Aud Marit Simensen (ed.)

Teaching and Learning
Foreign Languages

Issues and Ideas
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Introduction

This volume of Acta Didactica deals with issues and ideas related to foreign language teaching and learning. The papers are written by teachers employed in foreign language or teacher education departments in universities and university colleges and by Ph.D. students involved in research in relation to foreign language teaching and learning. The languages discussed are English, French and German. Several topics are treated. Information and communication technology (ICT) is dealt with in several of the papers, the same applies to teaching materials, learner language is described, the language proficiency and professional qualifications of foreign language teachers are examined, and new approaches to teaching at various levels are considered. The introduction of the papers below will be in the order of the topics just listed.

The aim of the paper English as (Just) Another Language: The Power of Babel by Andreas Lund is to discuss some aspects of how written English as a foreign language (EFL) is acquired in a school context while learners are socialized through out-of-school discourses where variants of English may not be acceptable to the discourse of the EFL classroom. He discusses English as a global language with polycentrism and de-standardization as salient features. He illustrates the latter with examples of Norwegian learners’ written language. He points to the standing of English as the language of web pages. He argues that language acquisition within the school ‘norm’ is inadequate in a life world where Global and Online Englishes are strong incentives and formative features for learners. He finally maintains that in order to be conducive to learning EFL, school must place more emphasis on the social context of language learning and how learners take part in both school discourses and out-of-school discourses.

In the paper Developing genre awareness in the “online era” Aud Solbjørg Skulstad claims that the conventional specification of the subcompetences of the concept ‘communicative competence’ no longer is sufficient. The idea of genre awareness is introduced as an important element of the foreign language learner’s communicative
language ability. She argues that children in the 21st century will need
develop not only a ‘traditional’ literacy but an ‘electronic’ literacy
or ‘electronic’ literacies as well.

Skulstad limits her discussion to the development of genre
awareness with respect to writing ability in a foreign language. She
suggests ways of developing this in teaching. Among other things she
discusses some of the potentials of the use of ICT for this purpose. At
the same time she points to a series of likely problems and refers to
the debate lately in the Norwegian journal *Språk og
språkundervisning* (Language and Language Teaching) about the fact
that students in higher education use language from the wrong
registers in their academic texts. She draws attention to the fact that
the use of new communications media such as e-mail or various kinds
of conferencing systems may result in texts which demonstrate heavy
mixing of styles (such as formal and informal language) and dis-
courses (such as academic discourse and discourses of everyday life
and experience). According to the author this may have the effect of
confusing the learners even more in terms of register, style and
discourse types.

Camilla Bjørke’s paper has the title *I opphavet var ordet... Ei
evaluering av ordtreningsprogrammet VocIT*. The paper is based
on an evaluation of a teaching programme for the practice of
vocabulary in German as a foreign language. It is available on CD-
ROM. First, however, the author discusses the current state of the
教学 of vocabulary in German as a foreign language in the
Norwegian school system, as reflected in the most recent syllabus
guidelines. She also deals with relevant research and theory and
outlines contemporary ideas about the teaching of vocabulary. In her
analysis of *VocIT* she decided for obvious reasons to disregard criteria
for the evaluation of traditional teaching materials but use criteria
available on the Internet. She asks the crucial question: Why use a
computer for this? And she outlines what she, as a programme writer,
would have done differently.

The paper by Kåre Solfjeld, *Autentiske oversettelser og
fremmedspråkundervisning* (authentic translations and foreign
language teaching), distinguishes between authentic and non-authentic
translations, the former defined as translations done with regard to an
audience and published in a book or a brochure and the latter as
translations done in a teaching situation as part of a language learning process and normally with regard to a teacher or supervisor only as receiver. Solfjeld believes that the use of authentic translations can contribute to developing language awareness in the learner.

In teaching at lower levels he suggests the use of, among other things, tourist information pamphlets, where the original information often is translated into several languages, convenient for comparisons of similarities and differences with regard to for instance vocabulary in different languages but also with regard to how much explicit information is needed for different types of readers etc. At upper levels he suggests the use of other types of texts and draws attention to a comparison of sentence length, the use of nominalizations etc. in for instance a Norwegian and a German version of the text.

The paper by Turid Henriksen, *Conceptions of language, theories of learning and teaching materials*, is based on a comparative analysis of two textbooks, one published in 1966 and the other published in the years 1997-1999, for the teaching of French for beginners. The point of comparison was the grammatical phenomenon: the partitive article in French.

From for instance the point of view of discourse Henriksen claims that one must reconsider what a natural or authentic textbook text is. The author refers to a broader understanding of authenticity today than a few years ago and maintains that the dialogs in the textbooks represent an ‘authentic didactic dialog’ with very long traditions in the classroom. As to the comparison of the partitive article in the two books she maintains that compared to the grammatically oriented textbook from 1966, where a complete and traditional paradigm of the partitive article was presented by a series of didactic texts in the middle of the first year, the grammatical display of the partitive article in the texts in the contemporary books is minimized.

*Studies of teaching materials. Why?*, the paper by Aud Marit Simensen, considers the place of extensive reading in the current syllabus as well as in previous syllabuses for the teaching of English in lower secondary schools. Among other things the terminology used about the materials described for this type of reading in the syllabuses is discussed. This also implies a discussion of the terms ‘authentic’ and ‘authenticity’.
A study of selected aspects of one type of such materials is then reported. This applies to adapted texts, included in graded readers or in ordinary textbooks. With regard to research methodology adapted texts were compared with their original counterparts.

In terms of conclusion the author suggests different types of answers to the question posed in the title of the paper. Among these is a general control of quality. She claims that most of the examples of adaptations discussed in her paper are uncontroversial. However, she also draws attention to text alterations impairing rather than improving the quality of this type of teaching materials.

Marit R. Westergaard in her paper, Minimal Input in L2 Acquisition: How Norwegian Children Learn English Word Order, deals with aspects of learner language. Westergaard has studied how Norwegian 7- to 12-year-olds acquire word order in English. Data has been collected from approximately 100 school children on their acquisition of three related syntactic constructions which are realized with different word order (verb placement) in Norwegian and English.

The author describes English as an SVO language and Norwegian as a typical example of Germanic verb second (V2) with the verb in second position in all main clauses. Westergaard’s study showed massive transfer of V2 word order in the language of the Norwegian learners of English. According to the author it looks like the input given in school still is the most important one for these children, but there is clearly too little of it and it is lacking the relevant input cues. In conclusion she claims that such a minimalistic and deprived input over an extended period of time may at best be a waste of time. It might even be argued to be harmful.

The paper by Bjørg Olsen Eikrem, Food for TEFL thought: The messages of research and their implications for EFL, deals both with the debate during the last three to four years about the lack of definite proficiency skills in students attending the English Foundation Courses at universities and university colleges and the great need for more qualified English teachers due to the introduction of English as an obligatory subject from the 1st form in our 10-year compulsory school system. In connection with the former she refers to the claim that this can be explained by the reduced interest in writing and writing strategies allegedly resulting from the communicative
approach to teaching. Eikrem points to the characterization of writing as a particularly efficient consciousness-raising skill. The lack of skills among students in the English Foundation Course is described by the author as a serious problem for teacher education since these students represent a group from which many English teachers are recruited. In connection with the fact that English has become an obligatory subject from the 1st form in the compulsory school system a new group of teachers need basic EFL education. This is described as a considerable challenge for institutions giving higher education.

Brit Ulseth in her paper, Language teacher or teacher of languages?, deals with a three year Lingua-A project under the Socrates programme. The purpose of the project was related to language teacher education and the key concept was ‘intercomprehension’. This is based on the following two conceptions: When learning a foreign language, the mother tongue will be of great help and support, and so will any other linguistic and cultural knowledge, explicit or implicit, and when learning the second foreign language, knowledge of the first foreign language - and the mother tongue - will support understanding of that new foreign language and facilitate acquisition of it. Ulseth argues that language teachers should keep in mind the significance of having this capacity for understanding and learning languages and make use of it in the classroom. She also refers to successful classroom experiments.

The author refers, inter alia, to the idea of plurilingualism, suggested as a language education aim for Europe. Basically what is meant by the idea is to develop the ability to use several languages for the purposes of communication and intercultural interaction.

The paper by Glenn Ole Hellekjaer and Marit R. Westergaard, An Exploratory Survey of Content Learning through English at Scandinavian Universities, is based on a study of university level programmes taught in a foreign language, e.g. Teaching through a Foreign Language (TTFL), comparable to Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) in primary and secondary education, i.e. instruction in non-language subjects through a foreign language, but where both subject matter and language learning are goals of learning.

The questionnaire used asked for information on several points and was sent to a number of Scandinavian universities. A major finding in the survey was that the majority of the programmes were
taught and designed without consideration for the use of a foreign language as a means of instruction, apart from screening students with regard to English skills. Nevertheless, both staff and student evaluations were overwhelmingly positive. However, in the analysis of information obtained from undergraduate programmes, the attested language problems were no longer insignificant. This is characterized by the authors as an important finding that institutions should be aware of when expansion of programmes taught in English is planned.

Meeting Literature in a Foreign Language, an Aesthetic Dimension is the title of a paper written by Elisabeth Ibsen. She argues for an aesthetic learning of a foreign language. She refers to the fact that an aesthetic dimension of foreign language learning is underlined in the most recent syllabus guidelines for the teaching of English. Ibsen exemplifies an aesthetic approach by describing a definite methodology for the teaching of “Hills Like White Elephants”, a short story written by Ernest Hemingway.

With reference to Lev Vygotsky the author claims that learning a language is basically learning form and symbols. By making paintings and by using body postures or “tableaux” etc. as a mode of expression, the way Ibsen does in the methodology she suggests, the pupils communicate their ideas and interpretations to others. Furthermore, also with a basis in Vygotsky, she argues for the importance of play as a central element in aesthetic learning.

Most of the papers in the present issue of Acta Didactica were presented at a seminar with the title Fremmedspråk: fag og fagdidaktikk at Vettre, 15-17 October 2001. An idea behind the seminar was a mutual exchange of professional experience and expertise. This was described as ‘gjensidig kompetanseutvikling’ in the application for funding, addressed to Norgesnettrådet/Statens Lærerkurs. In addition, there were lectures given by two invited guest speakers, professor Henning Wode from the University of Kiel on the topic ‘Immersion teaching: A European perspective’ and professor Sauli Takala from the University of Jyväskylä on the topic ‘Research as a process: some pointers how to plan, carry out, report and evaluate research’.
Camilla Bjørke, ILS, Univ. i Oslo

I opphavet var ordet…

Ei evaluering av ordtreningsprogrammet VocIT

Innleiding

Eg skal i denne artikkelen evaluere eit ordtreningsprogram i tysk på Cd-rom: VocIT. I og med at Cd-rom er eit heilt anna medium enn læreboka, bør ein ikkje berre overføre og bruke vurderingskriterium som er utvikla for lærebøker til Cd-rom. Eg vil i det følgjande difor komme inn på mogelege kriterium for vurdering av denne typen IKT-basert programvare.

Før eg kjem til sjølve evalueringssdelen (del 2), vil eg først sjå nærate på vektlegginga av ordforrådet i gjeldande læreplanar for tyskfaget (del 1). Læreverk og læremiddel blir utvikla på bakgrunn av dei føringane som står oppført i læreplanane. Då læreplanane på si side stort sett har spegla det tidstypiske synet på korleis ”rett” språkinnlæring skal skje, vil eg i tillegg sjå på korleis handsaminga av ordforrådet i gjeldande læreplanar samsvarer med (internasjonal) forsking på området.

Del 1

Bakgrunn


Som språklærar er ein fullt klar over at pendelen har svinga kraftig gjennom tidene i synet på språklæring og dermed også i synet på kor viktig vokabularet er. I den utstrekning vokabularet har vore av
interesse for språkforskarane på feltet framandspråksslæring, har dei vore opptekne av spørsmål som korleis orda kan illustrere anten grammatiske fenomen eller kva for ord ein bør lære seg først osv. Som regel er det andre aspekt ved språklæringa som har vore gjenstand for forskingsinteressa. Størst interesse har det periodevis vore for uttale og grammatikk; i den seinare tida har også diskurs vorte eit aktuelt tema innanfor språklæringsforskinga (Daasvand 2001, Simensen 2000).


Ordforrådet og innlæringa av dette har som nemnt alltid komme i skuggen av andre aspekt ved forskinga innan framandspråklæring. Spesielt har dette gjeldt tyskfaget; Neuner nemner at:


(Neuner, 1990:4)

Også Scherfer legg vekt på neglisjeringa av ordforrådet i framandspråksundervisninga i framstilliga si: ”Spezifische Wortschatzübungen wurden im Fremdsprachenunterricht eher stiefmütterlich behandelt” (Scherfer 1995).

Ein skulle ha trudd at innføringa av den kommunikative metoden på 70-talet ville ført med seg eit større fokus på ordforrådet. Ei viktig oppfatning innan det kommunikative språklæringssynet var at kunnskap om grammatikk var underlagt det å kunne oppfatte og

\textit{Læreplanane}

I kva grad er forskingsperspektiva nedfelt i læreplanane i norsk skule? Simensen har teke for seg læreplanane i engelskfaget i eit historisk perspektiv og har kome fram til at innhaldet i læreplanane korrelerer stort sett med det til ein kvar tid herskande forskingsperspektivet (Simensen 2000). Når det gjeld dei siste læreplanane (R94 og L97), finn ho derimot store divergensar (ibid.). Medan ordførrådet som språkleg komponent har ein sentral posisjon innan forskinga på framandspråklæring for tida, blir det knapt nemnt i L97. For tyskfaget er det likeeins; ”ord”-relaterte omgrep kjem førre to gongar i den gjeldande læreplanen for grunnskulen. Det blir altså ikkje fokusert på eksplisitt vokubulartrening.\footnote{Det er derimot interessant å merke seg at systematisk trening av ord blir sett på som ein sentral del i faget Norsk som andrespråk i L97.} Det same kan ein seie om gjeldande læreplanar for tyskfaget i vidaregåande skule (R94).

I det følgjande vil eg sjå nærare på stoda innan forskinga omkring vokubular.
Forsking og teori

Coady og Huckin summerer opp stoda omkring vokabularet og vokabularlæring sin posisjon som forskingsobjekt på denne måten:

In recent years, second language vocabulary acquisition has become an increasingly interesting topic of discussion for researchers, teachers, curriculum designers, theorists, and others involved in second language learning.

(Coady og Huckin, 1997:1)

Også på tyskspråkleg område har ein fatta interesse for ordforrådet. Neuner slår fast:

In den letzten Jahren lässt sich auch im deutschsprachigen Bereich ein verstärktes Interesse an Fragen der Wortschatzarbeit feststellen.

(NEuner, 1990:4)


Ho viser også til to typar grunnforsking dei siste 10-15 åra som har relevans for den aukande interessa for ordforrådet. Den første dreier seg om innsamlinga av alle brukte ord i språka ved hjelp av datateknologi (jf. koruslingvistik). Desse korpora gjev m.a. informasjon om dei leksikalske einingane i språket, ikkje berre enkeltorda, men også samansetningar av ulike slag: idiom (nicht alle Tassen im Schrank haben), kollokasjonar (ein bellender Hund, blondes Haar) og andre leksikalske uttrykk (wenn ich du wäre, was weiß ich). Desse funna har vore viktige for synet på korleis ein best lærer språk; faste formuleringar bør lærast som heile einingar og kan dermed hentast fram frå langtidsminnet som heile einingar. Hatch og Brown (1995:200 f.) hevdar at slike samansetningar (chunks) er lette å lære og at ein lærer heile chunks før ein har lærte dei einskilde orda. Å lære seg slike chunks skapar meir flyt i språkbruken og høgjer nivået på eleven sitt språk. Det faktum at chunks er så lette å predikere, gjer dei til ein god reiskap for elevar i mange typar kommunikasjon og

Den andre typen grunnforsking som Simensen (2000) meiner har vore av stor verdi for utviklinga av interessa for ordforrådet, finn ein innanfor fagområdet psykolingvistikk, der ein har vore oppteken av korleis ein oppfattar, hugar og gløymer ord. Eit sentralt omgrep er språkbrukaren sitt ”mentale leksikon”. Ein tenker seg at kvart ord er knytt til andre ord i språket m.a. gjennom semantiske nettverk. Eit stikkord her er associasjon; med eit ord assosierer ein (andre) ord som (ofte) opptrer i lag med det første ordet: schwarz/weiß, hell/ dunkel, Meine Damen und Herren (jf. leksikalske einingar/chunks ovanfor).

Ulike aspekt ved semantisk teori har innanfor lingvistikken vorte trekt inn i tenkinga om læring og undervisning i framandspråk; ord heng saman i semantiske/leksikalske felt. T.d. høyrer leksema Semmel, Brot, Kuchen inn under arkeleksemet Gebäck, som er ei overordna fellesnemning. Gebäck kan på si side vere eit underordna leksem på linje med Fleisch og Getränke under arkeleksemet Lebensmittel (Imhasly, Marfurt, Portmann, 1986:86). Zimmermann (1994:108) snakkar om ”die lexikalische Suchhypothese” i samband med korleis det mentale leksikon blir aktivert når ein språkinnlærar står overfor eit ukjent ord. Han forklarer prosessen (lexikalische Suche) s slik:

Wenn ein L2-Wort unbekannt oder zeitweise blockiert ist, wird in der Umgebung des entsprechenden Konzepts gesucht, weil ein ”benachbartes” Konzept vielleicht auch in der L2-Form bekannt ist und das L2-Äquivalent ersetzen kann oder zu ihm führt. Die Suchaktivität ist gedacht als Welle von Aktivierungen, die ”nähere” oder ”fester verbundene” Speicherpunkte eher erreicht (Suche im semantischen Lexikon”).

(Zimmermann, 1994:108)
Simensen (2000) hevdar at teorien om at ord inngår i leksikalske/semantiske felt/nettverk, er ein av dei to idéane som er sentrale for å forstå tenkinga omkring undervisninga i ordforråd i eit framandspråk i dag. Som undervisarar er det ei viktig oppgåve å legge til rette for etablering av slike nettverk som er skissert ovanfor. Den andre idéen er at vi lærer tydinga av eit nytt ord gradvis; kvar gong vi møter ordet i ein naturleg og meaningsfylt samanheng, får vi eit klarare bilete av kva ordet refererer til. Det dreier seg ikkje om anten/eller, men ein er på ulike stadium på veg mot å kunne ordet; ein kan snakke om å vere i eit kontinuum under ordinnlæringa (jf: fem ulike stadium i Hatch og Brown, 1995:374).

I følgje Simensen (2000) kan ein grovt sett tenkje seg to måtar å lære seg ordforråd på: implisitt og eksplisitt læring. Implisitt ordforrådslæring baserer seg på ekstensiv lesing. Elevane skal gjette seg til tydinga av ukjente ord ut frå den konteksten orda opptrer i. Ein reindyrka variant av implisitt opplæring var størst på 80-talet. Kritikken har i ettertid gått ut på at gjetting krev mykje tid og at elevane ofte gjeftar feil, i tillegg til at gjetting aleine ikkje medfører at elevane hursar orda. Dette har ført til at ein i dag hevdar at ei blanding av implisitt og eksplisitt opplæring er det beste (ibid.).

Når det gjeld eksplisitt opplæring er det tre prinsipp som er sær viktige:

- at nye ord alltid må innførrast i naturlege og meaningsfulle samanhengar,
- at elevane i stor grad finn fram til meaninga sjølv,
- at aktivitetane bør vere av ein type som etablerer samanhengar til /nettverk med andre ord.

Vidare finst det to fasar i eksplisitt opplæring:
- å få elevane til å forstå nye ord (comprehension),
- å sikre at nye ord blir hursa ved hjelp av ulike former for konsolideringsaktiviteter (consolidation)(ibid.).

I den første fasen (forstå-fasen) er den enklaste løysinga at elevane gjjetar tydinga av nye ord i ein meaningsfull samanheng (jf. den implisitte metode). Dei må sjølv vere aktive; dei må oppdage og

I den andre fasen, konsolideringsfasen, er det viktig at elevane lærer å hugse dei nye orda, ikkje berre når dei møter ordet reseptivt, men også når ordet skal brukast produktivt. Ein vanleg måte å trene dette på er gjennom resirkulering: orda blir nytta i nye samanhengar. Nyare konsolideringsaktivitetar er basert på ideén om å opprette samband til andre ord i språket (semantiske nettverk), som til dømes ved hjelp av tankekart, femte hjul på vogna (Simensen 2000).

I neste del av artikkelan let eg teoriane og aspekta som er nemnde i del 1 vere klangbotn for den konkrete læremiddelanalykens som følgjer.

Del 2

I denne delen av artikkelen vil eg sjå nærare på eit Cd-rom-basert vokabulartrreningsprogram i tysk, VocIT. Eg vil relatere læremiddelen til nyare språklæringsteori (jf. ovanfor) og sjå på kva for kriterium som er relevante for evaluering av den type læremiddelen.

Kort presentasjon av programvaren

Lærererkforskning


Når det gjeld framandspråka, har det vore liten fokus på læreverka. Det er ikkje utenkjeleg at det heng saman med at undervisningspraksis og lærebøkane i framandspråka tradisjonelt sett har lege så tett opp til dei gjeldande forskingsparadigma at ein ikkje har sett noko poeng i å drive med (kritisk) analyse. Ein annan faktor er det faktum at framandspråkfaga er lite ideologisk lada og dermed kjem nedst på lista når ein nasjon skal prioritere forsking på opplæringa si. Det er ikkje tilfeldig at t.d. forsking på historiebøker står sterkt i Tyskland.

Som eit døme på ein forskar som har drive med lærebokforskeshinnan framandspråk kan Bung nemnast. I boka si (1977) vurderer han ikkje berre læreverk i engelsk, men han kjem i tillegg med eit bidrag til ein teori om læreverkanalyse innan framandspråka, først og fremst engelsk som framandspråk for elevar med tysk som morsmål. Han stiller opp praktiske analyseforslag som han meiner kan ha relevans både for skriving av lærebøker og for utveljing av læreverk i praksis.

Institusjonen Georg-Eckert-Institut für Internationale Schulbuchforschung i Braunschweig driv med utstrakt verksomhet på området læreverkforksijit, men først og fremst på læreverk innan dei samfunnsvitskapelege faga. Forskingsresultata blir publisert i instituttet sin tidsskriftseri ”Studien zur internationalen Schulbuchforschung”. Hefte 74 i serien har relevans for framandspråka då det tek føre seg korleis biletet av Tyskland (das Deutschlandsbild) er framstilt i lærebøker i tysk i Storbritannia (Byram 1993). Dette temaet
kjem inn under den disiplinen som kallast Landeskunde innan framandspråksfaget (og til dels andrespråksfaget) tysk\(^2\). På universitetsnivå blir denne disiplinen handsama eksplisitt med eigne bøker og eigen eksamen, og den tek opp i seg kunnskap om landet/landa der språket blir snakka: kultur, historie, politikk, økonomi, geografi, osv. I lærebøker som brukast i skulen blir denne disiplinen ofte handsama implisitt; kunnskapen elevane får om tyskspråklege land blir ofte formidla gjennom læreboktekstane som i regelen er konstruerte for eit bestemt elevnivå.

Korleis kulturen i eit land blir formidla i lærebøkene, er også eit tema ein vore oppteken av i lærebokforskinga dei seinare åra. At hefte 74 i ovannemnde serie kom ut i 1993, er difor ikkje tilfeldig; på 1990-talet, i kjølvatnet av m.a. globalisering og opnare grenser, har tema som interkulturell kommunikasjon og auka medvit om kulturell identitet fått stadig større fokus innan språkfaga.

Også her til lands er dette tema som for lengst har manifestert seg både i læreplanar og læreverk. I dei nyaste læreplanane blir det eksplisitt nemnt at elevane skal utvikle interkulturell forståing og kulturelt medvit gjennom framandspråksfaga (jf. L97). Det er dermed naturleg at nyare læreverkforsking fokuserer på korleis dette blir realisert i lærebøkene. Eit døme på dette er Solveig Ryeng som skreiv ei hovudoppgåve i pedagogikk i år 2000 ved Universitetet i Tromsø om ”Tysklandsbildet og kulturell bevissthet”, der ho evaluerer litterære tekstar i eit læreverk (Ryeng 2000).

**Evalueringskriterium for lærebøker**

Etter å ha sett på ulike kriterium for læreverkanalyse valde eg å ikkke ta omsyn til desse, då dei stort sett dreier seg om tradisjonelle læreverk, for det meste lærebøker. Eit viktig kriterium for evaluering av Cd-rom er nettopp at det må vere eit poeng at innhaldet ikkje blir utgjeve mellom to permar. Ein annan grunn for ikkje å bruke kriterium laga for tradisjonelle læreverk, er at mange av desse truleg speglar språksynet/paradigmet som herska då dei vart etablerte. VocIT er ein Cd-rom frå det 21. hundreåret, og læringsmaterialet er presentert via

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\(^2\) Landeskunde høyrer ikkje heime i morsmålsfaget tysk.
eit heilt anna medium enn boka. I tillegg er VocIT berre meint som eit supplement til undervisninga og ikkje som eit læreverk i seg sjølv.

Eit overordna kriterium i tradisjonell læreverkanalyse som likevel bør overførrast, er at eitkvart læreverk skal realisere føringer an laureplanane. Som nemnt i del 1 står det ingenting om eksplisitt trening av ordførråd i dei gjeldande laureplanane for tyskfaget. VocIT som eit program for trening av ordførråd korrelerer i utgangspunktet difor ikkje med laureplanane. Det finst derimot andre føringer i laureplanane som læremiddelet VocIT realiserer, spesielt gjeld dette arbeidsmåtane i faget (sjå nedanfor).

Evalueringsskriterium for pedagogisk programvare

Trass i at Cd-rom er eit relativt nytt medium i læringssamanheng, finst det allereie ein del evalueringsskriterium. Størsteparten av desse finn ein på Internett, ofte på vevsidene til høgskular og universitet. Noko som overraska meg, var at verken Læringssenteret (www.ls.no) eller Institutt for lærarutdanning og skoleutvikling (ILS) ved Universitetet i Oslo hadde utarbeidd oversikt over eller forslag til evalueringsskriterium for pedagogisk programvare. Når det gjaldt Læringssenteret nøydde eg meg ikkje berre med vevsidene; sjølv etter å ha tatt personleg kontakt, fekk eg negativt svar på mitt spørsmål om dei hadde utvikla slike evalueringsskriterium. Eg fekk også eit tips om evalueringsskriterium utvikla ved Institutt for datateknikk og informasjonsvitenskap, NTNU. Då eg vendte meg til kursleiaren for kurset ”Pedagogisk programvare” (kursnr.MNFIT232) per e-post, fekk eg ikkje noko svar. Eg tråla difor Internett og fann mykje, både på norsk, engelsk og tysk. Ein del av det eg fann var heilt ubrukeleg for undersøkinga mi; anten var kriteria altfor omfattande for målet med undersøkinga, eller så var dei utarbeidde for heilt andre fagområde. Eg landa på ei vevside som er oppretta ved Høgskolen i Østfold, Avd. for informatikk og automatisering (http://olaf.hiof.no/~hakont/itogun/pedprog/evalprog.html/). Vevsida³, som Håkon Tolsby er ansvarleg for, heiter ”Evaluering av pedagogisk programvare” og høyrer inn under valfaget ”It og undervisning” i eit

³ Vevsida og kriteria byggjer på boka ”Brukerorientert programdesign” til Minken og Stenseth (1998).
eittårig (etter)utdanningskurs i informatikk for høgskolekandidatar (lærarar, ingeniørar osv.). For evaluering av VocIT vel eg å ta utgangspunkt i problemområda Tolsby stiller opp, men eg kjem til å modifisere desse dersom noko er irrelevant eller manglar i høve til VocIT. Eg stør meg til Børre Johnsen (sjå ovanfor) som meiner at evalueringsmodellar må justerast etter behov. Når det gjeld evaluering i høve til språklæringsteori, prøver eg å flette dette inn undervegs.

Evaluering av VocIT

På evalueringssida listar Tolsby opp fem relevante problemområde som han meiner ei evaluering bør omfatte:

1 Mål og behovsanalyse
2 Metode og pedagogikk
3 Metafor
4 I kva grad er programvaren brukarvenleg (skjerm og dialog)
5 Forslag til endringar

1. Mål og behovsanalyse

Kven er målgruppa?

Det står ingenting om målgruppe (klassetrinn eller liknande) på Cdr-rom-en, men eg meiner at alle elevar (også vaksne) som lærer tysk som framandspråk, kan ha nytte av den. Ordforådet som skal trenast, er delt inn i Grundwortschatz og Fortgeschrittene, noko som i seg sjølv seier noko om vanskegraden. Den er laga for tyskelevar i Sverige, men kan utan problem ”eksporterast” til andre land, m.a. fordi det lille som er brukt av tekst, er på tysk. Det følgjer med ei forklaring på framgangsmåte på svensk og tysk på startsida (to lenker). Det er oppført ei lenke til engelskspråkleg forklaring, men den er ikkje aktivert.

Kva kan brukaren oppnå med å bruke programmet?

VocIT er eit ord treningsprogram (Vokabeltrainer), der orda som skal lærest, er visualisert v.h.a. bilete. Ved hjelp av Drag-and-Drop skal

Kvifor skal ein bruke datamaskin til dette?

Sjølvsagt kunne ein presentert dei vel 1000 biletet og orda i VocIT i ei bok. Bildwörterbücher (t.d. Duden nr. 3) er inga ny oppfinning. Visualisering er eit godt hjelpemiddel i ordinnlæringa, spesielt i forstå-fasen (comprehension); ein kan forstå tydinga av eit ord eller ein situasjon utan språk. Neuner hevdar til og med:

Anschaulichkeit ist also bei der Aufnahme, Festigung und Anwendung von Wortschatz eines der wichtigsten Prinzipien des Unterrichts.

(Neuner, 1990:8)

Også Nikolova (2002:100) konkluderer i ei heilt fersk undersøking om vokabularlæring at ordforklaringar med tekst, lyd og biletet fremmar vokabularlæringa betre enn berre tekst og lyd. I VocIT må ein dra dei rette biletet bort til dei rette orda; ein må altså gjette seg til kva for biletet som høyrer til dei rette orda. Orda og biletet i VocIT er ordna i grupper på seks, i såkalla Wortfeld (leksikalske felt – sjå del 1). Under arkeleksemet Auto1 høyre das Auto (der Wagen, der PKW), das Heck, der Reifen, die Autotür, der Kofferraum, der Auspuff. For at ord skal kunne feste seg (consolidation), er det viktig at ordet elevane blir eksponert for, dannar samband med andre ord i eit nettverk (sjå ovanfor). Tilhøva ligg absolutt til rette for slik konsolidering i VocIT, spesielt sidan ei form for produktiv resirkulering er mogeleg gjennom å skrive ordet når eitt av dei seks biletet står isolert utan dei andre.

Alt dette hadde teoretisk sett vore mogeleg i bokform; elevane måtte hatt kvar si bok med alle biletet og orda ordna i leksikalske felt. Høvet til å skrive orda med berre eitt av dei seks biletet, ville også vore realiserbart. Men det interaktive aspektet - det at ein kan dra biletet bort til orda, at biletet hoppar tilbake når det er feil, at ein har ein knapp med Tipp dersom ein trenger litt hjelp for å skrive ordet - alt
dette hadde ikkje vore mogeleg i bokform. Drag-and-Drop gjev elevane kjensla av kontroll over eigen framgang, samstundes som dei assosierer det med leik/spel, noko som ikkje er å forakte i ein motivasjonsmessig samanheng.

*Korleis kan programmet nyttast? Kva for rammevilkår finst det?*

VocIT er meint som individuell trening. Elevane arbeider med programmet enkeltvis, noko som gjer at dei arbeider autonomt og i eige tempo. Forklaringa på framgangsmåten er på tysk og svensk, men denne er nærmast overflødig då programmet er enkelt å bruke. VocIT fungerer best med IExplorer, frå 4.0., men elles finst det ikkje mange tekniske krav anna enn at biletuppløysinga bør vere god. Informasjon om systemkrav er henta frå informasjonen om VocIT på Internett under LernNetz: (http://www.skolinternet.telia.se/TIS/tyska/demo_schatz/bestellung_u nd_info.htm)

Windows 95/98, 2000 eller NT 4.0 (S P3) eller högre, installerad internetbrowser som støder JavaScript, bildskärmsupplösning minst 600x800. (Övningarna görs bäst med InternetExplorer4.0 eller högre vid bildskärmsupplösningen1024x768, men det är inget krav). Sernern måste acceptera långa filnamn.

VocIT er meint å vere eit supplement til undervisninga (i vokabular), og det trengjer ikkje mykje førbeuing frå lærar si side. Det er opp til læraren kor mykje han/ho vil bruke programmet i ein naturleg og meiningsfyllt kontekst. Mannen bak VocIT, Jānen, bruker det integrert i det internettbaserte læreverket LernNetz, som er ålment tilgjengeleg på Internett (http://www.skolinternet.telia.se/TIS/tyska/).

2. *Metode og pedagogikk*

Då eg har fletta inn ein del pedagogiske teoriar/metodar om språklæring tidlegare i evalueringssalen, vil eg berre kort nemne dei viktigaste momenta i høve til teorigrunnlaget ovanfor. VocIT representerer ei blanding av implisitt og eksplisitt språkinnlæring, der gjetting (sentralt i implisitt opplæring) ved hjelp av visualisering har ein sentral funksjon i den første fasen av ordinnlæringa, forstå-fasen
(comprehension). Vidare er i alle fall to av krava for vellukka eksplisitt opplæring oppfylt: elevane finn fram til meaninga sjølv, og aktivitetane er av ein type som etablerer samanhengar med / nettverk til andre ord. Det tredje prinsippet om at nye ord alltid må innført i naturlege og meaningsfulle samanhengar, er ikkje like eksplisitt til stades som dei to andre prinsippa. Orda opptrer i reglen enkeltvis og ikkje i nokon syntagmatisk kontekst (berre paradigmatiske i leksikalske felt). Nokre gongar, spesielt dersom det gjeld verb, abstrakte substantiv og gåter, finn ein eit døme på korleis ordet blir nytta i ein setning.

Når det gjeld resirkulering i konsolideringsfasen, er det i VocIT heilt opp til lærar og elev i kva grad dei prøver å integrere øvingane i ein annan kontekst, sjølv om forfattaren oppfordrar til dette i forklaringa til framgangsmåten (lenke på startsida). Det at elevane har høve til å skrive orda ved hjelp av eit bilete som opptrer aleine, går også inn under resirkulering.

At alle orda er ordna i leksikalske felt, samvaren med moderne språklæringsteori om at eitkvart lært ord inngår i eit nettverk av samband med andre ord i språket via assosiasjonar.


I samband med dei store databaserte korpusundersøkingane på 90-talet viste det seg at frekvensen av faste uttrykk var ganske stor. Ein fann ut at språkinnlærarar ville profitere på å lære seg slike chunks framfor berre enkeltd (sjå del 1). Slike leksikalske uttrykk er det lite av i VocIT; dei fleste orda opptrer enkeltvis.
Det at elevane jobbar autonomt og i eige tempo har lengje vore eit formulert mål i læreplanane. VocIT gjør det mogeleg å jobbe differensiert, sjølvstendig og med ansvar for eiga læring, og realiserer dermed føringane for læreplanane når det gjeld måten ein skal arbeide på.

3. Metafor

Ein eventuell metaphor i pedagogisk programvare er den omgjevnaden som er vald for å presentere programmet for brukaren. Bruk av metaphorar er eit kraftig virkemiddel i pedagogisk programvare.

I VocIT er det ikkje nokon metaphor. Når vi jobbar med VocIT er vi ikkje i ein skog, i eit klasserom eller ein pyramide på skjermen. Difor kan ein heller ikkje seie noko om metaphoren fungerer godt eller dårlig.

4. Er programmet brukarvenleg?

VocIT er lett å lære; det er meir eller mindre sjølvinstruerande. Kontrollen er hos brukaren; ein kan ikkje gå seg vill eller miste kontrollen. Programmet er vidare inspirerande å jobbe med i den grad det blir brukt ”rett”, dvs. som eit supplement til eit tema ein jobbar med og i ein meiningsfylt kontekst. Men det blir fort keisamt dersom ein jobbar monotont med dei same øvingane heile tida.

Det er ein føremen at det finst berre eitt nøkkelskjermebilete som fyller heile skjermen; ein trengjer ikkje rulle i skjermbiletet med musa. Til venstre i billetet (som såkalla frame) er det alfabetisk oversikt over orda (arkeleksema) som er tekne med. Når ein klikk på dei, kjem heile det leksikalske feltet (seks leksem) fram, med bileta (fotografi) delvis oppå kvarandre. Ved å klikke på eit av bileta, kjem dette i forgrunnen, og ein må gjette seg til i kva for dei seks felta /rutene med ord det høyrer heime. Ein dreg så billetet bort mot det ordet ein trur er rett, dersom det er feil, sprett billetet tilbake. Er billetet på rett plass, blir det ståande i feltet sitt /ruta si. Ein har med andre ord høve til direkte manipulasjon med objekta. Den estetiske utforminga er diskret, det gjeld både farga, grafikk/bilete, animasjon og lyd. Det einaste som er litt irriterande, er at ein må rulle med musa i frame-delen for klikke på lenka Startseite for å komme tilbake til
utgangspunktet (det finst to lenker, men dei er heilt opp og heilt nede på frame-sida).

5. Kva ville eg gjort annleis?

Eigentleg er det ikkje så mykje eg ville ha endra på i eit slikt program. Eg tykkjer idéen med dei leksikalske felta er god. Eit forslag frå mi side ville vere å utvide programmet; kan hende kunne ein ha med fleire enkeltord og fleire leksikalske samansetningar (chunks). Eg ville òg hatt fleire døme på setningar der det aktuelle ordet inngår. Vidare ville eg ordna det tekniske slik at det ein lettare kunne komme tilbake til startsida utan å måtte rulle med musa. Til slutt ville eg ha lese inn ordar med lyd slik at ein også kan høyre korleis ordan blir uttalt. Det trur eg er viktig i ei tid der ein sjeldan (og aldri) høyrer tysk i norske media.

Sluttkommentar:

Vokabularet utgjer ein viktig del av språket. I all framandspråkslæring bør ein jobbe intensivt med det. Den internasjonale forskingsarena har for lengst innsett dette, og det er publisert mykje om dette temaet dei siste 10-15 åra. Her til lands ligg vi etter; i læreplanane for framandspråka står det framleis nesten ingenting om eksplisitt trening av vokabularet. Heldigvis finst det folk med skueltilknyting som likevel bryr seg med å lage læremiddel der trening av ordforrådet står sentralt. Då tenkjer eg ikkje berre på VocIT, men også på lærebøker i bruk i norsk skule (sjå Daasvand 2001). Det er likevel mykje å gjere på området; ein lyt håpe forskinga her til lands kjem opp på internasjonalt nivå og at trening av ordforråd i framandspråka etterkvart kjem inn som eit viktig punkt i læreplanane våre. Sist, men ikkje minst, lyt ein håpe at lærarane i klasseromma/dataromma/dei virtuelle romma ser det viktige i å øve opp eit solid framandspråkleg ordforråd med elevane trass i at eksisterande læreplanar manglar fokus på vokabulartrening.

26
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**Læreplanar:**


Bjørg Olsen Eikrem

Food for TEFL thought: The messages of research and their implications for EFL.

A discussion of the role of research knowledge in improving student learning through teacher competence.

Introduction

In the paper “Changing Minds: The Dissemination of Research and its Effect on Practice and Theory” Michael Huberman addresses what he calls the ‘two communities’ problem; the fact that at times there is a difference in norms, rewards and working arrangements between researchers and practitioners, and for this reason it may be difficult to transform research knowledge into practice knowledge (1993:35). Thorolf Krüger refers to the same phenomenon as a ‘tension’ between educational research and teacher practice, a tension which through intricate forces and mechanisms serves to restrict the potential of a research-practice relation (2001:68).

Following the ongoing debate about the proficiency skills of students attending the English Foundation Courses at universities and university colleges (Lehmann 1998, Opdahl 1999, Gurcholt 2000 and Hellekjaer 2001) and the remedial measures suggested by the different debaters, two main concerns occupy my thoughts: Firstly, although relevant research knowledge on teaching and learning in general (Joyce and Showers 1980 & 1995; Floden and Klinzing 1990; Darling-Hammond 1998) and on teaching and learning English as a foreign language in particular (Eriksson 1993; Dam 1995; Drew 1998; Lehmann 1998) is at hand, we have problems in transforming it into practice knowledge in the language class, thus improving the quality of our teaching and the knowledge and skills of the students. In other words, there is a ‘two communities’ problem or a ‘tension’ which restrains the constructive relation between research and teacher practice. Why, may one ask, is this so? Does research knowledge relevant for English as a school subject and as an academic discipline (EFL) on the one hand, and for the didactics of teaching English as a foreign language (TEFL) on the other, not get the importance it
deserves? Are the recommendations of research not taken seriously? And if this is so, who is to blame - the educational authorities or the teachers? Are there ways of overcoming the ‘two communities’ problem in the foreseeable future?

Secondly, the debate about English Foundation Course students’ proficiency skills, or rather of the measures suggested to improve them, uncovers that they all involve a common denominator - the English teacher. The success or failure of these measures ultimately depends on the teacher and his/her ability to cope. With the proficiency skills of English Foundation Course students in mind, it is tempting to argue that perhaps we reap as we sow: How much have the educational authorities so far been willing to invest in English as a school subject in the Norwegian 10-year compulsory school through English teacher education and in-service training? How responsive have they been to the recommendations of relevant research? And what is their policy for the future? Already from the first years of English the teacher is in a crucial position to influence what pupils know.

So far in the debate many interesting strategies for change have been recommended. My contention is that it is in the spheres of English teacher education and research knowledge we find the best potential for change. However, these two concerns have not been given satisfactory attention. This paper therefore speaks for the crucial position of the English teacher, and for qualifying more teachers for teaching the subject. Rather than arguing that the students of today will be the teachers of tomorrow, it is time to look at it from a novel angle: The teachers of today produce the students of tomorrow. With the lack of qualified English teachers in mind, this angle produces a rather gloomy scenario. It does, however, make it very clear where the most fundamental investments have to be made, and that the educational authorities cannot afford to ignore the recommendations of research in this respect.

The ongoing EFL debate

Statements like “Vil jeg at mitt barn skal undervises i engelsk av denne personen?” (Do I want my child to be taught English by this person?) (Opdahl 1999:29) and “… tertiary entrant students in a
difficult situation, faced with academic requirements beyond their competence” (Lehmann 1998:4) have mediated a concern about the English Foundation Course students’ lacking ability to master common words and their lack of basic grammatical knowledge. So also “… how it is possible for students to study English for a year or more, pass all examinations, and still not be able to speak and write English at an acceptable level” (Hellekjær 2001:17). Pointing out the lack of “The Bare Necessities” among English Foundation Course students, Glenn Ole Hellekjær argues the need to reform content and teaching (2001: 22). Ole Petter Gurholt’s problematization of key concepts like ‘the communicative approach’ and ‘EFL competence’ also enriches the debate. He claims that there is not necessarily a connection between communicative language teaching and an over-focusing on oral use of language, and that “Grammatisk kompetanse er bare en av flere kompetanser som en språkbruker må beherske” (Grammatical competence is only one of several types of competence which a user of a language needs to master) (2000:5).

Torunn M. Lehmann’s main concern is the reduced interest in writing and writing strategies resulting from the communicative approach. Leaning on Ong she advocates the importance of writing as a particularly consciousness-raising skill (1998:4). Despite the reduced interest in writing, she - along with the others - see the potential of this approach and value it for the same reason: For many years previous methods in TEFL have emphasized written English and formal aspects of the language at the expense of the more communicative and practical ones, thus neglecting the students’ communicative competence. Lise Opdahl’s way of explaining the lower standards in proficiency skills at university and university level seems to be the one receiving most approval; preparing students for studies at this level is no longer a central task in upper secondary school (1999:29).

In other words, the debate has uncovered somewhat different ways of explaining what has happened, but it has also revealed a joint concern; the proficiency skills of English Foundation Course students, a group from which many English teachers are recruited, are not at an acceptable level.
The role of EFL in the Norwegian 10-year compulsory school

In the national curriculum for the Norwegian 10-year compulsory school, Læreplanverket for den 10-årige grunnskolen (L97), the educational authorities argue for assigning a significant role to English - at all levels of compulsory education. Their argumentation is mainly based on the fact that the Norwegian language community is a small one, and in order to develop and maintain international relations and to interact with other nations, its citizens need to know the English language. By learning a foreign language the students will also be introduced to other cultures. This insight may become a basis for respect and increased tolerance, and serve to expand the students’ understanding of their own cultural identity (1996:233).

To strengthen the objectives mentioned above English has become an obligatory subject from the 1st form (6-year olds). This reform as well as the 1997 national curriculum have actualized the demand for in-service training and for qualified English teachers: First, already qualified teachers need to be updated and introduced to the concepts and principles of the curriculum and their practical implications. This curriculum, focusing on a more active language pupil and on a shift of emphasis from language teaching to language learning, implies quite a few readjustments even for the qualified English teacher. Furthermore, the constant use of the foreign language throughout classes, as advocated in L97, actualizes the demand for brush up sessions in pronunciation, intonation, vocabulary and grammar.

Secondly, a new group of teachers need a basic EFL education. During their first years at school the pupils are not supposed to have special English lessons, but parts of lessons where they gradually meet the English language through games, songs and stories. The teaching of English will during these years often be the responsibility of the form teacher. Among these there are many who have no English teacher education. They cannot always choose to opt out even if they feel uncomfortable using the language

A survey among English teachers in Møre og Romsdal who took part in the L97 in-service training programme arranged by Volda University College indicates that in order to feel comfortable and to be confident as an English teacher education is important (Eikrem 2001):
it seems to provide a platform of knowledge which opens up for an understanding of new teaching principles and ideas as well as for an awareness of in-service training priorities and needs relevant for EFL today. In other words, without English teacher education it appears to be difficult to make informed choices in relation to methods and strategies, and to be aware of what your needs/priorities in an in-service training context are.

*The qualifications of the EFL teaching corps*

Considering the vital role assigned to English in L97 it is a paradox that the central educational authorities who in 1997 argued for its importance at all levels of education, today seem rather unwilling to take responsibility for educating the teachers needed to implement the national curriculum. The arguments mentioned above are still valid, but there is a huge gap between the intentions for English as a subject in L97 and the formal competence of many English teachers. On the one hand these teachers need sound knowledge of English and to master linguistic skills, and on the other they need knowledge of the didactics of teaching English as a foreign language.

The English teacher situation in Norway at a primary (infant and intermediate) and lower secondary level is far from satisfactory. A survey made by the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), published in *NOT 2000/72*, shows that at the infant level 67 % of the teachers had less than 5 Norwegian credits (in practice nothing) of English teacher education, at the intermediate level 49 % had less than 5 Norwegian credits, and at the lower secondary level 20 % had less that 5 Norwegian credits (2000:23). A mapping of the situation in Møre og Romsdal shows the same tendency, even though the percentages of teachers with an English teacher education is slightly higher for all levels (Eikrem 2001:4-5). However, even with these percentages in mind, the word ‘crisis’ is not far-fetched predicting the situation for English as a school subject in the years to come. The prospects are made even darker by the fact that according to the national survey by CBS (2000:24–25), elderly teachers have more English teacher education, in the form of 20 or more Norwegian credits, than the younger ones. When they leave the profession the situation will be even worse. At present only about 10 % of the students in teacher
education choose English. Since there is no obligatory English in teacher education, many English teachers only have the basic course from upper secondary school as the basis for their teaching.

By investing time and energy in careful planning and preparations many of these teachers have a real competence which to some extent may compensate for the lack of a formal one. Considering the situation they are in, many of the them achieve more than we might expect. My intention is not to get at the teachers; rather to demonstrate the lack of initiatives on the part of the educational authorities. It worries me that they are not responding more actively, e. g. by drawing up a policy document for the years to come. The fact that English teachers - among whom we know there are many without an English teacher education - to a larger degree than other teachers have valued their professional insight to be above average and that more than 90% would like to go on teaching English (St.meld. nr. 21 (2000-2001):4) does not reduce my worries for the future of English as a school subject. This is no indication of acceptable knowledge of English and of proficiency skills. On the contrary, it may signal a state of affairs where some teachers are content in their job because they are unaware of the knowledge needed and the skills involved.

*Future investments in English teacher education*

Despite this disturbing information the central education authorities, through the Minister of Education, Research and Church Affairs, have done away with English as an obligatory subject for those who do not choose to take one 20 Norwegian credits course in the fourth year of their teacher training. This measure frequently referred to as ‘directed choice’ has been applied as a means of channelling teacher training students in their fourth year towards English teacher education in an attempt to do something about the lack of English teachers in the 10-year compulsory school in Norway.

In a note to the Ministry of Education, Research and Church Affairs titled “Notat fra koordinatorgruppen for skolebasert fjernundervisning i engelsk” (SFE), Sørheim et al draw attention to

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1 The members are Bjørn Sørheim (HSF), Agnar Sleteland (HIB), Kathryn Hermansen (HIO), Kåre Nitter Rugesæter (HIB), and Brian Oliver (HIS).
the critical situation for EFL (2000:1). The members of the group are all involved with the teaching of English at a university college level and from a teacher education perspective. Their recommendation is first of all a national effort concentrating on in-service training for teachers who have no English teacher education. The plan for a school-based, distance-education programme for those working at the infant and intermediate level is ready. This, however, should, as I see it, only be seen as a short-term relief to remedy the problematic situation. An investment of this kind may be rewarding in many respects, but it is not unproblematic to offer basic English teacher education through multimedia programmes, and at the same time argue for the importance of teacher expertise in the development of the students’ oral and written proficiency. On a long term basis it will be vital to organise English teacher education in a way which attracts future teachers and teachers in service, and which encourages active student learning through teacher competence.

How could this be done? And how could the English Foundation Course be organized so as to include - for future English teachers - the vital components of ‘classroom management language’ and ‘language for small talk and social situations’ as well as the didactics of teaching English as a foreign language? First, by introducing a scheme for qualifying a certain number of English teachers in service every year, perhaps starting with the infant level where the percentage of qualified English teachers is lowest, the situation would gradually improve - provided that measures are also taken to keep up, and gradually increase, the number of students in teacher education who choose to study English. Besides, university colleges providing teacher education should seek alternative ways of attracting future teachers to study English; either by establishing pilot schemes and classes where English is included as an obligatory subject, or where it is possible to have a teacher education with an English profile. Even if this means that another subject would ‘suffer’ (e. g. by being reduced from 10 to 5 Norwegian credits) and that the English component would be a limited one, it is worth considering; the short term effect will at least to some degree improve the situation, and on a long term basis this initiative may lead teacher students and teachers into further studies of English, thus gradually providing the expertise we need.
In both cases the challenge will be to organize the students’ learning process in a way which will enhance their EFL competence (knowledge and skills) as well as the TEFL competence (knowledge and skills) they need as future teachers. The question of who, or rather of which institutions, should take the responsibility for developing the knowledge and skills implied in the latter, is a central one. At present the Norwegian 10-year compulsory school recruits its qualified English teachers from universities as well as university colleges. Needless to say, components such as ‘classroom management language,’ ‘language for small talk and social situations’ and ‘the didactics of teaching English as a foreign language,’ should be obligatory for all students who are going to become English teachers regardless of the type of institution they are educated at. It is a problem then, that so many English Foundation Course students, at both types of institutions, do not aim at a teaching career. They may, however, be offered an alternative to the TEFL component, an alternative relevant for their professional context (e. g. translation, business or tourism). My contention is that by doing so the students will have a professional ‘touch’ to their studies as a part of the English Foundation Course and not in addition to it - in the form of extra credits. Although alternative components imply extra costs, the costs involved would be low compared to the costs of offering separate English Foundation Courses, one for future English teachers and one for other students.

That, I am afraid, will bring back a division of labour where the universities again will be expected to cater for the needs of ‘other students’ and the university colleges will be responsible for the English Foundation Course for students in teacher education. Such a division of labour will not benefit EFL in Norway in the years to come. After all, the co-ordination of university and university college efforts which was a consequence of the 1994 reform, has, from my point of view, brought the two institutions closer together: At university colleges the English Foundation Course has been ‘academized’ so as to prepare students for further studies at universities, whereas the universities on their part have opened up for didactics. This situation has created a greater understanding for English as an academic discipline and for the didactics of English as a foreign language. At a time calling for new initiatives in English
teacher education this understanding should be used to make the best possible investments for the future.

The messages of research and the crucial role of the teacher

The fact that there are research insights informing us of the crucial role of teacher expertise makes it even harder to understand why the educational authorities remain sitting on the fence. Hellekjær (2001:17) has already drawn our attention to the research of Linda Darling-Hammond who argues that what teachers know and can do is one of the most important influences on what students learn, and that teacher expertise is one of the most important factors in determining student achievement (1998:6-11). She draws upon numerous studies as well as the National Commission on Teaching and America’s Future. Although her arguments speak for the importance of teacher education in general and not for English teacher education in particular, they should - as already argued by Hellekjær - be a reminder that to improve the students’ oral and written skills we need the highest possible quality in our English teacher education. In EFL, which is a subject demanding practical skills within several disciplines, I cannot see how the professionalization of teaching could be possible without the expertise of qualified teachers. For the teaching of such subjects Darling-Hammond’s argument is a powerful one.

Also the research of Bruce Joyce and Beverly Showers is interesting in this respect. With a view to improve in-service training they examined research on the ability of teachers to acquire teaching skills and strategies (1980:379-380). Although these studies were not particularly concerned with TEFL issues, but more general didactic ones, the findings reported by Joyce and Showers ought to have implications for the didactics of teaching English as a foreign language and for English as a school subject. Their first message is that “teachers are wonderful learners.” This means that given the chance they are able to improve their teaching. As for improvement Bruce and Showers, on the basis of the studies involved, make a distinction between ‘fine tuning’ the teachers’ competence on the one hand, and learning new teaching strategies on the other. Secondly, they report that teachers need certain conditions to improve their skills...
and learn new approaches. They argue that these conditions are not common in in-service training settings even when the teachers themselves take an active part in the governance of these settings. Their third message is that their research has revealed what conditions help teachers to learn, and that this information may be used to improve the quality of in-service training (1980:379).

The conditions revealed by Joyce and Showers relate to two central aspects of in-service training, *levels of impact* and *components of training* (1980:380). They developed typologies for both; distinguishing between four levels of impact: awareness, concepts and organized knowledge, principles and skills, and application and problem solving. As for components of training the major ones were presentation of theory or description of skill or strategy, modelling or demonstration of skills or models of teaching, practice in simulated and classroom settings, structured and open-ended feedback (provision of information about performance), and coaching for application (hands-on, in-classroom assistance with the transfer of skills and strategies to the classroom).

Emphasizing that no single study used all training components or measured all levels of impact, and that their conclusions were working hypotheses (1980:381), Joyce and Showers argue that the most effective activities in an in-service training context “... will be those that combine theory, modeling, practice, feedback, and coaching to application,” and “... that if those components are in fact combined in inservice programs, we can expect the outcomes to be considerable at all levels” (1980:385). The fact that these conditions were revealed more than twenty years ago has not reduced their importance; there is still much to be done in relation to levels of impact and conditions of training - in English teacher education and in-service training programmes - to facilitate the students’ learning.

Such initiatives, however, depend on active policymaking on the part of the educational authorities. In *Student Achievement through Staff Development: Fundamentals of School Renewal* Joyce and Showers pursue the issue of student achievement, and continue their search for teaching that has an effect on students. They argue (1995:17) that staff development, or teacher learning, does not automatically lead to increased student learning; it depends on policymakers who believe there is a link between the investment in

38
staff development and the learning of students. It is my contention that the same argument applies to the learning of foreign language skills (e. g. fluency, pronunciation, written and oral accuracy). Even if many English teachers increase their own competence in this respect, there is no automatic rub-off effect on the students. To what extent they will learn the same skills will also depend on the teachers’ didactic competence; on how they are able to sense the foreign language needs of their students and to make them active and involved in the learning process. It is a question of having insight into teaching methods and strategies. In English teacher education the development of foreign language skills and subject-specific didactics should therefore go hand in hand. It is a paradox that at present many English teachers lack both.

Although Robert E. Floden and Hans Gerhard Klinzing warn us against turning research results directly into teaching prescriptions and teacher-testing systems, they argue that “… research knowledge still can, and should, play a substantive, constructive role in teacher education” (1990:15). In other words, research knowledge offers potential for policymaking which may increase student achievement at all levels. Floden and Klinzing point out that research on teacher thinking may affect teacher education in three ways; by being a source of teacher education content, by giving teacher educators insight into the processes of teacher learning, thus helping them to plan methods of teacher education, and by influencing policies in teacher education (1990:17-20).

So far attention has been directed towards research on teacher education in general on the grounds that the insights gained here also are important for TEFL. This does not imply an absence of interesting research on EFL and TEFL. Several research projects are of particular interest. First, in Sweden Rigmor Eriksson has studied the effect of in-service training on the issues of ‘communicative teaching’ and ‘self-directed learning’ in the classroom. Courses were arranged to implement the described approaches. The main contents of the courses were language learning theory and practical ideas for language learning, and the effects were evaluated through questions, interviews and class visits. A questionnaire answered three years later showed clear long-term effects of the courses, and Eriksson’s findings imply that “Both the in-service model as well as the suggested pedagogical
approach are possible means of affecting change in the language classroom on a broader scale” (1993:iv).

In *From Theory to Classroom Practice* Leni Dam advocates learner autonomy as a way of providing a better basis for student learning in relation to proficiency development in EFL. She has tried to develop learner autonomy in her own classes, and also, through initial and in-service training, to persuade other teachers to do so. To her learner autonomy is desirable because it implies learning rather than teaching, and thus a new role for the learner, the teacher and for evaluation, and a view of the language classroom as a rich learning environment (1995:4-6). She argues that strong and weak learners alike benefit from this, not the least in their linguistic proficiency (1995:79-80). In conclusion she claims that “… the most important aspect of developing learner autonomy is probably a growing awareness of social as well as learning processes, for teachers as well as learners” (1995:80). Her findings ought to be a powerful incentive for developing learner autonomy in the language classroom.

Optional student participation is also a crucial issue for Lehmann in the study she conducts on the effect of voluntary writing on motivation and examination results in tertiary education (1998). In addition to reporting that even minimal participation lead to improved examination results (1998:4), she argues that “… participation made the students more conscious both of the learning situation and of their specific learning needs” (1998:9).

The insights reported by Ion Drew in his study *Future Teachers of English* (1998) also provide food for thought: He discusses and analyses competence in the teaching of written English, and reports that there is reason to believe that the students’ writing performance is affected by both their pre-college level of language and by the content of the teacher education courses in English (1998:196). This insight, as well as those by Dam and Lehmann, speak in favour of an investment in qualified and updated EFL teachers at all levels, and an implementation of research recommendations.

*The ‘two communities’ problem*

The research projects mentioned above all offer insights for policymakers and a potential for change. According to Hellekjaer such
changes may, unfortunately, be hard to bring about because of “large, hard pressed English departments” (2001:19). The work load implied is no doubt a valid one. However, the main obstacle may lie elsewhere: To bring about change we may have to deal with the ‘two communities’ problem or the ‘tension’ between research and practice.

The ‘two communities’ problem manifests itself in different ways. Krüger (2001:68) reports that through twenty years as a teacher educator and more recently as a researcher and research administrator, he has experienced how mechanisms, forces, structures and relations internal to the education system encourage/discourage certain opinions thus guiding what happens, or rather what does not happen as for research and educational practice. Some interesting projects where researchers and teachers have co-operated have come to his notice, but he argues that there is a great unused potential. Some teachers, and teacher educators for that matter, shrug their shoulders from research (2001:68-69). They are rather unwilling to use time to update themselves on research knowledge, and they do not see the potential of a constructive relation between research and teacher practice.

It seems probable that this attitude is a result of the prescriptive education and training they have got themselves; rather than being encouraged to ‘explore and find out’ by themselves, they were ‘told’ by their teacher. The impact of this approach on their own teaching has been a strong one: More than anything else, teachers tend to be influenced by their own teachers and colleagues in their work (Krashen 1984:1). It follows from the above that the more reason there is for the educational authorities to find ways of dealing with the ‘two communities’ problem and to bring in the potential for change offered by relevant research.

Even if this is how things are, that some teachers and teacher educators distance themselves from research knowledge, I am not willing to blame the individual teacher. The educational authorities have then neglected a vital responsibility: At all levels of education - to draw the teachers’ attention to the ways in which research knowledge may contribute to teacher education and ultimately also to student achievement. It is a question of investment and of attitude; of providing the time and literature the teachers need to update and involve themselves in the first place, and then of inviting teachers to take an active part in research projects and encourage them to
communicate their insights to colleagues. The different research settings, on their part, should give higher priority to the dissemination of research knowledge which may be important for the 10-year compulsory school and for teacher education.

For more concrete ways of overcoming the ‘two communities’ problem in our field, I first of all turn to Huberman and the principle of sustained interactivity. This principle implies ‘... multiple exchanges between researchers and potential ‘users’ of that research at different phases of the study’ (1993:36). According to Huberman such exchanges should be initiated prior to the actual conduct of the study, during the conduct of the study, during the analysis and write-up of a study, and during the phase where the study findings are brought directly to the user organisation (1993:36-37). He argues that the impact of this principle on user and user organizations is pronounced. My anticipation is that given reasonable conditions for participation, many English teachers and English teacher educators would volunteer as ‘users.’ So far, however, such offers have been rare in an EFL context in Norway, and there is, to my knowing, no national policy or incentives to encourage such initiatives on a regular basis among English teachers and English teacher educators.

In the article “What’s the use of research?” Jo and Stephen McDonough discuss the nature and role of language teaching research and teachers’ perception of its relevance. They draw a distinction between the classical ‘top down’ research paradigm on the one hand, and the initiation of research by the teachers themselves, that is the ‘bottom up’ research paradigm, on the other (1990:102). Research based on the principle of sustained interactivity as advocated by Huberman, I see as a way of breaking away from the classical research paradigm where the teachers according to the McDonoughs are seen as recipients of information on academic research rather than as someone actually involved in the process.

Another way of overcoming the ‘two communities’ problem is to invite the teacher to be the researcher. This implies a ‘bottom up’ approach to research, and a recognition of the centrality of the teacher in understanding the teaching and learning process, and of the teacher as a generator of research questions. This approach is probably the one Hellekjær has in mind reporting on different EFL experiments at the University of Tromsø, at Sogn og Fjordane College, at Østfold
University College and at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (2001:118).

English teacher educators, and particularly English teachers, however, do not often get the opportunity to do research and to reflect on their own practice by developing theories of language learning and teaching that are relevant to their own classrooms. If and when such an opportunity does arise, the conditions offered are often so poor that teachers cannot ‘afford’ to accept. The work load would be too heavy and the schedule too tight. It takes policymaking and attractive incentives on the part of the educational authorities to change this situation.

Conclusion

This paper has promoted the crucial position of the teacher and of teacher expertise in improving the students’ EFL language proficiency. Teacher expertise implies knowledge of English as an academic discipline, as well as knowledge of the didactics of English as a foreign language. Also, the paper has argued for the importance of overcoming the ‘two communities’ problem in order to improve the English teacher’s competence and thereby also student learning.

In Norway the domains of EFL and TEFL are already, to some degree, being affected by research. The ongoing EFL debate is in itself an evidence of this. So also the recommended strategies for change. The state-of-the-art in years to come will, however, depend on our susceptibility to research and our ability to adjust to “paradigms to come” (Simensen 1999:7).
References


An Exploratory Survey of Content Learning through English at Scandinavian Universities

1.0 Introduction

The current expansion of university level courses and programs taught through a foreign language in Europe has great potential. On the positive side, such programs facilitate staff and student exchange programs, they allow for specialization between universities on a trans-national level, and preparation for future careers in an increasingly multilingual and multicultural job market. On the negative side, however, we find the question of domain loss for the less spoken languages, of for instance Norwegian or Dutch being replaced by the ubiquitous English in academe or business (Phillipson 1992, Wiggan 1997), a discussion we will not enter into here. Another potential casualty is the quality of teaching and learning in such programs, especially in cases where these programs are set up and taught without consideration for how using a foreign language affects student learning and teaching. Experience from primary and secondary education (e.g. Johnson and Swain, 1994) has shown that it is necessary to integrate language and content learning, and one important question to ask in the present situation is how relevant such findings may be for higher education.

Several terms are used to describe university level programs taught in a foreign language, e.g. Teaching through a Foreign Language (TTFL) and Foreign Language Mediated Instruction. TTFL programs can be contrasted to comparable programs in primary and secondary education, where instruction in non-language subjects through a foreign language is known as Content and Language
Integrated Learning (CLIL)\(^1\). CLIL is defined as the teaching of non-language subjects through a foreign language, with both subject matter and language learning as goals (Nikula 1997, Brinton, Snow and Wesche 1999). Brinton, Snow and Wesche put it as follows:

the integration of content learning with language teaching aims. More specifically, it refers to the concurrent study of language and subject matter, with the form and sequence of language presentation dictated by content material. The language curriculum is centred around the academic needs and interests of the students, crossing over the barrier between language and subject matter courses which exists in most secondary and post-secondary institutions.

(Brinton, Snow and Wesche 1989: vii)

At present, however, it seems to be a general trend in higher education that the academic content invariably decides curriculum organization, while the foreign language used for teaching is considered a tool only and the language learning that may occur incidental. For instance, on the basis of the findings of a survey of about 15 programs at Finnish universities and polytechnics, Seppo Tella reports that:

In the majority of the programmes, the foreign language component has been scaled down ("downsized") and sometimes even hidden behind the subject-centred emphasis so well that occasionally the person(s) in charge of the component did not even bother to mention the language component. ... language learning aims were not expressed, set very explicitly, or attended to in these cases either. Instead there seems to be an implicit view of the foreign language just being picked up through extensive exposure and use.

(Tella, 1999: 26)

As mentioned above, at the primary and secondary levels of education the experience with CLIL programs has made clear the danger inherent in separating language and content, in particular the use of a foreign language as just a vehicle of instruction and learning. To give

\(^1\) It is also known as bilingual instruction, teaching content in a foreign language (TCFL), extended language instruction, language-enhanced content instruction, immersion, or plurilingual instruction.
one example, Johnson and Swain (1994), in an article about late immersion students at the upper secondary level, discuss the level of target language proficiency the students have compared to the level required for the curriculum they are to study. Johnson and Swain claim that many students will often have only general foreign language courses in secondary school as preparation for academically and linguistically demanding TTFL/CLIL instruction. This will in most cases be insufficient, especially if no concessions are made with regard to curriculum size and teaching speed.

With these points in mind, we will in the following present selected findings from a survey of 58 programs taught in English in Scandinavian universities and colleges. We will then discuss some of the trends and possible problem areas we find in the study and conclude by suggesting some areas for further discussion and research.

2.0 The Study

The present survey took place in the fall of 2000 and spring of 2001. Questionnaires were sent by mail or e-mail to a number of Scandinavian universities, two schools of Economics and Business, and one polytechnic. They were addressed to department heads or program coordinators, and 52 forms representing 58 TTFL/CLIL programs were returned. There were 20 returned questionnaires from Norway, 10 from Denmark, 12 from Sweden and 10 from Finland. Questions comprised the following:

- Facts about the program (amount of English used etc.)
- Reasons why programs have been set up
- Recruitment of teaching staff
- Student selection
- Whether the use of English has influenced teaching
- Language problems (staff and students)
- Training needs (staff and students)

Data from the questionnaires were entered into the statistical processing program Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, SPSS.
Despite a previous pilot study and subsequent revisions of the questionnaire, there were many partially filled in questionnaires, probably suggesting that there is great diversity in the different institutions. It should be kept in mind that the many missing items in the questionnaires detract from reliability of the processing. We have therefore largely limited the analysis to presenting and comparing percentages, and to selected bivariate and multivariate correlations.

3.0 Results of the Study

3.1 The programs

The 52 questionnaires cover altogether 58 programs, some referring to two, or even three programs. In the following we treat these as single units. In four cases the questionnaires referred to programs at both the graduate and undergraduate level. These were counted as graduate programs. There were also 7 forms that did not indicate level, one of several examples of incompletely filled in questionnaires mentioned above. In any case, in the following all calculations will be on the basis of 52 respondents (N= 52).

This gives 34 respondents at the graduate level, 13 at the undergraduate level, and the 7 for which it was not indicated whether the program was graduate or undergraduate. With regard to the distribution of graduate/undergraduate programs, Sweden stood out as the only country represented by a higher proportion of undergraduate programs (5 undergraduate, 4 graduate), with Norway at the other extreme with 2 undergraduate and 16 graduate programs. Denmark and Finland are relatively similar with 2 undergraduate programs each and 7 and 6 graduate programs respectively. It is possible that these figures reflect the actual state of affairs, i.e. that there are more undergraduate programs taught in English in Sweden than in e.g. Norway. However, as institutions were not picked according to this criterion at the outset of the study, this could also be due to the relatively random selection of respondents.

We were interested in the reasons why courses taught in English had been started - with an explicit language objective in mind, or simply to recruit students who do not speak a Scandinavian language.
As can be seen from the answers in Table 1 below, it is clear that recruiting international students, or international exchanges and programs of cooperation were the main reasons, followed by the goal of promoting intercultural communication and understanding. On only 7 out of the 52 questionnaires the respondent had indicated that language learning was also an explicit goal.

Table 1: Reasons why institutions had started programs in English. N= 52 (multiple answers possible).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons for setting up the programs</th>
<th>Positive answers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To recruit international students</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The course is part of an international exchange program</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To promote intercultural communication</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To cooperate with developing countries</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other reasons</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To recruit domestic students</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To promote language learning goals</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The seven programs that do have an explicit language goal were checked separately with respect to many of the other variables asked for in the study. Interestingly, they were found not to differ from the other programs in any significant way - they are found in all four countries, they do not have fewer or more language problems, and perhaps surprisingly, they do not offer their staff or students any more language support or training.

3.2 Student Selection and Teaching Staff

With regard to student selection, 29 (56%) of the programs selected students on the basis of their command of English, 19 (36.5%) did not, with 2 respondents answering Don’t know (3.8%) and on 2 questionnaires the item was missing (3.8%). The means used for selection were first and foremost the TOEFL test (15), TOEFL or IELTS (5), or other means ranging from interviews, essays, or screening by the sending institution (9). Only 13 of the 52 programs (26%) offered students preparatory training, 35 (67.3%) did not.
We were also interested in how the courses taught in English were staffed - if the institutions simply assumed that present staff would be able and willing to do it, or whether there had been a process of selective hiring or training for the teachers. Answers are displayed in Table 2 below, and again it is clear that in most cases no special consideration to the language had been made.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Forms of staff recruitment</th>
<th>Positive answers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Current staff volunteered</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current staff were asked to teach courses in English</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selective hiring (from outside)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It also turned out to be a rare occurrence that TTFL/CLIL staff had received any form of preparatory training in English, methodology, or intercultural communication. Only ten institutions (19.1%) had offered any form of language training, three (6.3%) training in TTFL/CLIL methodology, and four (7.7%) in intercultural communication.

3.3 Changes in Course Design and Teaching

One of our key questions was to determine whether CLIL/TTFL programs were taught and organized as traditional programs, or if any changes due to the use of a foreign language had been made. We asked the following: Are courses in English in any way differently organized from those in the local language? Here only 13 (25%) respondents answered yes, while the great majority 34 (65%) answered that no changes had been made. There was one missing answer. See Figure 1 below.
Figure 1: **Course design - same/different?** N= 52: Yes (13), No (34), Don’t know (1), No answer (4).

We assumed that possible changes would be of two kinds. Either the teaching methods would be constrained by the language proficiency of the teacher (and students) and therefore be more traditional, or the teacher would actually take some language problems into account and actively work on those aspects through various teaching methods and student activities. Thus, those who answered affirmatively to the above question were asked to specify what these changes consisted of. Four respondents had ticked off Yes simply because the course is not offered in the native language, and therefore is "different" from other courses - thus these should strictly speaking not be counted in as Yes responses. The other answers varied, from more lectures, reading and individual support (3 programs) to more group work, discussions, and the increased use of problem-based learning and student portfolios (7 programs). Interestingly, only one respondent replied that the program was taught in a more traditional way. Considering that seven programs actually did take language into account in what we would characterize as a positive way, this is a very promising result. However, it is also somewhat puzzling to note that none of the seven programs with an explicit language goal, which were discussed above (section 3.1), are among the ones that report changes in the course design.
3.4 Course ratings

How staff, students, and administration rated the programs is displayed below. It should be kept in mind that this is second hand information, given by the coordinators/heads of sections filling in the questionnaires. As can be seen, ratings are overwhelmingly favorable. From the data it is not possible to extract any significant correlations as to which programs are more successful than others.

![Chart showing course ratings](image)

**Figure 2**: Staff, student, and administrative ratings of programs taught in English, according to program coordinators/heads of sections.

3.5 Language problems

Most of the 52 programs included in this survey have in common that they are taught by staff who are not native speakers of English. The same is the case for the students. In fact, for many exchange students English may not even be their first foreign language, but their second or third. Nevertheless, the general impression is that there are no dramatic language problems in the majority of these programs. Obviously, some language problems are attested, but many of the respondents remark that these problems are manageable and tend to disappear after a relatively short time. Many of the respondents also emphasized that there is great individual variation among staff and students, something that the questionnaire unfortunately did not allow
for. Below we will present two figures showing the main areas of language difficulty for both groups. As can be seen in Figure 3 below, although the majority of teaching staff have no language problems whatsoever, a relatively large number of them have still experienced language problems or limitations in one form or another, general fluency and vocabulary in particular.

![Staff language problems](image)

**Figure 3**: Main areas of staff language problems.

For students, the language problems reported are somewhat more severe, in particular with the productive skills such as oral presentations and writing, as shown in Figure 4 below. It should be noted that problems were somewhat larger at institutions that did not screen students on the basis of their English skills.
Figure 4: Main areas of student language difficulties.

Nevertheless, about 38.5% (20 of 52 answers) mentioned that language problems constrained teaching and instruction methods. Given this result - a general impression of no severe language problems, yet a considerable number of "some" problems attested - it becomes important to identify where the number of language problems tend to occur. And when correlating the problems experienced with the distinction graduate/undergraduate, some major differences fall out. As can be seen in Table 3, the problems experienced at the undergraduate level are far greater than at the graduate level, in particular with regard to examinations.
Table 3: Student language difficulties according to skill were reported on a scale from 1 (serious), 2 (some), and 3 (no difficulties). In the calculations categories 1 and 2 were combined. Percentages are calculated on the basis of the number of respondents at each level.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student language skills</th>
<th>Undergraduate level N= 13 % indicating difficulties</th>
<th>Graduate level N=29 % indicating difficulties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lecture comprehension</td>
<td>76,9%</td>
<td>51,9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation in discussions</td>
<td>61,5%</td>
<td>51,6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oral presentations</td>
<td>76,9 %</td>
<td>54,8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing papers/theses</td>
<td>76,5%</td>
<td>58,1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Examinations</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>32,3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This difference can be tested statistically. Since each of the five variables included in Table 3 measures an aspect of a single underlying skill, student language proficiency, they could be merged into an additive index and serve as a single variable. According to the Cronbach Alpha test the reliability of this index was high, $\alpha = .8587$. Running this additive index measuring student language problems against whether programs are undergraduate or graduate confirmed this. The correlation was fairly high, $r = .405$, statistically significant ($p < .05$), $N= 39$ (missing pairs excluded listwise), and confirming the trend that student language difficulties decrease from the undergraduate to graduate level.

Furthermore, the replies to the questions about language support for staff and students reflect the figures given for language problems: 32.7% (17 of 52) indicated a need for language support or other training for the staff, while the figure for the students is somewhat higher, 44.2% (23 of 52). Again, there is a significant difference between graduate and undergraduate levels, with language support needs both for staff and students much higher at the undergraduate level - students 53.8% and staff 46.2%. Corresponding figures for the graduate level are 38.5% for students and 23.1% for staff. Interestingly, the need for language support is also greater at those institutions that recruit domestic students into their programs. Here the figures more or less correspond to those of undergraduate programs, 54.5% for students and 45.5% for staff, even though most of these programs are actually graduate ones. These figures for language
support needs are considerable, and they must reflect a recognition and awareness of the need to do something about those language problems that do exist for those who do experience them. On the other hand, as mentioned in 3.2 above, very few of these same institutions offer any kind of language training for staff or students.

4.0 Discussion and Conclusion

Given the unsystematic selection of respondents in this survey so far, the many missing items in the completed questionnaires, as well as the sheer diversity of the state of affairs in the various Scandinavian universities, it would not be advisable to draw any far-reaching conclusions from this exploratory study. In addition there is the possibility of bias, that the heads of programs surveyed might, understandably, tend to underreport possible problems. Nevertheless, the findings show some trends that are worth noting, and which can serve as a point of departure for further research. That two Finnish surveys, as discussed briefly below, report roughly similar findings offer additional support for this claim.

The first of the findings in this survey is that the majority of the programs are taught and designed without consideration for the use of a foreign language as means of instruction, apart from screening students with regard to English skills. Nevertheless, both staff and student evaluations are overwhelmingly positive.

Most of the programs taught in English at Scandinavian institutions turned out to be Masters programs which are offered to small and perhaps select groups of students, most of them from foreign countries. This probably explains the relatively low overall percentages of language problems attested: The students are academically advanced, probably also at a high level in their language proficiency, and are well taken care of in small groups. It is obvious that, by comparison, the undergraduate programs in the Scandinavian countries have less academically advanced students, who are most likely taught in larger groups. In these programs, when considered separately, the attested language problems are no longer insignificant. This is an important finding that institutions should be aware of when expansion of programs taught in English is planned.
There also seems to be a connection between language problems and the size of the program. Programs which include domestic students and institutions which have had to hire extra staff to teach in English report a slightly higher percentage of language problems. This probably means that as programs expand, institutions start recognizing the need for staff and student language support. In other words, one interpretation of why so few institutions had done anything to train staff or redesign programs could be that the courses taught in English so far were new and relatively small, with primarily a select group of international students, and taught by those staff members who felt confident to teach in English.

To a large extent, the findings in two Finnish surveys reflect those in this study (Tella, Räsänen and Vähäpäsi, 1999; Räsänen 2000). The first is a national survey of 15 Finnish universities and polytechnics, the other from the University of Jyväskylä, Finland. The latter report, for instance, finds roughly the same language problems as in the present study and concludes that international students in TTFL programs needed:

- Specific instruction in subject-specific and academic English skills;
- Development of study skills (including academic reading, note taking, IT-skills);
- Academic writing courses

(Räsänen, 2000: 25)

Finnish students needed language support as well; “focussed attention to spoken language development for academic communication; and academic writing courses” (Räsänen 2000: 25).

In the same report Räsänen also argues for the need to upgrade staff foreign language skills, and TTFL related pedagogical skills. One of the key needs mentioned here is “the ability to analyze the linguistic and cognitive demands of the lessons, to survey learners’ needs and to match these with the learning aims set” (Räsänen, 2000: 25).
Both reports agree on the need to pay more attention to:

the role, significance, and until now, hidden potential of the foreign language when organizing a programme through a FL: At the moment, the language component is underrated and many programme providers have only vague, if any ideas of the potential of a programme that balances content and language through deliberate focus.

(Tella, Räsänen, and Vähäpässi, 1999:65)

In conclusion, the findings from the survey presented in this article, as well as from the two Finnish surveys, indicate the need for awareness raising among staff and particularly university administrations to create a recognition that teaching in a foreign language in most cases does not mean business as usual. Changes in curricula, teaching and evaluation, and the development of staff and student support programs will become more and more necessary as programs expand in number and size, and this will require extensive research and development work. In other words, the focus needs to shift from teaching in a foreign language (TTFL) to integrating content and language learning (CLIL).

References


Turid Henriksen

Conceptions of language, theories of learning and teaching materials. Examples of textual strategies and staging of French as a foreign language in Norwegian textbooks

Introduction

This paper deals with the diachronic evolution of didactic texts in foreign language (L2) learning in textbooks for beginners. Those texts are particularly well suited for studying the changes in the foreign language textbook genre, because they are strongly marked by the didactic thoughts of the period in which they were written. Especially in school textbooks there is a strong connection between teaching and the community in which the teaching takes place.

I shall focus on one particular aspect of French grammar, the phenomenon called “the partitive article” in two Norwegian textbooks for French L2 from two separate periods in language pedagogy. The oldest one, Gunnar Høst: Fransk begynnerbok (1966) dates from the audio-lingual period, and the latest, Vigdis S. D. Jorand: Chouette Nouvelle 1, 2, 3 (1997 – 1999) has a communicative approach.

I want to discuss concrete examples of how conceptions of language and learning theories influence texts used in L2 teaching. I shall also claim that there is an inertia in L2 materials due to the phenomenon of “textbooks inheriting textbooks” (Selander 1994:46).

L2 textbooks and interaction

The textbook, a message in an interaction between the addressee and two groups of addressees

Inspired by French linguists such as Charaudeau (1983, 1992), I choose to study textbooks from the point of view of interaction and discourse. In this perspective, the first step is to describe the frame of the interaction.

I consider L2 textbooks to be a message in an interaction between one addressee (the textbook author and the publisher) and two groups of addressees, the learners and the teachers. Unlike what is the case in face-to-face interaction, the addressee is not there when the message is
received, but this does not mean that the addressees will not be responding to it. In fact, interactions where L2 textbooks enter as messages are characterized by the fact that the addressees are supposed to make a verbal response to the message, not directly to the addresser, but in a new interaction with each other. This may well be true also for other texts, but for school textbooks this verbal response is an institutionalised action. Traditionally, this response has taken place in the classroom.

Textbooks have a double intention. They are meant to prepare both for learning and for teaching. Thus, they are both the learners’ and the teachers’ books. To which extent they are meant primarily for teachers or for learners depend on the historical period in which they were written. Textbooks from the early period of the direct method in Norway can be seen as an example of this. They are first of all holding up a mirror before the teachers.

One of the consequences of looking at L2 textbooks from the angle of discourse, is that one must reconsider what is a natural or authentic text. L2 textbooks were some years ago severely criticized for the lack of authenticity in texts, especially in dialogues. The critics saw the dialogues as imitations of everyday dialogues outside the classroom, and as such they are unnatural and bad imitations. Due to intensified research on social discourse, which has broadened the understanding of authenticity, they can now be looked upon with more tolerance. From this point of view it is possible to claim that the unnatural dialogues in earlier textbooks, like What is this? This is a book are not in fact imitations of daily life conversations, but on the contrary, they mirror an “authentic didactic dialog” with very long traditions in the classroom.

Since the interactions where textbooks enter as messages are unlike other interactions, the textbooks have characteristics that distinguish them from other messages. Moreover, when the message is a L2 textbook, it will distinguish itself from other textbooks. This has to do with the nature of the message. While Staffan Selander (Selander 1988:29) claims that the specificity of pedagogic texts is that they contain explanations, this is not necessarily true for modern L2 textbooks. Instead of explaining the L2, modern textbooks display its structure and use. They are using the L2 to “explain” the L2 by showing it to the learners.
This has consequences for L2 textbooks as genre and for the types of texts or sub-genres one finds in the books. Some of these text types will resemble the texts we find in contexts outside language learning, while others will distinguish themselves as didactic texts intended only for language teaching and learning.

The staging of the message

I look upon the verbal organisation of the message in a verbal interaction as a form of staging by the addressee (Charaudeau 1992). Because of the nature of the content, that is the foreign language, this metaphor from the theatre could be a fruitful way of looking at L2 textbooks at an elementary level. The linguistic and communicative contents must be learned in sentences and texts with a meaning. Thus, the real didactic message, the forms and their use, is staged in the form of texts. In the same way, when L2 civilisation was taken into account in L2 learning, it was, and often still is staged as scenes from daily life in the foreign country. The change of focus from linguistic forms to communication does not alter the situation, neither does the use of authentic texts.

The partitive article in French

The partitive article is a phenomenon that only exists in French and some other Romance languages. Norwegian and the other Germanic languages do not have a corresponding grammatical form. Therefore, it is considered difficult to learn. It has three singular forms: du, de la, de l’. Cf. the examples below:

(a) C’est du vin ? (Is it wine?)
(b) Marie voit de la poussière partout (Mary sees dust everywhere)
(c) Pierre boit de l’eau (Peter drinks water)¹

¹ Only some of the French examples will be translated in extenso. A partial translation will be given when the main purpose is to show a text type and not the content of the text.
There is also a plural form *des* which is sometimes considered as a member of this paradigm (d), other times as the plural of the inde- finites articles, *un, une* (e):

(d) Il y a *des* fruits sur la table  (There is fruit on the table)
(e) Il y a *un* livre sur la table – Il y a *des* livres sur la table  
(There is a book on the table – There are books on the table)

In some linguistic contexts these forms alternate with the form *de*. The most important context for beginners is after the expressions of quantity:

(f) Un kilo de fruit  (One kilo fruit)

The theoretical explanation of those *de-constructions* varies, and some grammarians count two types depending on the linguistic context.

**Gunnar Høst: Fransk begynnerbok**

The oldest textbook, *Fransk begynnerbok* (1966), used in the former Norwegian “gymnasium,” is a textbook with an integrated section of exercises, but no integrated grammar.² Even if *Fransk begynnerbok* was written in the audio-lingual period, it is not, however, a prototypical book for this tradition, because it contains a didactic heritage from a series of primers which started in 1896 with A. Trampe Bødker and Sigurd Høst: *Lærebog i fransk*.

The conception of language and language learning in the audio-lingual period is well known. It is verbalised in the Teacher’s Guide, written by two of the leading Norwegian L2 pedagogues at the time:

> “Language is behaviour” – to learn a new language means learning new habits; learners must [...] learn these new linguistic habits by constantly hearing and using the language, by constantly being led to repeat and vary a large amount of exercises [...].

A language is a living means of communication between people. [...] .

² A separate grammar, written by another person (Nordahl 1966), was intended for the book.
A language is also a system. It will facilitate the learning if the learner at all times can have a general view of the partial system [...]. This kind of information must not, however, become the aim. Knowledge about the language should be a supportive discipline. (Hennum, Tor and Chr. Lystad 1966:9) (My translation.)

In Fransk begynnerbok the partitive article is considered so important that it has gotten a whole chapter of its own. Since it is believed to be difficult to learn, the chapter comes in the middle of the first year. Had this been a book from around 1900, with more emphasis on grammatical forms and less on learning, the partitive would have been presented together with the other articles in the very first texts. Cf. A.Trampe Bødker and Sigurd Høst: Lærebog i fransk from 1896.

Ten to twelve (depending on the definition) texts are used for the presentation of the new article by a series of text types: didactic dialogues in situations, more or less pure paradigms and descriptive texts where the aim is to show the use of the forms. Only one is an authentic text. There is also a sort of recipe. I shall discuss three of those texts. Since this recipe has been a recurrent text in the books in this series from the very beginning in 1896, I want to start with it.

(FB text 1)
La salade

(The salad. To make a good salad, you must have oil, vinegar, salt and pepper. Much oil, not too much vinegar, very little salt and pepper)

As text genre, this is not recipe, because a recipe is an instruction for cooking. This text is merely a description of the ingredients needed to make a salad. It is a staging of the partitive article, masked as the vocabulary of food. Its role is to show the use of the different forms of the partitive article, including various linguistic contexts for the de-constructions, and it contains the essential of what is considered necessary for the learner in order to use the forms. The text is not culturally situated.
La salade as a didactic text is not very typical for the audio-lingual method. A more usual type is one with a large degree of repetition, e.g. the kind of texts where one element is isolated and substituted by another element. This text type is called structural drill when it is used as an exercise. In Fransk begynnerbok we also find examples of this. Cf. the following:

(FB text 2)

Les boissons
Les Anglais boivent du thé.
Les Français boivent du vin.
Les Allemands boivent de la bière.
Nous buvons du café, du lait ou de l’eau -
et les millionnaires boivent du champagne.

(Beverages
The English drink tea. The French drink wine. The Germans drink beer. We drink coffee, milk or water - and the millionaires drink champagne)

However, in this particular text the repetition is not too disturbing, probably because the author has managed to make the text less predictable through a surprising point at the end. In spite of this, the text resembles the less fortunate texts from the audio-lingual period. The aim is to stage the partitive article through a sentence structure where part of the sentence is changed. In this text, both the conception of language: language is structure, and the conception of learning: learning is repetition, are clearly demonstrated.

But language is not only structure. It is also communication, and the dialogue, more or less contextually situated, is a privileged text type in L2 textbooks. Such dialogues, which imitate conversations of daily life, have traditionally been concentrated around one grammatical phenomenon. Thus, for French L2, the partitive article is very often staged through dialogues in situations like “At the grocer’s” and “At the restaurant.” One can see this strategy in the following dialogues, where fictional persons display the use of the article:
(FB text 3)

Au restaurant
- Prenez d’abord des hors d’œuvres variés; ils sont très bons. Il y a des sardines, du saucisson, des œufs durs, des olives, de la salade de tomates...
- Bien. Deux hors-d’œuvre alors. Et ensuite ?
- Du poisson ? Une omelette ?
- Merci, pas de poisson après les hors-d’œuvre. Seulement un plat de viande.[...]
- Très bien, Madame. Et comme viande : du veau, du mouton, du porc ? Nous avons des côtes de veau aux petits pois, du veau froid à la mayonnaise, des biftecks aux pommes frites...

(At the restaurant)
Start with appetizers; they are very good. There are sardines, sausages, hard boiled eggs, olives, tomato salad...
- Good. Two appetizers. And then?
- Fish? An omelette?
- No (thank you), no fish after the appetizers, only a plate of meat. Etc.)

(FB text 4)

Chez l’épicier
- Vous désirez, Madame ?
- Des fruits – beaucoup de fruits. C’est si bon pour la santé.
- Un kilo de pommes, deux kilo d’oranges, un kilo de bananes et un kilo de raisin. Avec cela, deux bouteilles de vin rouge ordinaire, 100 grammes de thé, un demi-kilo de café, et deux boîtes de sardines.

(At the grocer’s)
- What do you want, Madam ?
- Fruit, lots of fruit. It is so good for the health.
- And what kind of fruit, Madam? Apples? pears? oranges?
- One kilo apples, one kilo oranges, one kilo bananas and one kilo raisins. Etc.)

You will have noticed that the texts deal with food and beverages. This is the case for all of them, except one. This is of course no
coincidence. In fact, most of the didactic texts used to present the partitive article in French L2 deal with this domain, in spite of the fact that the singular forms are used for many lexical domains and the plural form des is an ordinary plural for all countable nouns. Moreover, you can observe this strategy not only in French L2 primers, but in all sorts of grammars, from the small pedagogical grammars to the more substantial reference grammars. It has become a tenacious didactic tradition to use the domain of food in the staging of the French partitive article. The reason is that the partitive article is very frequently used with the vocabulary of food, and that the terms for food are useful for the learners. There is in fact a double staging: on the one hand, the vocabulary of food is used to stage the partitive article, but on the other hand, the partitive article is used to stage an essential and useful vocabulary of food.

The author of Fransk beginnerbok, Gunnar Høst (Høst 1947: 21), even claims that there is a natural affinity between the grammatical domain of the partitive article and the lexical domain of food that textbook authors have exploited for a long time. He is of course right about the strong didactic strategy of linking between the partitive article and food in textbooks, but there is not an inseparable link between the two. What has happened, is rather what Staffan Selander states as “textbooks inheriting textbooks.”

**Vigdis S.D. Jorand: Chouette nouvelle**

*Chouette Nouvelle* (1997 – 99) consists of three Textbooks, three Learners’ Exercise Books and three Teacher’s Guides. This packet is meant to cover the three years of lower secondary school.

Both the conception of language and the model of learning have changed since the sixties. As we have seen, research on discourse, pragmatics and communication has resulted in a conception of language that includes more and other aspects than solely correct forms in correct structures. The focus is now on discourse, which is often named “texts”. For L2 learning this means that the aim is not only to learn linguistic forms, but to achieve a certain “communicative competence.”
The learning of L2 is now considered to be a cognitive process of constructing knowledge and not merely an acquisition of new habits and patterns. Furthermore, learning is viewed both as a collective and an individual process, and the learner’s conscious and unconscious learning strategies are important. This opens for individual freedom or autonomy in the learning process. This again has changed the opinion of what is useful material for learning a language, e.g. the texts that form the basis for learning. Such ideas, among others, lie behind the recent curriculum for French and German L2 in the lower secondary school in Norway, named L97.

*Chouette Nouvelle* is meant to fit this curriculum. The new orientation is evident from the beginning. In the preface of Textbook 1, the author talks about words and text genres, and it is the words that are presented as the building blocks of the language, not the grammatical forms. We find also the new model of learning: learning in common, projects, autonomy, choice, use of other sources than the textbook. The preface is addressed to the learners, not to the teachers, which could mean that the book is essentially meant for the learners.³

These changes are reflected in the presentation of the partitive article in *Chouette Nouvelle*, which differs from the one in *Fransk begynnerbok*.

First of all, this article does not seem to have the same importance in Chouette Nouvelle as in *Fransk begynnerbok*, where it had a whole chapter by itself. In *Chouette Nouvelle* it lives an anonymous life among all the other learning objectives, grammatical and others. This textbook has heterogeneous learning objectives for the lessons, in accordance with newer conceptions of language learning. In addition, a lesson often has more than one grammatical objective. The result is that the grammatical concentration so often observed in older teaching material does not exist in the same way in this new book. And, a consequence of this is that it is more difficult to see if a text is supposed

³ Traditionally the prefaces have been addressed to the teachers. However, addressing the learners is not a new strategy. In textbooks for French L2 it has been used in Johansen and Kleppen (1991), but as a form of introduction to autonomy. Sohr and Søraas (1943) has two prefaces, one for teachers and one for learners. Addressing the learners seems to be a common strategy in a subject like “Norwegian” after L97 (Skjelbred 2001).
to present a particular grammatical phenomenon. It also happens more frequently that a grammatical phenomenon occurs in a text before it is presented systematically.

There is a greater variety of texts in Chouette Nouvelle compared to Fransk beginnernbok, and in particular, there are much more authentic texts. As a result of the general impact of visual material and new technology in our society, the visual illustrations play a much larger part than in the older material and they also contribute to the verbal input. Since the partitive article has this anonymous role, I shall trace it through all three textbooks.

In the course of the three years covered by Chouette Nouvelle, the partitive article is mentioned as a learning objective only twice, in lesson six (of twelve) in Textbook 2, and in lesson one (of twelve) in Textbook 3. This means that it is not subject to systematic presentation before the middle of the second year of learning, and that it is repeated systematically only once, at the beginning of the third year. However, this is not the whole truth. Some of the features traditionally linked to the partitive paradigm, are now staged in other ways and not presented as partitive.

This is the strategy used for the des-form. In the beginning of book 1, it is presented as an indefinite plural. Later on, however, it is presented as the plural of the partitive article. In this way, it gets a double presentation.

In my opinion, this has to do both with the new conception of language and language learning and the tradition of learning materials. From a modern, communicative point of view the learner needs the des-form from the very beginning, since it is an ordinary plural of the indefinite articles un, une. It has become customary, in the later years, to present it very early. But, since the des-form traditionally has been attached to the difficult paradigm of the partitive article, it used to appear rather late. Apparently, this creates a sort of dilemma for modern textbook authors who choose a double presentation, sometimes without making it clear that it is the same form and the same phenomenon (Henriksen 2001).

In Chouette Nouvelle 1, the des-form is presented as an indefinite plural in opposition to the definite form les in lesson 2 with transparent words connected to fruit.
Les fruits, les ananas, les bananes les kiwis, etc. < > des cerises.

There is an interesting mixing of both verbal and visual input in the presentation. A drawing in the book shows fruit terms with the definite article written on a blackboard, with the (female) teacher and the pupils in front of it. In this way, the L2 class that is learning the words is mirrored in the textbook. An authentic poem shows the indefinite article: des cerises. In the Exercise Book, the learners are told to read about the plural of the indefinite article and produce it with the fruit terms and thus, link the two forms. After this first presentation, des is used for all kinds of nouns and is not connected particularly to food.

Also for the de-construction there is a new strategy in Chouette Nouvelle. The learners encounter the most important type already in lesson 2, in the oral material: salade de fruits. If this had been a textbook from the sixties, the authors would have saved this form also to after the presentation of the partitive article. In Chouette Nouvelle these tricky de-constructions are learned not as grammatical forms but as lexical expressions containing the preposition de. After this first text, there are several occurrences of the de-construction. The learners become little by little well acquainted with it, because the textual strategy used to present it is stable: it always occurs in recipes. The recipe as text type has the advantage of forming a minicontext for exact quantities. This is certainly the reason why it has become a favourite text type also in other Norwegian French L2 textbooks.

(CN text 1)
La tarte aux pommes
250 g de farine
125 g de beurre
100 g de sucre
3 cuillerées à soupe d’eau
4 – 5 pommes

4 Unfortunately, the length of this paper does not allow me to go further into the visual aspects of the presentation i Chouette Nouvelle.

(Apple tart
250 g flour, 125 g butter, etc.
Cut the butter in small cubes. Mix it with the flour and 50 g sugar. Etc.)

By this strategy, when the partitive article as a learning objective finally arrives in Textbook 2, lesson 6, the learners have acquired both a vocabulary of food and an acquaintance with the *de-constructions* and should be ready for the rest.

However, even in this lesson, not much attention is paid to the partitive article as a grammatical phenomenon. There is one occurrence of the plural *des*: *En plus, maman va faire des spaghettis* (And, mother will make spaghetti), but there is no example of a singular form. Once more, however, you get the *de-constructions*. The staging is well known: dialogues about food, in the school canteen and at the restaurant.

In addition to those traditional text types the learners meet different lists of terms related to food. I shall look upon two of them, a *week’s menu for the school canteen* and a *price list from a café*.

(CN text 2)

**Lundi 15 novembre**
Thon à la vinaigrette
Rôti de porc
Lentilles à la moutarde
Fromage
Pêches au sirop

(Monday 15 of November Tuna in vinaigrette. Roasted porc. Etc.)

---

5 As you will have noticed, the recipe above also links other articles than the partitive to the nouns.
(CN text 3)

**Café de la gare**

*Boissons chaudes:*
- grand café noir  15F
- petit café noir  9F
- grand café crème 16F
- petit café crème 10F
- thé            15F
- chocolat       18F

*(The railway café. Hot beverages. Etc.)*

The specificity of these lists *as texts*, is that they are made of words or word groups without articles. Thus, the food vocabulary is once more in this textbook shown in contexts which do not require the partitive article.

The partitive occurs later in Textbook 2 (lesson 11) in a text type that is a very frequent strategy in L2 books, namely *a letter*. Here we finally get the traditional terms for food in the singular, *de la viande, du poisson, des légumes, du fromage* (*meet, fish, vegetables, cheese*).

The final repetition is in the first lesson of Textbook 3, with new terms for food. Here, finally, the Exercise Book points to the "theory" of the partitive article and links it to the *de-constructions*. In this way, a sort of conceptualisation (Besse and Porquier 1991:113) might take place.

**Conclusion**

The presentation of the partitive article both diverges and converges in these two books. Compared to the grammatically oriented *Fransk begynnerbok* from 1966, where a complete and traditional paradigm of the partitive article was presented by a series of didactic texts in the middle of the first year, the grammatical display of the partitive article in the texts in *Chouette Nouvelle 1 and 2* is minimized. On the other hand, the learners who use the communicatively oriented *Chouette Nouvelle* meet, from the very beginning, constructions which are introduced much later in *Fransk begynnerbok*. This is the case of *des,
which is linked to the indefinite paradigm in the beginning, and the most important *de-construction*, which is not presented as a grammatical form. In a communicative approach to language learning those constructions are important because they are frequently used, and they have been set free from their traditional linking to the partitive paradigm. However, in the grammatical presentation in Textbook 2 (repeated in Textbook 3), the threads of the earlier lessons are gathered up, and a systematic view of forms and the content of the forms is given: indefinite quantity for the singular forms, indefinite number for the plural form and definite quantity for the *de-construction*.

In *Chouette Nouvelle* the *des-form* is presented twice, first as a plural of the indefinite articles singular (*un, une*) and later on as a plural of the partitive. The learners get no help in finding out if there is a difference between them and what this difference is. Since I have no recent experience from teaching at this level, I am not able to tell to what degree this is disturbing to the learners.

On one particular point the two books converge. In both there is a strong connection between the partitive article and the domain of food and beverages. Since the French partitive article has been in general use for centuries, its staging as food in F2 textbooks is more a result of a didactic tradition than a necessity. This does not mean that the two textbooks do not have examples of the partitive article within other domains. In *Chouette Nouvelle* there are examples which most grammarians would consider to be partitive article, but they are not treated as such.

Terms related to food and drink also often occur with other articles or without articles in *Chouette Nouvelle*. On this point the two books are different. In particular, the generic use of the definite article is stressed, in examples like *J’adore les spaghettis* (*I love spaghetti*).

We have seen that the textual strategies differ in the two books, and that there is more variation in text types in *Chouette Nouvelle*, and more use of authentic texts. Not all texts however are traditional texts. There are different forms of vocabulary lists and also other occurrences of isolated words and sentences. In this way, the texts used to show language is much more heterogeneous than before, and one is not afraid of using words that do not occur in complete sentences or continuous texts.
To conclude, I want to draw attention to two texts which have much in common and yet clearly state the difference between the old and the new textbooks. The first is *La salade* from 1896, which we have already seen. The second is an extract from *Chouette Nouvelle 3*, lesson 1, where the partitive article is repeated.


(CN text 4)

*Le couscous*

Pour faire le couscous il faut:
du couscous, de l’eau, de l’huile, de la viande (mouton et poulet)
des légumes (pois chiches, courgettes, navets, carottes, tomates,
oignons, ail) de l’harissa, de sel et du poivre.

(*Couscous*

To make the couscous you need: couscous, water, oil, meat, etc.)

There is a distance of more that a hundred years between these two texts. From a formal point of view, they resemble each other, and they both stage the partitive article in the same way, as food. However, as to the function of these texts in relation to other texts in the textbooks, the cultural contents they convey and the cultural and visual contexts they occur in, the texts fully belong to their own periods.

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Meeting Literature in a Foreign Language, an Aesthetic Dimension

Introduction
This paper argues for an aesthetic learning of a foreign language, exemplified by approaches to a short story written by Ernest Hemingway. The Norwegian Curriculum for the 10-year Compulsory School in Norway 1999(L97), as well as the English syllabus in L97, stresses the aesthetic dimension of foreign language learning. A reader stripped of the confidence related to the mother tongue, lacking the richness of national cultural connotations, struggling with difficult structures and vocabulary, may necessarily experience a feeling of distance to literature written in a foreign language. But that in itself does not impede the aesthetic experience. On the contrary, a foreign language forces you to look at a language differently; you must select carefully, respond from another cultural perspective and struggle with the language, in fact what an artist does when struggling with his material.

Ernest Hemingway’s short story “Hills Like White Elephants”
The Text
Hemingway’s short story “Hills Like White Elephants” was written in 1927, first published in 1928 in Men Without Women, also printed in A Hemingway Selection. Hemingway’s “Hills Like White Elephants” has surface simplicity, affective potential, potential depth, potential for illustration, universal appeal, and brevity. This beautifully economic text has the undisputed value that it embodies a highly controversial central theme and the ambiguity opens up for varied students’ reactions. The students are invited into an interpretation process where they examine the artistic components and put form to their aesthetic responses to the text, helped by the teacher.
“Hills Like White Elephants” opens up in medias res with a seemingly last discussion between two lovers. The topic, which is not at all clear at first glance, is whether the woman should have an abortion or not. The man would like her to have an abortion since he apparently is afraid of losing his freedom. The woman seemingly wishes to keep the baby to develop a more serious relationship with her lover. The couple are at a railway-station in Spain waiting for a train destined for the place where the abortion is to be carried out.

**Painting Pictures**

Hemingway initially includes important elements that point forward to the who, the what and the where of the story. The opening paragraph picturesquely sets the scene, and an appropriate first reference for the girl’s later talk about “hills like white elephants”.

The hills across the valley of Ebro were long and white. On this side there was no shade and no trees and the station was between two lines of rails in the sun. Close against the side of the station there was the warm shadow of the building and a curtain, made of strings of bamboo beads, hung across the open door into the bar to keep out flies. The American and the girl with him sat at a table in the shade, outside the building. It was very hot and the express from Barcelona would come in twenty

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1 Reference will not be given to a definite edition of the short story as the quotations will easily be found in any version of the English text.

2 At this early point the meaning of the expression “white elephants” should be taken up and the students should be told the etymological origin of the expression. This is not a common expression for Norwegian students and I have only noticed this expression used in Norway in connection with our aid to developing countries. For Norwegians this is quite a derogatory term so an English definition is necessary:

“an albino type of elephant, held sacred in Siam, a burdensome or costly possession (given by the kings of Siam to obnoxious courtiers in order to ruin them), a useless, costly encumbrance”

Today: a gift or possession that may be rare or expensive, but which is unwanted and burdensome to maintain. Can also mean a useless thing, like in the expression “white elephant sales”.

80
minutes. It stopped at this junction for two minutes and went on to Madrid.

What the expression “white elephants” means in this story is for the students to discover for themselves. This is part of the interpretative work and not a linguistic matter.

In order to make the students appreciate the artistic precision of the introductory paragraph as well as to give them an opportunity to visualize their impressions, students should make a drawing of the setting as it is presented at the beginning. That requires close reading of the opening paragraph. In this short story the description of the landscape is essential to the understanding of the symbolic implications, and a challenge is to bring out the contrast between the heat and barrenness at the station and the green hills far away. The sun and the shade seem to underline the contrast between the two characters. By making an initial drawing the students get acquainted with the setting and the atmosphere and thereby indirectly with thematic implications. Paintings by Cezanne of the same type of landscape may also be brought in to compare the visual and the written media.

After having worked with the first paragraph, the short story should be read at one sitting, individually and in the classroom to profit from a creative confusion about what this is all about. Since the suspense of the story lies in the quest to find out what the problem really is, and if this is unsolved after a first reading, this creates motivation to find out through classroom activities. At this point it is advisable to make sure that everyone understands the meaning of “it” or the “operation” that the two lovers are talking about, viz the abortion. To encourage an open and personal interpretation, students should be told that this story is deliberately unclear and that it opens up for several possible interpretations.

**Telling tableaux**
The short story may then, for practical purposes, be divided in four scenes after the introduction. The first scene is an apparently simple dialogue about drinks and the landscape. Still we detect some kind of dissension. Next they talk about implications of the operation and what will happen after the operation. Third, there is a dialogue about
keeping or losing the world. The fourth and the last scene is the unsolved ending.

In order to create the fictitious world of a Spanish railway station cafe, rearrangement of the classroom is necessary. In order to move to Spain mentally, a drawing on the blackboard of the mountains and the railway station may serve as a useful visual aid. Students can then more easily put themselves into other roles and explore the feelings of the main characters. Let a pair of students take their seats at each side of the table and read aloud the first scene with “the American” and “the girl, Jig”. Then, let the students pick out key moments or turning points in the scene. When is there a change in topic or attitude? Does the motivation of the characters change? Invite the rest of the class to come up with suggestions as well in order to reflect upon the rhythm of the relationship as presented in the text.

“They look like white elephants,” she said.  
“I’ve never seen one,” the man drank his beer.  
“No, you wouldn’t have.”  
“I might have,” the man said. “Just because you say I wouldn’t have doesn’t prove anything.”

After this discussion, ask the two students at the table to make two “tableaux” - frozen or still pictures - in order to illustrate the change in attitude that takes place during these few lines: her invitation and his rejection. By working with a tangible task like this they have to illustrate the subtext, any meaning or meanings implied and not openly stated. This process of communicating an aesthetic response to an artistic text, which next is conveyed in an artistic form to an audience, functions as a dialectical meeting place for shared literary interpretation.

Another turning point and a hint about the baby comes when she looks across at the hills. These lines should also be physically illustrated.

”They’re lovely hills,” she said.” They don’t really look like white elephants. I just meant the coloring of their skin through the trees.”  
“Should we have another drink?”  
“All right.”
She apparently gives in and they return to an unemotional question-response conversation. The difficult topic has been abandoned for the time being. Still, the linguistically observant student will spot the use of “skin” instead of the expected “hide” about the elephant. This is the point in the short story where the girl most clearly draws the parallel between the white elephants, the pregnancy and the baby.

When making frozen pictures or “tableaux”, the problem for this text lies in finding the girl’s attitude. Has she given up? Does she evade looking at her lover? The most plausible interpretation is that she surrenders, perhaps temporarily. She abandons her effort of reaching him since he does not follow her associations, and, maybe deliberately, she adjusts herself to his very concrete talk about drinks.

The conversation now moves to the central topic, the operation. At some point the students should be informed that abortion was illegal in Spain at that time, but it could be bought for a price. The expression “to let the air in” refers to the way the abortion was carried out. (This old-fashioned method of blowing air into the uterus was used in Norway, too.)

“The beer’s nice and cool,” the man said.
“It’s lovely,” the girl said.
It’s really an awfully simple operation, Jig,” the man said. “It’s really not an operation at all.”
The girl looked at the ground the table legs rested on.
“I know you wouldn’t mind it, Jig. It’s really not anything. It’s just to let the air in.”
The girl did not say anything.
“I’ll go with you and I’ll stay with you all the time. They just let the air in and then it’s all perfectly natural.”

This is the first of three parts of a dialogue on the same topic. The American says three times that the operation is simple and not dangerous. He thinks that she is afraid of the operation as such. She only looks at the ground and does not answer. She is not at all afraid of the operation, and she sees no point in arguing; he has not understood her real fear.

The American goes on with his line of thoughts by saying that if she takes the operation, things will be like they were before. She replies with pure sarcasm: “And afterwards they were all so happy.”
He repeats that their relationship will be the same afterwards, but she does not believe him and asks for the assurance of his love.

Then the final part of the conversation is her effort to force the man to take an open stand. He avoids an open confrontation by saying on the one hand that he wants her to take the operation, and on the other hand that the decision is hers: “But I don’t want you to do it if you don’t really want to”. But his real opinion is emerging: he cannot love her if she keeps the baby. His assurances of continued love sound quite hollow and she answers: “Oh yes. But I don’t care about me. And I’ll do it and then everything will be fine.” She probably knows that she has to sacrifice the baby in order to keep her lover. She has no choice at all. The above described dialogue can be illustrated in a series of still pictures or “tableaux”.

**Moving into meaning**

The student-actors should read aloud the dialogue below. Now the central focus is on the arrangement, the way they stand and move their bodies in relation to each other in order to understand their relationship. The scene ends with “They sat down.” In the text there is no indication of when he got up, nor any hint of what happened physically between them during the dialogue that follows.

“What did you say?”
“I said we could have everything”
“We can have everything.”
“No, we can’t.”
“We can have the whole world.”
“No, we can’t.”
“We can go everywhere.”
“No we can’t. It isn’t ours any more.”
“It’s ours.
“No, it isn’t. And once they take it away, you never get it back.”
“But they haven’t taken it away.”
“We’ll wait and see.”
“Come on back in the shade,” he said. “You mustn’t feel that way.”
“I don’t feel any way,” the girl said. “I just know things.”

The instance of double-communication must be cleared up first. The girl sees things symbolically while the man sees things literally. The
ambiguity hinges on the dubious “it”. To the girl “it” and “the world” seems to mean the baby and their love, while to him “it” is literally the world where they can travel. A probable interpretation is that the girl suddenly realizes that everything is lost and that she knows that their relationship will be different no matter what she decides to do. She ends the scene by saying: ”I realize”, … “Can’t we maybe stop talking?”

The question is how to arrange the movements of the two “student-actors” so that body postures and movement can convey the subtext. Does he come after her to bring her back? Does he touch her? Is he near her when he asks her to come back into the shade? How does she react if he touches her? How do they get back to the table? By deciding the arrangement the students thereby have to decide on the relationship between the two lovers at that key moment of the short story. The ambiguity of the dialogue and the problematic “it” will become clear through discussions of body language. Some students may even notice that the girl exposes herself to the burning sun while he prefers to stay in the shade. Making a scene arrangement requires close reading.

The ending, as already mentioned, is multilevelled and needs to be read aloud and analyzed thoroughly.

He picked up the two heavy bags and carried them around the station to the other tracks. He looked up the tracks but could not see the train. Coming back, he walked through the barroom where people waiting for the train were drinking. He drank an Anis at the bar and looked at the people. They were all waiting reasonably for the train. He went out through the bead curtain. She was sitting at the table and smiled at him.

“Do you feel better?” he asked.

“I feel fine,” she said “There’s nothing wrong with me. I feel fine.”

There are several things to discuss in this ending. First the fact that the American carries the bags to the other tracks. Does that mean that they both take the train back and drop the abortion? A narrative feature is the use of the word “reasonably” as this breaks the objective point of view, the only instance of it, in fact. Does Hemingway thereby imply that the couple are not reasonably waiting for the train to carry them to the planned destination? Does she really mean it
when she states: “I feel fine, she said. “There’s nothing wrong with me.” The most probable subtext is that this is pure sarcasm. We don’t know whether she will have an abortion or not. What we know and what she knows is that this relationship has come to an end.

To explain the ambiguous ending it is possible to refer to scholars who have tried to come up with an explanation. Again, at this point students should be ready for some teacher input and a more critical discussion of the narrative technique:

To replace the traditional expectation of an ending deriving from an immediately disclosed problem Hemingway commonly supplies a supporting action that carries its own predicted ending. Hemingway frequently introduces a natural event with its own resolution early in the story, and even though this event is not the story’s primary focus, it serves to suggest a traditional end-predicting structure. In the case of “Hills Like White Elephants” there are two such devices – the arrival of the train and the drinking of beer. The first paragraph of the story informs the reader that the train from Barcelona is due in forty minutes. If nothing else, its arrival will end the conversation between the man and woman who wait for it (Gerlach 1985:113)

Gerlach states further that there is no resolution and in that sense no ending. We do not know what will happen except that the characters face an uncertain and unpromising future. Their discussion has pushed them further apart and not closer together.

This way of working with a literary text brings up a discussion about the aesthetics of a short story. It also brings out the aesthetics of a qualified personal interpretation expressed in paintings, tableaux, movements, improvisations, and classroom discussions.

*The aesthetics and the curriculum*

Aesthetics comes from Greek (aisthethikos), meaning “being capable of perception”; more directly “I feel, I perceive”. Feeling, sensing, perceiving are all related to an aesthetic way of understanding, and a combination of the physical and the affective faculties brings out this special insight. A sensual and sensitive perception of the world contributes to bringing about a new kind of understanding; an aesthetic form of cognition. Aesthetics is also concerned with the
beauty and value of art and the way art impresses us and gives a sense of insight. Aesthetics covers both productive and receptive processes.

In the introductory general part for Reform 94 and 97 found in the *The Curriculum for the 10-year Compulsory School in Norway, 1999, L97*, we see a focus on culture, art and tradition:

Pupils must develop an appreciation for beauty both in meeting artistic expression and by exploring and unfolding their own creative powers. All must have the opportunity to experience the toil it costs and the joy it brings to give form to feelings, expression to thoughts, and exertion to the body. “ (L97, Core curriculum:13)

The above quotation includes both definitions of aesthetics. On the one hand the aesthetic dimension is related to being able to appreciate and respond to art. On the other hand, aesthetics is related to first hand experiences with creative processes.

These two dimensions are concretized in the subjects’ syllabi. For instance, the syllabus for English as a foreign language for the primary and lower secondary school has a clear focus on the expressive and aesthetic dimension of the subject:

Learning English also involves personal experiences. Emphasis must be given to creative work in which drama and music have a natural place. Pupils will use the language in the production of their own spoken and written texts – text in a broad sense – for presentation and performance. Importance is attached to the aesthetic qualities both of the learning material which pupils encounter and of the material they themselves create. When pupils focus on the relationship between form and content and discover that a diversity of meanings offers a number of paths to understanding and insight, they may find the space they need to freely express themselves in and within the language.

(The syllabus for English, 1999: 238)

“Hills Like White Elephants” is a high quality text with a value of its own, and a strong impression from a good work of art leads to a need for communication. Such a text thus serves as a stimulus for students’ own text production, including for instance an improvisation or a “tableau”. The ambiguity of the short story stimulates personal interpretations, and a drama procedure opens up for creative expressions both in written and oral forms. How to find rhythm and turning points, how to discover the subtext, how to paint the setting or
put movement to an interpretation of a relationship, how to convey meaning to others, are all central questions in this search for an aesthetic expressive form. And the classroom itself is a meetingplace, a semi-public scene, for the presentation of texts to a participating and benevolent audience. In addition there is a need for fantasy and imaginative playfulness to be able to experiment with the material, in this case literature in a foreign language.

One of the theorists who for a long time has been central in pedagogical drama and in process oriented learning theories, is Lev Vygotsky. He uniquely combines the aesthetic way of learning with language learning in a social and historical context.

**Vygotsky and the aesthetic dimension in language learning**

The Russian developmental psychologist, Lev Vygotsky (1896 – 1934), taught literature, directed plays and gave lectures on literature in his early years. His first publication in 1915 was called “The tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark” and a later article was about how to teach literature in upper secondary schools. His literary influence is quite modest, as his remaining life and work was dedicated to developmental psychology, defectology and mental abnormality. Nevertheless, many of his theories and thoughts in *Thought and Language* (Vygotsky, 1962) and *Mind in Society* (Vygotsky, 1978) are relevant in a discussion of aesthetic learning processes for language and literature. First, according to Vygotsky, learning a language is basically learning form and symbols. Second, Vygotsky argues for the importance of play as a central element in aesthetic learning processes. And third, the development of the human mind is closely related to historical and social conditions.

Learning a language for a child implies playing around with words and expressions, exploring the fundamentals and potentials of a socially constructed sign system. The aesthetic experience is related to aesthetic elements in the language itself with its rhythm and its tonality, but later on it is also related to the form of a language and its symbolic expressions. Aesthetics is also about communicating meaning, the fundamental satisfaction of being able to receive and transmit concepts, ideas and opinions.
Learning a second or a foreign language means learning a new sign system and a new code for communication. With a new language you put on a new language ego, you get a new identity, and within the fiction of another language you achieve a distance to your own homely and traditional self. Simultaneously, you experience yourself between two cultures and thereby you create an internal meeting place for cultures to be examined. This imaginary culture clash will stretch your own potential, your zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1962).

“Hills Like White Elephants” is a short story with metaphorical language and symbolic expressions. The landscape echoes the contrast between the two lovers. The central image “white elephants” symbolizes the unborn child. The dialogue has many turning points and climaxes and the words spoken have layers of hidden meaning. When students speak the lines in different ways they explore the potential of the foreign language. By making paintings, by using body postures or “tableaux” as a mode of expression, they communicate their ideas and interpretations to others. A still picture can in many ways be more meaningful than words, and the struggle to put form to ideas is an aesthetic process.

The short story offers a meeting place for at least three cultures; the Hemingway code of life, a Norwegian way of seeing life, and the setting for the short story, Spain of the 1920s. One of the themes of the story is two different ways of seeing life, that of the American and that of the pregnant girl. The work with “tableaux” and still pictures combined with a close analysis of the words and their hidden meaning, force the students to see other people’s point of views and values. In this process, the aesthetics of the short story emerges. In addition, the aesthetics of the communicated meaning emerges in a strict form, the still picture.

A central point in Vygotsky’s learning theories is that higher cognitive processes are dependent on socially provoked speech acts, which are reconstructed internally. Play is particularly important for this type of “internalization”. Vygotsky states that when a child is able to construct imaginary situations, free from the here and now “It is the first manifestation of the child’s emancipation from situational constraints” (Vygotsky 1978:99). For instance, the child learns selfcontrol because the rules of the game prevent the child from acting
on impulse. In a play situation a child stretches his/her potential, because he/she often pretends being bigger and more clever that in real life. "In play a child always behaves beyond his average age, above his daily behaviour; in play it is as though he were a head taller than himself (Ibid:102), corresponding to the principle of "the zone of proximal development" (Ibid:86).

In the work with "Hills Like White Elephants" the students really have to stretch their potential by focusing on relationships in detail. The rules of the game is similar to that of the theatre, a playful experimentation resulting in a strictly controlled form. Students, and teacher, are often surprised at the deep understanding of the short story that emerges. Cognitive processes start when students put words to their thoughts and explore physical postures in a playful, but controlled manner. The theme, having an abortion or not, is in itself deadly serious and requires other expressions than words only. Feeling the dilemma physically as well as mentally opens up for internalization.

The third point mentioned above, that the development of the human mind is closely related to social and historical conditions, will not be developed in depth, but referred to under aesthetic reception theories or reader response approaches to literature below.

The art of a literature and the aesthetic response

New approaches to literary analysis stress the importance of the participating reader (Bleich 1978). An extreme interpretation is; a piece of literature does not exist until it is being read. It is not the text, but the interaction between reader and text that matters, the artistic pole of the work of art and the aesthetic pole of the reader (Iser, 1978). Reading is a two-way process, a kind of dialogue between the text and the reader. When you read a text, your own experiences and expectations will determine what you look for and find important. To read is to select bits and pieces and put them together into a meaningful whole.

Thus each student will meet the text in his/her own way, and his/her understanding of the text will be based upon past experiences and knowledge about literature and life. In addition, the learner's literary knowledge will help him/her to find the symbolic implications
in the text, and also to see how linguistic features convey a personal style. The teacher, with his/her knowledge of language and literary interpretation must function as a focal point to challenge and enrichen the students’ own personal interpretations, in short be a representative of a social and historical interpretative community.

Reading literature, as well as talking, and writing about it, is both an affective and a cognitive process. Meeting a literary text in the right way will offer the reader an emotional and personal experience, not to mention room for reflection as the reader can discover important things about him/herself via the text, for instance how people fail to communicate with each other. This emotional appeal has the potential to involve students in a learning process. On the other hand, the cognitive stimulus is catered for through an analysis of words, the words not spoken, discourse patterns, content, and interpretation. By entering a work of fiction, the learner will discover how literary effects are created through language, and he/she will see the author's conscious handling of words to convey meaning. A piece of literary discourse can thus provide a valuable experience of generative value.

The model below is a simple way to illustrate interpretation and communication processes in the encounter with literary art, in this case “Hills Like White Elephants”.

The literary text with its affective and cognitive potential

The individual’s communicative and literary competence and past experiences

Cultural contexts and collective meaning systems

The meeting place for external interaction and internalization
A literary text with its aesthetic potential is given an individual personal interpretation, coloured by the interpretative and cultural community represented in a classroom by the teacher or other literary sources, the school culture and the social environment. The students’ personal readings of the text as well as their physical expressions of different readings go together into a common class understanding of the text. The common class text will not automatically be accepted as the “right” one, but the personal reading of the text will be internalized, with adaptations stemming from the class text.

In aesthetic learning theories interaction is central, and such an aesthetic interaction is defined as the communicative link between social, cultural and mental processes. It is an effort to create a synthesis between social needs, inherited norms and values and reality itself, in short the dialectics between an individual’s experience and a collectively created meaning system. Literature with its ambiguity and its sign system offers potential for valuable aesthetic learning experiences. The classroom becomes a meeting place for different interpretations and different cultural norms and traditions.

An aesthetic experience in itself does not necessarily lead to aesthetic insight. The crucial point is, of course, the receptive situation, the classroom atmosphere, and the didactic context as the overall framework for joy and understanding. When the literary work is engaging, challenging, multi-levelled, ambiguous, universal, and hits young people in their guts, that is of course of great help to the teacher.³

Conclusion
In this article I have described some approaches that will enhance the aesthetic experience in relation to literature. I have tried to bring out both the artistic and appreciative dimension as well as the creative expressive dimension of aesthetic learning. Vygotsky has been used as a central theorist, combined with reader-response and aesthetic reception thinking. “Hills Like White Elephants” needs teacher help to

³ This kind of work with literature in English is more developed in Ibsen and Wiland’ s Encounters With Literature, Høyskoleforlaget 2000
be understood, it needs aesthetic processes to be appreciated and it needs creative and disciplined dramawork in order to be communicated meaningfully to an audience. Aesthetic learning is not only a way to fulfill the requirements of our national curricula. It is my firm belief that this kind of learning is the best for foreign language learning, for learning literary and communicative competence, and for insight and personal development.

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English as (Just) Another Language: The Power of Babel

Introduction
In the opening pages of *Hard Times*, Charles Dickens (Dickens, 1854) describes ‘...a plain, bare monotonous vault of a schoolroom’. Thomas Gradgrind, the industrialist, is speaking to pupils and the schoolmaster, M’Choakumchild, demanding Facts and ‘nothing but Facts’ to be taught: ‘... he seemed a kind of cannon loaded to the muzzle with facts, and prepared to blow them clean out of the regions of childhood at one discharge.’

In the following scene, ‘girl number twenty’, Cecilia (at school, Sissy at home) finds herself at the point of Mr Gradgrind’s forefinger:

“Girl number twenty,” said Mr. Gradgrind, squarely pointing with his square forefinger, “I don’t know that girl. Who is that girl?”
“Sissy Jupe, Sir,” explained number twenty, blushing, standing up and curtsying.
“Sissy is not a name,” said Mr. Gradgrind. “Don’t call yourself Sissy. Call yourself Cecilia.
“It’s father as calls me Sissy. Sir,” returned the young girl in a trembling voice, and with another curtsy.
“Then he has no business to do it,” said Mr. Gradgrind.

In the following exchange, it appears that Sissy’s father is part of a travelling circus, tending the horses. Mr. Gradgrind waves off this notion, redefining him as ‘a veterinary surgeon, a farrier, and a horse breaker.’ After having ‘educationalized’ her name and her father’s occupation, Sissy is put to the following task:

“(…) Give me your definition of a horse.”
(Sissy Jupe thrown into the greatest alarm by this demand.)
“Girl number twenty unable to define a horse!” said Mr. Gradgrind, for the general behoof of all the little pitchers. “Girl number twenty possessed of no facts, in reference to one of the commonest of animals!” Some boy’s definition of a horse, Bitzer, yours.”
“Bitzer,” said Thomas Gradgrind, your definition of a horse.”
“Quadruped. Graminivorous. Forty teeth, namely, twenty-four
grinders, four eye-teeth, and twelve incisive. Sheds coat in the
spring; in marshy countries, sheds hoofs, too. Hoofs, hard, but
requiring to be shod with iron. Age known by marks in mouth.”
Thus (and much more) Bitzer.
“Now girl number twenty,” said Mr. Gradgrind. “You know what
a horse is.”

Despite her intimate knowledge of horses, Sissy Jupe is deprived
of her ability to articulate this knowledge in class. The language of her
correspond to the stiff and abstract language constituting the
classroom discourse. And when she speaks, it is in an ‘ungrammatical’
variant – “It’s father as calls me Sissy” – which would have gained
red marks in a Norwegian pupil’s written work even today. Dickens
has accurately illustrated the fact that knowledge does not only consist
of ‘facts’ to be memorized but that it is part of a social process, a
particular discourse. “What speaks is not utterance, the language, but
the whole social person” (Bourdieu, P. cited in Roberts, 2001:109).

The aim of this paper is to discuss some aspects of how written
EFL is acquired in a school context while learners are socialized
through out-of-school discourses where variants of English may not
be acceptable to the discourse of the EFL classroom. This is done by
first looking at English as a Global Language with polycentrism and
de-standardization as salient features (Graddol, 2001). Second, it is
exemplified through three encounters with learners’ written language
in Norwegian classrooms. The paper concludes that in order to be
conducive to learning EFL, school must place more emphasis on the
social context of language learning and how learners take part in both
school discourses and out-of-school discourses. The tension, or even
conflict, between these two discourses represents a challenge for
teachers when scaffolding the learners’ progress and evaluating
learners’ proficiency in English. As such, the situation is much more
similar to an L1 situation with its sociolects, dialects and difference
between spoken and written forms than a typical FL situation with one
school norm.
Thus, although *Hard Times* was written nearly 150 years ago and the episode involves English as a first language, it is highly relevant when we look at Second Language Acquisition (SLA) theory, English as a Foreign Language (EFL) and the way it is appropriated by young learners today.

**Global English**

‘Global English’ is not clearly defined, not restricted to spoken or written language, but is determined (Raley, 1997) through four different instances of use: 1. As an international resource, literally a global language. This view is attributed to David Graddol (Graddol, 1997). 2) As a set of new Englishes, new variants in use all over the world. This view is attributed to David Crystal (Crystal, 1998). 3) As an imperial force with a particular impact area in new literature in English. As such, it is simply a replacement phrase for ‘Literature in English’. 4) As a universally comprehensible dialect of English, a simplified version that is easily accessible for all users worldwide and intended to make automatic translation easier, used by e.g. manufacturers like Caterpillar, Boeing and Lotus. It follows that the term ‘Global English’ invites various approaches to and perspectives on the phenomenon, but carries implications of non-natives communicating with non-natives. In the following, I use the term much like Crystal in the above classification.

English as a school subject has a long history in Norway. It has nearly always had a central place in Norwegian curricula as a mandatory subject, and where it has been offered as an optional, in-depth subject, it has enjoyed quite some popularity. Since the L97 reform, it is taught from the very first year in the educational system and (optionally) right into the 13th and final year. In syllabi following both the R94 reform (Upper Secondary School) and the L97 reform (Lower Secondary School) English is introduced as a lingua franca, but with a marked Anglo-American bias.

There are many reasons for this unique position of English, the most obvious being Britain’s colonial expansion and the rise of the US as a superpower (Crystal, 1998). Related reasons are given in the form of diasporas involving emigrations of English-speaking persons to, first, for example Australia, and the US, later to Asian and African
communities but this time more of a language taking hold than English-speaking people actually moving there for various reasons (Kachru, 2001).

The notion of diasporas is particularly relevant in light of the media society and new technologies. We might say that today a third diaspora is taking place, closely related to the second one, where the English language is transported without its ‘carrier’; the speakers of the language (see Online English, below). This transportation has resulted in a complex situation where English is found in different communities, at different levels of the community, in many variants and far removed from the notion of a national language as a girder in the nationalist state (Kalantzis, 2000:140). Manifestations of this fact can be found in more than 350 modern languages listed in the etymology files of the Oxford English Dictionary, and that in spoken English, ‘classical RP’ (received pronunciation) may be down to as little as two per cent of the British population (Crystal, 2001). David Crystal, building on Braj B. Kachru, divides the English-speaking world into three concentric circles (Crystal, 1998: 53-54). The inner circle consists of countries where English is the primary language (the US, the UK...) and counting approx. 320-380 million speakers. The outer or extended circle consists of countries where English is an official or ‘second’ language (Singapore, South Africa...) and counting 150-300 million people. The third, expanding circle, consists of countries where English is recognized as an important foreign language and taught extensively. Estimates for the number of speakers in these countries vary, enormously – from 100 million to 1,000 million – but despite uncertainty regarding exact figures the interesting thing is that the outer and expanding circles grow much faster than the inner circle. The British Council has estimated that by the year 2000, more than 1,000 million non-native speakers will be learning English. The most common situation for an exchange in English is between two EFL speakers.

However, the concentric representation with native speakers as the inner circle is challenged by David Graddol (Graddol, 1997:10). Instead of operating with a ‘centre’ for English, he describes the English-speaking communities in terms of a series of overlapping circles and with a possible language shift from one circle to another, from EFL to L2 and from L2 to L1. Countries are in transition
regarding their use of English, and Norway is among the 19 countries seen moving from EFL to L2 status.

According to the figures cited above, there will be more ‘educated speakers’ of English in the EFL area than in the inner circle, and these speakers will influence the way English is spoken and written. English is gradually losing its position as a primarily Anglo-American discourse.

The result is English as a polycentric or ‘pluricentric language’ and ‘world Englishes’ (Kachru, 2001:9). There may still be a written standard of English serving global communication, but variants of English that draw on diverse sources regarding both linguistic (for examples, see Kachru:12) and (sub-)cultural features (see examples of learners’ English below) are making themselves felt. David Graddol reports of young people in native speaking communities who experiment with their identities by making use of Afro-American English in order to identify with American sports and culture. (Graddol, 1997:49). Another example is MTV. The music channel makes use of young people who speaks a variety of Englishes with distinct accents denoting Italian, French or German as a first language. Global teenage culture seems to be less influenced by a ‘standard’ than ever. Consequently, English as a foreign language seems to gravitate towards local functionality while at the same time struggling to maintain a global convention, at least in print:

Other countries are not learning English for our benefit. English is neither our property nor is it static. The English spoken in international contexts, for example by Finns to Italians, Brazilians to Russians, is no longer UK English or even US English. And as UK English continues to become effectively a dialect of international English, like all dialects its currency will become localised. (The Nuffield Languages Inquiry, 2000:15)

How will this be met by teachers and learners of English? Will it challenge and change future curricula and didactics? ‘Some teachers, (…), allow the new forms into their teaching; others rule them out.” (Crystal, 1998:135). Kachru (Kachru, 2001:22) concludes on a more normative note: “…it is most important in teacher training to create teacher awareness of the status and functions of Englishes in the world
today and in the future.” This becomes even more complex and important when we see what happens when the many variants of English are spread by the many digital communication channels in a networked world.

**Online English**

With more than 1,000 million web pages, thousands of discussion groups, and email as the dominating one-to-one and one-to-many communication form, English is suddenly in an even more unique position than the one described in the previous section. A few figures should illustrate this position:

As of June 2001, native speakers of English counted for 217.8 million people or 45% of total world online population. To compare, the figures for German are 30.0 million (6.2%), Spanish 20.4 million (4.5%) and French 16.6 million (3.4%). Together, Asian languages represent 121.9 million speakers (25.2%) with Japanese at 47.3 million (9.8%), Chinese at 40.7 million (8.4%) and Korean at 22.7 million (4.7%).”The non-English online population is growing faster than we have ever seen it grow. A year ago, English represented 51% of the world online population - now it only represents 45%. By 2005 it should only represent 35%.” (Global Reach, 2001).

If we take a look at the languages on web pages (CyberAtlas, 2000), the impact of English is especially noteworthy. As of July 2000, 68.39% of all web pages were in English, with Japanese as number two at 5.85% followed by German (5.77%), Chinese (3.87%), French (2.96%) and Spanish (2.42%). Norwegian is number 14 with 0.40%. The difference between English and the rest underlines the unique position of this language in online environments. However, in the late 90s the percentage hovered around 85%.

A calculation of ratios comparing the number of speakers of a language with the number of web pages in that language (Carvin, 2001) shows that English once again tops the list with a 1,5 ratio (nearly one web page for every native speaker). Nordic countries follow with Norway at number five with a 3,86 ratio. This is an indication that Norwegians are frequent Internet users and that they keep a relatively high first language profile in a world of English.
The worries a relative decline in the online English population and the uncertain future of English raise in some quarters (Graddol, 1997) will not be pursued here. However, with the immense impact of online English today, with the increase of multi-lingual web pages where e.g. English and Spanish are interchangeable at the press of a key, and where automatic speech recognition will be a staple feature, it comes as no surprise that English may become even more torn between a standard and hybrid varieties. And these hybrid variants are closely linked to our identities or what sociocultural settings we are part of, would like to be associated with or obtain a footing in. However, we need not enter the Internet in order to find instances of hybrid languages. The technological device number one, the cell phone, has been instrumental in bringing about new conventions and practices in a mix of oral and written language with its SMS (Short Message Service) standard. Let us look at two examples:¹

R D PRTY L8TR?

This SMS item is a common one among Norwegian youth. It represents a mix of Norwegian and English where Norwegian is found in the first two items (R D being short for ‘Er det...’ = ‘Is there...’), the word ‘prty/party’ can be used interchangeably in Norwegian and English and the last item, ‘l8tr/later’, is an English hybrid only. It is one of those messages that is being forwarded rapidly within a group or between individuals until the party is found and youngsters can join in. This hybrid quality, together with the cost-effective spelling (to keep within one phone unit) gives rise to a type of language that would not be acceptable in any school subject. Nevertheless, this highly coded variant represents just as much ‘belonging’ and private identity as a ‘normal’ variant would do. There is also an increasing amount of anecdotal material referring to the above type of language being used by learners at tests and even exams in English.

When we look at the next example, we see that the SMS variant is used for very different purposes. It is taken from Tony Blair’s election campaign in which he tried to get young people to leave the couch, conquer political indifference and vote.

¹ These two examples are taken from Dagbladet’s ‘Magasinet, August 25, 2001.
The first line describes his political opponent, William Hague, with a little cap, and an open mouth, looking stupid (turn the page 90 degrees to the right). The second line is a well-known acronym form; ‘What You See Is What You Get’ followed by an emoticon to the effect of ‘Oh no!’. The fourth line is SMS for ‘Vote Labour Tomorrow’. By publicly employing a sub-cultural code where oral and written, alphabetic and iconic language intersects, this election campaign lends cultural capital to a new variant which again requires a new type of literacy. Similar variants are employed in websites, chat groups, discussion lists and email.

Taken together, Global English and Online English point to the circumstance that English is acquired in powerful out-of-school contexts, perhaps even more than in-school contexts, making it similar to L1 acquisition. Out-of-school-contexts are rich in non-standardized variants that may be regarded as innovative and functional outside the classroom but may be seen as challenging or even harmful in a curricular perspective. This means that there is a strong element of out-of-school language socialization (Roberts, 2001) that is not easily compatible with the traditional perspective on language learning in the educational system. There are (at least!) two discourses and learners have to commute between the two, unless out-of-school discourses are appropriated in the classroom. This means that there are both centripetal (standardization) and centrifugal forces (fragmentation, hybridization) at play. Still, “...this latter-day Babel manages to work.” Tom McArthur, cited in (Crystal, 2001:56). Or in the words of McKinsey Wark:

On the net, nobody pays too much attention to grammar and style. On the net, one sees the shape of language through the little mistakes and fissures that in printed texts editors remove. What emerges is a whole range of writing 'Netlish', where non-native forms of English writing come in contact with each other, and with
native forms, without being passed through a single editorial standard. (Wark, 1997)

This will be discussed in more detail after a brief analysis of three classroom examples of written EFL.

**Discourses in tension and Systemic Functional Linguistics**

The following three examples have a common feature; they all express aspects of English that are not fully compatible with the traditional discourse of the EFL classroom even though they were all written in classroom contexts. As such they articulate features of the learner’s life world and the distance between this world where English is appropriated voluntarily and school where English is a mandatory subject.

A short article does not allow a full analysis of the texts; only certain features can be highlighted. Also, it is not self-evident which approach should be chosen in order to analyze the phenomenon. For this particular section, I choose to adapt Halliday’s Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (Halliday, 2001) (Martin, 2001), (Coffin, 2001) (Burns, 2001) (Derewianka, 2001) and in particular its notion of Register in order to disclose salient features of learners’ texts.

Some of the reasons why SFL is brought into this discussion on EFL in school and out-of-school are as follows: SFL is interested in variants and not only standards of language, especially how variants relate to context. This context is found on two levels; the immediate situation and the more generic cultural context. Moreover, SFL views language as socially constructed and embedded in culture, a network of options, not a fixed entity. Language users select (often unconsciously) from a vast array of possibilities. Pragmatic concerns are decisive (and Halliday has referred to his theory of being essentially consumer-oriented’). This points to another characteristic of SFL; the relation between context and language, social and cultural roles of language are in focus. The term Register has been adopted for this relationship. This concept has been refined, and register is now used to denote three categories of the relations between context and language:
• *Field*, referring to the setting and cultural activity, what people do, what is being spoken about, for instance establishing a virtual identity in example 1 below. Field is often dominant in technical writing with its specialized vocabulary.

• *Tenor*, referring to who is involved and how, the way we relate to other interlocutors (power, contact), our social role, for instance the way the learner adopts a particular voice for a particular audience, see example 3 below. Tenor is often dominant in advertising.

• *Mode*, referring to the channel chosen for communication and the way it affects relations between topic and language used, for instance the discussion forum used to launch a particular idiomatic construction, see example 2 below. Mode is often dominant in online exchanges.

What SFL aims at is systematizing choices and relations, interpreting grammatical features from a functional perspective. Lexico-grammatical features (a combination of syntax, lexicon and morphology) are results of choices (not always conscious). The deployment of such features are not determined by the register but there is a systematic probability. Language is thus regarded as a cultural tool for people to make meaning. SFL, however, also keeps focus on the formal aspects of language. Halliday makes the connection between discourse and grammar in the following manner:

A discourse analysis that is not based on grammar is not an analysis at all, but simply a running commentary on a text . . . the exercise remains a private one in which one explanation is as good or bad as another. (Halliday, 1994, cited in Coffin, 2001:95)

In light of what has been said above about new forms of English and learners commuting between two or more discourses, SFL might be an appropriate analytical tool for dealing with such phenomena. For teachers of EFL, systemic functional linguistics could be a way of making learners aware of the implications of their choice of register and lexico-grammatical items. Also, with SFL using whole texts as unit of analysis (where structural and transformative grammars have
favored parts of speech or syntactic structures) it could prove to be of very practical use in classrooms.

However, the theoretical approach of SFL is a vast and complex topic, which means that the following section should be read more as an example of how some aspects of SFL might be used instead of an example of a full analysis. The pattern that follows consists of learners’ language followed by brief references to field, tenor and mode.

- Classroom example 1: NiceNet virtual classroom

The following are a brief excerpt from a session where foundation course learners log on to NiceNet, a virtual, online classroom. No teacher’s instructions apart from signaling successful entry (for the others to see) were given. See Lund (Lund, 2000) for a discourse analysis of the full text. The exchange took place on September 13, 1999. This is an excerpt. All names have been changed.

FROM: Petter Omland (9/13/99 1:52AM)
SUBJECT:
Hello folks, I'm here! I'm logged on...How are you doing?

FROM: Christine Ø. Hansen (9/13/99 1:53AM)
SUBJECT: YoYo!...
ChRiS10nE in tha House!.. ;)

FROM: Cecilie Kaasa (9/13/99 1:54AM)
SUBJECT:
Hello, I'm in and going bananas

FROM: Hanne Utne (9/13/99 1:57AM)
SUBJECT: hey everybody!!
I'm in too! really cool yea?? hehe! see yah!

FROM: stine fredriksen (9/13/99 1:57AM)
SUBJECT: Aloha!!
Hey Hey Hey!I'm in!!!!!;c)...... Yo ganxhstas!!wazzup?? - stine-
Field: Establishing a collective online presence. Lexical items related to the field are seen in the many greetings, in the primarily declarative syntax (‘I’m in’) and the relational verb ‘am’. Location is strongly underlined in the use of ‘in’ ‘here’ and ‘tha House’. Other items are verbs of action and perception (‘going bananas’, ‘see’) pointing to an exploration of the new environment. Spelling, idiom and vocabulary are highly sub-cultural with a marked bias towards Afro-American hiphop/rap and ‘street corner society’ lingo, the lexis of new meeting grounds. These resources are taken from other domains than that of school. Establishing a (virtual) presence, where you exist in capacity of language use alone, is a typical out-of-school context.

Tenor: Contact is seemingly high but invitations are not acknowledged (in this sequence) Power relations are not visible, only different intensity regarding affect (note use of exclamation marks). The frequency of personal pronouns is very high, one instance of 3rd person singular is in the form of a hybrid representation of name; ‘ChriS10nE’. There is a marked friendly and adventurous atmosphere resulting in the many hybrid greetings (‘YoYo’, ‘Aloha’).

Mode: To most the learners, this is a new mode transcending spatial constraints and one-to-one written mode. Feedback is visual and textual with quite some effort to stretch the ‘standard’ of English. The mode is obviously an example of spoken language dressed in writing, so common in online exchanges. This mode is new to in-school contexts and opens up for language practices not associated with those traditionally found in class. Conventions are built into the technology resulting in a ‘multilogue’ (Murphy, 2000).

• Classroom Example 2: Discussion list in NiceNet
The next example shows learners participating in online discussions. Topics are given by the teacher. The exchange took place on March 5 2001. All names have been changed. The following cue is given by the teacher:

FROM: teacher (03/05/01 6:27 AM GMT -06:00)
SUBJECT: Relationships
It is not always easy to stay friends. Sometimes we do or say things to each other that are hurting or disrespectful. The closer we get, the more we can hurt each other, and the more we know about each other the more it hurts. How do we behave and treat each other to make a relationship last?

A selection of learner contributions from the discussion that followed:

FROM: Mei Li Vu  (03/06/01 3:30 AM GMT -06:00)
SUBJECT: yeah is all about respect.u must respect eachother and be honest,so u can trust eachother.a realationships can't work when is doubt in the picture.u need to sit down and take a seriuos talk when u have something on ur mind.

FROM: espen lie  (03/06/01 3:31 AM GMT -06:00)
SUBJECT: Eirik da...
I dont think you'll get a better way by using the Tommy/Per (brown nosing) method.. but you can try

FROM: Tommy Gundersen  (03/06/01 3:41 AM GMT -06:00)
SUBJECT: Re: How to make it(friendship) last...
(Teacher's name), why are you looking so pessimistic about this issue??? The more you know the more it hurts... In my opinion the more you know the better; it's great to have someone you're confidential with, someone you really trust. You don't tell "secrets" that friends have told you to others, NO MATTER WHAT; it's a matter of principles... Even if you're not friends anymore, you keep your mouth shut. I don't see where you're trying to go with this, (Teacher's name). In a relationship(/friendship) there are certain rules/principles that you don't try to follow; YOU FOLLOW!!! For instace: You don't hit on/sleep with your (best-)friend's girlfriend(and x-girlfriends). You tell eachother if there is something that bothers you. What I have written is just my opinion; but I think most individuals who have a very close friend, would agree with me(or at least they should...) I have a very close friend(Per), and I can't imagine him telling things to others that could hurt me(I can't imagine him telling anything to others...) So, (Teacher's name), I don't see were you're going with this.
FROM: espen lie...(03/06/01 3:43 AM GMT -06:00)
SUBJECT: how to make a relationship last
if you want to know how to make a relationship last, just read the
entries on this page. *LoL*

Field: The subject is a discussion on the degree of honesty in
relationships. The field is abstract, reflected in a high degree of
immaterial nouns and adjectives (respect, doubt, friendship, rules,
honest, confidential). Verbal constructions forming opinions are
frequent and are partly imperative, partly persuasive. There is quite
some idiomatic language, but taken from out-of-school contexts (hit
on/sleep with, brown nosing method – the last one created a lot of
interest as to its meaning and was followed up in subsequent
postings). The field is closely connected to the learners’ life worlds,
paving the way for informal lexis.

Tenor: There is a high degree of contact and with a very high
incidence of personal pronouns, especially the second person singular
you/u underlining the involvement and commitment present. This
involvement is partly on an on-to-one level, partly as on a one-to-
many level. Power relations are found, partly in Tommy’s open
challenge to the teacher, partly in Espen’s snide remarks (brown

Mode: Much the same as in example 1. Both 1 and 2 suggest that
learners develop very strong identity markers through stretching and
transgressing conventions that are not felt to be observed in this mode.
We see two forms of historically separated language forms, spoken
and written language, merging. M.A.K. Halliday observes that this
phenomenon happens “under the new forms of technology which are
deconstructing the whole opposition of speech and writing.” The new
literacies that will be required under such circumstances will be
discussed in the final part of this article.

- Classroom Example 3: Exam paper (L97)
The final example is from lower secondary school (K10) and the
written national exam (Spring 2001) in English. Pupils are first given
a booklet with different text types but where the content is thematic.
This year’s topic was “Days to Remember”. The booklet is to be
exploited by learners, teachers and others during a 24-hour period before the individual exam. This exam consists of a five-hour written text in which learners encounter tasks relevant to the content in the booklet. There are two parts: Part A consists of comprehension tasks and brief written assignments. Part B consists of a ‘free writing’ task, but with several options. In the following example, the learner chose to respond to the following task (B4 in the free writing section):

Write a story of suspense which takes place on Midsummer Night. Your story should include a bonfire, a boat and a stranger. Feel free to add other elements. Choose your own title.

The following submission is abbreviated, but the original keeps true to the field, tenor and mode in these brief excerpts:

Midsummer Engagement
It was actually a nice day at Chippawa Falls,
(...)
I thought that it would be good to leave the city, and escape the influx of coloured gangs in my neighborhood for a couple of days.

My older brother hails to the swastika on his bedroom wall every morning. He is a member of a white, nazi gang.
I don’t like them either.
I have an older sister too.
She isn’t so bright, kind of dense, if you know what I mean.
But not dumber than my brother, who’s thinking of changing his name to Hitler or Himmler or Göring or something.
We live with our father and stepmother.
(...)
I bet he picked her up in a whorehouse in the desert or something.
But judging from her use of dad’s money it must have been the finest locality to have adultery on this hemisphere. She’s a crude woman, who’s always showing her cleft, the place dad immerse whenever he’s drunk..
Her hair is blonde with grizzlystripes and she usually wears 40 tons of makeup, at least.
This shows dads misconduct, which has embetred us, his children.
That, and that our mom dies just six months before dad brought home the straydog, our stepmom.
(...) 
We had just arrived in dad's old Cadillac. I jumped out of the car straight away, to lighten the odds of unleashing my stepmom’s bad temper. 
Dad calls her sugar buns, whenever he calls her that, I simply say “milkdud”. It pisses her off. 
My dad also for that matter. 
(...)

When I got there, dad said, “Your’e mother is cooking, so help me take the stuff outta the car.”

“Milkdud is not our mother”! I barked back like an angry, rabies-infected mogrel. Then he hit me again, like he has done before.

(...) 
I heard a voice behind me, “That’s my boat”. I turned around and looked. She was beautiful.

“I’m Seth”. My name is Natasha. I lit a cigarette and reached her the pack of cigarettes and asked, “Do you smoke”? “Yes, I do” she answered with a golden, mild voice and lit up one of her own.

“You’re still in my boat”. “I know”. I replied. ”But I don’t wanna stay with my family,” I said mitigated. She sat down in the boat.

“Why not?” That golden voice again. So I explained her why.

“I would have done the same thing”, she said smiling while putting her hand on my thigh.

Without knowing why, I kissed her. She waited one fourth of a second, and kissed me back.

It felt like heaven.

And so it went on.

It ended up in sex. I was her first and she was mine.

(...) 

Field: The field is given by the task. As such, we see the field being constituted by a particular line of action, participants engaged in different processes (initiate/receive) etc. However, the learner overrules the field given by only accidentally sticking to the ingredients of the story to be told and instead concentrating on aspects from his (it is a boy) life world. Lexical items are to a great extent taken from video/cartoon/‘hard-boiled’ literature renderings of a white trash/neo-nazi environment. Verbs of action are employed to fuel the
narrative, which is traditionally structured with its orientation, record of events, conflict and a personal evaluation.

**Tenor:** Point of view through first person singular is the central element of tenor in this narrative. There is a high degree of affect, carried by the large number of nicknames and derogatory labels in the text; in fact, some of them are realized through these alone. However, there are few verbs or expressions of emotion, the storyteller’s emotions are embedded in the clipped syntax and understatement used in hard-boiled fiction to create tension between surface and emotional plane.

**Mode:** The mode is the written exam paper. In the form of a story, this is an open mode where a learner is –in this case at least – addressing an unknown reader. Once again, the learner exploits this opportunity to deploy content and form probably not encountered in school contexts. That this happens in an exam situation is proof of the power of such features in the learner’s life world and explains the particular rhetoric used in the story.

In a ‘traditional’ EFL school setting, these three examples of learner language would be downgraded or discarded due to errors, breach of conventions, and liberties taken. In SFL with its focus on available choices dependent on context, it is possible to look at it from a different perspective:

In this way student language problems can often be recognized as stemming from failure to appreciate aspects of the tenor or mode that is expected, or lack of knowledge of the field in question. Alternatively, the learner may lack experience with the appropriate linguistic forms for actualising the perceived features of the context. (Painter, 2001:178)

**What is a mistake in EFL?**

The first and second example of classroom practices would present a teacher with a dilemma. From a descriptive point of view, there are several mistakes that when marked might put the learner back on the narrow road towards the accepted norm. However, the speech acts and their materializations in terms of (unorthodox) spelling and vocabulary are so tied up with the medium and mode they are embedded in that it is meaningless to separate mode and product.
What we see is not so much mistakes *per se* but hybrid language feeding on variants of English and other languages and where the utterances are no doubt deliberately formed so as to match the situation. The third example is slightly different in the sense that it brings to the fore a part of the learner’s life world. This part shows us the learner being socialized into the English language by way of a blend of hard-boiled fiction, cartoon strips, tabloid journalism and soap operas. The vocabulary is quite advanced, but heavily idiomatic and perhaps objectionable. That the text is written in an exam situation underlines the discourse incompatibility between the pupil’s life world and educational world.

In an article from 1983, Jan Svartvik asks whether the language norm exists at all (Svartvik, 1983). Through a series of examples, he shows that American English speakers and British English speakers do not agree as to what are correct syntactic features. What is more, he shows that what is treated as a norm in school grammars is questioned or rejected by native speakers and that the expected difference between Americans and Britons is second to variations within the American or British sample population. He observes that “...a substantial part of pupils’ knowledge has been acquired outside school by way of e.g. TV, movies, pop music and journeys abroad. Therefore, we cannot evaluate their performance using only what is offered by schools as a scale.” (p.12, my translation). The conclusion is that merely descriptive and systemic criteria for ‘correct’ English will prove unsuccessful. Instead, Svartvik launches three principles for evaluation: *intelligibility* (whether it is understandable, lowest level of ambition), *usage* (whether a native speaker would use the construction), and *appropriateness* (whether it is suitable or typical for the situation at hand)\(^2\). As for teachers applying this model in classroom contexts, “I am fully aware that the application of the principles I have promoted make substantial demands on the teacher.” (p.14, my translation).

Svartvik’s criteria point towards a functional view of EFL and EFL evaluation and a view of language as being negotiated in diverse sociocultural settings. It is interesting to note that a similar notion is

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2 Svartvik’s original terms are *begriplighet* (intelligibility), *använding* (usage), and *lämplighet* (appropriateness). The English terms are my translations.
expressed by Kachru when he builds on Larry Smith and his levels of intelligibility, comprehensibility and interpretability. One of the more intriguing findings in Smith’s investigations is the fact that ‘(T)he native speaker was always found to be among the least intelligible speakers (in the study)...’ Smith, cited in (Kachru, 2001:21-22). And like Svartvik, Kachru expresses concern for teachers: ‘...it is most important in teacher training to create teacher awareness of the status and functions of Engishes in the world today and in the future.’ (op.cit:22). David Crystal is even more uncompromising:

And above all, teachers need to develop a truly flexible attitude towards principles of usage. The absolutist concept of ‘proper English’ or ‘correct English’, which is so widespread, needs to be replaced by relativistic models in which literary and educated norms are seen to maintain their place alongside other norms, some of which will depart radically from what was once recognized as ‘correct’. (Crystal, 2001:60)

So far the educational system has put learners loyal to the norm at an advantage, and put learners breaking or stretching the norm at a disadvantage. This would apply to both oral and written feedback as well as evaluation. Unless we develop an international standard for intelligibility, we will end up with fundamentalist relativism in which anything goes as long as it is intelligible. Unless we face the fact that functional language may come in many socioculturally constructed variants, we risk school discourse to be suffocating for out-of-school discourse. This is truly a paradox for EFL in the new century and can probably only be overcome by more focus on foreign language acquisition as socially constructed discourses and important aspect of the socialization process. Awareness raising on the relationship between contextual and linguistic components might prepare both teachers and learners for products exemplified by the three examples in the previous section.

**Acquisition and Socialization**

Acquisition of EFL has often built on the notion that English as a school subject is partly to learn a skill, partly to get to know a culture (Anglo-American with a few visits to other parts of the former
empire). The subject has been regarded as something learners should absorb. Methods have differed (Derewianka, 2001, Simensen, 1998, 1999) but the overall learner role has been that of the consumer, less the role of supplier or producer. Even though this perspective has been broadened by a more communicative approach, English has very much remained a world on paper, one that does not always correspond to the life world of the learner and one that has been presented top-down through textbooks.

I have argued in the preceding pages that language acquisition within the school ‘norm’ of EFL is inadequate in a life world where Global and Online Englishes are such strong incentives and formative features for learners, more like the impact made by a first language. This means that a view of language as something more or less ‘fixed’ and stable, a product to be consumed and refined must give way for a view of language as socially constructed discourses in which we deploy linguistic elements to construct speech acts that work under very different conditions.

This view is in line with Vygotskian tradition and its emphasis on language as the primary psychological tool. But where Vygotsky pointed to the single word as the central unit of language, later approaches have concentrated on social, contextual and interactive variables as units of analysis with the learner exercising agency more than acting as a recipient of input. During the last few years a rich literature on such issues has appeared (Burns, 2001, Candlin, 2001, Lantolf, ed. 2000, Lantolf, 1994, 2000, Swain, 2000, van Lier, 2000, 2001, Warschauer, 1997, Wells, 1999). Language learning is seen as a social activity of participation rather than reproduction. It is also much more than the basically transfer-oriented model which is often articulated in input and output perspectives. Transformation, not transmission, is the ecological term often used to describe this extended perspective where language is closely connected to the ways we shape and reshape our social worlds. In this view, language is a tool for action, interaction and participation, always embedded in cultural practices. This means that speech acts are constituted in various contexts, in various discourses. School and the language classroom represent one instance of discourse, and right up to recent years the dominant one for acquiring a foreign language. Now, new social practices are a keystroke away and with them more emphasis on
getting meaning (field) across in a certain manner (tenor) in a certain channel (mode). “In a sociocultural perspective, communication is the primary issue and cognition an appropriation of communicative tools.” (Säljö, 2000:198, my translation).

Such a perspective has ontological and epistemological implications. The distinction between language as an abstract system of rules on the one hand and conventions and its communicative, functional aspects on the other is important when analyzing learners’ appropriation of the foreign language. It means bringing the learner as a social being into the language learning process to greater extent than before. Focus is shifted from the subject matter at hand (EFL) and the way it is processed in the minds of learners to the way its many options presents learners with choices. Furthermore, how learners choose according to their life worlds, their social and cultural practices and their sense of identity as being conveyed in particular variants becomes essential. Meanings and worldviews are constituted in relations between culture, language, and thought and negotiated in the social networks learners are socialized in, like the above examples. The focus is more on externalizing language than internalizing it, more on language as part of sociocultural settings than as a system encapsulated in the brain. (Gumperz, 1996)

By viewing language in a sociocultural perspective, we can approach language acquisition in and out of school with a theory of learning as a social endeavour, but where this endeavour is more or less contextually successful, not only linguistically. Learners subtly commute between language in out-of-school contexts and in-school contexts where language is focused in terms of content, grammar, orthography, syntax and vocabulary according to the norm, a ‘linguistic enclosure’ (Gustavsson, quoted in Säljö, 2000:215). Outside school they frequently encounter very different enclosures, resulting in a tension or conflict due to different contextualization. Context is here not understood as something ‘external’ that has a direct influence on our actions. Context is rather a tapestry of social practices, our own and those of others. (Säljö, 2000:135, 150) and language both reflects and helps shape the cultural context. Some contextual aspects materialize in physical objects (classroom, sports arena) while some are communicative or historical (genre). Acquisition of EFL is today an endeavour that draws on many
contexts; learners commute between and are part of different discourses where variants of English are heard and practised like different voices in a choir, but where they may feel more at home with one voice than another.

This is where identity becomes an important aspect of language acquisition. Socialization involves more than just a context for cognition, it means identifying with a particular (language) community, its values, its idiom, its linguistic cues, its idiosyncrasies etc. With learners exercising agency and moving beyond input (Swain, 2000) they invariably invest much more of themselves in the process of acting out a new language (Roberts, 2001). To quote Säljö (my translations):

When learning has become the primary goal for an in many respects independent activity system – school – the distance between what we learn and the practices they are embedded in increases. (Säljö, 2000:212)

No human action can be de-contextualized in an absolute sense. Emancipation or separation from one context involves a re-contextualization within the framework of another activity. Learning is still situated, but in another context with other goals. (Säljö, 2000:213)

This context and these goals should be of interest to teachers and researchers alike.

Towards new competencies?

What is seen in the shifting focus of EFL from in-school to out-of-school appropriation is also true of other subjects. School is both cooperating and competing with the information society. Information and knowledge is no longer the monopoly of the educational institution, and it is no longer in position to define the form and content of a subject alone. In the wake of networked communities and global/local life worlds, new competencies or literacies are required.

In examples 1 and 2 above we saw texts that were jointly constructed in a multilogue mode. If we had moved on to web pages and other online documents, we would have en countered new textual
features such as the link (‘the third dimension’), use of fonts, colors, graphics, animation, sound and video. Regarding English, such features should be added to the ones we have already discussed in order to catch a glimpse of current and future communication practices. In the section on Online English, we have also seen that English is the dominating voice. The literacy required to make and create meaning in such multimodal and multicultural environments is referred to as “Multiliteracies – a word we chose because it describes two important arguments we might have with the emerging cultural, institutional, and global order. The first argument engages with the multiplicity of communication channels and media; the second with the increasing salience of cultural and linguistic diversity.” (Cope, 2000:5).

Multiliteracies need to be operationalized in classrooms. When a community of learners engage in common practices within a specific knowledge domain (EFL), they are historically and culturally situated. In order to move beyond the constraints of situatedness and make full use of the many discourses of EFL, including ‘official norms’, there need to be designs of learning environments and processes conducive to such a move. The important thing is to place emphasis on variants as being part of a whole scale of socioculturally constituted registers. This means giving priority to meta-knowledge about the ‘Power of Babel’. An important question is what kind of communicative practices that dominate different activity systems, school and out-of-school, and what these practices mean regarding appropriation of English as a Foreign Language. The alternative might be a Tower of Babel that – paradoxically - crumbles under its weight of standards and norms and learners in the role of Sissy Jupe, deprived of their voice:

The language classroom will lose all credibility if it is defined as only a counter-culture to new trends developing. An inevitable consequence of this development is that the language will become open to the winds of linguistic change in totally unpredictable ways. (Crystal, 1998:130-31).
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Aud Marit Simensen

Studies of teaching materials. Why?

Introduction

Students and practicing teachers interested in the evaluation of materials for foreign language teaching (FLT) are normally surprised that there are so few commonly recognized criteria to be found. One obvious explanation is the lack of relevant research. This is a worldwide phenomenon in the field of FLT, and Norway is no exception.¹

A first and necessary step in a development of the discipline is to provide descriptions and comparisons of existing teaching materials. It is a good start that currently more and more students are choosing to write their master’s theses on the basis of analyses of teaching materials.²

Textbooks have, of course, a central place among teaching materials. The same applies to various types of supplementary materials such as books with texts for extensive reading. In the future materials on the Internet will also clearly play a central role (cp. Bjørke in this book). The present paper will consider selected aspects

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¹ The research project "Fransk og tysk som fremmedspråk i grunnskolen og den videregående skole" in the relevant departments at the University of Trondheim is unparalleled in a Norwegian context. The project was funded by The Norwegian Research Council for Science and the Humanities and took place in the period 1982-1985. See the final report by Findreng 1987. The Georg-Eckert-Institut für Internationale Schulbuchforschung in Braunschweig has done a lot of research on teaching materials in history, geography and social studies but not in foreign languages. The studies edited by Byram 1993 of textbooks for the teaching of German in Great Britain published by this institute must be regarded as a special case. See also Bjørke, Henriksen and Solfjeld in the present book.

of one type of materials for extensive reading in EFL: adapted texts. First, however, I will discuss the concept of ‘extensive reading’, its role in relevant syllabuses as well as the types of extensive reading materials referred to in these documents.

*Extensive reading and the syllabuses*

A usual conception of ‘extensive reading’ is reading with attention on the content and not the language. Ideally, this means reading for real-life purposes of pleasure and information. Terms like ‘abundant reading’, ‘reading rapidly’, ‘reading book after book’, ‘supplementary reading’ and lately ‘free voluntary reading’ have been used about this type of reading in FLT at various points in time. In addition, extensive reading is first and foremost associated with reading as an individual activity. For that reason it is an obvious advantage if the materials available are appropriate both linguistically and cognitively for all types of pupils involved. This can actually be considered a requirement in a school system like the Norwegian with mixed-ability teaching in the compulsory part of it (*grunnskolen*). Thus in the following I will concentrate on the standing of extensive reading in *grunnskolen*.

The availability of appropriate materials for extensive reading has been an important point in all the syllabuses we have had since mixed-ability teaching was introduced in lower secondary schools with *Mønsterplan for grunnskolen*, the syllabus of 1974 (M74). For many teachers extensive reading has in fact been regarded as the only viable means of differentiating the teaching in large classes. All the same, as I see it, none of the syllabuses in question have given explicit enough direction in relation to this.

According to the syllabus in English in our most recent syllabus guidelines, *The Curriculum for the 10-year Compulsory School in***

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3 My studies of adapted texts have previously been discussed in international publications (cf. Simensen 1987, 1990 and 1992) but not in any Norwegian publication.

4 See a description of various terms and who used them in Day and Bamford 1998: 5-6 and Krashen 1993 for arguments for ‘free voluntary reading’.
Norway (L97), extensive reading has a place in all the grades of the lower secondary school. Actually, L97 has a considerable emphasis on exposure to text in teaching and thus gives an impression of being influenced by current ideas of acquisition through a lot of comprehensible input (cf. Krashen and Terrell 1983). This is, of course, relevant for the role of extensive reading in the school subject. According to L97, the pupils in e.g. grade 8 “should read at least one novel or easy reader of their own choice and give their impressions and views of what they have read” (p.245, italics added here; as to terminology, see below). At the same time it is said in L97 that pupils are also to work with “authentic texts” (p. 238 and p. 246).

A problem is that the terms ‘authentic’ and ‘authenticity’ are far from being understood in the same way by members of the professional community. All the same, these terms have for a long time been central in the literature about FLT and even used as imperatives in debates about appropriate teaching materials, something best understood in its historic context. The use of imperatives is first and foremost a result of a general reaction against the linguistic ‘control’ of various aspects of FLT from the 1960s and onwards, in particular the control of teaching materials. Controlled materials were often criticized for its artificial language and also in many cases for its uninteresting texts. In fact, this applied both to texts constructed and texts adapted for teaching. According to the criticism meaning often came second to the language to be taught. The reaction against ‘control’ is thus an essential part of the shift of paradigm from audiolingualism to communicative language teaching.

The frequent use of ‘authenticity’ and ‘authentic’ during this period of transition has been described as the “cult of authenticity” by two of the most prolific writers on extensive reading in the foreign/second language classroom, Day and Bamford (1998). To make a long but extremely interesting debate short I will quote a few common but at the same time different conceptions of ‘authentic’ from their 1998-book. One is described in the following way: “generally, authentic language is considered unedited, unabridged text that is written for native … speakers” (Scarcella and Oxford 1992: 98, quoted in Day and Bamford 1998:54). A different conception is that

5 See the particular use of ‘authentic’ in Solfjeld’s paper in the present book.
authenticity is not a quality of text at all; instead “authenticity ... is achieved when the reader realizes the intentions of the writer” (Widdowson 1976, quoted in Day and Bamford 1998:54). Finally, a similar conception is rooted in a view of the primary function of language as to help communicate meaning: “We are committed to believing that simplified texts can be authentic” (Alderson and Urquhart 1984, quoted in Day and Bamford 1998:59; as to terminology, see below).

With reference to the quotes from L97 above we can state that criticism in terms of an undue ‘cult of authenticity’ cannot be levelled at this syllabus, nor at its predecessors M74 and the syllabus from 1987, *Curriculum Guidelines for Compulsory Education in Norway* (M87). In the former document schools are instructed to have graded materials available for the pupils (‘vanskegradert stoff til utfyllende lesning’; p. 150). In the latter the phrase “Printed texts, adapted and authentic” is used about texts to be used in all grades (M87:229, italics added here). In other words, the syllabuses are pragmatic rather than dogmatic.

The need for materials for extensive reading has led to the production of what today normally is called ‘graded readers’ by a great number of publishers. Series of such readers can roughly be said to consist of three types: what we may call ‘original readers’, ‘adapted readers’ and ‘simple original readers’. Due to the problems discussed above in connection with ‘authentic’ the term ‘original’ is preferred here in the sense of texts not written or adapted for pedagogic purposes and published in their original style. ‘Adapted’ is used as a superordinate term for various kinds of alterations of an existing text in order to make it more comprehensible to its intended readers. Other terms used for adapted texts are: ‘abridged’, ‘easy’, ‘reduced’, ‘rewritten’, ‘simplified’, ‘retold’ and ‘told’. Finally, ‘simple original’ is used about texts specially written or constructed for learners of EFL.

*Studies of adapted texts*

Our knowledge of adapted teaching materials in FLT dates back mainly to the eighties and nineties (e.g. Bamford 1984, Davies 1984, Campbell 1987, Hedge 1985, Simensen 1987, and Wodinsky and
Nation 1988). Most of this research has been descriptive studies of what has happened to adapted texts in relation to their original counterparts. I will return to one such study below.

There have also been studies of whether, and under what circumstances, linguistic manipulation can help foreign language learners understand a text. A fairly recent one is the experiment by Yano, Long and Ross (1994) who compared the effect on comprehension by non-native speakers of three versions of a text: an original (authentic), a simplified and an elaborated version (the last version in fact based on types of elaborative modification observed in oral foreigner talk discourse). Comprehension was highest among learners reading the simplified version, but not significantly different from those reading the elaborated version. The conclusion of the researchers was that elaboration is preferable to simplification as it helps inference and provides “the rich linguistic form [foreign language learners] need for … language learning” (p. 214).

**Publishers and basic types of adaptation**

As mentioned above, many publishers have produced series of graded readers, including books of the adapted type. Some of the publishers have produced documents with guidelines for this type of publishing. The documents from some of the largest publishers of graded readers have been studied (Simensen 1987). This study described the guidelines in terms of principles of control, in accordance with the terminology most commonly used in the documents. Three major types of control were found:

1. Control of information including subcategories such as
   • reduction of information,
   • supply of information (cp. ‘elaborative modification’ above) and
   • avoiding density of information.

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6 This applies to Collins Educational, Grafisk Forlag A/S, Heinemann Educational Books, Longman Group, Macmillan Publishers and Oxford University Press.
2. Control of language, where two approaches are represented:
   • control on the basis of definite lists of principles to be adhered to and/or actual language forms to avoid or to use, and
   • control on the basis of the intuition, common sense and experience of the adaptors.

3. Control of discourse, including questions related to the semantic unity and organization of information in a text, coherence, and cohesion.

The study showed that some of the publishers were particularly concerned with the question of reference in texts. Adaptors were e.g. made aware of the problem foreign language learners may have when there is reference to things in a text with which the learners are unfamiliar. This belongs to the first type of control referred to above. Furthermore, adaptors were encouraged to take care with pronominal reference, e.g. the distance between a pronoun and its antecedent, and they were advised to make sure that the reference of pronouns used is clear and unambiguous. We may say that these guidelines belong to either of the categories referred to above: the control of language or the control of discourse. From dealing with questions of reference in guidelines we now turn to dealing with selected aspects of reference in texts which have been adapted.

Selected aspects of reference in adapted texts

The examples of reference to be discussed here are taken from a collection of examples found in adapted texts, included in graded readers or in ordinary textbooks. The examples of adapted texts will be compared with their original counterparts, with the label OV used for the original version and AV for the adapted version. The elements under discussion in the examples are in italics here. For the sake of brevity only parts of the titles of the texts are usually given in the

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7 The texts are probably not, I am afraid, representative of the ‘genre’ as such, since I have in fact had to use as my material texts that I have had at my disposal for other purposes than research, mostly generous gifts over the years from publishers.
parentheses below, while the full references are provided in *Sources of reading material* below. Changes other than changes in reference relationships will be disregarded. My primary aim here is to present a typology as far as my material goes. This will include examples of the two types of reference identified in the study of publishers' guidelines, briefly reported above. In addition I will discuss a third type, not included in the publishers' guidelines: situational reference. This means that examples of the following three types will be dealt with.⁸

1) The reference relationship between a linguistic expression (a referring expression) in a text and an entity in the outside world (a referent). This type will be called *reference to the outside world*.

2) The co-reference relationship between two (or more) linguistic expressions in a text where both expressions refer to the same entity in the outside world, but where the interpretation of one of them depends on that of the other in the text. Reference may be backwards in the text, i.e. anaphoric, or forwards, i.e. cataphoric. This type will be called *textual reference*.

3) The reference relationship between a linguistic expression in a text and an element in the communication situation where the interpretation of the linguistic expression depends on this situation. For instance deixic forms of space, time and person, such as *here, there, this, that, now, yesterday, I, you and they* are normally considered to be such referring expressions. This type will be called *situational reference*.

**Reference to the outside world**

As a first step in the analysis two subgroups will be distinguished. These relate to whether the reference relation between the referring expression and the entity in the outside world (the world outside the text) is the same in the adapted version and in the original version, i.e.

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what I have chosen to call identity, or whether it is different, i.e. what I have chosen to call non-identity.

Identity
As might be expected, this is by far the most numerous subgroup. It is possible to distinguish between two adaptation strategies on the basis of what is done to the referring expression, i.e.:

- an addition of information, and
- a deletion of information.

The first example below illustrates an addition of information.

(1)
... he should go to Oxford and Cambridge... (“Boys ...”, OV: 38)

... he could not go to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge
... (“Boys ...”, AV: 12)

(1) shows that the adaptor has found it necessary to add explicit information about these two cities, information which must have been taken for granted in the original group of readers.

The next example illustrates a deletion of information.

(2)
He saw several men lying on the Pennsylvania Avenue
sidewalks ... (“The secret...”, OV: 55)

He ... saw several men lying on the sidewalks ... (“The secret ...”, AV: 19)

The OV of (2) contains a specification which the adaptor presumably has taken to be an irrelevant descriptive detail for the new reader. It has therefore been deleted. Both (1) and (2) are uncontroversial adaptations and, by and large, in accordance with previous studies, theoretical assumptions, and probably also with common sense.
These two examples are both in accordance with suggestions in the publishers’ guidelines.

Non-identity

Examples of non-identity are rare in my material, although they have been reported before in the literature on text adaptation (cf. Hedge 1985: 16-18).

(3)
... and would I give her a little luncheon at Foyot's afterwards? Foyot's is a restaurant ... (“The Luncheon”, OV: 105)

I led her in the direction of the little restaurant; but suddenly she pointed across the road to the Great Palace. (“The Luncheon”, AV: 89)

In (3) the situational setting of the story is moved from France to Great Britain as a result of the adaptation process. Foyot's in the OV has become the Great Palace in the AV. In addition, the main character of this story, the narrator, is transformed from a poor author in the Latin Quarter in Paris into an equally poor student at some university in Great Britain. The idea here must be that it is easier for the reader, a learner of English as a foreign language, to cope with references to places and settings with English names in the outside world, than to cope with references to places and settings with French names. The publishers' guidelines, referred to above, did not, however, include any specific guideline to this effect. However, adaptors were advised to keep in mind differences between the world of the story or text and the world of the student or reader.
Textual reference

The analysis of textual reference also distinguishes between two subgroups, i.e. identity and non-identity. On a par with the distinction above, the question is whether the reference relation between the referring expression and the entity in the outside world is the same in the adapted version and in the original version or whether it is different.

Identity

As might be expected, this is by far the most numerous subgroup in my material. It is possible to distinguish between five subtypes, of which the two first only will be exemplified below (see Simensen 1990 and 1992 for a brief discussion of the remaining subtypes).

- avoiding cataphoric reference,
- establishing a direct antecedent,
- explicating personal relationships,
- standardizing, and
- adding reference to speakers.

The example below illustrates a shift from cataphoric to anaphoric reference. Only a few examples of this particular kind have been found in the material I have worked with. This adaptation strategy is not mentioned explicitly in the publishers' guidelines. However, it is in harmony with the advice to use cataphoric reference ties sparingly in some of the literature discussing reading materials for certain groups of readers (see Moe 1979 referred to in Simensen 1992).

(4)

By painstaking work through the years, the Secret Service has accumulated a file of nearly 200,000 names or groups which might offer danger to the President. About 800 "most dangerous" are kept in a special file. While it has been able to thwart hundreds of potential attempts on the President's life, the Service never knows when an undetected murderer may strike. ("The secret service", OV: 54)
By careful work through many years, *the Secret Service* has built up a file of nearly 200,000 names or groups who might be dangerous for the President. About 800 "most dangerous" are kept in a special file. *The Secret Service* has stopped many people from killing the President, but of course, *the Service* never knows when an unknown murderer may kill. ("The secret service", AV: 18)

The AV of (4) may be interpreted as the result of a general wish to avoid cataphora. In that case *it* in the OV is interpreted as part of a chain of referring expressions, i.e. with reference both back to *the Secret Service* (anaphoric) and forwards to *the Service* (cataphoric).

But the adaptation in (4) may also in fact be interpreted as a result of the wish to remove any doubts about what *it* refers to in the OV. A less experienced reader might actually think that *it* refers back to a *special file*. In that case it is a question of two potential antecedents and a case of ambiguity in assigning the reference relationship. This problem was dealt with in the publishers' guidelines, as noted above.

In example (5) below an indefinite noun phrase is introduced in the AV, thus establishing a direct and explicit antecedent for the noun phrase *the ropes*.

(5)

…he looked at the hanging box... Kino heard the creak of *the rope*... And one of the streaks fell on the hanging box where Coyotito lay, and on *the ropes* that held it. (*The Pearl*, OV: 2-9)

… he looked at the box... The box hung on *ropes* from the roof... something moved on one of *the ropes*. (*The Pearl*, AV: 1-3)

My material contains many examples of this kind of adaptation, presumably a strategy meant to allow for more direct and easy "bridging", cognitively speaking (see the ‘bridge theory’ in e.g. Clark 1977). The publishers' guidelines do not deal with this specific problem, but they emphasize the importance of controlling the distance between the pronoun and its antecedent and recommend, among other things, that the antecedent should be restated from time to time (cf. also Hedge 1985:16-17).
Non-identity

Examples of non-identity of the textual reference type are rare in the material I have worked with so far. That is a good thing since the two examples to be discussed in the following represent a type of adaptation not to be recommended.

(6)

At twenty-four he married a girl of eighteen whose father was a Duke and her mother a great American heiress, so that she had both position and wealth ... (“Lord ...”, OV: 889)

At twenty-four he had married a girl of eighteen whose father was a duke and whose American mother was very rich, so that he had a good position and wealth. (“Lord ...”, AV: 97)

Because the pronoun she is replaced by he, we get a completely different co-reference relationship in the AV compared with the OV. The change produces a difference of meaning between the versions. As I see it, this is an error on the part of the adaptor.

The next example is taken from a text with several characters, and several chains of referring expressions run through the text. A complicating factor in the OV is that the chains include both proper nouns, common nouns and pronouns at various stages. This leaves an impression of extensive stylistic variation in referring expressions. Some of the expressions in two of the chains are:

1. The Marquesa de San Esteban -> she -> Pilar Carreon -> Doña Pilar -> she -> Doña Pilar -> Pilar

2. The Countess de Marbella -> she -> the countess -> the Frenchwoman -> the countess's glance

The chains are also woven into each other in the OV. This and the variety of referring expressions make it difficult to keep track of the characters. It is thus against this background that the following adaptation must be seen:
(7)  
... the countess ... but Pilar could not keep her eyes off that smart carriage ... and, not wishing to catch the countess's glance ...
(“The romantic ...”, OV: 357)

... the countess ... but Pilar could not keep her eyes off that smart carriage ... and not wishing to catch the Marquesa's eye ...
(“The romantic ...”, AV: 27)

Because the countess's is replaced by the Marquesa's in the second half of the tie in the AV a different reference relationship is established, i.e. between the Marquesa and Pilar. The result is a completely absurd sentence: Pilar did not wish to catch her own eye! The adapted version has in this confusing way made it even more difficult for learners of English to keep track of the characters.

Examples of the kind dealt with in the present section seem to make it necessary for publishers to invite a second opinion on the adapted products.

**Situational reference**

Instances of this type of adaptation are rare in the material I have worked with so far. I will deal with only one example here.

(8)  
But the album was recognized to be a unique part of our national heritage, ...
(“Close-up ...”, OV: 46)

But the album was recognized to be a unique part of Britain's national heritage, ...
(“A camera ...”, AV: 227).

The OV of (8) contains a deixis of person, our, and the situational frame of reference between the writer and the readers seems to be taken for granted: it is British and it is shared. As long as this is the case, there is presumably no problem interpreting our. But as soon as the readers are non-British, this may not be taken for granted any more. And a specification of it in terms of Britain's in the AV is what
the adaptor has opted for to ensure understanding (cp. ‘supply of information’ above). No recommendation to this effect was included in the publishers’ guidelines. However, as noted above, adaptors were advised to keep in mind differences between the world of the story or text and the world of the student or reader.

Conclusion

This paper initially dealt with the role of extensive reading in FLT and discussed the problem of providing appropriate reading materials for this. The paper then considered adapted texts as one type of appropriate materials and discussed selected aspects of a study of such materials.

The title of the paper asked the question: “Studies of teaching materials. Why?” Many answers can be given, for example the need for knowledge in specific fields such as the need in connection with text adaptation to know what adaptors think is difficult and therefore should be altered in a text with a new target reader in mind. The study reported above can contribute with knowledge of this kind. There is also clearly a need for knowledge of a more general nature. Students in teacher education, practicing teachers and textbook writers need systematic and objective information about teaching materials. Knowledge of this kind may provide a basis for developing criteria for the evaluation of teaching materials. This question was referred to in the beginning of this paper. Most of all, of course, the educational community as a whole needs research on teaching materials as part of a general control of the quality of such materials.

As to the question of quality, most of the examples discussed in the present paper seem to be uncontroversial and may thus be said to represent acceptable means of adapting texts for readers of EFL. However, this cannot be said about all. The paper has in fact drawn attention to examples of adaptation which distort reference relationships in texts, making them to a large extent confusing and incomprehensible, and thereby impairing rather than improving the quality of this type of reading materials. The study reported here can thus be regarded as an example of an extremely important purpose of research on teaching materials: the control of quality.
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Sources of reading material


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Aud Solbjørg Skulstad

Developing genre awareness in the “online era”

Introduction

Since the 1970s the aim of foreign language teaching has been to develop the learner’s communicative competence. This concept comprises six components: linguistic competence, sociolinguistic competence, discourse competence, strategic competence (Canale and Swain 1980), sociocultural competence and social competence (see e.g. van Ek 1987 and the 1994 English syllabus for upper secondary school: Reform ’94, point 3.4). An assumption underlying the present paper is that in what critical linguists label “late modernity” (see e.g. Choul iaraki and Fairclough 1999) or what I refer to as the “online era”, this conventional specification of the subcompetences of communicative competence is no longer sufficient. The idea of genre awareness is introduced as an important element of the foreign language learner’s communicative language ability.

Developing the foreign language learner’s genre awareness has become even more vital in the 21st century. One reason for this is that children of this era will need to develop not only a “traditional” literacy, but an “electronic literacy” as well. Warschauer (1999: 13) points out that

Electronic literacy involves not only adapting our eyes to read from the screen instead of the page but also adapting our vision of the nature of literacy and the purposes of reading and writing.

He adds: “The computer changes the nature of writing simply by giving visual expression to our acts of conceiving and manipulating topics” (loc.cit.) Similarly, Bolter (1991: 16) claims that the computer represents a revolution in writing:

The computer as hypertext invites us to write with symbols that have both an intrinsic and extrinsic significance. That is, the symbols have a meaning that may be explained in words, but they also have meaning as elements in a larger structure of verbal
gestures. Both words and structures are visible, writeable, and readable in the electronic space.

Warschauer (1999: 162-163) sums up what kind of literacies the learner in the 21st century needs to acquire:

Students need to
- understand how communication varies across media
- understand how grammar of text as well as grammar of visual design (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996) combine to express meaning
- learn various types of electronic literacy (such as Web research and computer-mediated collaboration) in support of print literacy (such as writing essays)
- learn various types of print literacy (such as scanning books for information) in support of electronic literacies (such as authoring Web pages)
- learn the types of genres and rhetorical structures that are used in particular media
- learn enough about cultural and dialectical differences to choose the right communication strategies for the particular audiences that they are likely to encounter in a new medium
- have a clear and meaningful purpose for the reading and writing activities they undertake.

These ideas are familiar in communicative approaches to language teaching: the importance of purposeful and genuine communication, the relationship between language use and audience, the idea that language use varies across media, and so forth. The most important contribution Warschauer’s list makes is that it emphasizes the interrelationship between print literacy and electronic literacies, and that none of these types of literacies can be ignored in the modern language classroom. His list also includes Kress and van Leeuwen’s ideas about the grammar of visual design. They define this grammar as

the way in which ... depicted people, places and things are combined into a meaningful whole. Just as grammars of language describe how words combine in clauses, sentences and texts, so our visual “grammar” will describe the way in which depicted people,
places and things combine in visual “statements” of greater or lesser complexity and extension

(Kress and van Leeuwen 1996: 1).

Such a multimodal nature of texts will undoubtedly need more explicit attention in the foreign language classroom.

An aim of my paper is to focus on the fact that developing genre awareness for the 21st century is an increasingly complex and important issue for a number of reasons. Some of these relate to the following characteristics of written (and visual) communication:

- the interrelationship between print literacy and electronic literacy
- the multimodal nature of texts
- the heterogeneity of texts in terms of types of discourses
- the emergence of new genres in response to changes in the wider societal context such as the use of new technology.

In this paper I will limit my discussion to the development of genre awareness with respect to writing ability in a foreign language. My discussion includes both the development of print literacy (“offline” communication) and electronic literacies (“online” communication).

The paper starts by a discussion of the concepts genre and genre awareness. The next section looks at some characteristics of contemporary discourse. Last, key aspects of the use of information and communication technology (ICT) in developing the foreign language learner’s genre awareness are discussed.

Some characteristics of genre

The term genre awareness is tied to an understanding of the term genre. Genre has become a buzz-word similar to the buzz-words communicative and learner autonomy of the 1980s. There are a number of definitions of the concept of genre (see Skulstad forthcoming). Here, I will briefly point out some characteristics of genre.

An important characteristic of genre is that it serves a purpose. Miller (1984 [1994]: 37) says that “A genre is a rhetorical means for
mediating private intentions and social exigence”. Similarly, Swales’ (1990) definition of genre specifies that members of a genre share a specific set of communicative purposes. These purposes are recognized by the members of the discourse community who use the genre, and thus, these purposes constitute the rationale for the genre. This rationale shapes the generic conventions. In upper secondary school in Norway, project work became an obligatory part of teaching courses in the 1990s (Reform ’94). In the same period of time, the national curriculum guidelines for lower secondary school introduced “learning to learn” as an important element in the teaching of foreign languages (Læreplanverket of 1996). In a project-oriented approach as well as in an environment emphasizing learner autonomy, learners are encouraged to focus on the purposes of their own learning, on designing project aims and determining what will be learned (see Benson 2001). Consequently, these approaches may assist learners in determining their communicative needs in writing and ultimately, in seeing written genres as purposeful goal-directed social activities.

Genre is primarily a social and cultural phenomenon. We learn to operate in a genre by participating in the communicative activities of our private and professional life (Berkenkotter and Huckin 1995). This idea is sometimes referred to as situated “cognition”. The quotation marks indicate that this is not necessarily an explicit type of knowledge. Thus, a writer may enter a discourse community (Swales 1988, 1990, 1998) or a community of practice (Lave and Wenger 1991) as a novice, and gradually move towards becoming an expert member of that community.

A genre is in fact a social process in itself in the sense that when members of a given culture or a discourse community interact with each other, the result is a written or spoken genre text. A major challenge in the foreign language classroom therefore is to make such interaction an instance of genuine communication (see below).

Yet another characteristic of genre texts is that they vary in their prototypicality (Swales 1990). This means that it is possible to identify a recurrent pattern of generic conventions which will be present in prototypical texts (see e.g. Skulstad 1996). Other texts within the genre may depart from this pattern to a greater or lesser extent. Besides, a text may be heterogeneous in terms of which types of discourses it draws on (see below). Nevertheless, provided that a
text is responded to successfully by the intended audience, it has a recognizable generic character. This means that full members of the discourse community in question will recognize this as a valid instance of the genre. Bhatia (1999) refers to this as *genre integrity*.

Genres are dynamic entities, and changes in genres and new ways of writing should be seen within broader social changes. One of the characteristics of the "online era" is the emergence of new genres as a response to the use of new technology. New genres emerge in response to changing needs, and over a period of time in history, genre conventions change. This illustrates that fact that a genre can never be viewed in isolation, but in relation to the wider societal context, the institutional context and the context of situation.

In the next section we shall see that raising the learner’s genre awareness includes more than simply developing familiarity with genres.

*Genre awareness*

To simplify somewhat, we may say that writing is above all a choice-making process. Consequently, "to learn to write is to learn to exercise choices" (Christie 1987: 22). These choices are made at the levels of

- genre
- textual (rhetorical) organization, coherence and cohesion
- grammatical structure and vocabulary
- content selection.

However, these choices are not absolutely free choices. Therefore, I prefer the term *social options* which reflects the fact that these options are constrained by the situational, institutional and cultural contexts. (Fowler (1991: 70) contrasts the terms *social option* and *privileged personal choice*.) Included in these contextual constraints are the norms and conventions of the discourse community in which the writer operates. Christie (1987: 25) puts it this way:

The linguistic choices appropriate to any context of situation are not arbitrary, nor are they the personal whim of individuals: they are
socially determined, for they are deeply part of the social functions served by engaging in the context of situation in question.

The choices or social options made by the writer depend on the learner’s awareness of a range of factors, such as:

- language
- genre conventions
- cohesion and coherence strategies
- the situational context
- the institutional context
- the wider societal context
- norms and ideologies of the discourse community
- the audience

This list specifies important elements of the concept of genre awareness. Skulstad (1997: 299 and forthcoming) gives the following definition of the concept with learners of languages for specific purposes (LSP) in mind:

sensitivity to the relationship between the communicative purposes of the genre and the situated writer’s strategic needs. This implies sensitivity to the relationship between the situated writer’s choices (social options) on the one hand and constraints of generic conventions on the other. Included here is also a conscious awareness of the role a genre plays as an instrument for intercommunication between the members of the discourse community.

Writing is seen as situated social practice, hence the term situated writer. The situatedness of writing refers to the fact that it is located in a particular time and place (Barton, Hamilton and Ivanič 2000: 1). Writing takes place within a discourse community (or a community of practice), and to act as a full member of that community requires the use of situationally appropriate genre conventions. Key words in my definition of genre awareness are “communicative purposes” and “strategic needs”. In genuine communication, the writer has strategic or communicative needs in writing. At the same time, texts which belong to the same genre share a set of communicative purposes. The
writer must learn to choose the genre and rhetorical strategies that suit his or her strategic needs. There is room for variation as to which rhetorical strategies to choose. Yet, in order to communicate successfully, the writer needs to observe the balance between creativity and genre integrity.

In order to develop their genre awareness, foreign language learners need to engage in writing activities which allow them to make choices at all the various levels specified above. This does not mean that there is no room for activities which focus mainly on structural aspects of language use in the foreign language classroom. But, once the learner has practised some aspect of their linguistic competence, there should always be a next step in which the learner gets the opportunity to use the language for non-linguistic purposes. In other words, activities which involve the learner in making choices at the linguistic (grammatical) level only will not raise the learner’s genre awareness. The same is true about writing activities which signal that the learner’s content selection is all that matters. Consider the following example:

Example 1:

Write it

Say what the compulsory subjects at American schools are and explain what they are about.

(Amland, Odeldahl, Odeldahl and Hodell 1998: 103)

This writing activity is taken from a textbook for learners of English in the 9th grade. The context and genre are not specified, and the learner is not encouraged to consider these important aspects of real-life writing.

In communicative language teaching, a well-known principle is to aim for genuine communication. Another principle is what Richards and Rodgers (1986: 72) label “the task principle”: “Activities in which language is used for carrying out meaningful tasks promote learning.” This means that teachers or textbook writers try to put the activity within a meaningful setting. In example 2, there is an authentic text (or a text that is meant to look like one) followed by a writing task:
Example 2:

ARE YOU AGE 12-18?
ARE YOU INTERESTED IN ACTING?
We’re starting a Theatre Group
for young people.
If you are interested, write or phone:
Winchester Theatre Group
5 Knight’s Lane. (55206)

Send an application
Send an application to the Winchester Theatre Group and tell them
you want to become a member. Why are you interested in acting?
(Smedstad 1997: 177)

This writing activity appears in a textbook for learners in the 8th grade.
The genre, the communicative purpose and the intended audience are
identified. Below is yet another example of an “imagine that”-activity
typical of communicative approaches to foreign language teaching.
This time the example is taken from a textbook for learners in upper
secondary school:

Example 3:

Written work
You are a narrow-minded, nitwitted (dum), obnoxious American
tourist in Norway. You have been on a three week tour of the
country and you think it has been just awful. Write a letter home
telling your pal about all the terrible things you have experienced.
For example, that the cars are too small, the service impolite, the
TV a dead loss (except for CNN, of course), the food really weird,
dinky little mountains, etc … Use your imagination.
(Hals and Mikkelsen 1993: 118)

In example 3 the learner is given a particular role and purpose in
writing, and both the genre and intended audience are specified.
Increasing numbers of learners are gaining access to computers and
the Web. This fact has made it easier to design activities where the
learners can communicate with real readers for genuine communica-
tive purposes (see below). The advantage of an “imagine that”-activity,
on the other hand, is that you can make the learners work on
specific aspects of their communicative language ability such as inter-cultural awareness. (Example 3, however, may be seen to reinforce any prior ideas the learners may have as to cultural stereotypes.)

What then, are the abilities required to be a competent writer? Bhatia (1999: 32) identifies a number of “writing competencies” for users and writers of genres in professional contexts (LSP). These competences are relevant outside LSP as well:

- ability to select the right genre (generic potential);
- ability to identify and discern communicative purposes in writing;
- ability to identify, understand and predict cognitive structuring in genres;
- ability to decide which private intentions, if any, can be covertly expressed within a recognisable set of generic purposes;
- ability to predict rhetorical strategies associated with a range of genres: in writing a job application, for example, one should be able to realise that it is perfectly acceptable to transgress the Gricean Maxim of Quantity (Grice 1975) in not telling the whole truth, but not the Maxim of Quality to say something which is not true;
- ability to choose the right kind of appeal, persuasive or any other, keeping in mind the nature of the genre in question and the understanding of and relationship with the audience;
- ability to choose suitably appropriate lexico-grammatical realisations of the communicative purposes (both socially recognised and more covert ones, including private intentions).

He uses the term genre ownership (cf. Berkenkotter and Huckin’s 1995 term community ownership) to describe the final stage of genre acquisition. This stage

enables writers to use standard generic procedures creatively to recreate novel generic forms, to develop predictable forms to communicate private intentions within the framework of socially recognised generic purposes.

(Bhatia 1999: 33)

The idea of genre ownership may be seen as the ultimate aim of writing instruction also in the case of non-professional genres. It may,
however, be seen as a somewhat unrealistic ideal for the great majority of foreign language learners in lower and upper secondary school. Still, Bhatia specifies an important aim: we should enable learners to use existing genres to communicate their own private purposes. In order to communicate successfully, the learner needs to know the balance between creative individual use and socially recognizable use.

Some characteristics of discourse in the 21st century

A central idea in communicative language teaching is that language use varies according to context. This means that what may be appropriate to say or write in one context may be totally inappropriate in another. Halliday uses the concept of register as a label for language variation according to context:

A register we can define as a variety according to use. In other words, the register is what you are speaking [or writing] at the time, depending on what you are doing and the nature of the activity in which language is functioning.

(Halliday and Hasan 1989: 41)

Halliday’s view of register implies that “each set of regularly occurring contextual characteristics predicts a particular ‘register’: a set of textual realizations” (Ivanič 1998: 45). Critical discourse analysts, on the other hand, stress that there is not a one-to-one relationship between discourse and context: “the matching of language to context is characterized by indeterminacy, heterogeneity and struggle” (Fairclough 1992: 42).

Fairclough (1992) uses the term interdiscursivity to describe this heterogeneity within a text: texts may be constituted from elements or conventions of various types of discourses and genres. A discourse refers to language associated with a particular institution or social practice (see Kress 1989: 6-7 and Fairclough 1995: 14). This means that any given text found on the Internet, for instance, may use discourses associated with a number of different institutions and social practices such as academic writing, business writing, environmen-
talism, conversation, advertising, and so forth (see Skulstad 2001). Similarly, texts may draw on conventions of more than one genre. “Traditional” notions of register, on the other hand, suggest a homogeneity of text which is often not the case. Fairclough’s (1992) analysis of a document issued by a British bank, “A Cardholder’s Guide to Barclaycard”, may serve to illustrate this mixing of types of discourses. In this document he identifies a pattern of two main alternating discourses: those of financial regulation and advertising. Fairclough (1992: 116) interprets this particular instance of textual practice in a larger social context:

This mix of information about financial regulations and advertising can be interpreted as a way of reacting to a dilemma which institutions such as banking face in the modern market. Sectors of the economy outside commodity production are increasingly being drawn into the commodity model of the matrix of consumerism, and are under pressure to “package” their activities as commodities and “sell” them to “consumers”.

Similarly, Skulstad (2001) shows how writers of annual reports issued by British universities and British companies choose from a repertoire of promotional, narrative, conversational and subjective discourses to achieve specific communicative aims. These two examples of interdiscursivity may serve to illustrate what one of Bhatia’s “writing competencies” quoted in the section above may involve. This sub-competence is repeated below for convenience:

ability to choose the right kind of appeal, persuasive or any other, keeping in mind the nature of the genre in question and the understanding of and relationship with the audience.

(Bhatia 1999: 32)

Writers usually have a repertoire of discourses to choose from, and learners need to practise performing these choices (social options). Coe (1994: 181) says:

When Aristotle defined rhetoric as “the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion” (1954: 24), he was clearly thinking of explicit argumentation. But New Rhetoricians
note how much verbal persuasion is implicit, structured into our words and ways with words.

Furthermore, our notion of literacy in “late modernity” has been expanded to include “visual literacy” and the use of other semiotic systems (Ivanič 2001). In the case of visuals, what we may call visual persuasion may be even more implicit than verbal persuasion. Language “is the medium in which most organized thought and communication proceed” (Hodge and Kress 1993: 1). Users of native and foreign languages learn how to make appropriate verbal responses to an argument, a claim, a request, and so forth. Visual strategies, however, are often harder to identify and respond to. Myers (1994: 134) points to the fact that a picture does not evoke such a clear rational response as does a statement in words. He says that we would laugh at an advertisement that said “Buy our car and you will never get stuck in traffic”. But a television commercial picturing a car out on the empty open road does not provoke the same response of ridicule. A similar example is found in my corpus of British corporate environmental reports (Skulstad 1997 and forthcoming). I would argue against an oil company which claimed in its environmental report that “Offshore drilling is in complete harmony with maritime life”. A photograph of a number of seals in the foreground and a drilling platform in the background where the caption reads “Seals basking on buoy of Cobia platform, Bass Strait, Australia” (Esso UK plc: 13) does not evoke the same response.

A conclusion to be drawn from the fact that actual texts are typically heterogeneous is that instead of concentrating on teaching a specific register we need to sensitize learners to the inherent relationship that exists between the situated writer’s strategic needs and the repertoire of discourses available to that writer in order to achieve those specific needs (Skulstad 1999a). This sensitivity is one important element of genre awareness. The heterogeneity of actual texts discussed above is often more immediately apparent in the case of texts on hypertext systems such as the Web. These texts are often multisemiotic (Skulstad 1999b), combining written, visual and auditory communication by the inclusion of written texts, graphics, sound files and video clips.
In this way the use of the Internet has started to, and will continue to, change reading and writing. Indeed, the Internet has been described as bringing about “the fourth revolution in the means of production of knowledge” (Harnard 1991: 39). The three former revolutions are the “advent” of language, writing and print. Some aspects of the use of the Internet in foreign language teaching are discussed in the next section, together with aspects of the use of ICT in general.

*Developing genre awareness using ICT*

In Norwegian schools, access to computers in the teaching and learning of foreign languages varies considerably from school to school depending on factors such as funding, support from administrators and access to technical assistance. Still, the use of ICT in schools is increasing, and may be seen as an important factor in the 21st century. The use of ICT is obviously not a “must” for any development of genre awareness. In this section, I will nevertheless discuss some of the potentials of the use of ICT for developing foreign language learners’ genre awareness, and I also point out some potential problems in connection with this.

Nystrand (1990) stresses the importance of writing for real readers. There are several reasons why this is important. Nystrand mentions the fact that writers need feedback from a variety of readers, not only their teacher. Teachers are typically perceived by learners as judges of their pieces of writing. In addition, there is usually no real “communication gap”, because the learners are usually writing for their teacher about something which he or she already understands or knows about. Consequently, school writing is artificial in the sense that the learners do not use informative or persuasive discourse, for instance, in an attempt to inform or persuade the teacher. In real life, writing is used for some kind of social (non-linguistic) purpose.

The use of e-mail or “key pals” is one way of writing for real readers and importantly, readers who are either native speakers of the target language or readers with whom the learners can use the foreign language as a lingua franca. Another way of providing learners with genuine communicative purposes and real readers is to use the ap-
approach known as service learning. In this approach, learners offer their writing services to organizations in the community. Examples of such services are creating Web sites or making brochures (see Warschauer 1999). These are obviously demanding tasks to carry out in a foreign language, and are more suited for advanced learners.

As for school writing, some form of explicit genre teaching may be necessary. What is known as the Sydney School genre movement has drawn attention to the political dimensions of genre by pointing out that the aim is to enable every writer to have access to all powerful genres (see Reid 1987). Proponents of this genre school claim that classrooms which do not focus on explicit teaching of classroom genres or curriculum genres favour white, middle-class children (see Freedman 1994, Berkenkotter and Huckin 1995 and Skulstad 1999a). The idea behind this claim is that learners make use of their personal experiences when they write. Consequently, learners who have rather limited personal experiences will be at a disadvantage. Kress (1987: 43) emphasizes this idea by saying that “genres ... and access to them, are unevenly distributed in society, along the lines of social structuring.” Pupils have access to a number of “model texts” on the Web. Rather than simply studying model texts, the Sydney School advocates negotiation between teacher and learners and between peers in the learners’ initial attempts at writing a particular genre text. This process of negotiation may take the form of a series of questions and answers. This interaction and guidance may provide scaffolding for writing in a way that is parallel to learning spoken genres. The responsibility for developing a successful text is assumed jointly, as when learning to talk.

(Martin, Christie and Rothery 1987: 70)

“Learning to talk” here refers to mother-child dialogues. What characterizes the scaffolding of this type of dialogue is interaction and guidance in the context of shared experience. One way of creating a context of shared experience is when teacher and class, or a group of learners, jointly compose the genre text. The teacher (or co-writer) guides the composition of the text through questions and comments. These questions and comments provide scaffolding for the organization of the text. This means that before the learners are
expected to write their own individual texts, teacher and class produce texts jointly. These texts act as models for the genre in which the learners are supposed to learn to operate.

Co-operation in groups has become the contemporary way of learning. Group and pair work have always been central in communicative language teaching. In the last two decades, process-oriented writing has become a powerful approach in language teaching. So-called response groups are central within process-oriented writing. In these groups, peers give feedback to text drafts written by other members of the group. In this way, writing is set within a larger communicative context in which several participants communicate. Central here are ideas linked to cognitive psychology which emphasizes a collaborative approach to learning and Vygotskian ideas that written language is acquired through a process of social interaction (Vygotsky 1962). The use of response groups facilitates the development of a meta-awareness of writing and of the writing process. By discussing their own writing and that of their peers in the foreign language, the learners will develop their communicative language ability in both speech and writing. The members of the group have a purpose in communicating, they have something interesting to talk about and they have somebody to interact with (see Richards and Rodgers 1986: 72 on principles of communicative approaches). In addition, the members of the group have specific rhetorical problems to solve: ambiguities of purpose (What’s the purpose of this, anyway?), genre (What sort of text is this?), topic (What’s this about, anyway?) and comment (What’s the point?) (Nystrand 1990: 16). Obviously, response groups may also use computer terminals for peer review (see Schultz 2000). Besides, ICT has created new possibilities for co-operation in the writing process by the use of Web-logs or different types of forums for communication.

With regard to reading, the introduction of the Internet in the foreign language classroom means that the learners have access to an infinite amount of authentic texts. The use of authentic texts is usually seen as a cornerstone in communicative language teaching. Research has indicated that good writers read quite a lot, and thus this access may have a positive effect on learners’ writing ability. Critics, on the other hand, point to the negative effects upon readers of the large amount of unreliable information found on the Web.
There is also another potential problem related to use of the Internet in the foreign language classroom. This problem is more complex and has to do with teacher and learner roles in the classroom. Extensive use of project work together with the emphasis on learning to learn are factors which have the effect of reducing the teacher’s control of which learning activities are going on at any specific moment. A consequence of this is that whereas the “traditional” teacher of communicative approaches tried to integrate all four skills, the teacher in a project-oriented or learner autonomous setting loses some of this control. There is always a danger that some learners may spend a lot of time scanning texts on the Internet and relatively little time on writing activities.

It was pointed out above that writing is a choice-making process, and that to develop their genre awareness the learners need to take part in writing activities which allow them to make choices at a number of different levels. In some learning environments, the language lab typical of the Audio-lingual method may be replaced by a “computer lab” where the learners perform similar types of Audio-lingual drills. This type of activity often involves the learner in making choices at the sentence level and at the linguistic level only, and all the other choices or social options involved in writing are ignored. There is a potential danger in that this type of drill may take up too much of the learners’ time, particularly in an environment which stresses learner autonomy, because foreign language learners themselves often have a strong belief in the effects of such pattern practice. In any case, this type of drill should be followed by activities which allow for using the language for non-linguistic purposes (see above).

In the last few years, there has been a debate in the Norwegian journal Språk og språkundervisning (Language and Language Teaching) about the fact that students in higher education use language from the wrong registers in their academic texts (e.g. Gulbrandsen and Korsvold 2000, Gurholt 2000, Lehmann 2001). The use of new communications media such as e-mail or various kinds of conferencing systems often result in texts which demonstrate heavy mixing of styles (such as formal and informal language) and discourses (such as academic discourse and discourses of everyday life and experience). This may have the effect of confusing the learners even more in terms of register, style and discourse types. Alternatively, these new communi-
cations media may be seen to have pedagogical potentials for raising the learners’ awareness about genre, generic conventions and discourse types. The use of computer-mediated communication means that the interaction is stored and easily available for analysis. The learners should be encouraged to identify rhetorical and visual strategies used in their own texts and to analyse social options made in texts written by their peers or by professional writers.

**Conclusion**

Critics have claimed that net-based reading and writing practices may produce readers who surf through catchy material and who never pause long enough to read a complete text passage, much less to analyse it critically (quoted in Warschauer 1999: 12). Similarly, writing may be “reduced to searching for the snazziest graphics rather than attending to serious argument” (loc.cit.). My view on literacy in the 21st century is far more optimistic. But teaching and learning aimed at developing the learner’s genre awareness becomes critical in avoiding the scenario outlined above.

To conclude, I want to shift the focus from learners’ awareness to teacher awareness. It is important to raise teacher awareness about the complexity, heterogeneity and multimodal nature of communication in the “online era”. It is just as important for teachers to realize the consequences of this complexity for language teaching and learning. To communicate successfully in speech and writing, the foreign language learner needs to be able to participate in established and new genres. Foreign language learners need to develop a meta-awareness as to their own rhetorical practices so that they can change these practices as new rhetorical needs and new genres emerge.

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Kåre Solfjeld

Autentiske oversettelser og fremmedspråksundervisning

Innledning


Med utgangspunkt i tysk og dermed et av de sentrale såkalte andre fremmedspråk i norsk skole vil jeg i det følgende se på hvordan autentiske oversettelser kan brukes i undervisningen. I del 1 tar jeg for

1. Brukstekster i språkundervisningen på lavere nivåer

I bruksanvisninger, turistinformasjon o.l. finner en ofte forholdsvis korte tekster på flere språk i én og samme brosjyre. Slike tekster omgir oss i reisebyråer, kjøpesentre, på ferger, fly etc., og de er derfor en bokstavelig talt nærliggende kilde til å se på flere språk på en gang. Det kan ofte være vanskelig å vite hvordan slike tekster er oppstått. De fleste er sikkert oversettelser i snever forstand, det vil si skrevet av en morsmålsbruker og så oversatt til de andre aktuelle språkene. Andre er trolig forfattet mer parallelt uten at det har foreligget én versjon først som har tjent som utgangstekst for de andre. Spørsmålet om tekstene er oversettelser i egentlig forstand eller snarere er det vi kan kalle parallelttekster, er av mindre betydning i denne sammenhengen. Fra didaktisk synsvinkel er hovedpoenget at det dreier seg om tekster som lar seg sammenligne med hensyn til innhold, funksjon og målgruppe. De er ofte oversiktlige og lette å orientere seg i – og kan derfor brukes på lavere nivåer i skolen.

– Leksikalske oppdagelser

Det er ikke tvil om at det man lettest kan arbeide med, ikke minst på lavere nivåer, vil være det rent leksikalske, å bygge opp ordforrådet. Elevene kan gjøre oppdagelsesreiser i for eksempel de tyske versjonene med en engelsk versjon eller en morsmålsversjon som guide eller kart. Likheter og ulikheter mellom tysk, engelsk og norsk – og ikke minst det store fellesskapet av internasjonale ord og uttrykk –
kan tematiseres. Elevenes språkopplevelser fra reiser kan trekkes inn og inspirere til videre språklige oppdagelser på neste ferietur. I turistbrosjyrer finner vi ofte svært konkrete beskrivelser av steder, byer, landskap. Samtidig er det bilder som forteller det samme som teksten. Det er derfor lett å følge tråden, oppdage og lære de tyske betegnelsene; jfr. for eksempel hvordan parallele betegnelser følger hverandre i disse utsnittene fra en turistbrosjyre om Kiel:

1) Die Tourist Information hilft auch bei Zimmervermittlung, Ferienwohnungen, Kartenverkauf, Fährpassagen, Busfahrten, Poster, Ansichtskarten, Souvenirs ... (KursKiel – Stadlotse, Town Guide, By-los)

Turistinformasjonen hjelper også til med romformidling, ferieboliger, forsalg av billetter, ferjeturer, bussturer, plakater, postkort, souvenirer ... (KursKiel – Stadlotse, Town Guide, By-los)

Ganz gleich, ob Sie die Straße, die Bahn, das Schiff oder das Flugzeug benutzen: In Kiel anzukommen ist immer ein ganz besonderes Erlebnis. Wo sonst gäbe es eine Symbiose einer lebendigen City einerseits und der See mit Hafen, Werften und Fährschiffen andererseits? (KursKiel – Stadlotse, Town Guide, By-los)

Likegylidig om du kommer landeveien, med jernbane, skip eller fly: Det å ankomme i Kiel er altid en helt spesiell opplevelse. For hvor finner man ellers en så tett symbiose med en levende by på den ene side, og sjøen med havn, verft og ferjer på den annen? (KursKiel – Stadlotse, Town Guide, By-los)

Denne brosjyren inneholder også en engelsk versjon, så her skulle det være forholdsvis lett å lage for eksempel ordlister med parallele betegnelser i tysk, norsk og engelsk. Jfr. videre følgende tekster fra en turistbrosjyre om Sørlandet. Også her kan man følge vokabularemt gjennom de to tekstene – se på alt det som tilsvarer hverandre og samtidig oppdage små ulikheter:

2) Sørlandet steht für Sonne, Meer und Schärenküste. Sørlandet bedeutet Wälder und stille Seen. Sørlandet steht für freundliche
Menschen, Feste, Freude, lachende Gesichter und Musik. (Sørlandet – Hele året! All year round! Ganzjährig!, s. 23)

Sørlandet er sol, sjø og skjærgård. Sørlandet er stor skoger og stille innlandsvann. Sørlandet er vennlige mennesker, festivaler, glede, smil og musikk. (Sørlandet – Hele året! All year round! Ganzjährig!, s. 22)


– Tekstene som speil av ulike målgrupper

I små tekster av denne typen finner vi også raskt eksempler på at man med de ulike språkene henvender seg til ulike målgrupper – og dermed må gå ut fra at målgruppene har ulik bakgrunn og slik også leser tekstene ut fra ulike forutsetninger; jfr. for eksempel den tyske og den norske teksten nedenfor. Her presenteres mulighetene for å drive med sportsdykking langs kysten på Sørlandet.

3) Mange tror at forholdene her nord er godte og øde, men det kunne ikke vært mer feil. Spesielt i perioden fra mai og utover til oktober øker livet i havet kraftig. Det byr på fisk i ulike farger og størrelser, utallige tangvekster, anemoner og sjøstjerner. (Sørlandet – Hele året! All year round! Ganzjährig!, s. 30)

Wer sich für Dschungel begeistert, muss nicht bis zum Amazonas reisen. Viel näher liegen die Tangwälder Sørlandets. Am Skagerrak hat der Golfstrom eine Unterwasserwelt geschaffen, die ihresgleichen sucht: Myriaden von Mikroorganismen, unzählige Fische und ein mysteriöses Dickicht von Braunalg. (Sørlandet – Hele året! All year round! Ganzjährig!, s. 30)

Slik gir disse korte tekstene på en effektiv og direkte måte innsikt i tekster og det å skrive. Det blir helt åpenbart at det ikke bare er språket som er ulikt i de ulike versjonene. En tekstforfatter må hele tiden ta hensyn til dem man skriver for. Det er lærerikt å oppleve i praksis at to tekster som rent konkret befinner seg side om side og som utvilsomt skal fungere parallelt og ha samme hovedfunksjon – i dette tilfellet å få nordmenn hhv. tyskspråklige til å feriere på Sørlandet –, ikke sier det samme. Slik kommer forholdet mellom den overordnede tekstfunksjonen og de ulike komponentene i teksten umiddelbart i fokus. Samtidig får man mulighet for å oppdage viktige sider ved oversettelser: Innholdet i en originaltekst og en oversettelse er slett ikke alltid det samme – og ulikheter kan være betinget av at man nettopp ønsker å oppnå det samme overfor ulike målgrupper.

– Informasjon presentert på ulike måter
Korte oversettelser eller parallelltekster av denne typen gir også ofte gode illustrasjoner av hvordan informasjon kan formidles på svært
ulike måter. Blant annet er det lett å finne eksempler på hvordan informasjon som i én tekst kan være implisitt, kan være eksplisitt i en annen versjon. Å se dette i praksis gir viktig input for refleksjon omkring språk: Det er åpenbart at vi – når vi leser tekster – alltid kan slutte oss til mye informasjon som ikke formidles direkte. I brosjyren om Sørlandet finner vi for eksempel i den norske versjonen:

4) Kommer du sommerstid, bør du oppleve en teaterforestilling på utendørsscenen i steinbruddet Agder teater – Fjæreheia. (Sørlandet – Hele året! All year round! Ganzjährig!, s. 18)

Im Sommer sollte man eine Theatervorführung auf der Freilichtbühne des Agder Theaters, Fjæreheia, im Steinbruch nicht versäumen. (Sørlandet – Hele året! All year round! Ganzjährig!, s. 19)

I undervisningssammenheng er fordelen med denne typen brosjyrer og brukstekster at de er korte. Det er selv for elever på lavere nivåer lett å oppdage ulikheter. Ofte kan man for eksempel se at informasjonen kan være mer eller mindre oppstykket – det vil si, være fordelt på ulikt antall setninger eller perioder – i de ulike versjonene; jfr. følgende eksempler. Understrekningsene er foretatt av meg.

5) Seit 1882 findet die “Kieler Woche” statt, das größte Segelsportereignis der Welt. (KursKiel – Stadtlotse, Town Guide, By-los)

Regattauken “Kieler Woche har funnet sted siden 1882. Dette er det viktigste seilsportarrangementet i verden. (KursKiel – Stadtlotse, Town Guide, By-los)


Opplev vår bys mange forskjellige ansikter, for eksempel Holstenstraße, Kiels pulserende shopping-gate. I 1957 skapte man her Tysklands første gågate. (KursKiel – Stadtlotse, Town Guide, By-los)

7) Ganz im Osten liegt die Kunst- und Kulturstadt Risør, auch bekannt als Festivalstadt mit dem Kammermusikfestival und dem Holzbootfestival als den beiden größten Veranstaltungen. (Sørlandet – Hele året! All year round! Ganzjährig!, s. 23)

Helt øst ligger kunst- og kulturbyen Risør. Den er også kjent som Kunst og kulturbyen med kammermusikkfestival og treballfestival som de to største. (Sørlandet – Hele året! All year round! Ganzjährig!, s. 22)

I disse tekstutsnittene er informasjonen fordelt på flere perioden i den norske enn i den tyske versjonen. Dermed er det også nødvendig å bygge inn flere såkalte kohesjonsmidler på norsk enn på tysk – det vil si: bygge inn elementer som henviser til personer, ting, fenomener på tvers av setningsgrenser. Det at informasjonen fordeles på flere
perioden på norsk enn på tysk, gjør for eksempel at man må bygge inn pronomene *dette* hhv. *den* i den norske versjonen av 5 og 7. Og i tekstutsnitt 6 må *her* bygges inn. Man må kompensere for det faktum at man stykker informasjonen mer opp.

Igjen gir disse korte tekstene en mengde generell tekstviten. Vi får se i praksis at det langt på vei er opp til den som skriver, hvor mye informasjon som skal legges inn i hver setning. Gir en lite informasjon i hver setning – som i de norske versjonene i 5, 6 og 7 –, må det bygges broer mellom setningene: Det å finne de broene som kommer til i de norske versjonene i forhold til de tyske, kan i seg selv være en spennende oppgave. Og ikke minst kan det være spennende å oppdage hvilken form broene har: pronomer, gjentagelser av leksikalsk materiale, mer eller mindre synonymer, parafraseringer av ulik art osv. (jfr. nedenfor). Dette er inniskt som elevene bør kunne ta med seg til egen tekstproduksjon og gi bevissthet om ulike måter å forme en tekst på. Slike perspektiver inviterer uten tvil også til samarbeid mellom norsklærere og fremmedspråklærere.

2. Autentiske oversettelser i undervisningen på høyere nivåer

– Informasjonsspalting

Autentiske oversettelser som innfallsporter til ulike måter å organisere informasjon på (jfr. ovenfor) kan selvsagt brukes mer raffinert på mer avanserte stadier i fremmedspråksundervisningen – og slik for eksempel gi enda flere berøringspunkter med norskundervisningen (og sikkert også engelskundervisningen).

8) T/1 Ich (Ali) versuche gerade, eine Stelle in den Jurid-Werken in Glinde bei Hamburg zu bekommen, ... [...] 

T/2 Das Problem ist nur: zur Zeit ist Einstellungsstopp


T/4 Einen entsprechenden Familienschatz in Form einer Goldmünze aus dem alten osmanischen Reich habe ich über eine Münzhandlung bereits aufgetrieben, als ich durch einen Zufall auf das viel Näherliegende gestoßen werde.

T/5 Ich erfahre, daß die August-Thyssen-Hütte (ATH) in Duisburg schon seit längerer Zeit die Stammbelegschaft abbaut und über Subfirmen billigere, willigere und schneller zu heuernde und auch zu feuernde Leiharbeiter einstellt.

(Ganz unten, s. 84–85)

N/1 Jeg (Ali) prøver nå å få jobb ved Jurid-fabrikken i Glinde ved Hamburg. [...] 

N/2 Problemet er bare at det for tiden er ansettelsesstopp.

N/3 Men likevel greier noen å få seg arbeid der.

N/4 Det foregår ved bruk av bestikkelsel eller "gaver" til noen formenn.

N/5 Det kan være ekte tepper fra Tyrkia eller en verdifull gullmynt.

N/6 Også jeg har fått tak i en slik familieskatt gjennom en mynthandler.

N/7 Det dreier seg om en gullmynt fra det osmanske rike.

N/8 Men i mellomtida får jeg vite om noe som ligger mye nærmere.

N/9 Det er August Thyssen-verket (ATH) i Duisburg som trenger folk.

N/10 Fast ansatte arbeidere mister jobben og i stedet blir det tatt inn nye folk via leiefirmaer.

N/11 Disse arbeiderne er billigere, villigere og raskere å ansette eller sparke.

(Aller nederst, s. 73)

– Bakgrunnsinformasjon til venstre


9) *Durch die außergewöhnlich starke symbolische Ausdruckskraft des Autos* benützt der Traum das Auto, um eine bestimmte Lebenssituation aufzuzeigen. (Frauenträume, s. 22)
Bilen har en uvanlig sterk symbolsk uttrykkskraft. Derfor benytter drømmen seg av bilen for å skissere en bestemt livssituasjon. (Kvinnedrømmer, s. 25)

10) Im Interesse der Infektionsverhütung ... wurde die Sterilität groß geschrieben. (Der kleine, s. 55)

Infeksjoner skulle unngås ..., og steriliteten ble skjøvet i forgrunnen. (Lille, s. 63)

11) Bei Prof. Dements "Traumentzugs-Experimenten" reagierten die Versuchspersonen auf den Traumentzug mehrerer Nächte mit Reizbarkeit, Unentschlossenheit und Feindseligkeit. (Frauenträume, s. 8)

Professor Dement hindret sine forsøkspersoner i å drømme. Etter noen netter reagerte forsøkspersonene med irritabilitet, ubesluttsomhet og aggresjoner. (Kvinnedrømmer, s. 9).

12) Manchmal schleichen sich nur Katzen auf leisen Pfoten durch unsere Träume. Das gebändigte Miniatyr-raubtiers gilt in der Traumanalyse als Symbol der Unberechenbarkeit, manchmal sogar als Symbol der Bindungsunwilligkeit. (Frauenträume, s. 14)

Ofte er det bare katter som lister seg på myke poter gjennom drømmene. *Katten er et temmet "miniatyrrovdyr", og i drømmeanalyset regnes den for symbol på uberegnelighet, enkelte ganger også som symbol på motvilje mot bindinger. (Kvinnedrømmer, s. 16)

Definite nominalfraser forutsetter jo egentlig at informasjonen er kjent, men forfattere av tyske sakprosatekster inkluderer åpenbart relativt ofte informasjon i slike nominalfraser uten å ha gitt de aktuelle opplysningene tidligere i teksten. Dermed må leserne av de tyske originaltekstene supplere teksten med slutninger av typen: Bilen har en uvanlig sterk symbolsk uttrykkskraft – Katten er et temmet miniatyrrovdyr, informasjon som formidles eksplisitt i de norske versjonene.
– Utdypende informasjon til høyre


– Informasjonsspalting og tekststruktur

tekst på. Vi oppdager hvordan man kan velge ulike strategier for å bygge inn bakgrunnsinformasjon eller utdypende informasjon.


Velger man å bake inn bakgrunnsinformasjon eller utfyllende informasjon som komponenter i de setningene som bærer den tematiske hovedprogresjonen i teksten, kan det nok bli vanskeligere å få med seg alt som formidles innenfor hver setning, men samtidig blir hovedtrådene i teksten synligere. En oversettelse fra tysk til norsk der den tyske mer komprimerte stilen har fått overleve oversettelsen, vil ofte illustrere dette: Det sies mye innenfor den enkelte setningen, men de tematiske trådene i originalen er blitt bevart i oversettelsen.


13) Der Sport bietet hier auf Grund seiner vielseitigen Möglichkeiten beim Einsatz der verschiedenen Geräte und Elemente und bei der Inszenierung von Sozialkontakten ein
geeignetes Feld. Der Konflikt, die aggressive Handlung, kann den Ausgangspunkt bilden ... (Sport, s. 22)

Idretten er velegnet i en slik sammenheng på grunn av sine mangfoldige muligheter. *I sin omfattende virksomhet anvender den mye forskjellig utstyr, og den skaper sosial kontakt. Konflikten, den aggressive handling, kan være utgangspunktet for egenerfaring ...* (Idrett, s. 26)


Samtidig forteller autentiske oversettelse oss hvordan informasjonsspalting kan oppveies av spesielle strategier for å skape sammenheng på tvers av nye setningsgrenser. Mange oversettere kompenserer for eksempel informasjonsspaltingen ved leksikalisering: De bygger inn leksikalske henvisninger som – ofte klarere enn pronomer – etablerer de rette forbindelsene til setninger lengre fremme (eller lengre bak) i teksten. Mange ganger gjentas leksikalsk materiale med samme effekt. Legg for eksempel merke til hva som skjer i setningspar 14. Kursiveringen i den norske versjonen er gjort av meg:

14) Im Falle ausreichender Stärke kann sich das Ich über das Ziel der Bedürfnisbefriedigung hinaus weiteren Aufgaben zuwenden: Einschränkung und Kontrolle der Es-Aktivität, dem Über-Ich entgegenwirken, sowie Entwicklung der psychischen Funktionen ... (Sport, s. 27)

Hvis jeg´et er tilstrekkelig sterkt, kan det nå ut over det å tilfredsstille behovene og kan vende seg mot andre oppgaver. *Slike oppgaver* er å innskrenke og kontrollere det´ets aktivitet, motvirke
over-jeg’et og likeledes å utvikle de psykiske funksjonen ... (Idrett, s. 29-30)


I den norske versjonen i tekstutsnitt 8 ovenfor er informasjonsspaltingen drevet langt. Det er dermed ikke alltid like lett å tolke hver enkelt setning inn i helheten. Noe som ligger mye nærmere i setning N/8 følger etter en serie med setninger som gir mulige referansepunkter. N/8 kan referere til noe som ligger nærmere enn en gullmynt, noe som ligger nærmere enn en familieskatt osv. Først i setning N/9 får leseren vite at det faktisk dreier seg om et nytt mulig arbeidssted. Denne uklarheten forstyrer nok ikke leserne i så stor grad, men den illustrerer likevel noe av problemene med informasjonsspaltingen. I den tyske originalen, hvor informasjonen er samlet i større enheter, er det lettere å etablere forbindelsen fra das Näherliegende i T/4 til temaet å få seg arbeid i perioden T/3 like


Oppsummering

Den typen av refleksjon omkring språk som autentiske oversettelser inviterer til, gir en mengde kunnskap om språk og forholdet mellom språk og den verden som omgir oss. De mange spørsmål som autentiske oversettelser reiser og ikke minst de mange spontane reaksjoner oversettelser utløser hos lesere, vitner om at autentiske oversettelser ofte bidrar til fruktbar refleksjon. Alle har et forhold til og vet noe om sitt eget morsmål, og det skaper ofte grobunn for interessante diskusjoner.

Skal vi som språklærere bidra til å fremme interessen for språk, er det viktig å øke innsikten i det spennende systemet som språk – og ikke minst ulike språk – representerer. Å formidle aspekter av det komplekse samspillet mellom språkstrukturer og verden omkring oss har en stor verdi i seg selv. Innsikt i språk er berikende for elever på alle nivåer og utvilsomt en viktig side av fremmedspråksopplæringen i en verden hvor det språklige mangfoldet er truet. I neste omgang vil kunnskap om språk føre til økt interesse og motivasjon – og slik også bidra til å øke ferdigheten i fremmedspråket eller fremmedspråkene.

Det har i årevis vært pekt på den krisen annet fremmedspråk gjennomlever i skolesystemet vårt. Interessen for tysk og fransk er skremmende lav. Man kan spørre seg om ideen med å ta for seg flere fremmedspråk på én gang kanskje også kan tilpasses til
grunnskoleundervisning. Slik vil elevene kunne møte andre fremmedspråk enn engelsk også på de lavere klasstrinn, og dermed ville man kanskje også kunne vekke interessen for f. eks. tysk og fransk på et forholdsvis tidlig tidspunkt.

**Eksemplene er hentet fra**


Turistbrosjyre KursKiel – Stadlotse, Town Guide, By-los

Turistbrosjyre Sørlandet – Hele året! All year round! Ganzjährig!

**Litteratur:**


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Brit Ulseth:

Language teacher or teacher of languages?

1.0 Summary
This article reports results from the Lingua-A project Intercomprehension in Language Teacher Education (ILTE), a three-year project under the Socrates programme, in which Østfold University College, Faculty of Education, participated together with five other institutions in five European countries. The Norwegian team consisted of two faculty teachers and three mentors and school teachers.

The individual network partners adapted the notion of intercomprehension to suit the national context. The Norwegian context was largely related to the national curriculum guidelines for compulsory education, referred to as L-97, and the national guidelines for teacher education.

Classroom experiments were designed to address various aspects of intercomprehension. A basis for the experiments was the belief that the mother tongue will be crucial for the acquisition of the first foreign language, and that knowledge of the first foreign language - and the mother tongue - will support understanding of the second foreign language and facilitate acquisition of it. In addition, any other linguistic and cultural knowledge, explicit or implicit, will support the language learning process. Language and cultural awareness are key concepts.

Through experiments carried out with six-, seven-, and eight-year-olds learning English, twelve-year-olds dealing with a German text, and fifteen-year-olds working with a French text, none of whom knew English, German, and French respectively, we saw that these pupils were capable of dealing with languages they supposedly did not know.

The results suggest that the future language teacher may wish to reconsider his/her role in the classroom. The title Language teacher or teacher of languages? suggests a change of approach to language teaching and learning.
2.0 The ILTE project – ideas, definition, aim
The foundation for *Intercomprehension in Language Teacher Education* from the Norwegian partner's point of view was the firm belief that when learning a foreign language, the mother tongue will be of great help and support, and so will any other linguistic and cultural knowledge, explicit or implicit. When learning the second foreign language, knowledge of the first foreign language - and the mother tongue - will support understanding of that new foreign language and facilitate acquisition of it. Language teachers should keep in mind the significance of having this capacity for understanding and learning languages and make use of it in the classroom. In a multilingual and multicultural society this capacity may become increasingly important. In that perspective the question of how the language teacher of the future may differ from the language teacher of the past turned out to be one of the main aspects of the project.

It may be interesting to reflect on how the role of language learning has changed over the years. In the distant past the learning of languages was considered valuable in order to be able to read literature. In the more near past it was looked upon as an instrument to communicate with native speakers. At the present its major role is perhaps the possibilities offered for communicating with different people in the world at large. In all three cases, there is also the humanistic education purpose of creating an understanding of other cultures and peoples.

Another main aspect of the project was therefore the idea that European citizens ought to be motivated and educated to develop language skills in several languages in order to be able to understand and communicate with each other: plurilingualism, defined by the Council of Europe's *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* – a handbook for language teachers and other language professionals as:

> the ability to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a person, viewed as a social agent, has proficiency of varying degrees, in several languages, and experience of several cultures. This is not seen as the superposition or juxtaposition of distinct competences, but
rather as the existence of a complex or even composite competence on which the user may draw.

(Council of Europe, 2001: 168)

Complete proficiency in a foreign language is not always necessary; in many situations and contexts partial proficiency will do, for example listening and reading skills. These skills are frequently referred to as the receptive skills of language learning, while speaking and writing skills are referred to as productive skills. Although it must be recognised that 'receptive' skills require energy and commitment on the part of the learner too, and in this sense are active skills, as many teachers of foreign languages have experienced, it normally takes much longer to develop productive skills than it takes to develop receptive skills. In Norway, for example, there has been a tradition for good receptive skills. This could be a cultural feature, since many Norwegians want to feel confident that what they are going to say in a foreign language is correct. So, if Norwegians could be convinced that it is valuable (only) to understand the foreign language, they might be motivated to develop the receptive skills listening and reading in a number of languages. This might gradually lead to development of the productive skills speaking and writing.

There is much talk these days about 'European citizenship' in relation to language learning. For example, it is the European Union view, expressed in the White Paper, that there are two functions for language learning, first to create the means of benefiting from a single market:

Proficiency in several Community languages has become a precondition if citizens of the European Union are to benefit from the occupational and personal opportunities open to them in the border-free single market. This language proficiency must be backed up by the ability to adapt to working and living environments characterised by different cultures.

And, second, to create the means of interacting with other Europeans:

Languages are also the key to knowing other people. Proficiency in languages helps to build up the feeling of being European with all its
cultural wealth and diversity, and of understanding between the citizens of Europe.

(European Commission, 1995: 67)

The White Paper then goes on to recommend that European citizens should master three languages, their own and two of the other official languages of the EU.

Does this notion refer to the idea that to benefit from belonging to the European community one needs languages? Or does it indicate that learning more languages creates European citizenship? Furthermore, when one talks of ‘the new Europe’ and ‘the European dimension’, could it be that one refers to all the languages spoken in Europe? If that is the case, the learning of neighbouring languages, i.e. nearness in terms of geography, or the learning of a lingua franca may no longer be as essential as it used to be. This could then, in the long run, mean that for example English will lose some of its status as a lingua franca. The global power of English may then be changed from having the role of a lingua franca to that of a language learnt to acquire basic skills in another foreign language, i.e. a platform onto which other foreign languages can more easily be added.

Such reflections are the background for the way we have come to define intercomprehension as a tool with which to handle multilingualism in the future foreign language classroom: The future foreign language teacher will be the teacher of (several) languages rather than the teacher of (a) language; his/her role will be to develop languages skills rather than language skills and in the process develop the capacity for language learning at large.

Part of this picture is the role the mother tongue plays: the sense of learning languages starts from learning one’s own language - this is where the foundation is laid for all languages learnt later in life, whether it is to a high proficiency level or to a lower partial-competence level. This is all the more the case when children grow up acquiring more than one language in their natural environment as is increasingly the case not only in the indigenous minorities, for example the Sami in Norway, but also among new immigrant minorities of refugees, economic migrants and asylum seekers. Interaction between mother tongue and foreign language teaching and learning can be a field where mother tongue and foreign language
teachers meet, exchange ideas and experiences and plan common strategies for language learning development. Such strategies will in the end benefit the learner and his/her development as a learner of languages.

All this means that teachers' attitudes and pedagogical practices in the classroom may have to change from a fairly traditional (and narrow) view of what learning languages means to a broader view, where new purposes and new possibilities in the classroom are seen and developed. It also means that linguistic and cultural diversity be appreciated as a powerful factor, which will promote respect for and interest in a variety of languages and cultures.

*Intercomprehension in Language Teacher Education* has thus been a project aimed at broadening the sense of what teaching and learning languages can imply. On the one hand several languages rather than one language may be the topic in the foreign language classroom. This will not exclude one language, for example English in Norway, as a language more focussed on than any other foreign language. But in addition to focussing on one foreign language, the teacher will include features of other foreign languages as well, by exploiting the students' capacity for comprehending words, phrases and other linguistic and cultural elements in foreign languages at large. This is particularly the case where European languages are concerned, since the philological relationships among European languages allow learners to perceive links and similarities. Furthermore, it is a, perhaps regrettable, effect of colonialization that European languages are present in many parts of the world - Spanish in South America, French in Africa, Russian in Eastern Europe, as well as English almost everywhere - and this allows learners to use their European languages to communicate on a global level. This, we think, will enrich the learning atmosphere in the foreign language classroom both for teacher and students.

On the other hand we see language learning in a European as well as in a global perspective because both European languages and other foreign languages spoken in Europe can play an important part in a more comprehensive language learning process. These two aspects are parts of the same picture because in addition to a linguistic dimension where the transfer of language skills and language knowledge is central, there will also be a cultural, social and political
dimension that relates to the new socio-political European context. And as was stated above, this context will comprise not only existing European languages and cultures, but also include languages spoken in Europe today that have their linguistic and cultural roots elsewhere, this being the reverse of the coin of colonialization and economic dominance of the West.

3.0 ILTE and the Norwegian partner’s national context
Even if the foundation for the project was an academic and pedagogic interest in the training of foreign language student teachers in several countries and with a comparative dimension, it was evident through all the different stages of the work that intercomprehension would mean different things in different national contexts. The individual national projects were therefore developed in relation to the different needs of the countries, but at the same time with a view to the common understanding that had brought the network members together and with a view to the common strands that crystallized as the project developed.

For the Norwegian team it was important - and necessary - to relate intercomprehension to the national curriculum guidelines for compulsory education and to the national guidelines for teacher education. Furthermore, it was essential for us to see the national context in relation to the context of European languages and cultures. And finally, since the concrete result of the project was the development of modules to be included in teacher training, it was of utmost importance for us to relate intercomprehension to the trainees’ future work in the foreign language classroom.

Compulsory education in Norway (grades 1-10, ages 6-16) is organized and run according to national curriculum guidelines. Several revisions have been made over the last decades, the latest two revisions in 1987 and 1997. In relation to intercomprehension, the cultural dimension of language learning, the role of the mother tongue, and the idea of enhancing the pupils’ overall language competence, implicit and explicit, are of particular interest and importance, and it is appropriate to consider first how these issues appear in the guidelines.

The 1987 guidelines were vague as regards the role of the mother tongue in the foreign language classroom. They stated that the pupils’ insight in and knowledge of their mother tongue should be
exploited in the instruction of English, without underlining the value of this insight and knowledge. The role of the mother tongue as compared to that of the foreign language was presented in the traditional contrastive analysis and error analysis framework with emphasis on differences and interferences rather than on similarities and transfers. It could be argued that focus was on negative transfer of language rather than on positive transfer.

In the 1997 guidelines the notion of pupils’ overall language competence is introduced:

The task of enhancing pupils’ overall language competence is common to all the language courses. The aims and approaches of all the language syllabuses are therefore viewed as being interrelated. First language and foreign language teaching are thus based on a shared view of language, in which foreign language learning is not only viewed as skills training but also as an educational process, involving socialisation and the development of language awareness and cultural awareness. The syllabus in English is based on the language-learning foundations laid when pupils learn their first language, on experience pupils have already gained through contact with other languages and cultures both at school and elsewhere, and on text competence which pupils have acquired through learning their first language.

(The Royal Ministry of Education, Research and Church Affairs, 1999: 237)

Here, then, we see an explicit statement of conceptual and practical links between the foreign language (English) and the mother tongue. The question that remains to be answered, however, is how this link is actually practiced in school. The 1997 guidelines also emphasize that good knowledge of languages is of utmost importance for successful contact, cooperation, and communication with people in Europe and the rest of the world. Learning foreign languages will facilitate communication with people in other countries and thus provide opportunities for becoming familiar with other cultures. Insight into and knowledge of other cultures will be a basis for respect and open-mindedness and lead to other ways of thinking. In this way the pupils’ understanding of their own cultural roots will also increase and thus contribute to strengthening their identity.

Therefore the cultural dimension is strongly emphasized and
viewed as an important element of all foreign language learning. This is very clear both in the overall philosophy of the guidelines and in their individual objectives. Language learning, as compared to the traditional, narrow view of learning a foreign language - learning its grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation - is also very much a question of learning the culture of the countries in which the foreign language is spoken. For example one of the objectives for 1st grade pupils is to …’start to learn about how children in English-speaking countries live.’ (p. 240) Language and culture are inseparable aspects of language learning; language is not only structures and words; language is also culture and communication.

The national guidelines for general teacher education had to be revised as a consequence of the new guidelines for primary and lower secondary school. The revised guidelines took effect as of 1 August 1998. They are closely related to the curriculum guidelines for compulsory education. One important element in the revised guidelines is their strong emphasis on the cultural dimension of foreign language learning. Cultural awareness, social competence, and general educational competence are crucial key concepts. This parallels the focus on culture in the guidelines for primary and lower secondary school and stresses foreign language learning as the learning of linguistic structures, culture, and communication.

To sum up, the Norwegian curriculum guidelines for compulsory education and the national framework for the education of trainee teachers provide the basis for developing teacher training programmes for foreign languages that include the notion of intercomprehension. However, as outlined in 2.0, our vision of intercomprehension goes further: we would like to see a more comprehensive view of language education, including the first language, Norwegian, or Sami, or a migrant language, and the foreign language(s) - even classical languages where they exist. Our project deals above all with foreign languages, but we see it as a first step towards a more comprehensive view in the future. Today there is a place for mother tongues in the foreign language classroom, but this is not going as far as saying there is active cooperation in the teaching of the mother tongue and the foreign language(s), or in the teaching of one foreign language and another.

We see intercomprehension applied in education as wider, or
more explicit, than what is stated in the guidelines: We see language learning – mother tongue and foreign languages – as a process that incorporates all prior knowledge of language, including skills and experiences, and paves the way for more language(s) to be learnt. The teacher’s role will then be to understand the significance of this and apply it in the classroom. The teacher-to-be, the student teacher, needs to see and experience both the pupil’s and the teacher’s role, and this is what we attempted to do when the modules that we plan to include in the teacher training programme were compiled.

4.0 Classroom experiments
Before compiling the teacher training modules, it was important for us to consider the students’ future careers as foreign language teachers and assess approaches and activities that would address intercomprehension in the foreign language classroom. To that end experiments were designed to find out how intercomprehension could be implemented in the classroom.

As outlined in 3.0 the role of the mother tongue and the cultural dimension of language learning are aspects that are highlighted in the national curriculum guidelines. Furthermore, the fact that the curriculum guidelines emphasize communication and text competence - both of which refer to oral as well as to written language - signals a holistic view of language learning. Therefore, when designing the classroom experiments, we wanted to apply methods that would promote a holistic approach.

We found it convenient to take the three educational stages of compulsory education in Norway as a starting-point: grades 1-4 (learners aged 6-10), grades 5-7 (learners aged 10-13), and grades 8-10 (learners aged 13-16). Experiments were thus designed for each of these three stages, with an emphasis on learners aged 6-10.

4.1 Young learners in L-97
According to the curriculum guidelines, the education of young learners (grades 1-4) is to be based on activities that will create curiosity and the need to investigate. L-97 emphasizes fun and play as crucial factors in the learning situation, factors which will develop the learner’s language, cognitive abilities and communicative competence and presumably encourage them affectively and develop their
motivation. In a learning situation where fun and play is the basis for classroom activities, there will, according to the guidelines, be an educational atmosphere where on the one hand the child is stimulated and on the other an atmosphere where the playing child affects the learning situation, in other words a mutual and interactive relationship between the child and the learning situation.

Another important aspect in the curriculum guidelines is that topic-based and cross-curricular activities will promote the abilities of the learner and pave the way for the mastering of subject-matter and social relations.

For learners in grades 1-4 topic-based and cross-curricular education will be the major approach to learning. This organization will see to it that topics from several subjects are integrated in such a way as to focus on the individual subjects in turn. The guidelines suggest that 60% of the school year for grades 1-4 should be organized according to this principle. A natural development will be to move gradually from a completely topic-based organization to a more subject-based organization, so that at the end of compulsory education (at the age of 16) the organization is basically subject-based.

4.2 The active and autonomous learner

With 6- and 7-year-olds we experimented with English picture books and found that using such books was gratifying because it highly stimulated and motivated them.

When these pupils became 8-year-olds picture books were still used. In addition we wanted to experiment with a method that would explicitly focus on the active and autonomous learner. Since an overall objective in Norwegian education is to make use of methods that on the one hand aim at integrating various subjects and on the other aim at taking the pupil’s own experience and what he/she can offer as a starting point, we wished to experiment with a holistic method that would cater for both these two major considerations.

The storyline method, developed by among others Steve Bell (cf for example Bell 1995, 1999, and http://www.storyline-scotland.freeserve.co.uk/) is cross-curricular in its character since it provides a structure for the teaching of integrated subject studies. It can be applied with focus on one or more subjects, for example
foreign languages. The storyline method therefore meets the requirements of the curriculum guidelines as to cross-curricular and topic-based education. It furthermore meets the requirement that the learner is to be educated so as to take actively part in his/her own learning process and gradually learn to work independently and with his/her own resources as a basis for development; in other words the aim of the educational process is the active and autonomous learner.

According to the curriculum guidelines, education shall build on and develop the resources the learner brings with him/her to school. This is exactly what the storyline method takes as a starting-point; it is the learner’s image of the world around him/her that will be the basis for further development and learning.

Another crucial point is the concept of the active learner: the learner as the curious, inquiring, inquisitive, and investigating learner, thereby developing his/her problem-solving abilities. The storyline method caters for these things, because it has great potential for development of the competence to become active. The method aims at making the learner aware of problems, at being able to guess and hypothesize, at trying out the hypotheses and assess them according to certain criteria. This process gives the learner the basis for interpreting and understanding his/her experience. It also provides him/her with the basis for giving words and concepts to his/her image of the world around him/her.

4.3 Young learners and intercomprehension
The experiments carried out with young learners indicate that intercomprehension takes place on at least two levels.

First there is the linguistic level. Pupils recognize words and phrases as either identical with or similar to words and phrases they already know from their mother tongue (or from other sources). Examples are *Mam, school, sister, Little Blue* for mamma, skole, søster, Lille Blå. To produce language themselves, they may for example say things like: *Jeg har valgt caterpillar* for *I have chosen caterpillar*, or they may choose a Norwegian word and pronounce it with what they think is an English pronunciation: *blouste* (blåste) for *blew*. In this case they may well know the infinitive *blow*, but not the past tense *blew*.

Young learners will naturally compare with their native language
– Norwegian – and make use of similarities they detect between Norwegian and English. The foreign language vocabulary they encounter will mostly be concretes, not abstracts, and this will assist them in their comparison and transfer of vocabulary. Since both Norwegian and English are Germanic languages, a great deal of common vocabulary will of course make the transfer easy. Even if young learners at the earliest stages only listen to and imitate English, and therefore meet unfamiliar pronunciation and intonation patterns, they are very well able to cope, because the classroom activities are founded on fun and play and motivation is high. The fact that they tended to transfer an English (or what they thought was an English) pronunciation to Norwegian words, demonstrates that an unfamiliar sound pattern was no real obstacle.

Secondly there is the cultural level. Several fairytales, songs and games are found in many countries, and in countries like England and Norway which have so much in common, there is a lot of cultural heritage for pupils to identify with. Also common social structures – as shown by the ability to recognise Dad not phonetically but rather by recognising the same family structure – may be at work and should be included as a socio-cultural rather than as a cultural feature. This common frame of reference will presumably assist pupils – even young learners – in understanding elements of for example fairytales in other languages than English as well, for example German, and particularly so if the fairytale is supported by pictures. The experiment with 12-year-olds illustrates that pictures meant much to the understanding of a German text to these learners, who knew no German.

The linguistic and cultural/socio-cultural levels mentioned above represent familiar aspects of language teaching and learning. In addition to these levels, we can add a third level: recognition of genre. Recognition of genre, as when telling a story, seems to support and enhance intercomprehension on the linguistic and cultural levels. Structural features in stories like sequencing and repetition seem to support linguistic and cultural recognition. From their previous experience of being told stories the six-, seven-, and eight-year-olds in our experiments seemed to transfer their expectation that the picture books in English would tell a story. Another type of picture book, for example a child's encyclopedia, would surely not result in that type of
expectation.

A similar supporting and enhancing effect seems to be present in recognition of theme. When a class works with a theme like for example ‘family and friends’ (cf. comment above on social structures) in several subjects, this cross-curricular approach will benefit all subjects involved, in the sense that experience from one subject will facilitate acquisition of another. Learners seem to transfer experience from one subject to another in much the same way as they transfer experience and expectations when they meet an English picture book.

A definition of intercomprehension from the young learner's point of view which includes recognition of language, culture, genre, and theme, seems to cater for central factors at work in the young learners' foreign language classroom.

4.4 Twelve-year-olds and intercomprehension

As was the case with the very young learners described above, 12-year-olds benefited from illustrations in order to understand a German text. They furthermore were better able to understand when they were given the text to look at while the teacher read it. Even if German was totally unfamiliar to them, they could still detect words and phrases that they could compare with Norwegian and English, and thus use their knowledge of the mother tongue and the first foreign language to interpret a second foreign language. With increasing support in four readings, the pupils were gradually able to comprehend more of what was going on, until they in the end understood so much that they ended up asking for more lessons of this kind.

Another aspect that would have been interesting to examine, is the pupils' own reflection on what they could understand with increasing support from the teacher. Twelve-year-olds, and particularly the twelve-year-olds in our experiment, who were mature for their age and bright pupils, have reached a level of cognitive development where they would be in a position to reflect on their own performance – at least with some help from the teacher.

So, if we compare with the very young ones, recognition of language is definitely at work. The cultural element in this experiment one could claim is represented in the illustrations. On the other hand, illustrations are associated with picture books, so from that point of
view, intercomprehension would be linked to recognition of genre. Since the story was about an animal often found on or near a farm, and since they had worked with the topic *Farmlife a hundred years ago*, it could be maintained that recognition of theme is also a factor here. This experiment with twelve-year-olds illustrates that the four intercomprehension factors discussed in 4.3 – recognition of language, culture, genre, and theme – will be operative and overlap to a smaller or larger degree, depending on how a lesson or a series of lessons is designed.

4.5 Fifteen-year-olds and intercomprehension
The results of the experiment with 15-year-olds show that language transfer and language comparison were significant factors when decoding a French factual text. The illustration accompanying the text may have given certain clues as to cultural features associated with the region described in the text, but the main clues seem to have been the text itself. Therefore the language aspect of intercomprehension seems to have been the crucial one in this experiment. At this level of education (grade 10) pupils are used to working with factual texts, so genre is at play here too. In addition, they have some knowledge of the specific genre of tourist guides to regions, which certainly also has been a help.

Pupils in grade 10 have developed their cognitive abilities to a fairly high level; therefore an activity where they are asked to make educated guesses about a text in an unfamiliar language can give good results. They have experienced learning two foreign languages, their ability to generalize is fairly good, and when the activity is presented not like a chore, but as a rest from the textbook and tasks associated with the syllabus, it can be motivating and stimulating and whet their curiosity.

The activity they were asked to do can be compared to a translation activity, only here it was a question of finding cognates. The results from a follow-up experiment, however, indicate that the pupils were concerned with finding not only cognates, but also the corresponding word, the translation, in the other language(s). One pupil listed for example French *beauté*, English *beautiful*, German *schön*, Norwegian *skjønn*, another pupil French *automobil*, English *car*, German *Auto*, Norwegian *bil*. Still another example is French
*informatique*, English *information*, German *Auskunft*, Norwegian *informasjon*. These examples illustrate eagerness to find words, not only cognates. This may indicate that translation used to promote comprehension of several languages may be a fruitful activity, or the other side of the coin: an activity where the same text in several languages is compared. Translation has over the years lost credibility as a useful activity in the classroom – who has not been exposed to the read-and-translate-one-by-one task and thereby lost interest in the foreign language? But translation could maybe gain new ground if applied in a more constructive way, as for example for comparing languages and discovering similarities and differences between them. The experiments carried out in lower secondary school seem to indicate just that.

### 5.0 Intercomprehension, foreign language teaching and foreign language learning

When the project first began, the following working definition of intercomprehension was formulated:

> a broad approach to language teaching and language learning which embraces a positive view of linguistic and cultural diversity and which aims to motivate pupils to recognize and activate their explicit and implicit linguistic and cultural knowledge and skills in order to develop their general language competence

The definition includes both the teacher and his/her role as a motivator in the language classroom and the learner and his/her efforts to exploit his/her overall linguistic and cultural competence.

As the project progressed, and based on the findings in the classroom, awareness-raising was singled out as the most essential facet of intercomprehension. The development of language and culture awareness seems to be the major task both for the teacher and the pupil. For the pupil it seems to be a question of developing his/her awareness by recognizing certain intercomprehension factors, for the teacher a question of developing his/her abilities to motivate for recognition of these factors. In this way intercomprehension can be viewed differently depending on whether it is seen from the pupil’s or
the teacher’s point of view. The student teacher needs to include both these angles in his/her language studies.

5.1 Intercomprehension and foreign language teaching
It has until quite recently been an aim in foreign language instruction to motivate the learner to develop (near) native speaker competence. The concept of native speaker competence is, however, a diffuse concept. Kramsch (1998) raises the question ‘Who is a native speaker?’ and presents several approaches to illustrate it. She claims that …‘the dichotomy between native versus non-native speakers has outlived its use’ (p. 27) and concludes her discussion by stating

In our days of frequent border crossings, and of multilingual multicultural foreign language classrooms, it is appropriate to rethink the monolingual native speaker norm as the target of foreign language education. As we revisit the marked and unmarked forms of language usership, I propose that we make the intercultural speaker the unmarked form, the infinite of language use, and the monolingual monocultural speaker a slowly disappearing species or a nationalistic myth. (p. 30)

Byram and Risager (1999 : 153) also refer to the non-native speaker as an intercultural speaker and describe him/her as '...a person who is capable of perceiving and explaining cultural and linguistic differences, and of making use of this capability in communication'.

These researchers see the intercultural speaker from different angles: Kramsch does not specify that the speaker should be able to explicitly state any differences in language or culture, whereas Byram and Risager include such specification in their notion of the intercultural speaker. This difference could be an interesting issue to discuss from an academic point of view. However, from a practical point of view the notion of the intercultural speaker as a speaker who makes use of whatever implicit or explicit resources he/she can mobilize to understand and to communicate in a foreign language, is more fruitful and viable, and complements the Council of Europe’s notion of plurilingualism quoted in 2.0. In the foreign language classroom it will be the task of the teacher to motivate pupils to make use of all their abilities in order to comprehend language, and
gradually produce language. To do so the teacher’s own language and culture awareness should have reached a level where he/she is able to explain differences, without necessarily using such explanations in class. But the pupil’s position is one of developing such awareness, with the teacher’s constructive feedback as a strong motivating factor.

5.2 Intercomprehension and foreign language learning
The notion of the plurilingual intercultural speaker applied to the foreign language classroom makes sense if it includes the total range of abilities that a learner mobilizes. If we take this view, the learner can be characterized as an intercultural learner, for whom it may be an aim to develop intercultural competence.

How then, can the learner develop intercultural competence? And is the development of intercultural competence a desirable aim? Risager states that intercultural competence … 'refers to and supplements the concept of communicative competence, and therefore includes a skills dimension'. (Risager 2000 : 161) Intercultural competence is furthermore associated with assessment criteria. The concept of cultural awareness, she suggests, may be a better term, since it is more general and non-technical, and caters for a wider set of interpretations.

If the notion of competence is closely associated with skills and assessment criteria, then this shift from ‘competence’ to ‘awareness’ to describe a wider range of factors in the language and culture teaching process is not only a useful shift, but offers also a better and more to the point way of labelling what actually seems to take place in the language classroom where intercomprehension ideas and methods govern the activities.

The experiments carried out indicate that degree of recognition seems to be crucial when it comes to how much the individual pupils can transfer of insight, knowledge and skills from one language to another. Based on the classroom experiments, we found that it may be relevant and convenient to describe such degree of recognition in four areas: language, culture, genre, and theme.

Pupils recognize and identify words and phrases they can compare with words and phrases they know in their mother tongue or other languages. In primary school the mother tongue is the most important source of reference, but gradually, as experience and
knowledge of other languages than the mother tongue increase, so will also the chances for making use of more languages than the native language.

Many fairytales, songs and games represent a common European cultural heritage, and this common frame of reference makes it easier to understand various European languages. In 4.3 the recognition of a socio-cultural rather than a cultural feature was mentioned. Learners, particularly young learners, will have implicit rather than explicit socio-cultural knowledge to draw on in many contexts. For example when working with a theme like ‘family and friends’ such implicit knowledge will be useful.

Genre can play an important part, in the sense that for example recognition of structural features like sequencing and repetition in e.g. fairytales and songs seem to strengthen recognition of language and culture.

Theme seems to have a similar positive and strengthening effect. By combining theme and cross-curricular activities, even more recognition and understanding will probably be the result.

These four aspects of recognition: language, culture, genre and theme represent a holistic approach to language learning. They also represent a methodology that on the one hand links language and culture, and on the other the individual’s experience and cognitive level of development to his/her linguistic and cultural learning process. The young learners need a high degree of recognition of specific examples or cases in all four areas, while more mature learners have the capacity for generalization and conscious comparison between languages.

At the end of the project period, therefore, intercomprehension was defined as

a broad approach to language teaching and language learning which embraces a positive view of linguistic and cultural diversity and which aims to motivate pupils to recognize and activate their explicit and implicit linguistic and cultural knowledge, skills and experience in order to develop their general language and culture awareness.

This definition caters for awareness-raising, which we found was an essential element in the notion of intercomprehension as demonstrated
in the various classroom experiments. It also caters for the learner’s prior experience as a decisive factor in the process of learning foreign languages.

6.0 Conclusion
It may be claimed that intercomprehension is nothing new and that it has existed as long as humans have felt the need to understand and be understood in communication exchanges with other humans speaking another language than themselves. It may furthermore be claimed that intercomprehension is not a new phenomenon in the classroom: Pupils striving to learn a foreign language have always used whatever resources they had to overcome difficulties when dealing with the foreign language. However, what perhaps is a new idea, is that of mobilizing one’s general language and cultural knowledge, skills and experience in a more systematic way than before, by being encouraged by a teacher who acknowledges the significance of this capacity.

Through experiments carried out with six-, seven-, and eight-year-olds learning English, twelve-year-olds dealing with a German text, and fifteen-year-olds working with a French text, none of whom knew English, German, and French respectively, we saw that these learners were fully capable of dealing with languages they supposedly did not know. They mobilized their complete range of resources and were able to decode the unknown language on the basis of various clues: clues that have been argued for and labelled ‘language’, ‘culture’, ‘genre’ and ‘topic’.

It is this capacity we think can be developed in the foreign language classroom by working systematically with enhancing the learner’s language and culture awareness. We showed this by working with teachers willing to experiment and take risks and we learnt from these experiments some of the elements which need to be included in a course of training for teachers. For a student teacher it is vital to develop both his/her own awareness and to be able to motivate and stimulate his/her future pupils to build up their linguistic and cultural awareness. Outside the classroom such awareness-raising will be valuable in order to meet different nationalities and to function in a society where plurilingualism will
gradually become an increasingly essential feature inside and outside Europe.

7.0 References


Minimal Input in L2 Acquisition: How Norwegian Children Learn English Word Order

In this article it is shown that Norwegian children learning English in a school situation transfer Norwegian word order into their English to a large extent. In order to change this linguistic behavior, they need massive exposure to certain syntactic cues in the input. The situation in Norwegian schools, where learners have minimal exposure to the language over several years, will thus be problematic for the acquisition of basic syntactic aspects like word order.

1.0 Introduction/Background

This study investigates how Norwegian 7- to 12-year-olds acquire word order in English. Data has been collected from approximately 100 school children on their acquisition of three related syntactic constructions, illustrated in (1)-(3) below. The focus of the investigation is the extent of language transfer from the L1, the order of acquisition of the different constructions, and the frequency of the input cues necessary to trigger a reorganization of the children’s internalized grammar. It will be shown that the children transfer Norwegian word order into their English to a large extent, and the input cues that are necessary to change this are identified. However, these cues are infrequent in the language these children are exposed to, and it will be argued that minimal input over a relatively long period of time may lead the children down an undesirable path in their acquisition process, and may also entail a certain risk of fossilization.

English is an SVO language, while Norwegian is a typical example of Germanic verb second (V2) with the verb in second position in all main clauses. On most syntactic accounts SVO order is assumed to be basic, and by some linguists even argued to be the only underlying order allowed by Universal Grammar (UG), see e.g. Kayne 1995. V2 word order, on the other hand, is a derived order, which is standardly assumed to result from verb movement across the subject position to the position called C (the head of the clause) on an underlying SV order (see e.g Vikner 1995). Thus, the two languages under investigation, English and Norwegian, differ in significant ways with respect to verb movement: Norwegian, although it is
(superficially) SVO in subject-initial main clauses, exhibits V2 in topicalized structures (1a), questions (2a), and sentences with adverbials (3a). English, on the other hand, only allows auxiliary movement in questions (S-Aux Inversion), as illustrated in (2b), as well as across adverbials (to the intermediate head position called I) in declarative main clauses, as in (3c):

3.0 a. I går spilte Peter piano hele dagen.  
yesterday played P piano all day  
b. Yesterday Peter played the piano all day.  

4.0 a. Hva spilte Peter i går?  
what played P yesterday  
b. What did Peter play yesterday?  

5.0 a. Peter spiller alltid piano.  
P plays always piano  
b. Peter always plays the piano.  
c. Peter has always played the piano. 

The syntactic rules responsible for these word order differences can be formalized as in (4), where the V-to-I-to-C movement rule of Norwegian is responsible for the V2 pattern. The challenge facing Norwegian learners is to realize that in English, this verb movement rule is unnecessary.

(4)  Eng: V-to-I (aux), I-to-C (in Questions)  
Norw: V-to-I-to-C

In Norwegian schools children start learning English already in first grade, at the age of six – when they would be considered to be well within the limits of what most linguists would classify as the critical period for language acquisition. However, the amount of exposure to English at this stage is minimal - only approximately a half hour of English per week during the first three years, increasing to a full 45 minutes per week in 4th grade. During these early English lessons, the time is spent mainly on English songs and nursery rhymes or simple games and tasks, like e.g. coloring exercises. There is no
explicit teaching of grammar at this stage, and in the textbook material used\(^1\), difficult constructions seem to be avoided, e.g. passives or WH-questions that require do-support (e.g. sentences like (2b) above). On the other hand, when you live in Norway, English is “everywhere”, and even small children are likely to hear English around them; on television, in computer games etc. Thus, Norwegian children could to a certain extent be classified as “naturalistic” L2 learners, as they are learning by playing and not by explicit instruction. It should be stressed, however, that the amount of input that most of them get is extremely limited compared to most other naturalistic situations, where the learners would normally be totally immersed in the language.

Given this situation, these children are interesting in a language acquisition perspective for a number of reasons. They provide an opportunity to compare L1 and L2 acquisition without consideration of the age factor and the critical period. Furthermore, given that the input these children get is so minimal compared to a true naturalistic situation (in which children are known to learn a second language surprisingly quickly), the various stages they go through in the learning process and the linguistic hypotheses they make at these stages should be more easily detectable.

2. Hypotheses/Predictions

According to White 2000, one of the main theoretical questions to be addressed in generative second language acquisition is the question of transfer from the L1. For a feature like V2 word order, which on most accounts is considered to be marked\(^2\) (e.g. Platzack 1996, Roberts

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\(^1\) The school where this investigation took place, Bjerkaker elementary school, uses a textbook series called *That’s it* (Esvall and Rydstrøm 1998).

\(^2\) The notion markedness, which refers to features that are somehow special, unusual or infrequent in the world’s languages, has been given various definitions in linguistics. For Platzack 1996 or Roberts 1999, who write within the minimalist framework of Chomsky 1995, unmarked features are weak (the ones that are initially given by UG), while marked features are strong (and have to be learned by children through positive evidence in the input). Movement operations are always triggered by strong features – thus V2 word order, which is the result of movement, is marked, while SVO is unmarked.
the expectation is that it should not be transferred into an L2 which has the unmarked SVO order, like English. Nevertheless, as will be shown in this study, there is massive transfer of V2 word order in these children’s English. Thus, in the initial stages of their second language learning they seem to be assuming that the L2 is identical to their L1 in this respect. Given this transfer, it becomes a crucial question what input is required for these children to realize that English is not V2, i.e. for them to “unlearn” the rule of verb movement.

Lightfoot 1999 has developed a theory of cue-based learning for first language acquisition. Basically this claims that there must be strong enough cues for a particular construction in the linguistic input for acquisition to be triggered. This means that a child does not necessarily develop the same grammar as the previous generation if cues for a particular construction are somehow less frequent in the language the child is exposed to. The cue for V2, Lightfoot claims, is a topicalized structure, like sentence (1) above. This is because superficial SVO structures are ambiguous with respect to word order, and can be interpreted as SVO as well as V2. He uses the cue-based acquisition theory to account for diachronic changes, and explains the historical loss of V2 in Middle English by a decreased frequency of topicalization structures, initially brought about by dialect contact. In present-day V2 languages, e.g. the Scandinavian languages and German, topicalized structures are relatively frequent. Based on corpus studies, it is argued that the figure is approximately 30%, much higher than the figure for English, where especially fronting of objects is rare. This 30% figure seems to ensure that the cue for V2 is frequent enough in the input for Norwegian or German children to acquire this word order, while this has been lost in English because of a lower frequency of the cue.

In a framework which allows for either full or partial transfer, I would like to extend Lightfoot’s cue-based theory of L1 acquisition to L2 acquisition. If learners start out assuming that (all or some) aspects of the L2 are identical to their L1, then they will need cues in the input as positive evidence that the two languages are different. Norwegian learners acquiring English will have to undergo a development from a V2 grammar to an SVO grammar. In this process two important cues are required: Topicalized structures, which are necessary to show
learners that English is not V2, and sentences with do-support, which are necessary for learners to realize that only auxiliaries move in English questions.

However, as mentioned above, topicalized structures are infrequent in English, and all the simple SVO structures that are so frequent in learners’ input are ambiguous with respect to V2. It would therefore be expected that it will take a relatively long time for these learners to realize that English is not V2. Questions with do-support, on the other hand, abound in every-day conversation, but unfortunately for these learners, not in the textbook material these children are exposed to. This construction is completely avoided in the controlled input to young learners, probably because of its syntactic complexity. In fact, there is not a single example of do-support in the textbook material from 2nd to 4th grade, there is only the occasional sentence in the 5th and 6th grade material, and a real focus on this construction does not occur until the beginning of the textbook for 7th grade. Thus, the input these children get is extremely limited with respect to cues about word order.

Questions with other moved auxiliaries, on the other hand (e.g. When will Anna eat?), are extremely frequent in the input. These correspond to Norwegian word order, and children are not expected to find them difficult. However, their existence does not logically exclude the existence of questions with moved main verbs (e.g. *When eats Anna?); in order to realize that these are ungrammatical, learners need to be exposed to sentences with do-support (When does Anna eat?). Thus, these children are not only in a learning situation with deprived input. In fact, given that questions with moved auxiliaries are so frequent, one could even argue that the input is misleading, since children from these examples are led to assume that there is verb movement also in English.

Consequently, assuming transfer, Norwegian learners are in a difficult position with regard to the acquisition of word order: The cues that are necessary for acquisition are either naturally infrequent in the language or absent from the teaching material for "pedagogical reasons".
3. Description of Survey/Methodology

The data collection for this study took place at Bjerkaker elementary school in Tromsø in November/December 2000. One class at each level (1st-7th grade) participated, but many of the younger children (in fact, all the 1st graders) were excluded from the study because they simply had no knowledge of English whatsoever. The 2nd-4th graders were given an oral test, where they were supposed to either assess linguistic material presented on tape (presumably uttered by a stuffed animal present during the investigation) or assist a hand puppet who had to say something in English. All test sentences consisted of everyday vocabulary (mostly cognates in English and Norwegian, e.g. ball or bath), and were supported by picture cards. The test comprised three different tasks: Assessment of sentence pairs (e.g. Every day John plays football/Every day plays John football), grammaticality judgements of individual sentences, as well as elicited production in the form of translations. The 5th-7th graders were given a written test, where the tasks mirrored those given to the younger children. In this article, the main focus will be on the performance of the older children.

It is not easy to test the language competence of children (or adults, for that matter), and both grammaticality judgement tests and translation tasks have weaknesses. For example, it is difficult to know whether the child’s judgement of a sentence is based on the construction under investigation or some other linguistic (or non-linguistic) phenomenon. However, since these young learners are at a stage of their language learning where they hardly produce anything, it was decided to use this method to try to tap their initial hypotheses of the L2. With sentence pairs, rather than individual sentences for judgement, it was ensured that the children focused on the relevant aspect of the sentences at hand. Translations may also be somewhat dubious as a test method, as they force the learners into producing constructions - and making mistakes - that they would otherwise have avoided. This method was nevertheless used, mainly because of its simplicity, but also because it focuses on the learners’ internalized knowledge of the L2, not on their (more or less random) production.
4. Results and Discussion

When looking at the results, one is immediately struck by the massive transfer of V2 word order into the children's English, not only at the early stages. In fact, this feature seems to persist in some children even after many years of English instruction. In fifth grade e.g., approximately 80% of the children chose the V2 word order in translation tasks (*Every day plays John soccer or *Walter jumps always on the bed), and even when presented with sentence pairs, half of the children still preferred the ungrammatical sentence in the pair. In the following sections, I will look at the children’s performance on topicalized structures, sentences with adverbials and WH-questions.

4.1 Topicalizations

As illustrated in the Introduction, the word order of English and Norwegian differs in topicalized structures, in that the verb in Norwegian always moves to second position when an element is fronted. This is illustrated in the examples below, where an adverbial is fronted in (5) and an object in (6). Transfer of Norwegian word order would result in productions corresponding to the gloss in italics.

   *every week cleans A her room*  
   b. Every week Anna cleans her room.

4.0 a. Hunder liker Anna, ikke katter.  
   *dogs likes A, not cats*  
   b. Dogs Anna likes, not cats.

In Figure 1 below, simple percentages have been used to illustrate the performance of the 4th to 7th grade learners on topicalizations in the translation tasks. The figures are based on 7 different sentences, which of course is a relatively small number. Nevertheless, the tendency is surprisingly consistent across all the sentences, with no sentence standing out as very different from the others (a statistical analysis of the results will be done at a later stage). The transfer of Norwegian word order (XVS) is overwhelming, and
there is a slow, but gradual increase in correct performance from 14% in 5\textsuperscript{th} grade to 38% in 6\textsuperscript{th} grade and 58% in 7\textsuperscript{th} grade.

![Figure 1: The overall performance of the 4\textsuperscript{th}-7\textsuperscript{th} grade learners on topicalizations (translation tasks).](image)

One surprising finding here is perhaps the performance of the 4\textsuperscript{th} graders, who apparently do better than both the 5\textsuperscript{th} and the 6\textsuperscript{th} grade learners. However, it must be said that the 4\textsuperscript{th} graders had a different test than the 5\textsuperscript{th} to 7\textsuperscript{th} graders, so that the figures are not directly comparable. In the translation part of the oral test for the 4\textsuperscript{th} graders, they had to be given most of the words by the investigator. Even though the investigator made an effort not to help the children, it was extremely difficult to avoid giving them clues about word order. Thus, the better performance of the 4\textsuperscript{th} graders is probably only due to the test situation in this case.

The figures also indicate that there is a slight difference between topicalizations of adverbials (sentences like (5) above) and topicalizations of objects (e.g. (6)), with objects being a construction
that is apparently harder for these children. Although this difference is small, it is consistent across the three age groups, and it is also reflected in the results on the other tasks in the test, sentence pairs (see below) and grammaticality judgements (not included here). The following graph is based on five sentences with topicalization, all involving a main verb:

![Graph](image)

**Figure 2:** The performance of 5\(^{th}\) to 7\(^{th}\) graders on adverbial topicalizations (first column in each pair) and object topicalizations (second column), translation tasks.

These results are what would be predicted by the cue-based approach mentioned above: Because of the low frequency of the topicalization construction in English, it should take relatively long for the children to realize that English is not V2. This would be the case especially in object topicalizations, which are even more infrequent in English than topicalizations involving adverbials.

Another difference which stands out in this test, is that the children do even worse on sentences with auxiliaries, i.e. there is a
higher tendency for them to move an auxiliary across the subject than a main verb. Thus, the following sentences in the test were more often wrong than the sentences that Figure 2 is based on:

(7) *There will we eat a Big Mac and lots of French fries.
(8) *The spaghetti is Susan eating, not the bread.

Figure 3, which is based on these two sentences only, shows that as many as 78% of the 5th graders are wrong on this construction and only 10% are right, and even in 7th grade less than half of the children produced the correct SVO order (cp. these figures with Figure 2). Again, this pattern is consistent across the age groups, and perhaps just as importantly, it is again reflected in the children’s performance on the other tasks.

Figure 3: The performance of the 5th-7th graders on (A and O) topicalizations involving auxiliaries.

One reason why these children make more mistakes in sentences with auxiliaries could be that there is a universal tendency for
auxiliaries or semantically light verbs to move more often than main verbs. However, a more likely explanation is that the children have realized that auxiliaries behave differently from main verbs in English, e.g. in questions. This is supported by the fact that the difference between auxiliaries and main verbs is only very slight in 5th grade (18/10% vs 10% right), while it becomes more substantial in 6th (49/35% vs 23%) and 7th grade (75/50% vs 42%), which is when these children have become more aware of the movement options in WH-questions (see 4.3. below).

So far we have only looked at translations, the perhaps most reliable of the three test types used in this study. However, the sentence pairs also provide interesting information, and this is the only area where it is possible to compare all the age groups in the study, as the youngest children only did this type of test. In Figure 4 below, all the children’s performance on both object and adverbial topicalizations (main verbs as well as auxiliaries) is shown.

![Figure 4: The performance of 2nd-7th graders on topicalizations (sentence pairs).](image-url)
It should be kept in mind that the 2\textsuperscript{nd} to 4\textsuperscript{th} graders had an oral test, while the older children had a written one. Thus, the test results for the first three grades are based on only two sentence pairs, while the results for the 5\textsuperscript{th}-7\textsuperscript{th} graders are based on three sentence pairs. Consequently, the results are not directly comparable.

There are several aspects of Figure 3 which are worth mentioning. First, the performance of the 5\textsuperscript{th} and 6\textsuperscript{th} graders on topicalization is quite a bit better on the sentence pairs than on the translations (cp. Figures 1, 2 and 3). This goes to show that there must be a certain knowledge, at some level, that English word order is different from Norwegian. However, this knowledge is apparently not conscious or automatized enough to be used in situations where actual production is required (like the translation task).

Despite this, it must be said that transfer of V2 word order is an extremely persistent pattern: In 5\textsuperscript{th} grade more than half of the children (52\%) still choose the wrong order over the correct SVO order when given a choice of the two. And in 7\textsuperscript{th} grade, when the children are really beginning to master the word order of English, this added knowledge must be "used up", as for these children the performance on sentence pairs (62\%) is hardly better than the performance on translation (61\%).

As mentioned above, the 2\textsuperscript{nd} to 4\textsuperscript{th} graders had a different test than the older children, and the test results of the two groups are thus not directly comparable. And the results of the younger children seem puzzling, especially for the 2\textsuperscript{nd} and 3\textsuperscript{rd} graders. They actually seem to have done quite a bit better than the older children, 45 and 53 \% respectively chose the right word order in 2\textsuperscript{nd} and 3\textsuperscript{rd} grade, while the figure for 5\textsuperscript{th} grade is only 43\%. As with the translations above, this could of course be explained by the oral test being simpler than the written one, and that the children somehow got a clue about the right answer from the investigator. However, another explanation is more likely: Despite the effort to make sure that the children understood all the words in the test and could hear the difference between the two sentences in the pair, and despite the large number of children being excluded from the test because they were not able to do this, what we see here is probably chance performance on the part of these children. That is, they are probably simply guessing which sentence in the pair is the right one, and that accounts for this approximately 50/50 result.
This hypothesis is corroborated by the performance of the 4th graders, which is the lowest of all the groups (only 21% correct): At this stage the children are beginning to get more of an idea of what English is, and unfortunately, this "knowledge" translates into a hypothesis that English word order is V2 like Norwegian.

4.2 Verb Movement Across Adverbials

In sentences with adverbials, the word orders of English and Norwegian again differ because of verb movement: In Norwegian the verb appears to the left of the adverbial, while in English the verb is in its original position inside the VP. Transfer of V2 word order in these constructions would thus result in productions like the following sentence: *Walter jumps always on the bed. Again, the results of the test show that there is massive transfer of V2 also in this construction, actually even more than in topicalizations.

Figure 5: The performance of the 4th-7th graders on sentences with verb movement across adverbials (translations).
In Figure 5 above, the performance of the 4\textsuperscript{th} to 7\textsuperscript{th} graders is displayed, and the figures in the table represent their translations of two sentences with adverbials, both for the 5\textsuperscript{th}-7\textsuperscript{th} graders as well as the 4\textsuperscript{th} graders, who again had a different test and therefore received a slightly higher score than the older children.

Compared to the figures for topicalization, there are some slight differences: In 4\textsuperscript{th}, 5\textsuperscript{th} and especially in 6\textsuperscript{th} grade, there seems to be more transfer in this construction than in topicalizations. Thus, the major leap in acquisition of this word order pattern seems to lag somewhat behind the acquisition of non-V2 in topicalizations: While in topicalizations there is a more gradual increase in correct performance from 5\textsuperscript{th} to 7\textsuperscript{th} grade, there is a big leap in these constructions between 6\textsuperscript{th} and 7\textsuperscript{th} grade (from 17\% correct performance to 58\%). It thus seems like the children go through a stage in their development of word order where they have realized that there is no verb movement to C in English, but where they still assume that there is verb movement to I.

A possible explanation for the later acquisition of word order in this construction as compared to topicalizations could be related to cues in the input: If the cue for this construction is also a topicalized structure (which should tell children that verbs do not move in English - at all), then it is slightly more "removed" or less salient than it is for the topicalization construction itself. Another possibility is that topicalized structures are not sufficient here and that the children actually need another cue for word order in sentences with adverbials. That is, realizing that verbs do not move to C in English does not exclude movement to I. The cue to exclude movement to I would probably not be the sentences with adverbials themselves, however, since adverbials can occur in so many different positions. Noticing that they occur in one position is not enough for an L2 learner to exclude the possibility of putting them in another one. We will return to this issue below.

\textbf{4.3 WH-Questions}

The children's performance on the word order in WH-questions is expected to be different than in the other two constructions, as English actually does have movement to C (of auxiliaries only) in these
sentences. And Figure 6 illustrates that in translations of WH-questions with auxiliaries or main verb be (What will Anna eat? or Where is the ball?)\(^3\), the children in 5\(^{th}\) to 7\(^{th}\) grade are right about word order most of the time (88 to 93%). In fact, if they ever have trouble with this construction, it is over by 5\(^{th}\) grade, as there is also no developmental pattern to be seen here.

![Figure 6: The performance of the 5\(^{th}\)-7\(^{th}\) graders on WH-questions with AUX/BE (translations).](image)

Finally, what do the children do when they have to translate WH-questions with lexical verbs into English? These are constructions where the verb would move to C in Norwegian, but where do-support is required in English. Do-support is a notoriously difficult construction for L2 learners, and even for English-speaking children it is a late acquisition. As expected, there is again massive transfer of V2

\(^3\) It should be noted that in the dialect of Norwegian spoken by these children, a word order without V2 is allowed (e.g. Ka ho Anna vil spise? or Kor ballen er?), but this aspect will not be discussed in this article.
word order (*Where sits the cat? or *What gives Emma to Thomas?), as shown in Figure 7:

![Figure 7: The performance of the 5th-7th graders on WH-questions requiring do-support (translations).](image)

As many as 72% of the children produce sentences with V-movement to C in 5th grade, while 10% have produced a structure with a moved auxiliary, either do-support or a progressive: Where does the cat sit? or Where is the cat sitting?. In 6th grade, the corresponding figures are 58 vs. 18%, while there is a major leap in the acquisition of this structure between 6th and 7th grade: In 7th grade more than half of the children have produced the correct structure (53%), while 40% still assume that English is like Norwegian.

As mentioned above, sentences with do-support are avoided in the teaching material until 7th grade, presumably because of the complexity of this construction. Questions with the progressive aspect, however, are relatively frequent in the controlled input to these
children, as well as questions with other moved auxiliaries. Thus, children realize very early that English in fact is like Norwegian in questions, in that there is inversion of verb and subject. There is, however, no way that they can figure out that only some verbs move in English, if they are not exposed to sentences with do-support (unless they can learn from indirect negative evidence, which is unlikely, at least at this stage (see e.g. Dahl 2000)). Therefore, one could argue that by being exposed to such limited input, the children are actually led to believe that English is like Norwegian. One indication of that is that by 5th grade, the children have been exposed to a considerable number of sentences with the progressive aspect and should thus master this construction relatively well. However, they do not use this construction to salvage questions with main verbs, since they have (so far) no reason to assume that main verbs do not move to C in English.

The analyses of word order in the three different constructions have so far only been based on the overall performance of each age group. The data in this study has not been investigated closely with regard to individual performance. However, as a general trend it is possible to say that when looking at the raw data, where in 5th grade in general 2-4 children are right on a particular sentence and 14-16 children are wrong, we are not talking about the same children being right all the time and some being wrong all the time. In fact, it is a typical feature that the children are sometimes right and sometimes wrong, and given this, it is a bit odd that the overall performance is so similar for the individual sentences. In 7th grade, on the other hand, the data indicates that several things may "fall into place" at that stage, as most of these children are consistently right about all three constructions, while approx. five children are, unfortunately, more or less consistently wrong. What we see here is possibly a case of fossilization, where learners do not develop beyond the stage they are at, despite continued input. This could also explain the fact (referred to above) that the 7th graders do not perform any better on sentence pairs than on translation tasks, i.e. they have used up this added "hunch" that English is different from Norwegian, as they have simply reached the ceiling of their learning process (for this particular aspect of the grammar at least).
5. Summary and Conclusion

This study has shown that there is massive transfer of V2 word order in all the relevant constructions. There also seem to be certain frequency effects, in that word order is in place earlier in sentences with topicalized adverbials than sentences with initial objects. There is a gradual acquisition of word order in topicalizations (5th-6th-7th grade), while there is major leap between 6th and 7th grade as regards sentences with adverbials and do-support.

![Graph](image)

**Figure 8: Percentage of correct performance of the 5th-7th graders on topicalizations (main verbs and aux.), sentences with adverbials and do-support (translations).**

The above graph shows the percentage of correct performance of the different constructions by the 5th to 7th graders. The lines for sentences with adverbials and sentences with do-support follow an amazingly similar pattern, with a developmental leap from 6th to 7th grade. This indicates that the cue for correct word order in sentences with adverbials is in fact sentences with do-support. This, of course, is not that unlikely given a cue-based theory of (full or partial) transfer:
In order to realize that main verbs do not move to I in English, it is not sufficient to be given cues that verbs do not move to C.

Thus, it seems clear from these figures that Norwegian learners of English have to reset two different parameters in the acquisition of word order, verb movement to C and (main) verb movement to I. Topicalized structures will be responsible for the former development (which occurs first in these learners, probably because of a slightly higher, and more gradual, frequency of the input), while sentences with do-support will be responsible for the latter, i.e. the word order in questions as well as sentences with adverbials, where learners have to realize that there is a difference between auxiliaries and main verbs in English with respect to movement. Not surprisingly, the major leap in development in these two constructions coincides with the introduction of do-support in the teaching material of these children at the beginning of 7th grade. And finally, it is this realization of the difference between main verbs and auxiliaries in English which in turn must be responsible for the lag in the development of word order in topicalized structures with auxiliaries.

So despite the idea that in Norway, English is "everywhere", it looks like the input given in school is still the most important one for these children. And unfortunately, one might say, in this case the children are exposed to not only minimal input, but also one that is deliberately lacking the relevant input cues. What is especially worrying here is those children in 7th grade who still have not acquired English word order, but who are consistently wrong on all the tasks. They seem not only to assume as an initial hypothesis that English is like their L1, they seem to have decided that English is V2. Thus, they may already at the age of 12 have fossilized, and may not be able to get out of the patterns they have transferred from the L1.

A final comment on the educational system that these children are in: One would assume that the reason for introducing English already to 6-year-olds must be some realization that children are better language learners than adults. However, I believe this study has shown that minimalistic and deprived input over an extended period of time may be at best a waste of time. It might even be argued to be harmful, as the children could be led down some undesirable paths in their acquisition process, and risk getting stuck there because of fossilization.
REFERENCES


