
- The marks received in subjects required by the canton or in other subjects can also be listed in the Matura Certificate.

3.5. Regional language programmes

All the Regional Conferences of the EDK have language commissions that are currently developing programmes on language learning in the schools. The key points of these considerations are the learning objectives to be achieved at the end of primary and secondary school, the cornerstones being the *European Framework of Reference* and the *Portfolio*, continuity at points of transfer, the sequence of languages and the starting age of the teaching of the different foreign languages, immersion approaches and subject teaching in the foreign language. The Western Swiss Conference (Conférence intercantonale de l'instruction publique de la Suisse romande, CIIP) has, for instance, resolved to introduce German as the first foreign language in the 3rd primary school year, followed by English in the 1st secondary year (7th school year).

In the medium term, the latter is to be shifted forwards to the 5th year of primary school. As early as 1992, the "Commission romande pour l'enseignement de l'allemand" (CREA), which has in the meantime been dissolved, referred to immersion teaching in its recommendations. The Neuenberg "Institut de recherche et documentation pédagogique" (IRDP), the research institute of the CIIP, monitors and evaluates bilingual teaching models, and its research committee, the "Groupe de recherche sur l'enseignement bilingue" (GREB) is a forum for exchange between researchers who are monitoring and evaluating immersion models.

3.6. The situation in the multilingual cantons of Grisons, Berne, Fribourg and Valais

3.6.1. Grisons

Grisons, the only officially trilingual canton in Switzerland, a mountain canton and the largest in terms of area, began bilingual teaching in the schools of the two language minorities (Romansh[1] and Italian) as early as the 19th century. This was in part also due to the fact that the medium of instruction in all secondary schools was and still is German. Another factor was that school leavers were unable to find appropriate training in their own canton and so were forced to complete their schooling in a different canton in the second language, German. In the Romansh-language area, the schools that have retained Romansh as the language of instruction are introducing more and more German from the 4th year of primary school on. It is de facto a compulsory and reciprocal bilingual model for all, since in every class bilingual Romansh-speakers and children who are originally monolingual German speakers learn together. A number of local communities have developed projects aimed at balanced bilingualism combined with a strengthening of Romansh, particularly at the lower secondary level (age 12 to 16). Samedan in the Engadine, for instance, approved a school project monitored by a pedagogic group and evaluation team from 1996 to 2000. Other local authorities are preparing plurilingual programmes tailored to their specific circumstances (different languages, mountain communities).

In Chur, the canton capital, it is possible to attend bilingual primary classes (Romansh-German and Italian-German). These pilot projects are being supervised by the University Research Centre for Plurilingualism (UFN) of the University of Berne. The educational programme also includes the Bilingual Matura.

[1] The 60 000 Romansch speakers have five written languages and one official language, Romansh Grischun.

Fig. 4: Languages in Grisons: 1. Romansh area; a. Romansh majority; b. German majority; 2. Italian; 3. German

3.6.2. Berne

The Canton of Berne is bilingual and since the creation of the Canton of Jura out of three of its French-speaking districts, has a French-speaking minority of only 8%. Most of these people live in the officially French-speaking districts of La Neuveville, Moutier and Courtelary, in the bilingual district and bilingual town of Biel-Bienne and in and around the federal capital Berne.

In Biel-Bienne there are presently some bilingual models, although those who deal with the bilingualism of the town generally regret that there are still so few – considering that the schools all have a German-speaking and a French-speaking section. One primary school, Böoezingen / Boujean, has an immersion model on an exchange basis (4 hours per weeks), monitored and evaluated by the Forum for Bilingualism and the Office de Recherche pédagogique du Canton de Berne in Tramelan. The other models are at academic secondary school, vocational school and technical school levels. Since 1998/99 there have been classes leading to the bilingual Matura, and there are also a number of pilot projects at the vocational school level. The principle of personal choice allows parents to select the school language. Thus mixed-language families can choose the child's "strong" or "weak" language as the language of schooling, while monolingual families sometimes also choose the school conducted in the other language.

3.6.3. Fribourg/Freiburg

There have long been a number of bilingual models in the bilingual canton of Fribourg/Freiburg, and here, too, parents have been able to choose the other-language school. In the 1980s the academic secondary schools began teaching in the second language and at the beginning of the 1990s a parents association began campaigning for bilingual teaching from preschool on, especially for the French-speaking majority, which as a result of negative attitudes towards German, to the dialect and diglossia in general often had no access to German – a situation that is still true today. In 1994 a working party at the education administration began developing proposals for a cantonal programme of language learning that included bilingual teaching. An initial programme entered the discussion stage in 1997. After criticisms and suggestions were received, a second programme was developed involving a small change in the Cantonal Schools Act to establish a legal basis for partial immersion teaching. The amendment of the Schools Act was adopted by the Cantonal Parliament (Grand Council) by a large majority (cf. Bertschy 1999, Brohy 1998). However, a referendum was launched against the parliamentary decision, thereby obliging the voting population to decide on the new article of the Schools Act. On 24 September 2000 the new article was rejected by a narrow majority (49,6% in favour, 50,4% against). Nevertheless, a number of bilingual teaching models launched before the referendum were continued under somewhat different conditions.

At university level the atmosphere is more relaxed. The impression created is that early-age immersion models tend to arouse anxiety, because they are seen as having a greater influence on the identity and the culture of children and because teachers encounter plurilingualism less often. Models at the upper secondary level and the tertiary level meet with greater acceptance. At the university of Fribourg/Freiburg,[1] which now proudly calls itself the "Bilingual University of Switzerland", bilingualism has been part of its identity since it was founded (1889). A number of evaluations and studies have shown that it is chosen by foreign students and students from outside the canton primarily because of its bilingualism. Bilingualism is implemented at a variety of levels: institutional bilingualism guarantees that services (regulations, libraries, etc.) are available in both languages and language policies aimed at promoting individual bilingualism have the effect that studying (in part) in the second language leads to both subject and language competence. In certain faculties studies can be concluded with a bilingual "Lizentiat" (licence) degree. Interfaculty agreements on standards and a charter have been drawn up. A language learning centre and a media centre help students cope with the challenges of plurilingual studies (cf. Langner *et al.* 2000). The teacher training college that began operations in autumn 2002 offers bilingual teaching for all future teachers and, as a option, even greater specialisation can be pursued.

[1] www.unifr.ch

Period	Description	Example
1960 to 1970	Demands for linguistic segregation in the school system to prevent the German-speaking minority being assimilated	Teacher seminar, Kollegium St. Michael, preschool, college of technology, vocational schools
1970 to 1980	Implementation of segregation	
From 1980	Reconciliation, exchange, immersion experiments	Tandem, bilingual degrees at the university, 10th foreign language school year
From 1990	Demands for bilingual teaching, especially by French speakers	Fribourg/Freiburg (city), a number of local districts, especially on the language border, bilingual Matura
From 2000	Pilot classes from preschool on	

Fig. 5: Historical development of bilingual models in Fribourg/Freiburg

3.6.4. Valais

In the bilingual Canton of Valais, where it has long been possible for French speaking parents in the cantonal capital of Sion/Sitten and the language border town Sierre/Siders to opt for a German school, bilingual models have also been demanded by parents, as in the Canton of Fribourg/Freiburg since the beginning of the 1990s. In contrast to Fribourg, however, parents' demands have been more willingly accepted by cantonal and local government authorities. From 1994 to 2003 an immersion pilot scheme has been in progress in the French speaking communities of Sierre/Siders, Sion/Sitten and Monthey, monitored and evaluated by a research team from IRDP (Institut de recherche et documentation pédagogique) in Neuenburg. From preschool until the end of primary school, half of the teaching time is in German and half in French. At present around 600 children are participating in the project. The research team is advised by the GREB research group (Groupe de recherche sur l'enseignement bilingue[1]). The research design takes into account the development of language skills in German, language behaviour in the family and language attitudes. In Siders/Sierre two further models are being compared with each other: Early immersion from preschool and an intermediate immersion from the third primary school year (cf. Bregy *et al.* 1997-2000, Diehl 2001). The results are positive, but the pupil population of the

[1] www.irdp.ch/greb

bilingual classes is not representative of the Canton, i.e. the middle and upper classes are over-represented. For the most part teachers' professional bodies are opposed to the introduction of bilingual teaching, especially at preschool, primary and lower secondary levels.

At the tertiary level there is bilingual teaching at the technical colleges and the teacher training college.

3.6.5. Western Switzerland and Ticino

The topic of bilingual teaching was addressed earlier in French-speaking western Switzerland than in the German-speaking part of the country, with above all parents campaigning in its favour. However, there are still very few early-learning models, merely small pilot projects in the Canton of Neuenburg, with German as the target language (cf. Broi 2002) and another one with Italian, which has already been concluded (cf. Greub *et al.* 1996-1999). Also in the Canton of Jura, the youngest of the Swiss cantons, where for twenty years there was considerable distrust of German-Swiss culture and language, there is now a bilingual model with German as the second language from preschool on (10 classes with 10% immersion), and there are also models at the lower and upper secondary levels. The Canton of Jura operates exchange activities with the Canton of Basle-Land (county). In all of the cantons of western Switzerland it is possible to receive a bilingual Matura.

Like the Italian and Romansh-speaking populations of the Canton of Grisons, as a language minority the citizens of Ticino usually have greater language knowledge than the German and French speakers. A few pilot classes have introduced bilingual teaching, although this is not the rule. The new language plan of the canton, "Insegnamento delle lingue" (teaching of languages), provides for four languages (Italian, French, German and English) during compulsory schooling. What is new is that French, which is still taught from the 3rd primary school year on, can be stopped after the 2nd year of secondary school (7th school year), when immersion and exchange activities are available instead. The "Università della Svizzera italiana" (USI) envisages that students, alongside Italian, must at least have a passive command of French, German and English.

3.6.6. German-speaking Switzerland

There are fewer bilingual models in German-speaking Switzerland than in western Switzerland. This stems from a variety of factors, e.g. there has been less learner frustration and hence less demand for alternatives to "traditional" foreign language teaching; greater use is made of private learning opportunities; French enjoys greater prestige; and the existence of Swiss diglossia.

In the Canton of Zurich English has been introduced in partial immersion in pilot classes of the 1st primary year in a project called "School Project 21".

Characteristics of School Project 21:

- Participation was determined via competition
- Began in autumn 1999
- 11 school districts
- 100 classes
- Method: *embedding* (sequences and modules in English)
- Other innovations: sponsoring, computer science, mixed-age classes
- Project over 3 years
- External evaluation
- In-service training of the teachers

  (cf. www.schulprojekt21.ch).

The detailed reports refer to a certain strain on teachers, and the mixed-aged classes are strongly criticised. In contrast, acceptance of English is high among parents, teachers and pupils.

As part of a research project of the Swiss National Fund, bilingual learning at the lower secondary level was initiated in eastern Switzerland, and was monitored and academically investigated by a research team (Stern, 1994, Stern *et al.* 1995). This project shows how well-prepared lessons in the second language (above all in history classes) can be used to develop learning techniques and strategies that make learning in the second language not only efficient but also enjoyable.

At the "Liceo artistico", a Swiss-Italian academic secondary school in Zurich that is focused on the arts, some subjects are taught in Italian. The bilingual Matura provides access to the Swiss universities and the academies of art in Italy. Other academic secondary schools offer a Matura in German and English. In the cantons of St. Gallen, Schwyz, Zurich and Zug, bilingual teaching is also offered at the vocational school level. This project, referred to as "bi.li. – bilingual learning in vocational schools" – is accompanied by training modules for teachers.

4 Outlook

What are prospects for bilingual teaching in Switzerland? On the following points there are still a number of open questions or, in some cases, basic principles must first be established:

- general or at least broader acceptance;
- consensus on the sequence of languages;
- teacher training (seminars for teachers, teacher training colleges, universities);
- preparation of teaching and learning materials;
- appropriate evaluation and selection procedures;
- didactics (cf. the article by Christine Le Pape Racine in this volume);
- integrated language didactics;
- integration of subject didactics;
- networking of innovations;
- greater attention to migrant languages;
- networking of research institutions.

Bilingual teaching would be more strongly anchored within the Swiss education scene if more attention were paid to these areas.

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6 Appendix

EDK Schweizerische Konferenz der kantonalen Erziehungs-direktoren (Swiss Conference of Cantonal Directors of Education)

CDIP Conférence suisse des directeurs cantonaux de l'instruction publique (Swiss Conference of Cantonal Directors of Public Education in western Switzerland ("la Suisse romande")

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7 Overall language plan

The Swiss Conference of Cantonal Directors of Education (EDK) wishes to continue the diversity of Swiss language cultures in teaching, and thereby to contribute to understanding among the linguistic regions of Switzerland.

1. The recommendations from 1975 (compulsory teaching in the second national language from the 4th or 5th school year) remain in force.
2. English is to be introduced as a compulsory subject from the 7th school year. Exemption possibilities for weaker pupils.
3. The cantons are encouraged to promote trials with (even) earlier foreign language teaching.
4. Discussions are to start with the Federal Government about the implications of Article 116 of the Federal Constitution.
5. The proposals put forward in the Experts' Report and the results of the consultation are to be further processed in detail. It is to be expected, however, that the implementation of the measures will take time.

(Adopted by the Plenary Assembly on 13 November 1998 and subsequently confirmed as a valid basis for planning by the Board on 1 July and by the Plenary Assembly on 26 August 1999.)

9. Early English in German-speaking Switzerland

An opportunity for a new start for French teaching? Reflections on language attitudes and tertiary language didactics

Giuseppe Manno

0. Introduction[1]

The difficulty that French constitutes for German-speaking Swiss learners and the resulting lack of motivation to acquire this language cannot be explained exclusively by the objective distance between the Germanic mother tongue and the Romance target language. The negative attitudes of German-speaking Swiss learners to the French language and above all to French as a school subject certainly play a major role in this. The fact that similar attitudes with respect to German (teaching) (cf. Muller 1999, de Pietro 1995) are found in French-speaking Switzerland indicates that in general the neighbour's language is tainted with somewhat less than flattering associations. This can be seen as one of the main reasons for the lack of motivation among German-speakers and the mediocre success of French teaching. A result of the euphoric and often uncritical attitude towards English and its alleged ease of learning is that French currently has a very poor reputation in German-speaking Switzerland.

The lack of motivation for French teaching could be partly redressed, on the one hand, through increased awareness of these negative attitudes and, on the other hand, through *tertiary language didactics*. It is a fact that French, which will soon be taught from the 5th year of primary school onwards, is becoming the second foreign language in most cantons. It is by no means inconceivable that the teaching of English could have a positive effect on the acquisition of French, provided that the knowledge and skills acquired during the acquisition of English as L2 are exploited and used meaningfully for the teaching of French (e.g. references to the common vocabulary).

[1] The present article is a continuation of my lecture "Language perceptions and tertiary language acquisition" held on 13 – 16 March 2002 at Biel-Bienne, as part of the conference on "Concepts of Multilingualism and Tertiary Language Didactics in Switzerland and Surrounding Countries."

1 What are language attitudes?

Before we examine the language attitudes of German-speaking Swiss learners to French and the teaching of French in detail, I would like to present a number of theoretical considerations on the concept of *attitude* (*also referred to as "representations"*). This term comes from social psychology, although it has not received a generally applicable definition in that field. It is agreed that it concerns a procedure for the interpretation of our daily reality and is a practical form of social knowledge (Muller 1998, 25):

> Attitude: as postulated by social psychologists, a learned, latent, relatively long-lasting psychological (pre-) disposition to react to a particular object in a particular way, (Kolde 1981, 336).

Attitudes are "representations", since they are a mental reproduction of an external object. They integrate with one another aspects of cognitive perception and social aspects, since they arise in social interaction and constitute a conventional code for communication ("The German Swiss are …"). Attitudes also relate to social phenomena that they help define, including natural languages and their users, to the extent that these languages differ from others in characteristic features (musicality, clarity, difficulty of learning, usefulness, etc.). Attitudes are very constant throughout an entire community and often have little basis personal experience, with the result that prejudices can develop very easily (Lüdi and Py 1984).

Attitudes towards language also play a role in the language learning context. Learners can have very different attitudes towards the language to be learned and the language that they themselves speak. They can find these languages to be useful, beautiful, etc. Attitudes towards a language are closely related to motivation, i.e. the totality of all factors that lead learners to focus their language learning abilities on a particular language (Klein 1984, 45):[1] It is generally assumed that attitudes can influence learners' motivation and hence also their acquisition of a language. In other words, attitudes can have a reinforcing or a weakening effect. Positive attitudes towards the language increase motivation and the willingness to learn it, whereas negative attitudes inhibit this. Thus it seems plausible that a language which one thinks sounds ugly and whose speakers one cannot stand will – all things being equal – be learned less well than one to which one is positively inclined (Klein 1984, 45-47). A survey on German carried out in Biel-Bienne provides evidence of the relevance of these factors. In the responses to the question which factors are important to the learner when acquiring a foreign language ("To be good in German, it is particularly important …"), the attribute "liking the language" took first place (77.4%), followed by cognitive factors such as

[1] Klein 1984, 47, avoids the very loaded word "motivation", since it is all too easily understood in the sense of behaviourist motivation theory. He therefore speaks of "impetus" (*Antrieb*). His distinction between *social integration* and *communicative needs* on the whole corresponds to the distinction between *integrative* and *instrumental* motivation (Garnder and Lambert 1972).

"memory" (64.3%) or "using and practising" (61.9%) and "lots of work" (54.8%) (Muller 1998, 54).

It goes without saying that attitudes towards the L2 community and the language are not the only motivational factors. Consideration must also be given to the reasons for learning L2. One can namely also be motivated to learn a foreign language because this is required by one's job – without one having any great interest in the language or culture in question – or because one wants to integrate oneself into a particular (foreign) society.[1] These motivational factors are as a rule subsumed under the headings of what are known as *integrative motivation* and *instrumental motivation*. *Integrative motivation* applies to aspects of social integration. This kind of motivation is probably the most important factor in first language acquisition, since it is also through language that social identity is acquired. In the case of the acquisition of a second language, including situations in which this takes place in a natural environment (with migrants, for example), insufficient integrative motivation can hinder progress. In a study of foreign language acquisition in a natural environment in the USA, Alberto, a 33-year old worker from Costa Rica, achieved the worst results because of his lack of social contact with the English language. Alberto lived with a Costa Rican couple in a district of Cambridge, Massachusetts, dominated by Portuguese immigrants, and at his place of work primarily had contact with other non-native speakers of English. The dominant language of his environment was Spanish (Schumann 1975). *Instrumental motivation* applies more to the meeting of communicative needs and is closely associated with future job prospects, social success, etc.

Finally, for directed language acquisition in the teaching programmes of schools and other educational institutions, the pressure of assessment is an important motivational factor. Until recently, in German-speaking Switzerland French was a Matura subject that counted double in academic secondary schools, but this was no guarantee of success. This is an indication that the pressure of assessment in itself is seldom sufficient to set the language acquisition process in motion (Klein 1984, 45-47).

2 The unpopularity of French teaching: An old, old story

Although the verbalisation of attitudes does not always give a true picture of the attitudes actually involved (Kolde 1981, 341), I would like to begin my discussion of the situation in German-speaking Switzerland with an analysis of a small survey of early English learning in the 6th school year in Stein am Rhein (Schaffhausen):

> The two girls were in their 6th school year in Stein am Rhein. Both were learning French, and their opinions were absolutely clear.

[1] Learning success also depends on learners' strength of motivation, and cognitive factors such as intelligence, language talent, etc. (Stern, Eriksson, Le Pape Racine, Reutener and Serra 1999, 245).

> "I hate French," said Sereina, not only because she had difficulty in learning the vocabulary. In general, she found that English was a more attractive language, which in addition could be better used in life, since it is understood everywhere.
>
> Aline, on the other hand, liked English better because it was easier to learn than French. And learning it as young as possible made sense, because it was then even easier to learn.
>
> (Lehrerinnen und Lehrer Schaffhausen, www.lsh.ch/reflex/f/ umfrage.html © by LSH, 12/2000, Kleine Umfrage, 2000, Mädchen der 6. Klasse in Stein am Rhein).

Sereina expressed her rejection of French very strongly. Her "hatred" of French was justified on the grounds of its difficulty. English was the more attractive and the more useful language. Aline also and above all emphasised the ease of learning English. This appears to be the reason why she preferred English.

On the basis of these statements, it could be assumed that English alone is to blame for the current plight of French. Although French is in a very difficult situation at present, because of the general enthusiasm for English in German-speaking Switzerland, the rejection of French as a school subject is not only related to this strong competition. In fact, French had a very low position on the popularity scale even before English began to prevail as a world language and to become increasingly important both at work and during leisure time. Even when I was in school, French was an unpopular subject. The longitudinal study by Stern, Eriksson, Le Pape Racine, Reutener and Serra 1999 on a number of secondary school classes in eastern Switzerland demonstrated this unpopularity.[1] At the end of the 6th school year/start of the first secondary school year, it could be said that French in the generally popular primary schools was the least popular subject, followed by German and geometry (1999, 242). This poor result was obviously not caused by English, since this subject was not yet taught in primary schools. In the course of secondary school, although the position of French improved somewhat, it still remained an unpopular subject. On the other hand, it is striking how popular English is from the very beginning.

[1] Actually, at the end of the first secondary school two results were obtained, since the same survey was carried out in both pilot classes and control classes. We consider here only the results of the control classes, since they are more representative of the general situation in German-speaking Switzerland than those of the pilot classes. The latter, namely, benefited from highly motivating teaching (French 1.81, in 5th place).

Start of 1st secondary school year		End of 2nd secondary school year	
1. Physical education	1.51	1. Physical education	1.44
2. Singing	1.60	2. English	1.55
3. Textile and non-textile handicrafts	1.60	3. Textile handicrafts and non-textile handicrafts	1.62
4. Science and modern languages ("Realien")	1.65	4. Mathematics	1.81
5. Geometry	1.76	5. Household management	1.87
6. Mathematics	1.76	6. German	1.89
7. German	1.98	7. Geometry	1.95
8. French	2.06	8. French	1.96
		9. Biology	2.01
		10. Singing	2.04
		11. History	2.13
		12. Geography	2.15

Fig. 1: The respondents were asked to give the following ratings to the subjects: (1) very popular; (2) medium; (3) generally unpopular (Stern, Eriksson, Le Pape Racine, Reutener and Serra 1999, 242-243)

What are the origins of this negative attitude towards the teaching of French? To begin with, the absence of rapport with the language and culture of the neighbour must be emphasised. A few examples illustrate this point. Hardly anyone in German-speaking Switzerland listens to the radio station or watches the television channel from the western (French-speaking) part of the country. The question "I occasionally watch French-language broadcasts" thus achieved a very poor result among secondary school pupils in eastern Switzerland, in both the pilot classes and the control classes (Stern, Eriksson, Le Pape Racine, Reutener and Serra 1999, 248)[1] – leaving aside altogether

[1] In Lüdi, Pekarek and Saudan 1999, 16, 70% of vocational school pupils said that they used media in the French language regularly, with radio and television playing major roles. However, these figures were from the Basle region, which has a special position due to its proximity to the language border.

French chansons, which now appear to be something that only interests the starry-eyed or the old. There is namely no doubt that French language and culture, which have been in a serious crisis for some time, are increasingly losing ground. In contrast, one is exposed everyday and everywhere to the influence of English (music, sport, media, etc.). Finally, it can also be noted that the interest of young girls in Zurich for the formerly relatively popular exchange year in western Switzerland, working in host families as au pairs, has fallen spectacularly. An indication of this is that the Employment Agency for Young People of the Evangelical-Reformed Church of the Canton Zurich, which for almost 100 years has been obtaining work for young women as au pairs in western Switzerland, is being closed. Recently, it has been finding positions for little more than 20 young women each year. It is an open question whether this decline can be explained by a preference on the part of young people for normal language exchange programmes (*Zürich-Blatt*, 17.09.2002, 11).

The relationships between the language regions are also not particularly good at the present time. The "Röstigraben" (the invisible language border separating French and German-speaking Switzerland) unfortunately appears to be a sad reality. The "bon mot" regularly used to explain the peaceful coexistence of the Swiss is, "We get on well, because we don't understand each other". The points of contact between the language regions are in effect becoming fewer and fewer. It is noticeable that the attitudes of the German-speaking Swiss towards their neighbours in western Switzerland are clearly not as negative as vice versa. A recent survey published found that 73% of the German-speaking Swiss consider the French speakers to be likeable, but only 51% of the French speakers feel the same way about German speakers. Furthermore, at the other end of the scale, 5% of German-speaking Swiss do not like these neighbours at all, whereas among the French speakers, this figure is 11%. If these results are added to the numbers of those who find the other group only more or less tolerable, one finds that 24% of the German-speaking Swiss and 45% of their French-speaking counterparts have a generally negative attitude to the other group. This difference in attitude is not surprising, considering that French-speaking Switzerland is exposed to a stronger influence from economically and politically dominant German-speaking Switzerland than vice versa.

The French speakers have, in fact, developed a defensive attitude towards "powerful German-speaking Switzerland". They are, for example, engaged in a struggle against alleged Germanisation, in which they emphasise that they belong to the francophone community and seek to disassociate themselves from the German-speaking Swiss (Manno, 1999). This is a more or less conscious expression of the unease – or even of the fear – of an "endangered minority" that has to defend itself against the superior position of the majority population. According to a survey among army recruits, almost half of those asked agreed that "German is spreading at the expense of French in western Switzerland" (Schläpfer, Gutzwyler and Schmid 1991, 232). The reason for this "malaise romand" clearly appears to lie, as has just been mentioned, in the economic and political developments of the past few decades, which have worked

strongly to the disadvantage of French-speaking Switzerland (Camartin, 1985, Bichsel *et al.* 1994, 373).

Moreover, a particular cause of concern is the fact that younger people find the other part of the country less likable than older people do. According to a survey, 63% of French speakers have the impression that German-speaking Switzerland shows too little or even no consideration for them; 60% of German-speaking Swiss, however, feel that they show just the right amount of consideration or even too much for the French speakers (*20 Minuten*, 13 November 2002, 9).

Although it is to be doubted that the rejection of the other national language is as categorical and systematic as is alleged by a number of authors ("The school is asked to teach the second national language to children who feel no need whatsoever to communicate in it." (Polli 1994)), these statements clearly indicate that the relationship between the German-speaking and the French-speaking Swiss is not exactly ideal. The tensions between the two language regions led Büchi (2001) to describe the two parts of the country as "an irritable couple in a marriage of convenience." All of the negative factors cited do not, however, automatically cause the school subject to be unpopular. We have seen that the attitude towards the L2 community constitutes only one of the motivational factors.

3 Attitudes towards the teaching of French versus attitudes towards the French language

We noted that the first pupil from Stein am Rhein (Sereina) rejected primarily the subject of French. The comparison with English, as a more attractive and more useful language, however, blurs the distinction between the language and the school subject. There is no doubt a relationship between attitudes towards the subject and attitudes towards the speakers of the language in question (Muller 1998, 31). Nor can it be denied that unattractive teaching leads to changes in attitude to language in the long run, i.e. that the language itself suffers if the subject is not presented well, and vice versa. However, an attempt must be made to distinguish clearly between the language and the school subject.

Unlike their attitudes towards school French, the attitudes of learners towards the French language are as a rule generally positive. According to a study in the 5th and 6th years of primary school in the Canton of Berne, there is often greater appreciation of the French language than there is of the teaching of French. In the case of many pupils, moreover, their attitude towards the French language is positive even though they have received poor marks (Ziberi-Lügenbühl 2000, 34). The fact that despite the unpopularity of the subject, attitudes towards the French language are not necessarily always negative is demonstrated by another study. As part of a project on bilingual subject teaching (1993-1997), an investigation was made of the development of learner motivation and the pupils' attitudes towards French. Answers to the question of whether

they liked French yielded – at the beginning of secondary school – 179 generally positive to 68 negative responses. In other words, three out of four learners liked French (Stern, Eriksson, Le Pape Racine, Reutener and Serra Oesch 1996, 16). It might be assumed from this that a positive development takes place during the course of schooling. The data from the three-year longitudinal evaluation, however, shows that in the course of the four investigations (i.e. school-year intakes), the popularity of French in the normal classes constantly declined (U1 2.06, U2 2.14, U3 2.18, U4 2.42, Stern, Eriksson, Le Pape Racine, Reutener and Serra 1999, 248).[1] Finally, in academic secondary schools and vocational schools, French was regarded as difficult, but at the same time beautiful and useful (Lüdi, Pekarek and Saudan 1999, 15).[2] A survey on the attitudes of pupils in eleven academic secondary school classes in northwestern Switzerland (Basle City, Basle County and Aargau) showed that the attitudes were predominantly positive: 60% of the respondents considered French to be "a relatively or very beautiful language" (Pekarek 1999, 39).[3]

Despite these largely positive statements about the French language, it is important to remember that in academic secondary schools emphasis is primarily placed on the usefulness and practical applications of the language (e.g. for holidays or leisure: 58%; for jobs: 52%). The only dimension that can be included in the category of integrative motivation is the usefulness of acquiring French in order to meet French speakers (54%).[4] Instrumental motivation (e.g. learning German in order to find work: 89.2%; as continuing education: 72.3%) also predominates among young learners from western Switzerland who live on the language border (Biel-Bienne). In contrast, only 14.5% of those questioned were learning German because they wanted to understand the German-speaking Swiss and their way of life better (Muller, 1998, 56). It is clear that as a rule integrative motivation does not play a major role in foreign language teaching. Nevertheless, the situation in Switzerland with respect to foreign language teaching is somewhat different, since the foreign languages in question are also national languages. In other words, they ought to serve the needs of supraregional communication and to assure the cohesion of the country. Moreover, the Federal Constitution expressly obliges the Federal Government to promote understanding and exchange among the language communities.

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1 In the pilot classes the popularity of French increased continuously up to the end of the second year, but then fell again in the third year (U1 2.01, U2 1.88, U3 1.65, U4 1.73).

2 It should be noted that the survey was carried out in classes taught by highly motivated teachers in the academic secondary schools.

3 We will see that there were also disadvantageous attitudes: only 26% of the learners considered their skills in French to be sufficient for working in western Switzerland or in France. At the same time, it was found that the learners tended to prefer the oral language, whereas testing and marks continued to be focused on skills in using the written language (Pekarek 1999, 41-56).

4 This usefulness was indirectly confirmed by Grin (1999), who found that despite competition with English a command of French still led to better career opportunities in German-speaking Switzerland.

The study by Muller (1998) also shows that in Biel-Bienne German is classified as "rich" (72.3%) and above all as "useful" (84.3%), but at the same time "not very aesthetic" (10.2%) or even as "unpleasant to listen to" (35.4%). The attitude of the people of western Switzerland to the German language is extremely negative as a result of a distorted perception of the diglossia of the German-speaking Swiss (Kolde and Näf 1996, 394). The French speakers cannot understand why the German-speaking Swiss insist on maintaining their dialect. The prestige of the language of Molière is indeed associated irrevocably with disdain for *patois* (the word itself has a pejorative connotation), which has led both in France and in French-speaking Switzerland to the almost complete abandonment of dialect. Many of the people in western Switzerland feel that Swiss German is a corrupt form of German.[1] The disdain for patois is automatically transferred to the diglossia situation in German-speaking Switzerland, which has a negative effect not only with respect to the dialect, but also tarnishes the reputation of standard German (Windisch 1992).

4 The reasons for the unpopularity of the teaching of French

Even these rather negative attitudes cannot alone explain the unpopularity of school French. This unfortunate constellation is, namely, reinforced by frustration and the absence of a feeling of success in French classes. Unfortunately, the teaching of French must be classified as a not very effective school subject, which falls a long way short of satisfying the (communicative) requirements and expectations of learners. The teaching of French is associated with laborious "language cramming" and in the end "one is not even able to order a cup of coffee in French-speaking Switzerland" (Lüdi, Pekarek and Saudan 1999, 7).[2]

It is agreed that, despite the huge efforts made over decades, the teaching of French has had only very limited success. Various studies within the framework of the Research Programme 33 of the Swiss National Fund on the "Effectiveness of our education systems in light of demographic and technological developments and the problems of multilingual Switzerland" clearly showed that there is no relationship between investment and yield (Lüdi, Pekarek and Saudan 1999, Stern, Eriksson, Le Pape Racine, Reutener and Serra Oesch 1998, Berthoud 1996). For instance, only 26% of academic secondary school pupils in northwestern Switzerland (Basle City, Basle County and Aargau) felt that they knew enough French to be able to cope with a job in western Switzerland or in France (Pekarek 1999, 42). The greatest handicap in using the language to communicate with French speakers is the absence of facility in

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1 Brohy interprets this suspicious attitude towards Swiss German as a indication that the French speakers are frustrated by the fact that a world language like French "plays a less important role than a local dialect in their own country in commercial and political realms" (1992, 88).

2 The same frustration can also be seen in French-speaking Switzerland: "After seven years of learning, a vast majority of the French-speaking Swiss are still unable to communicate in German" (*Journal d'Enseignement*, supplement to the Journal de Genève, 26 September 1994).

conversation. Even within a school class, the best pupils (in terms of marks) are often not the most skillful at communication.

Paradoxically, the introduction of an early start programme in French at the end of the 1980s, which was intended to foster early involvement with the first foreign language, had the contrary effect. A not insignificant reason for this was that teachers were unable to cope and lacked motivation. From recent Swiss studies, it is known that the initially high motivation of the learners to learn a new language (French and German) frequently disappears after only one to two years of school teaching. This is alarming, particularly since it can be assumed that such negative experiences can have negative effects on the acquisition of additional languages (Wüest 2001, 35, Ziberi-Lügenbühl 2000, 34). Apparently, the fact that the teaching was not challenging enough for learners also contributed to the failure of the early French programme. The aim was to introduce French in primary schools through play and without the pressure of formal assessment, but this proved to be counterproductive.

In the light of this lack of success, it is hardly surprising that the conviction arose that French is an inaccessible language for German-speaking Swiss. The study by Pekarek (1999) already referred to shows that this "difficulty" does not diminish even at the academic secondary school level. For the majority of those polled (57%), French remained a difficult language. This feeling is reinforced by the alleged simplicity of English. We have seen that the two pupils from Stein am Rhein objected to French as being much more difficult than English. The parents of the pupils are even more emphatic. Mr. Wagner justified the introduction of English at an early age with the argument that his daughter "learned without problems":

> Erwin Wagner is a building contractor in Stein am Rhein. It is clear to him that English at an early age is "a very good, an excellent thing". He has a daughter who has already attended an early-start English programme, voluntarily participating in a course offered privately. "She learned so easily that it was a joy to watch," says Wagner, "and she already understands the language very well." She attended the course voluntarily and from the very beginning really enjoyed this teaching. Wagner is of the opinion that early English is certainly more useful than French. (Lehrerinnen und Lehrer Schaffhausen, www.lsh.ch/reflex/f/umfrage.html © by LSH, 12/2000, Kleine Umfrage, 2000, Mädchen der 6. Klasse in Stein am Rhein). [1]

This point of view can be classified as uncritical. The alleged ease of English for German speakers is qualified very strongly by an Austrian study (Sigott 1993). After the initial difficulty of French and the simplicity of English in the 8th school year, the

[1] In this comment reference is made to private English courses. This brings up an argument often used by the Zurich Government Council within the framework of the Zurich reform of the obligatory public school (Volksschule). It urgently warns against an "Americanisation of primary school." Parents who can afford it send their children to private English courses at a very early age. This leads to educational disadvantages for the children of parents who are less well-off. For this reason, the schools are obliged to provide the same programme, namely to introduce English at an early age, in order "to eliminate this discrimination". The attempt to sell the earlier positioning of English as a measure against a two-class society is an a posteriori argument.

difference decreases up to the 11th school year. "With a four-year period of learning, English is learned more easily by Austrian academic secondary school pupils than French, but the difference in the difficulty of learning declines as learning time increases. Statements about the learnability of English and French for those whose mother tongue is German must therefore take into account the learning time available" (Sigott, 1993, 151). English is thus not child's play even for German speakers, once one goes beyond a certain basic level. In addition, consideration must be given to the fact that German-Swiss pupils are not aware that, when learning English, they profit enormously from the experience already acquired in learning French. In this respect, French teaching carries out thankless spadework for English and subsequent languages.

For this reason, it appears reasonable to assume that the "difficulty" of French and the resulting lack of motivation for acquiring it cannot be explained entirely by the objective distance between the language systems of the Germanic mother tongue and the Romance target language. Instead, one is inclined to assume that the negative attitudes of German-Swiss learners to the French language and to the teaching of French constitute one of the main reasons for the lack of motivation for this subject. That a subjective difficulty is involved here is apparent from the fact that the French-speaking Swiss use exactly the same argument to justify their own preference for English.[1] They claim that English is easier for them to learn than German:

> Alexandra: I am 14 years old. At school, in addition to French, I am also learning German, English and Latin. But at home I only speak French. Outside of school I don't in fact use any other language, nor do I learn one. […] English is the language I prefer, because it is easier and I have more success with it (Latin is difficult because of the cases!). I would like to know English well, because it's a nice language and many people speak it. But I would also like to speak other languages, such as Italian, Spanish. […] I think that the cases in Latin can help us with German. On the other hand, I didn't like the teaching of German very much in primary school – I don't think it served any purpose… ('Quand les élèves parlent de l'apprentissage des langues', *Babylonia* 2001, 40).

However, both English and German are Germanic languages and consequently related in language typology terms. Accordingly, for both languages, the distance to French ought really to be the same.

[1] Learners from western Switzerland seem to have a hard time with German. The study by Muller (1998) already referred to showed that in Biel-Bienne German was classified as very difficult (not an easy structure: 94%, difficult to learn: 87.8%); at the same time, however, it was also regarded as "rich" (72.3%) and above all as "useful" (84.3%).

5 How should such negative attitudes be dealt with?

An attempt must be made to break through the vicious circle of "negative attitudes «–» lack of motivation «–» pupils' lack of success". Making learners aware of attitudes towards the language inhibiting learning is a promising approach. It appears pointless, namely, to attempt to confront learners' opinions head-on:

> The representations (or attitudes/value judgements), in fact, allow us to simplify, structure and render familiar things that are complex and new. They also permit us to construct an "Other" – one that is different – and thereby to define ourselves. And they facilitate communication with other people who share the same tacit knowledge. It is therefore not possible to eliminate them, because, quite simply, they are part of the processes of thinking and communication (Muller 1998, 12).

Nevertheless, I feel that such negative attitudes should not simply be ignored. That would mean to accept them and their continued impairment of learning. Instead, we must take note of these negative attitudes and identify the justifications put forward for them, so that we can then approach them critically. For instance, attitudes can be used as a starting point for *meta-activities*. To this end, teaching sequences concerned with the creation of awareness would have to be included, in order to enable learners to perceive what their attitudes towards the French language and the teaching subject are, so that they could then give serious thought to them. All this would require reflection in the sense of metacognition on the learner's own learning behaviour and would provide insights into learning difficulties.

Although it would certainly be difficult to force a fundamental change in attitudes towards the teaching of French – particularly since the battle with English appears lost from the outset – I am convinced that it is possible to increase motivation for the subject through changes in classroom practice. An important role in this rapprochement with French could be played by the use of appropriate didactic methods and more attractive teaching aids. The modular section of the newly prepared materials for the middle and upper levels, *envol* (5-9), offers content-focused teaching that presents French as a language that is not simply a grammatical trial, but also a means of communicating relevant content (Wüest 2001). The use of communicative forms of teaching using authentic materials should also motivate learners, by encouraging them to view themselves as competent social players (Pekarek 1999). That the type of teaching and the associated sense of success can have a positive effect on learners' attitudes was also demonstrated in the study on bilingual subject teaching by Stern, Eriksson, La Pape Racine, Reutener and Serra (1999, 270). The four written surveys concerned with learners' attitudes during secondary schooling showed that the subject of French remained very popular to the very end in the pilot classes, in clear contrast to the control classes, where teaching was carried out in the conventional manner. In the pilot classes some of the respondents even ranked French higher than English, which is very popular.

The use of authentic materials, leading to learners sensing an increase in both the extent and the depth of their understanding, may be an important way of improving the results of French teaching and this, in turn, would help upgrade its image. However, this alone will not be sufficient fundamentally to change negative attitudes. In contrast to English, which is omnipresent, natural situations must be created for French in which learners can try out their knowledge of the language and apply it in practice. This can be achieved above all through contact with people from the French language area, through the exchange of letters or e-mails and through direct encounters in connection with class or individual activities. It is certainly no accident that attitudes on the language border (Biel-Bienne) are "more positive" than those in the rest of western Switzerland. In Biel-Bienne 18.3% of those polled (15 out of 82) would prefer German, if they were given the choice (Muller 1998, 47). Although this is by no means an outstanding result, it was far more positive than that for western Switzerland as a whole, where only 4.5% of the 659 pupils aged between 10 and 18 would make the same choice (de Pietro 1995). This difference can be interpreted as an indication that a more open attitude develops when one comes into contact with people from the other language community. Exchanges across language borders must therefore be implemented more intensively, especially since a majority of apprentices, as well as the students at vocational schools are quite receptive to such exchanges during their training (Lüdi, Pekarek and Saudan 1999, 16-17). The same positive attitude towards personal contacts can also be found in secondary schools, where such contacts "motivate learners to learn more and better French" (Stern, Eriksson, Le Pape Racine, Reutener and Serra 1999, 247). Increased exchanges between the language regions could also encourage German-speaking Swiss learners to stop regarding French as a "soulless school subject".

Finally, I believe that one can reduce learners' fear of French by taking full advantage of the new sequence of "English before French" instead of "French before English" in German-speaking Switzerland – thanks to *tertiary language didactics*.

6 Tertiary language didactics

For a long time, French, as the second national language, was the first foreign language taught in the schools of the Canton of Zurich and most of the other German-speaking Swiss cantons. Although officially the last word on the introduction of English before French must await the result of the referendum on the new law of 24 November 2002 on the compulsory public school (Volksschule), English will in all probability be introduced as the first foreign language with effect from the 2003/2004 school year. It is not clear whether this will start in the second or in the third school year. It can be assumed that the teaching of French, as at present, will begin in the 5th school year, and that no changes will be made to the amount of French teaching.

The decision to initiate an early English programme can be regarded as questionable and premature, firstly because the Canton of Zurich, thanks to its demographic size (containing one sixth of the Swiss population) and economic strength, will issue a signal to the entire country (eastern Switzerland decided just recently in favour of English).[1] Secondly, the Director of Education in Zurich has ignored differing recommendations from the Swiss Conference of Cantonal Directors of Education, which will certainly not contribute to an easing of the tensions between the Canton of Zurich and western Switzerland. Finally, this pre-emptive strike, which amounts in practice to a downgrading of French, indirectly confirms negative attitudes towards the teaching of French. I do not wish to revive here the language polemics that followed this unilateral decision by the Zurich Director of Education. My interest lies more in seeking to determine how the weakened position of French can be upheld or even improved given its new position in the Canton of Zurich, for whose pupils it will for the first time be a tertiary language.[2]

The question is now whether early involvement with English as a second language will in general be advantageous or disadvantageous for the later acquisition of the second national language, French. Everything supports the conclusion that advancing the start of English will have a positive effect on the acquisition of French. In fact, the pupils of primary schools will already have had two or three years of English teaching and have had their first experience in learning a foreign language. Given the gap in time between the early start of English and that of French, one can expect a satisfactory, well-founded level of competence in L2 (English). The big question is the extent to which it will be possible to build on and increase already acquired language knowledge and basic language learning experiences (Neuner 2002, 11). This is why tertiary language didactics could play a major role in exploiting the knowledge and skills acquired during the acquisition of English as L2 and using them meaningfully in the teaching of French.

In the L3 acquisition process, recourse can be had as a rule to procedural knowledge derived from L1 and L2. Unlike the acquisition of the first language, learners of a third language have both a cognitive inventory for the analysis of language, which of course must be adapted to the structural features of the new language, plus valuable language learning experience. Given the many shared features between English and French and the degree to which they are linguistically related, there is also no need to start from scratch again by fully duplicating knowledge of the L2 language system (substantive as apposed to procedural knowledge). I would like to illustrate this with two examples.

The first example concerns the lexicon. Since German speakers have an especially hard time recognising, understanding and remembering words in the Romance languages, they will need to be made aware of the common (Romance) vocabulary shared between

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1 In Appenzell Innerrhoden, French was demoted to second place in 1999 without causing a stir. However, as the smallest of all Swiss cantons, it has a population of only 15 000.

2 This downgrading will probably also result in a displacement of the national languages as the means of communication between the language regions to the benefit of English (cf Watts and Murray 2001).

English and French and which is already known to them. Showing the numerous cognates (parallel words) will facilitate the learner's access to the new language. Following the Battle of Hastings (in 1066), French was for 300 years the language of the English court, as a result of the Norman occupation. The enormous influence of French on the English language is reflected in countless loanwords (*action, adventure, city, coast, face, people, hour, mountain,* etc.), which are particularly common in specific fields (administration, politics, the church, the judicial system, war, fashion, social life, meals, art and education, etc.). It is estimated that approximately one third of all English words are of French origin. If one adds the Latinisms from various periods (*wall, priest, distract, necessary, nervous*, etc.) and other Romance influences, the lexemes that are not of Germanic origin amount to more than half of the English vocabulary. In recent years the exchange has been in the reverse direction, as a result of the dominance of Anglo-Saxon culture and business, which itself has been exporting words on an extremely large scale since the 19th century. Many Anglicisms have been taken up by French (*basket, clown, match, sandwich*, etc.), further increasing the number of words that are common to both languages.

I have calculated that in *envol 5* (for the 5th year of primary school), 50% of the French words in the glossary (a total of 976 entries) have a similar equivalent in English (borrowings from French or other Romance languages, internationalisms, Anglicisms). A distinction must be made between complete and partial overlap. In the case of complete overlap, the written form is identical (*animal, cousin, question*, etc.). The category of partial overlap covers equivalent words with similar written forms (*branche–branch, bouton–button, appartement-apartment*), in which the differences often involve only an accent (*âge, hôtel, métal* etc.). The differences are more noticeable in the case of lexemes whose roots or endings differ (*beau-beautiful, arrivée-arrival, charmant-charming,* etc.). Finally, mention should be made of those words whose meanings only partially overlap. These often involve extensions of meaning in one of the languages that can be explained either in terms of metonymy (*addition* in English compared to the French *addition,* which means both "addition" and "bill") or hyponymy (*anniversary* in English in contrast to *anniversaire* with its additional meaning of "birthday"). In these cases, too, bridges can be built between the two languages.[1]

However, since native speaker competence cannot be attributed to pupils, their actual knowledge must, of course, be the starting point. Unfortunately, there are not yet any teaching materials for early English. For this reason, I have analysed the vocabulary of textbooks used by the Canton of Zurich for the first level of secondary school (*Non-Stop English 1*). A considerable number of cognates can be found. Roughly 9% of them (85 words) are also found in the glossary of *envol 5.* These are internationalisms (*July, theatre, idea*), French or Romance loanwords (*menu, mountain, age, finish, grandparents*) or Anglicisms (*hamburger, football*). Many of them are also known in

[1] There is of course the risk of interference (e.g. éventuellement-eventually). However, one can easily live with such cases, since there are far more positive transfers.

German (*chocolate, garage, hamburger*, etc.). This percentage could be higher if the topics of the two textbooks were better co-ordinated.[1]

In order to make pupils aware of these common features of L2 and L3, the next editions of *envol 5* and *envol 6* would need to include an additional column in the vocabulary list for corresponding English words, or at least for the words already introduced in the English textbook used. In a second stage, these common features could be brought up in class in order to make comparisons and to carry out sorting exercises.

Orthography is the second complex which tertiary didactics should address. French spelling causes a lot of problems not only for speakers of other languages, but also for young French learners, who struggle for years with the difficulties of the historically based (Latinised) spelling (Chervel and Manesse 1989). German-speaking learners must, on the one hand, recognise new combinations of letters and their phonetic value which do not exist in German (e.g. *au* = [o], *ou* = [u]). On the other, the differences between the spoken and written language are so great that there is no clear relationship between graphemes and phonemes (especially vowels). Only rarely does spelling correspond unambiguously to sound, since 26 letters are used to reproduce roughly 40 phonemes. The phonographic system of French is, moreover, ambiguous in both directions: on the one hand, the graphemes *in, yn, en* can stand for the nasal vowels [ẽ] (*pin, lynx, examen*); on the other, the grapheme *en* also stands for [ã] (*vent*) and for [E] (*spécimen*). A speaker of German, in which the relationship between graphemes and phonemes is less ambiguous, finds this lack of one-to-one sound-spelling equivalence extremely difficult.

Whereas hitherto the acquisition of English has profited enormously from the earlier acquisition of French, from now on French teaching will be able to draw benefits from the previous work done in English. It can be argued that the acquisition of each language makes equally high demands, since English also has historical, indeed almost ideographic spelling. English is a language with a similar phonographic structure, although in graphic terms it is even more ambiguous than French (*clear vs. bear, beat vs. great,* etc.). This "problematic" learner experience will also be of benefit in the acquisition of French spelling. Finally, it should be mentioned that with respect to some loanwords (*royal, religion, confession, prison, music, art, figure,* etc.) English has also directly taken over the corresponding French spelling. In these cases learners of French who already know the corresponding English word, in principle, only need to memorize a new sound.

Finally, establishing interconnections through language awareness could help French dispel its image as an "ivory tower" foreign language, which in turn would necessarily have a positive effect on attitudes towards French (Muller 1998).[2] Sensitising pupils to languages and the promotion of language awareness can support language acquisition.

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[1] Account must also be taken of *Non-Stop English 2*, since the lead by English will be at least two years.

[2] In contrast to tertiary language didactics, language awareness is not primarily aimed at developing any one particular language in particular.

In most classes in German-speaking Switzerland plurilingualism is a reality. Pupils of the 5th primary school year already have knowledge and experience related to other languages, and for this reason, there is no need to start at the beginning every time. This fact is in part already taken into account in the introductory lesson of *envol*:

> This potential in language knowledge should be exploited and applied. Interest in learning French should be aroused by enabling pupils to establish a personal relationship with French and to capitalize on their existing knowledge (Teacher's Commentary, *envol* 5.0, 23).

In order to be able to make more systematic use of this potential, it will be necessary, however, to develop, as a supplement to teaching materials, materials for activities that encourage encounters and openness towards other languages (de Pietro 2000, 22).

7 Final comments

School authorities assume that despite less teaching time, the same final level of proficiency will be achieved in French as in English. This will hardly be possible if things remain as they are, i.e. if each language continues to focus only on itself and if French continues to be given second-class treatment in the schools. Instead of indulging in a continuing battle between Francophiles and Anglophiles, the aim should rather be to establish synergies through cross-language didactics. *Plurilingualism didactics* adjusted to age levels and taking into account requirements of the psychology of development and of learning, could thus facilitate an increase in the efficiency of language teaching and the learning process, as well as an improvement in quality. This would require language specialists and above all the teachers of particular languages to develop an interest in what happens in the teaching of other languages. Only in this way will inter-language rivalry give way to a common, co-ordinated approach that works to the advantage of pupils. The development of cross-language didactics and the resulting cross-fertilisation may then mean that French will no longer seem a "foreign" language.

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III. Visions

10. Opening and welcoming speech by the organisers of the 15th Annual Conference 2017 of the Biel-Bienne Multilingualism/Plurilingualism Connection

(Réseau Bienne Multilinguisme / Bieler Connection Mehrsprachigkeit)

Ladies and gentlemen, colleagues, students, pupils and parents,

It is a great pleasure to welcome to our 15th Annual Conference 2017 not only experts from the field of education but also representatives of industry, politics and – from all sections of the community – of the interested public. Your presence here is evidence that plurilingualism is no longer only an academic concern. It is a reality which we experience in our everyday lives.

Today, we can look back with pride and pleasure on our 15 years of activity. The beginnings of our topic are shrouded in the gloom of early 20th century, a time when arrogant monolingualism was still very widespread and active plurilingualism a mere vision for the future. The following is an overview of our activities:

1. The "Réseau Bienne Multilinguisme/Bieler Connection Mehrsprachigkeit" was founded on the occasion of a seminar held by the European Centre for Modern Languages of the Council of Europe and the Goethe-Institut Inter Nationes on the subject of "Concepts of Multilingualism and Plurilingualism and Tertiary Language Didactics in Switzerland and Surrounding Countries" from 13 to 16 March 2002, in Biel-Bienne, which was already officially bilingual. Some of the colleagues present today who were already with us then will certainly recall our feeling that a new era was dawning and the great enthusiasm this engendered. Since then, the members of the Réseau have been working in a wide variety of networks on the dissemination of plurilingualism throughout Europe.
2. Through an intensive and persuasive dialogue with the business community, we have also succeeded in making plurilingualism a reality outside of schools. The *Partnership for Languages*, a co-operative effort linking businesses and schools concerned with plurilingualism has grown into a robust alliance. Language

festivals and language days in a number of countries, sponsored and sometimes even initiated by companies are but two examples of this.

3. Businesses have realised that the plurilingual resources of their employees are advantageous to them. Migrant languages also have their own specific commercial value. All this is related to the fact that in vocational education the principle of "at least two languages for all!" now generally applies. And knowledge of a migrant language is included here. Attractive exchange programmes with other language areas as a part of training contribute to the achievement of the goals that have been set.

4. Plurilingualism is personal capital – in a social and cultural sense as well as in a financial one. *Plurilingual* wellbeing figures in job histories in all groups of the population.

5. In the media plurilingualism is taken for granted today: films are no longer dubbed and some programmes are broadcast on two language channels. Children's programmes and programmes for young people have long been broadcast in a number of languages – and this now includes languages other than the so-called national languages. The large number of multilingual newspapers and magazines also bears witness to the fact that plurilingualism have simply become a fact of life. A significant contribution to this has been made by the campaign launched in 2002 promoting the image of plurilingualism. We would once again like to thank expressly all those involved for their constant support of the objectives of our Biel-Bienne Connection, often at the cost of considerable time and energy.

6. And then there are the schools! Over the past 15 years they have made a genuine quantum leap forward with respect to plurilingualism:

   - Acceptance and encouragement of plurilingualism starts at the very bottom.
   - Curricula have been adjusted. The straitjacket of individual languages as specialised self-contained disciplines has been broken. Overall language curricula, based on integrated language didactics, regularly include – alongside traditional language courses – programmes such as immersion, exchanges, autonomous learning and learning in tandem.
   - The teaching materials used are based on the didactics of plurilingualism.
   - Teachers at all levels (including preschool) have high levels of linguistic skills in a number of languages and are didactically equipped for the perspective of plurilingualism. Language awareness is an integral part of their training. The education and continuing education of teachers has been adjusted accordingly.
   - The European Language Portfolio is a tool of learning and documentation, and has now been introduced throughout Europe.

- During the course of their careers, teachers frequently visit other countries in order to refresh and enhance their knowledge of foreign languages and cultures – often, incidentally, in systematically organised exchange programmes. And we have heard that teachers are not the only ones involved in such exchanges. In some programmes teachers take up posts for a time in a private company in a country where the target language is spoken, while employees of the company in question serve as contact persons in their school for questions of industry and business.
- Interesting exchange programmes for pupils at all levels that are suitable for specific age groups facilitate direct contact with the languages and cultures in question, thereby contributing to plurilingualism in action.
- According to our information, bilingual school types and immersion programmes have now become so widespread that any interested child can find an appropriate learning location within a reachable distance.

7. All this is, of course, not the result of our efforts alone. An important role has been played by the media campaign already mentioned – which we launched in the first half of the century's first decade – making all groups of society aware of the fundamental (added) value of languages and plurilingualism. In its wake, the implementation of our ideas and plans is no longer an impossible undertaking. Languages and plurilingualism now have a good image, and far less distinction is made between the so-called important and less important languages (those that are not as widespread or that were once politically out of favour). Those of you who are younger will in any event find this distinction quite strange, because the choice of languages for your language portfolio has been determined by different criteria, since all of you have learned at least one neighbouring language.

8. One last area we would like to mention is that of the alternative to military service, i.e. community service, the year of socially useful work for everyone. An obligation of this kind now exists in some form in all the member states of ECML. According to our information, a good half of this time is now spent abroad, which is a very rewarding extra achievement of the Biel-Bienne Connection.

Can we now sit back and relax? The short and medium-term goals we set in the past – such as developing curricula and teaching materials; making contact with all groups in society; supporting programmes for teacher training, in-service training and continuing education; starting up initiatives for non-school projects; and above all establishing networks – have in the meantime moved out of the planning stage and have led to activities that are proceeding well and are being properly monitored. Current initiatives include workshops on topics such as "learning to learn", the further development of materials for learning workshops, additional networking for teachers of languages and foreign languages, establishing contacts with ministries of education, teacher training institutions and to important opinion formers – some of which is done via the print

media – and, of course, the continuing expansion of networking opportunities (websites).

We must never turn our backs on our long-term objectives nor on our ongoing dialogue with political representatives, with businesspeople and with parents like you. And we must continually remind ourselves that with respect to both individuals and society as a whole, plurilingualism in action is an asset that cannot be evaluated simply in terms of money. Finally, we should perhaps recall that the implementation of our many and varied aims has ultimately required far fewer financial and other resources than some of us originally feared. Here, too, we have succeeded in creating many synergies – was that not, after all, the initial name of the ECML project?

In closing, we hope that we will all have a fascinating conference, many stimulating ideas, profitable discussions and, as always, many exciting projects in the coming years.

Sabine Erlenwein, Josef Huber, Britta Hufeisen, Christine Le Pape Racine, Nicole Marx, Monika Mettler, Gerhard Neuner und Jean Racine

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The Plurilingualism Project: Tertiary Language Learning – German after English

Britta Hufeisen, Gerhard Neuner

If the peoples of Europe are to live in harmony with their neighbours, if they are to communicate with and understand each other, the command of more than only one foreign language will be an increasingly important factor. For this reason both the Council of Europe and the European Union are demanding that their citizens should learn two foreign languages alongside their mother tongues. The Year of Languages 2001 was the stimulus for an investigation into how concepts of teaching and learning several languages could be developed and put into practice.

The present project relates to the teaching and learning of foreign languages in the school context. Its aim is to develop general principles of tertiary language didactics and methodology within the framework of the multilingualism concept, and to present examples based on the sequence of languages "German after English". For this reason, the European Centre for Modern Languages of the Council of Europe and the Goethe-Institut Inter Nationes as project organisers have entered into a collaboration that also includes regional institutions that deal with the teaching of modern languages.

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€ 25 / US$ 38

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