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EDITOR'S NOTE:

As stated in this volume, “language and culture are inextricably linked as two facets of an individual’s world view” (Syed: 8). Thus, it stands to reason that bilingualism (as well as multilingualism) would “facilitate a closer and perhaps more genuine access to the culture or cultures of its speakers” (Alvarado, herein: 39). With this in mind, and with our linguistic thoughts impelled by the modern realities of a growing global economy and broadening international immigration, the editors of BOCA felt that our next issue should address the glories and challenges of ‘Bilingualism and Culture.’

When we chose this as the thematic focus for the current edition, we were hopeful that scholars outside the US would respond to our call. While the study of bilingualism and culture has certainly expanded in America in recent years, we were eager to learn about the theories and approaches of scholars whose research reflected a perennial bilingual or multilingual society—something quite unusual in most parts of the United States, but increasingly common in South Florida. We were absolutely thrilled, then, to receive submissions from around the world: from Nigeria to Luxembourg, Canada to Malaysia.

In our first issue, we stated that our primary goal in establishing BOCA was that we wished to provide an arena in which scholars from one subfield of linguistics could be informed, encouraged, and pushed in new directions by the work of linguists in other subfields. We feel great pride, then, that the articles in this edition written by Syed, David and Weber each serve as excellent compliments to one another—though their research took place on three separate continents.

And, while these and other articles deal primarily with issues of multilingualism in the classroom, we were also intrigued with the ways that some authors have used language as the touchstone for dealing with issues of national identity (Cf. Cheng) and public attitudes of multiculturalism (cf. Alvarado).

Since we were truly overwhelmed by the response to our last call, we suspected that there was much more to say on the topic. Thus, we are eager to engage with an international community of scholars on the topic of ‘Culture and Language Change.’ We hope that this theme will lead to an important exchange of data, as well as a lively debate on theory. Please see the call for papers at the end of this issue.

As always, we would be remiss not to acknowledge the tireless efforts of our Advisory Board, the support of scholars in the South Florida area and beyond, and our patient friends and family—all of whom stood by us as we continued pursuing the reality of this issue and this journal.

We are proud to share with our field the work of these authors and we look forward to the next round of submissions.

Kristyl Kepley

CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING: ESTABLISHING COMMON GROUND FOR TEACHING AND LEARNING SECOND LANGUAGES

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Abstract

Cross-cultural second language learning poses special challenges for teachers and students in post-colonial societies where language transmission is conducted against a backdrop of the historical remnants of colonial power dynamics. This paper presents the narratives of two Pakistani women engaged with teaching and learning English as a second language (ESL). Situated in post colonial Pakistan, within a colonially-structured educational system, ESL curricula favor students of higher financial status, and provide little cultural context for either the English texts, or the questions of how and why English is required for higher education in Pakistan. This paper discusses the ramifications of ESL teaching and learning in Pakistani classrooms, at both the personal level of teacher and student, and in wider society. A sharp contrast exists between narrative accounts of ESL classrooms and theoretical constructions of 'third spaces' for learning in liminal cultural contexts. The needs for teacher reflection and commitment to Critical Language Awareness are discussed as requisite to the creation of culturally inclusive post-colonial ESL classrooms.

1. Introduction

Language and culture are inextricably linked as two facets of an individual's worldview. Without language as a means of communication and a mirror of life, culture (a way of living, knowing and doing) becomes stagnant. Without culture, language also stagnates and loses power, because words become irrelevant and cannot convey meaning if they are not explicitly linked to cultural context. Unfortunately, second language learners are often faced with the task of acquiring language skills out of their cultural context and understanding. Memorization and mimicry, rather than

internalization and expression, are all too often the products of second language learning.

This paper explores teaching and learning challenges created by tensions between language as a lived, cultural experience, and discusses the need to develop a metaphorical classroom ‘space’ that provides intercultural dialogue for the establishment of culturally harmonious teacher-student relationships. One way to conceive of this space is to envision both teacher and student as stepping out of their comfort zones into a ‘third space,’ stepping off of a native shore onto a bridge between two cultures and language systems (Bhabha 1994). By repositioning teacher and student from their comfort zones and thus from their normative cultural perspectives, a third space provides a comfortable atmosphere for learning and thus promotes student internalization of their second languages’ cultural relevance.

A starting point for discussion of the third space metaphor is found in the emergent arena of Critical Language Awareness (CLA). CLA is a theory claiming that the use of language as a form of social practice is embedded in specific socio-historical contexts where existing social relations are reproduced and where different interests are served. Several decades ago, in the 1970s, Foucault expressed concern with the relationship between language and power. Bourdieu (1991) explained Foucault’s ideas when he said that language has a particular power to marginalize. Those who are fluent in a particular language and are familiar with the often subtle social relations that are implicit in a language may choose to use this knowledge for their own interest, making it possible for them to assume and/or sustain power. For example, in colonized areas such as South Asia, a particular form of English was used to create a distance between the colonizer and the colonized. In the universities of most countries, British Colonial literature is taught; though, in practical day-to-day life, it has no use. It does however

create a distance between the privileged and powerful and the others—who were once treated as “subjects.” The discourse surrounding CLA lays out the struggle to represent (re-present) different versions of the world as legitimate (Fairclough 1989). The value of the discourse surrounding CLA lies in the power of this language to make people sensitive to the complexities of relationships between language and power.

Conceptualizing language through CLA reveals and explores links between language, culture, power, and biases of inclusion and exclusion. These links may seem obvious at a theoretical level, but cultural misunderstandings and differences commonly manifest as barriers to successful transmission of secondary language. In this era of globalization and international education, classroom populations everywhere are becoming increasingly diverse. This diversity requires that language teachers investigate the cultural background of their students in order to provide contextual understandings of English, whether it is being learned as a first, second or third language.

Human beings are culturally situated, and to function within our societies we learn to see things through the lens of our own culture, not through the lens of others. Culture shapes us to see things as we are, not as others are. As a principal means of communicating culture, language transmission has an important role in establishing cross-cultural understanding. Toelken (1976:10) advocates for teachers to challenge themselves to become conscious of their student’s cultural needs; “how differently we see things, envision things, and look at things, how dissimilarly different cultures try to process the world of reality.” How differently we may teach, when we bring our classrooms into third space.

Previous research has highlighted a number of issues for English as a Second Language (ESL) curriculum reforms, including modification of teaching resources, methods, evaluation systems and teacher education

programs, but the significance of teachers' involvement in creating a third space for learning has been neither addressed nor assessed. Accordingly, there has been little comparison between theoretical conceptions of the third space, and the contemporary spaces in which ESL teaching and learning are carried out. In this paper, I begin by reviewing literature on third space learning, and contrast this with narratives of classroom experience.

2. Theorizing the Third Space

The image of a third space in which it was possible to experience a “homogenous and transcendental sense of . . . identity” and cross boundaries of “fixed scheme[s] of location and identity” was first provided by Bhabha (1994:123). I interpret this as a place where students, through local literature, are enabled to think critically about their identities and boundaries. For example, when I was teaching in Pakistan, in addition to teaching the mandated curriculum (Chaucer and Shakespeare), I took time to teach local literature, written by local authors in English. Beginning from a location that had contextual meaning, students developed critical thinking skills. Understanding themselves, and developing the skills to question themselves, students were then able to question their own identities and the boundaries of themselves (individually and culturally) and others. Students moved within a third space, aware of themselves and others.

This third space refers to the zone in which cultural translation and cultural hybridity give birth to “something different, something new and unrecognizable, a new area of negotiation of meaning and representation” (Bhabha 1994:211). Taking Bhabha's vision across the theory-practice divide, Aoki (1996) suggested a movement away from curriculum-as-a plan to curriculum-as-lived, where teachers and students would dwell in neither the identity-centered East nor West, but in the space between East and West. Smith (1996) elaborates the third space as neither East nor West but full of

new possibilities to engage an East/West inquiry to approach the issue of identity.

Post-colonial theory and criticism have brought new awareness to the challenges of living with each other in a contemporary world of difference. The metaphor of the third space is the most important notion on culture and identity in post-colonial inquiry. It is most important because, as Wang (2004) conceives, it is both an “inter” space and a “trans” space, pregnant with possibilities for co-creation emergent from interaction between separate either/or binaries. These interactions occur at both the conscious and unconscious level during teaching and learning. The metaphor of the third space allows us the awareness and language to consciously reconstruct our identity while reconstructing ourselves in relation to others. Everyday our relationships are constructed and, sometimes, shattered. I am no longer who I was: my identity is fluid; everyone’s identity is fluid. The third space allows for the creation and re-creation of the fluid identity, which is teaching and learning.

As both a conscious (perceived) and subconscious (internalized) metaphor, I believe that the third space has a unique ability to raise teachers’ awareness and sensitivity to the challenges of ESL teaching. This metaphorical approach will not banish or overcome all challenges in the ESL classroom, but teachers who dwell in the third space can be expected to be more critically sensitive and aware, and thus find more opportunities to improve their teaching and learning. Critical Language Awareness is intimately connected to the third space. If students are not exposed to cultural contextual understandings in the third space, they are prone to rote memorization of second languages, and succeed at coursework by short-term, mimicry-based learning strategies that have low retention after final exams. Mimicry may be seen as an ironic compromise, reflecting the ambivalence of English language learners to colonization. For example, in

the experience of teaching and learning Chaucer, Milton, and Shakespeare as a fourth or fifth language, there is an acknowledgment that it is useful to learn the language but the student may not want to adopt the culture that it signifies.

Colonization both appropriates the Other through “reform, regulation, and discipline,” and subjugates the Other as a “threat” to “normalized knowledge and disciplinary powers” (Bhabha 1994:381). The effect of mimetic learning strategies is to create “a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite.” ESL mimes can re-iterate the thoughts of their teachers, but cannot formulate communication relevant to their own cultural understandings or needs. As Bhabha (1994:385) writes, the student mimes “the forms of authority at the point at which it deauthorizes them. Similarly, mimicry rearticulates presence in terms of its ‘otherness,’ that which it disavows.” Bhabha (1994:380) describes how the mimic reveals nothing but its own distinctness from “that which is left behind.” If students are learning in ESL classrooms in order to gain literacy and agency in another culture, mimicry will undoubtedly disserve them, regardless of the grades they attain. I hope that discussion prompted by this paper will provide opportunities for ESL teachers to reflect on the relevancy and impact of language transmission, and how, by situating learning in a third space of cultural-hybridity, they may take part in deconstructing the power dynamics that pattern post-colonial education systems.

3. Methodology

The narratives of ESL teaching and learning presented below come from me—a Pakistani teacher educator with over fourteen years of experience teaching ESL in Pakistani universities—and from Amina, a Pakistani ESL student. Both of us are now living in Canada and studying at Canadian Universities where English is the medium of daily discourse. We

share our narratives of cross-cultural learning because we share with Clandinin and Connelly (2000) the conviction that the richness of human experience can be expressed through shared narrative accounts. Stories are a dominant means of cultural communication and acquisition of cultural understandings (Johnston, 2003); they are both “at the heart of what explorers and novelists say about strange regions of the world” and “the method colonized people used to assert their identity and the existence of their own history” (Said 1993:xii-xiii). Stories allow us to connect with the experiences of those who come from very different ethnic, cultural and linguistic backgrounds, and allow us to identify our own spirits and selves.

The narratives provided below bring two perspectives forward for discussion. I, as a teacher, educator, and researcher, am interested in exploring the complexities of learning English as a second language through engagement in social life. My research participant, Amina, is a Pakistani graduate student currently deepening her understanding of English through immersion in Canadian culture. We are both, to different degrees, situated in a liminal space, described by Bhabha (1994) as an intersection of cultures and a new space in which a person can negotiate and create a hybrid culture out of the familiar and the unfamiliar.

3.1 Amina’s narrative: A student’s ESL learning experience in Pakistan

Amina was born and raised in Pakistan. Her parents spoke Punjabi at home, as well as Siraiki in social contexts. At the age of five, Amina was enrolled in public/government school, and began learning a third language, Urdu, through educational discourse. She was first exposed to basic English in grade six, and continued to study English as a compulsory/core subject through to the university level. Without competent English skills, you cannot obtain any certificate, diploma or degree in Pakistan. Thus, Amina related that she studied English out of both academic and practical obligations.

In Pakistan, Amina explained, the English language of professional discourse is a formal version of British English. This version of English has become archaic within English speaking societies, including those of Britain and Canada. It is neither the language of the British people nor the language of the original colonizers of sub continental Asia. Yet, in all written communication at Pakistani Universities, this postcolonial English is the norm, and is transferred to students as ‘normalized’ knowledge.

Amina sensed a cultural disconnect learning this English in school, and later at university. In a poignant example, she related an incident that occurred when she was eight: After reading a picture book from England that described kite flying on a sunny day, she decided that she wanted to enjoy the sunny day in Pakistan. She told her father that she was going out to fly a kite. He asked if she was crazy: It was over 100 degrees Fahrenheit outside! Amina then explained to her father that she had learned from her English book how nice it was to fly a kite on a nice, sunny day. Reflecting back on this experience, Amina laughed, finding it amusing that she had tried to make literal sense of other’s experiences in her own cultural and geographical environment. “I realize now,” Amina said, “that I was blindly trying to become the ‘Other.’”

In English classes, Amina and her classmates read works that movingly depicted personal struggles, but did not gain any sense of how engaging with English literature was teaching them their distance from the Colonial center of culture and civilization. Amina’s story of the kite demonstrates her struggle as a learner to conceptualize and contextualize what she had read.

3.2 Khadija’s narrative: A teacher’s ESL teaching experiences in Pakistan

As a University English educator in Pakistan, I met many students like Amina. I grew concerned as I came to recognize that the inflexible

curricula and standardized external exams I was required to administer did not reflect or address the multiplicity of my undergraduate and graduate students' needs and changing cultural identities. The syllabus and English language curriculum were externally devised by the British government during the time of colonization. At that time, English literature focused on works from previous centuries. As part of a required English language credit, I was teaching University classes on Victorian literature that did not relate to my students' personal, social and cultural contexts.

Students came to my courses with diverse first languages (Urdu, Balochi, Kashmiri, Punjabi, Siraiki, Sindhi, Pushto and Riasti, to name a few), ethnic and national origins (including Indian Sikh, Kashmiri, and Afghan Refugees), and socio-economic backgrounds. Some had attended private English schools, some public, government-run Urdu schools. In Pakistan, private English medium schools, with steep fees, cater to upper and middle class families, and provide a resource-rich 'Oxford' curriculum taught by teachers whose first language is English. On the other hand, public schools have limited access to English learning resources, rarely have fluent English speaking teachers, and only initiate English language teaching from grade six onwards.

By university level, differences between privately and publicly educated students were obvious in my classrooms. Besides advantages of earlier learning and better resources, students from the upper and middle classes commonly had access to English language radio, television, or the Internet. These students had learned English in a more functional, contextual format, which contrasted sharply with the English learned by public school students from outdated British literature. Students of low socio-economic status found it much more difficult to understand contextual meanings in the curricular texts that I taught, and their learning was often reduced to mimicry of outdated Victorian English.

3.3 Researcher's Reflections

For narrative-based research, problems of language transmission become particularly problematic. How can people speak freely and tell their stories authentically if they are forced to use secondary languages that are “almost, but not quite” their own? In post-colonial contexts, many cannot even easily revert to their own languages because the idea that foreign languages are the right languages for discourse have become socially ingrained. In a very real sense, by mimicking the voice of their British colonizers, the Pakistani people have lost their own voices. The problem is not easily solved, and is evidenced by the fact that post-colonial cultures were, are, and continue to be, shaped by the influence of their colonization. According to Willinsky (1998), former colonies continue to be dominated through the necessary use of the English language in academia as well as in the work force.

Willinsky (1998) writes that although the great empires have been ‘broken’ (in both theoretical and practical senses), the shadow of their legacy still exists, specifically in the lessons and nature of our educational systems. When the colonies were abandoned, the colonial systems were left in place. In English classes in Pakistan, students read works that evoke sympathy for characters struggling against discrimination, yet are not encouraged to examine how English literature served a colonizer’s need to teach the colonized their difference from ‘true civilization.’

The ESL students in my classes struggled daily to fit in through the medium of language. They tried desperately to acquire as much English as they could, in an attempt to bridge the social, political and ethnic gap that separated them from classmates who had been privy to English language immersion and exposure to the media of the English culture. Many expressed despair that their efforts were in vain; but, like Amina, they were convinced

that there was no other option for success in the global job market, or even in the upper and middle class professions of Pakistan. I wonder how these ESL students would have responded to a curriculum that deconstructed traditional histories, while simultaneously taking a close look at how English perpetuated those histories. How would they think about their “otherness” in terms of their language? Would they even attempt to tease apart the two?

Having worked in ESL settings that did not emphasize cross-cultural understanding, I have often reflected on the responsibility of teachers to reconsider/deconstruct the legacy of colonialism in education. Reflecting on our own student learning experiences, and on our teaching experiences, we can refresh our perspectives to re-educate ourselves as teachers, and become better equipped to frame the impact of the colonial legacy for our students. I believe that, as teachers, we are uniquely able to provide our students opportunities for understanding or acknowledging cultural differences as an academic activity and to encourage them to examine why these differences have seen such great emphasis in our culture and education. Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) state that to help our students understand the contextual and cultural meanings of second languages, teachers must extend beyond their own comfort zone and meet the student in the third or liminal space. They must be open to learning the student’s cultural and contextual meanings.

4. Discussion

Language and culture are products of one another. Language transmits culture not through its universality, but through the particularity of context (a specific time, place, history). It is through our mother tongues that we first develop our self-identities, and choose the words and stories that we aspire to. Thus by undermining native languages with educational second languages, the ability of a people to sustain and evolve their culture is also destroyed.

In the introduction to this paper, I proposed that the ultimate failure of ESL teaching may be the production of ESL mimics. A more malign result, however, may be the real possibility of ‘linguistic division’ of ‘self’ in the indigenous culture and the ‘idealized other as presented in the text.’ Amina’s experience at the age of only eight when she proposed a potentially life-threatening kite excursion to her father is an example of what can happen in the absence of Critical Language Awareness. As described by Foucault (1972), linguistic division entails the breaking of the harmony between the mother tongue and the cultural dimensions and contexts of life. Language is a means of controlling and subjugating. It is a tool of power (Foucault 1972). Breaking the connection between language and culture, one can break the bond between the individual and her/his culture, values, and identity (Foucault 1972). This occurred in Pakistan, via the colonial educational system that forced students to shed their traditional languages, spiritualities, and values. This also occurs when the written language and the spoken language are different, and when the language of ‘real life’ is divorced from each of these. For example, this linguistic division occurs when people are verbally fluent in indigenous languages, but can only write in another language. The impact of this is tremendous, as it both limits and shapes the communication between humans that directs the way a culture evolves.

From a teacher’s perspective, this painful issue is close to my heart. In Pakistan, we have suffered for 200 years under colonialism. Even after 55 years of independence, we are still suffering from the aftermath of imperialism and colonization. With the loss of languages, we have also lost many of our traditions, values, and local histories, as well as the possibility for a truly self-expressed sense of future. The colonial curriculum continues this circular process, leaving us with no way out. In Pakistan, people who speak English are at the top of the social/political/economic/educational hierarchy. Students who do poorly in English exams at school are typically

from lower economic classes. English is now a status symbol, diserving both native Pakistani speakers, and the rich cultural history of the European Germanic languages.

5. Concluding Thoughts

Reflecting on both my own and Amina's narratives, establishing a third space for ESL learning in Pakistan may depend not so much on the identification of specific practices, but rather on engaging both teachers and learners with questions that will bring them towards liminal 'spaces' for learning. Together, we wondered,

1. How can speakers of colonially repressed languages regain power to direct the expression and continuation of our cultures?
2. What are the responsibilities of educators to come out of our own comfort zones and wear others' hats to understand, respect, and transmit value 'otherness'?
3. What are the responsibilities of students in creating 'third' spaces for learning?
4. How do we unpack conceptual ideas of identity (race, culture, nation) in the teaching and learning of second language curriculum?

What would a 'third space' look like in a Pakistani English classroom? I conceive of a culture of inclusivity, where students would be free to express their personal experiences of English, and encouraged to examine English as an 'other' language, not as a language that excludes them as 'other.' Maintaining the third space spirit in such a classroom might involve Critical Language Awareness, historical debriefings on the history and structure of the educational systems, readings in native languages that discuss English language and its cultural origins, and updating the curriculum to include English literature from a diversity of national and

ethnic origins. I fear that many students may have graduated from my Victorian-based English language credit classes with little idea of how English has evolved in plurality in the post-colonial era. Discrete suggestions are beyond the scope of this paper, but I sincerely hope that, attentive to narratives like Amina's and my own, readers will be prompted to re-imagine the third spaces that are possible in ESL classrooms. Learning second languages can, and should, be a culturally empowering, and personally expanding experience, not, as Amina and I experienced, a re-enactment of colonial power dynamics.

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ANALYZING CULTURAL NORMS THROUGH LITERARY TEXTS: A PEDAGOGICAL APPROACH

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Abstract

In some cultures directness in discourse is deemed the polite norm. Time is not wasted and intentions are clearly stated. Yet, in other cultures indirectness is deemed polite behavior and aids in conflict avoidance. Second and foreign language learners of English generally tend to transfer the norms of behavior in their L1 to their L2. In interactions with L1 speakers such transfer often results in misperceptions and stereotyping of the L2 speaker. As directness/indirectness is enacted in speech acts this paper argues that one way of making learners aware of cross-cultural differences in speech acts is to extract a range of speech acts from literary texts written by non-native speakers of L2. Culling appropriate examples from books by well-known novelists like Amy Tan and Catherine Lim, the writer will show how interlocutors in a range of cultures express the same speech act. Some of the speech acts which will be discussed are compliments and their responses. The writer argues that English language teachers will benefit from using such instructional materials, as will language learners.

1. Introduction

Cultures vary. In high-context communication, most of the information exists in the context, is internalized in the people communicating, or is found in the physical context. Malaysia and the Malay community more specifically, have been said to be a community where the message has to be inferred as it is generally in indirect mode (Omar 1995). In low-context communication, most of the information lies in explicit codes (Hall 1976, 1983). Communication is more direct in such cultures. Samovar and Porter (2004:24) remind us, "Each human being is unique and shaped by countless factors, culture being but one of them."

So what is the connection between culture and language? Clark and Ivanic (1991:170) say:

... language forms cannot be considered independently of the ways they are used to communicate in context. Further, individual acts of communication in context cannot be considered independently of the social forces which have set up the conventions of appropriacy for that context.

Language teachers must realize the importance of seeing culture as integrated at all levels of language. With the emergence of more and more non-native speakers of English, with the growth of more and more multilingual societies, with internationalization and globalization, it is vital to integrate cultural norms with language teaching (see Liddicoat 1997).

2. Objective of the paper

In this paper I argue that cultural awareness as reflected in language can be triggered by the teacher through the use of culturally appropriate material culled from a number of texts which focus on any one speech act.

One of the important variables that are affected by culture is speech acts. Differences in accepted norms of behavior are generally reflected in speech acts. A speech act is the function performed by our utterances. For instance greetings (David 2004a), compliments (David 1999), disagreements (Jan & David 1996), requests (David, Kuang & Don 2002, Kuang et al. 2006), directives (David & Kuang 1999), indirectness in women's talk (David 2004d), and even obituaries (David & Yong 2002) are all examples of speech acts. The way a speech act is performed in any given language can be very culture specific (Schmidt & Richards 1980; Wierzbicka 1985). Culture-specific speech acts necessitate a familiarity with the value systems of the interlocutors in the interaction.

Texts (see also David & Norazit 1996 on opening the Muslim world to non-Muslim students through a reading text) from which cultural capsules are extracted can be used to make learners aware of the differences in certain speech acts albeit in English, when used by native speaker(s) of English. Speech acts differ cross-culturally in their distribution, function and frequency of occurrence. It has been argued that learners of English must be made consciously aware of the differences in certain speech acts when used by a native speaker of English and by second language learners of the language (see also David 2003, 2004).

3. Discourse and Texts

3.1. Compliments

David (1999) shows how differences in the pragmatic and sociolinguistic behavior of native (NS) and non-native speakers (NNS) vis-à-vis compliment giving and receiving can be used by the language teacher as a basis for raising consciousness of the culturally different ways of giving and receiving compliments. Compliments, like apologies, are primarily aimed at maintaining, enhancing, anointing or supporting the addressee's "face" (Goffman 1967) and are generally regarded as positive politeness strategies. Extracts culled from a novel *Bicycle Days*—where a young American stays with a Japanese host family in Tokyo—show a number of compliments by the young American to a number of speakers, both Japanese and Americans. The Japanese hostess, on being told by the young American guest that her food was good, responded by saying “Eat”; and, elsewhere she diverted the compliment by saying that her husband helped her with the cooking. In contrast, a young American friend who had been complimented by the young American protagonist responded by merely saying “Thank you” (see David 1999). The responses, however, vary and the extracts clearly indicate that in some cultures an acceptance of the compliment is the

norm, while in other cultures an acceptance would signify an infringement of cultural norms.

Information about differences in the pragmatic and sociolinguistic behavior of NS and NNS vis-à-vis compliment giving and receiving can be used by the language teacher as a basis for comparison since there are culturally different ways of responding to compliments. In some cultures like the Philippines and Malaysia, an acceptance would signify some derogatory comments about the compliment receiver and the norm is to deny or negate the compliment. In discourse with the native speaker of English "thank you" is more often than not an expression of gratitude made in response to a compliment and is an adjunct to the function of complimenting. Data of native speaker responses from a comparative study on native and non-native responses indicate that native speakers responded to compliments by an expression of thanks, followed by either a redundant question, "Do you like it?" or by expressing pleasure "I'm glad you like it" (Eisentein & Bodman 1986:171).

The responses of native and non-native speakers to compliments are therefore different and the "correctness" or appropriacy or politeness of the response depends on the socio-pragmatic rules of language use. "To be polite is saying the socially acceptable thing" says Lakoff (1975:53). In some cultures it would not do to respond with a "thank you" for this would mean that one was openly acknowledging the fact, for example, that one was pretty, had a handsome husband, etc. A western-educated Malaysian colleague, whose first language is English and who protested that she only responded with "thanks" to compliments, was observed to provide more clarification and elaboration after the initial thanks. She would say, "Thanks. I felt like a change," when complimented on a nice sari.

There are not only different ways of responding to compliments but the number of times people compliment, the kinds of things people

compliment and the words they use to compliment differ from culture to culture (see David 1999). For example, it will not do to compliment Malaysian Indian (Tamil) babies for being pretty, for this, it is believed by this ethnic group, will result in bad luck. This is because, the values and cultural norms underlying the English language which a non-native speaker uses, are not necessarily the same as those of a native speaker.

Raising students' awareness of these cultural differences resulting in varying responses to compliments will help to improve the communicative competence of language learners. Some examples of spoken discourse culled from a range of texts are provided as examples of teaching input which act as a catalyst to discussion on cross-cultural differences in the speech act of complimenting. Some of the examples of responding to compliments are shown below:

Example 1

A : Your English is improving. I'm pleased with your work.

B : Oh no. My English is not very good.

(Levine 1987:23).

Example 2

A : You should be very proud of your progress.

B : No, it's not true. You are a good teacher but I am not a good student.

(Levine 1987:22).

Example 3

A : What a pretty dress!

B : This old rag? I bought it at a sale.

(Ekstrand 1981:273).

Example 4

A : ...now you are clever.

B : You made me clever, sir.

(Sri Delima 1976:149).

Example 5

Mother on being complimented on having a beautiful daughter.

Mother: Ah but what's the use of having a pretty daughter, if she is stubborn and willful and talks back to her mother?

(Lim 2003:9).

In examples 1 and 2, B—a Korean—does not accept the compliment. Humility and modesty are reflected in such a denial. Negating the compliment is a deferential act aligned with cultural norms and value systems (see Examples 1-5).

It is important to note here that the language in which compliments are couched vary across cultures. What is considered good or pretty in one culture may not be the same in another. Therefore, similes and comparisons used will vary across cultures as shown in the following examples.

Example 6

She is like the moon and has beautiful eyes.

(Levine 1987: 21).

Example 7

Your earrings are pure gold, aren't they?

(Levine 1987: 21).

When we tried Example 6 “You are like the moon” on young Malaysians, they were offended and did not perceive it as a compliment as they thought they were being told that they had gained weight! In a culture where one does not ask about price, Example 7 comes across as very rude and is not at all seen as a compliment. A British professor once, after a summer break, told his Hong Kong students that they had tanned. They were upset because tanned to them equated to being dark and they were proud of their fair complexions. The Professor was using the normal compliment given to the British who go to hot climates for a holiday and for whom it would be seen as a compliment as the aim of the holiday is to have a tan (Littlewood, personal communication)!

Teachers who want to show such differences in discourse norms can, for instance, cull a speech act of compliments and their responses from literary texts like Catherine Lim's *Following the Wrong God Home*, K. S. Maniam's *Between Lives*, Rohinton Mistry's *Family Matters* and many other such books. Example 8 is taken from Lim's novel and illustrates a compliment and its response.

Example 8

"You are very good to an old servant," her neighbors said to Alice Fong. The grateful employed servants to look after their old servants; the ungrateful put them in squalid old people's homes.

"She served us well so we will do our duty towards her," said Alice Fong, with cold precision.

(Lim 2001:29).

In Example 8, upon receiving compliments from her neighbors, Alice Fong was seen as negating those compliments by saying that it is merely her duty to reciprocate the good deeds her servant had done for her family.

The elements of rejecting and negating compliments appear to have similar patterns in Asian literature. Examples 9-17 are extracted from K. S. Maniam's book, *Between Lives*. These examples show how compliments are rejected and "returned" to the compliment giver. In Malaysia, then, where the novel is set it appears polite to deny such compliments and it is the compliment giver who is perceived as being responsible for whatever good has occurred. Hence, the act of rejecting and also attributing praise to the originator or compliment-giver is an act of elevating the positive-face of the compliment-giver.

Example 9

"You've more than got the touch, Arokian," Pak Mat said, watching him.

"You've taught me well," her father said, and they looked at each other with the glow of some secret knowledge.

(Maniam 2003:109).

Example 10

“Grown so much since I last saw them! Beautiful ponnus! You’re lucky Amma.”

“You showed us the way,” her mother said, smiling.

“But you did all the work,” he said, and stopped acting in his funny way. (Maniam 2003:116).

Example 11

“Christina great, lah!” Aishah says, looking at the Datuk’s table. “Can organize anything!”

“You outdid her today,” I say smiling.

(Maniam 2003:164).

On the other hand, Examples 12-14 show how compliments are negated by openly disagreeing and contradicting the compliment-giver.

Example 12

“Everything you touch flourishes,” one of them said.

“You’ve a lucky hand,” another said.

“No, not luck,” her father said, in a gentle but reproving voice, and turned and looked at the hills and jungle in the distance.

(Maniam 2003:112).

Example 13

“Ah yes,” the DH says, and turns to Aishah. “You’re a VIP today, Aishah. And important people sit at the special table.”

“I don’t think so, Datuk,” Aishah says, giving that sarcastic smile again.

“Others deserve that place more. Why not Leong, Datuk? He’s among the oldest here.”

(Maniam 2003:164).

Example 14

“Wah, so brave, lah, you!” Christina says.

“Nothing to do with being brave.”

(Maniam 2003: 209).

In other cultures, the act of contradiction may be seen as impolite for it suggests to the compliment giver that he/she is wrong. However, in the Malaysian context, it is polite to negate and reject compliments and praise by contradicting and in this way the compliment receiver emphasizes humility. Note that in Example 12, a Malaysian Indian rejected the compliment whilst

in Examples 13 and 14 a Malaysian Malay rejected the speaker's compliments.

Just like Example 8, Examples 15 and 16 show how a Malaysian Indian woman negated her interlocutor's compliments by saying that this was her duty. In both Examples 15 and 16, the interlocutors used the words, "work" and "occupation(al)" to denote duty, rather than personal traits.

Example 15

"You're so, what shall I say, sincere?"

"I try to be."

"Try to be, that's good!" he say, laughing. "And does it take great effort?"

"My work always needs effort."

(Maniam 2003: 118).

Example 16

"Wish I can be brave like you," my mother says appreciatively.

"Nothing to it, Amma," I say. "Occupational hazard!"

(Maniam 2003:59).

Sometimes compliments are acted out in the form of physical gifts. For instance, Example 17 shows how Aishah's colleagues congratulated her for having been promoted by giving her presents. Yet the response is the same. Aishah negated the compliment (gift) by saying, "This (is) too expensive." This is to suggest that she is not worthy of the gift. Again, her complaint is meant to save her face, for it implies humility.

Example 17

A male colleague hands Aishah the wrapped-up gift; she opens the package, and, taking out the Casio electronic organizer, looks as if she'd dreaded this would happen. "This...this too expensive!" she says, finally looking up. (Maniam 2003: 162).

More examples of such denial are found in Rohington Mistry's *Family Matters*.

Example 18

Mr. Kapur...saying it was a blessing to have a Parsi employee: "I don't need to worry about cash sticking in the lining of our trousers. If only there were more communities like yours."
Yezad had been embarrassed. "I'm sure we have our share of crooks and good-for-nothing loafers."
(Mistry 2002:156).

Such language awareness approaches can help ESL or EFL students in their acquisition of a range of appropriate varieties and registers of English by training students to look for and recognize patterns in different varieties of English.

3.2. Requests

As a request can be an imposition there is the potential for a conflict. Bach and Harnish (1984) state that: "requests are directives, i.e. their illocutionary point consists in the fact that they are attempts by the speaker/writer to get the hearer/reader to do something." As those making requests expect a preferred response, they must ensure that the request is polite. Politeness, according to Brown and Levinson (1987), is the phrasing of one's remarks in such a way so as to manage the face, or public identity (Goffman 1967) of each interactant. There are assumed to be two universal face wants: negative face, the desire to have one's actions unimpeded by others, and positive face, the desire for connection or closeness with others. Many acts threaten the positive or negative face (or both) of the speaker (addresser) and/or hearer (addressee). Requests, for example, threaten the negative face of the hearer (by imposing on him or her). Acts threatening the face of an interactant can be made more polite (less face-threatening) by performing them with one of Brown and Levinson's politeness super-strategies.

I now provide an example of indirect requests from Amy Tan's book (2003). This extract is useful as the teacher, by using a range of intonation

patterns and a range of facial expressions, can convey different meanings.

Moreover, the text can be used as a stimulus to ask questions on the language learners' preferences – directness or indirectness in discourse.

Example 19

My aunt and uncle were about to return to Beijing after a three-month visit to the United States. On their last night I announced I wanted to take them out to dinner.

Amy: Are you hungry?

Uncle: Not hungry.

Aunt: Not too hungry. Perhaps you're hungry?

Amy: A little.

Uncle/aunt: We can eat, we can eat, then.

Amy: What kind of food?

Uncle: Oh doesn't matter. Anything will do. Nothing fancy, just some simple food is fine.

Amy: Do you like Japanese food? We haven't had that yet.

Uncle: We can eat it.

Aunt: We haven't eaten it before. Raw fish.

Amy: Oh you don't like it? Don't be polite. We can go somewhere else.

Aunt: We are not being polite. We can eat it.

(Amy drove them to Japantown and they walked past several restaurants.)

Amy: Not this one, not this one either (as if searching for a certain Japanese restaurant). Here it is (in front of a Chinese restaurant).

Aunt: (Relieved) Oh Chinese food!

Uncle: You think like a Chinese.

Amy: It's your last night in America. So don't be polite. Act like an American.

(Adapted from Amy Tan, 2003)

Similarly, examples of rejection of offers are found in Catherine Lim's book, as shown in Examples 20 and 21.

Example 20

He (Vincent) ordered liberally and soon the table was crowded with plates, bowls, tureens of hot, steaming, delicious smelling food. "Too much, too

much,” complained his mother, but he continued to summon the stall attendants with more orders.
(Lim 2001:54-55).

Example 21

Vincent said, still flushed with pleasure, “Ling, shall I order some to take back to your mother?” Yin Ling’s mother steadfastly but politely turned down all invitations to join in the happy food outings, disliking the very sight of Mrs. Chee, the very sound of her voice. Vincent ordered chili crab for his future mother-in-law.

(Lim 2001:19).

In Example 20, Vincent’s mother was seen as complaining when her son ordered a lot of dishes, but instead of stopping, he kept ordering more. In Example 21, Vincent asked his fiancé if her mother would like to order a ‘take-away’ meal, and although she rejected his offer Vincent still ordered the food. In Chinese society, it is polite to reject offers because it suggests humility as well as letting the listener know that they do not wish to impose or be troublesome in any way. Yet at the same time according to Chinese culture, one must treat guests like royalty since not doing so implies arrogance. So Vincent, a Singaporean Chinese, reacted to the rejection by ordering more food.

These extracts show indirectness in discourse prevalent in many Asian cultures. This is how face and politeness is maintained for both speech partners. With such a text the need to read beyond the words and look for nonverbal and paralinguistic features like intonation (“Raw fish!” with facial expression that indicates it is not quite what one likes) can be pointed out by the teacher. Some of the questions can be:

- “Can you provide an example of how you would ask a good friend for her lecture notes?”
- “Are you direct or indirect in your talk?”
- “If indirect, why?”
- “With whom are you direct/indirect?”

- “Have you experienced a similar problem (as above) when you invite someone for a meal?”
- “How do you know the speech partner is happy/not happy with your suggestions?”

Apart from the teacher collecting examples, perhaps students too can be asked to collect examples of such discourse either from novels/plays etc. and/or real time interactions.

4. Operationalizing the theory

We have arrived at the crossroads of language learning. The target language must reflect local cultures, if English is to be used not only within the nation but as a means of communicating with our Asean neighbors. Kachru (1987) emphasizes that we must recognize “multi-norms of styles and strategies” and “socio-linguistic pluricentricity.” Teachers must therefore be aware of cultural and sociolinguistic differences underlying the communicative behavior of native and non-native users of English. This is not easy, especially in multiracial settings.

I must admit that operationalizing the concept may create problems especially if the teacher is not aware of cultural differences underlying the communicative behavior of native and non-native users of English. However, such ignorance is not insurmountable with texts culled from reading texts, plays, and novels. This paper argues that the language teachers' role is to alert the students to such differences in the communication styles and expectations of native speakers using English, as contrasted with non-native speakers. The ability to switch from a direct to an indirect discourse mode and accommodate to their interlocutors will result in a high degree of communicative effectiveness. Through the use of comparative teaching materials showing native and non-native responses to a range of speech acts, a teacher helps to build and sustain such sensitivity.

It is hoped that with such an approach language learners will change their conversational styles depending on whether English is used intra-nationally or internationally, with native speakers of English or with Asean speakers using English. It is believed that an explicitly contrastive discussion of responses/formulas used by different speakers will be helpful in improving the learner's performance and his understanding of the native speaker's (TL) culture and at the same time help him appreciate his own.

The study of a broader repertoire of speech acts is strongly urged as it will make learners aware of their own cultural wealth. A comparative approach indicating native and non-native responses to native speakers and non-native speakers of a range of the more frequently used speech acts like greetings (see David 2004a), requests (Lin et al. 2004), and directives (David & Kuang 1999) will sensitize learners to the culture-specific differences in language behavior. Inevitably, learners will have a repertoire of speech styles which they can switch to and fro depending on their interlocutor.

5. Conclusion

As culture must be taught in conjunction with language, and not as an adjunct, it is necessary to develop new materials for language teaching (see David 2004b). Materials which are produced must enable the learner to gain exposure to selected reading texts in English. Such material should contain extensive dialogue between members of different speech communities or even within a community across gender or age. These texts could be used as a source for consciousness-raising of the many manifestations of the response patterns to different speech acts e.g. greetings, compliments, invitations, apologies, etc. Teachers could compile extracts of such dialogues to initiate discussion on talk across cultures, for instance "appropriate" responses to compliments, to greetings etc. Thus, it can be seen that in such an analysis of both spoken discourse culled from texts and

authentic discourse the teacher can make use of such input to raise consciousness among language learners of cross-cultural differences of a range of speech acts. Such knowledge and awareness of cultural variation in speech will make learners communicatively competent, having “the knowledge of linguistic and related communicative conventions that speakers must have to create and sustain conversational cooperation” (Gumperz 1982:209).

At this juncture let me introduce a caveat. It must be emphasized that the language teacher cannot provide exhaustive information about other cultures and norms of speaking; but, what the teacher can do is to make learners aware of the cultural factor in language. Capsules drawn from vignettes can be culled from reading materials and plays. Language learners, too, once made aware of discourse differences across cultures can help to build this data base of discourse from a range of texts.

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BRIDGING THE DIFFERENCES: SECOND LANGUAGE FLUENCY AND MULTICULTURALISM IN AMERICA

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Abstract

This article examines the relationship between knowledge of a language other than English and attitudes towards immigrants in the U.S. The present study also considers the link between fluency in a foreign language and national views regarding multiculturalism. An analysis of available data from the General Social Survey indicates that the degree to which one knows a language other than English, in conjunction with other socio-demographic and socio-economic variables, is useful in explaining some of the variation in viewpoints about the impact and contribution of immigrants in American society. On the other hand, fluency in a foreign language was not significantly helpful in explaining national attitudes towards multiculturalism.

1. Introduction

The establishment of English as the *de facto* language of international business, finance, trade, academia, and almost anything and everything else associated with globalization, renders few incentives for individuals in English-speaking societies to learn a different tongue. Quite the opposite, there is a visible world-wide urge to speak English: “Nearly a quarter of the world's population speaks some English: That includes around 400 million who speak it as their mother tongue and about the same number who speak it fluently as their second language” (Monolingual Britain 2006: para. 6).

Notwithstanding the absence of numerous practical incentives for native English speakers, learning a foreign language is valuable even in English-speaking nations. Namely, knowledge of a foreign language is beneficial because it facilitates a closer and perhaps a more genuine access to the culture or cultures of its speakers. This argument is embedded in the

Standards for Foreign Language Learning developed by the American Council on the Learning of Foreign Languages in 1996. The *Standards for Foreign Language Learning* seek for students of foreign languages in the U.S. to communicate in languages other than English, gain knowledge and understanding of other cultures, connect language with other disciplines, develop insight into the nature of language and culture and participate in multilingual communities at home and around the world (*National Standards* 1996:9). These standards broadly encompass objectives for language study in the U.S. and explicitly call attention to the importance of culture in language learning. With regard to this, Hadley (2001:345) argued that: “The importance of cultural learning is rooted in at least two widely held beliefs among foreign language professionals: (1) that language is an essential component in the curriculum, in part because it can lead to greater cross-cultural understanding, and (2) that language and culture are inseparably intertwined.”

The aforementioned intrinsic relationship between language and culture and the teaching of culture within language learning denote that, to varying degrees, more fluency in a foreign language should grant greater exposure, experience, and understanding of a foreign culture as well. Within this context, the purpose of this paper is to empirically examine the relationship between relative fluency in a second language and attitudes towards foreign cultures. The increasing perceptibility and manifestation of foreign cultures in contemporary America is linked, in part, to the sizable influx of immigrants from Latin America and Asia since roughly the mid-1960s, which provided a notable departure from traditional immigration flows primarily from Europe. While the current national debate with regard to immigration has been widely politicized and incorporates legal, demographic, and economic considerations, the fact that both legal and illegal immigration bring about an additional presence, visibility and

participation of foreign cultures into the U.S. cannot and should not be downplayed or detached from the issue. In light of this, the article specifically examines the relationship between the relative knowledge of a language other than English and attitudes towards immigrants in the U.S., on one hand, and national views about multiculturalism, on the other. Given that knowledge of a foreign tongue may augment awareness and appreciation of a foreign culture or cultures, the preliminary hypothesis is that greater fluency in a language other than English is associated with favorable attitudes toward immigrants and with views favoring the preservation of visibly separate sub-cultures in America.

2. Methodology

2.1 Sample

The analysis included in this article was based on data collected from a random sample of 1,394 respondents, obtained from the 2000 General Social Survey (GSS). The GSS is a nationwide survey of a random and representative sample of the U.S. population done biannually since 1972. It includes data descriptive of the American population as well as statistics relating to viewpoints on a wide range of social, political and economic issues. The 2000 GSS incorporated a set of variables described in this section which relate to the notion of multiculturalism in America.

In the year 2000 the General Social Survey asked respondents the question: Can you speak a language other than English? That particular year, 26 percent of the sample answered “yes” and the remaining portion said “no.” If the respondent answered “yes” he or she was subsequently asked: How well can you speak that language? The respondents were given the following choices: (1) Very Well, (2) Well, (3) Not well, (4) Poorly. Additionally, those who said that they could speak a language other than English were also asked to state where they had learned that language. They

were given 3 possible responses: (1) At home because parent(s) spoke the language, (2) At school and (3) Elsewhere.

Given that the present analysis includes questions about attitudes towards immigrants, those who learned a foreign language at home because one or both of the parents spoke it at home were filtered out. Likely, these respondents are themselves immigrants, children of immigrants or may hold strong ethnic ties to their family members. In this study, the relationship of interest is between second language knowledge and attitudes towards foreign culture and *not* the relationship between ethnic identity and attitudes towards foreign culture; thus we sought to minimize any potential bias by only selecting those who had learned a language other than English at school or elsewhere. After this filter was applied we were left with a sample size of 1,204 individuals.

2.2 Independent Variable

A new variable was computed by merging together those who could speak a language other than English according to their degree of fluency and those who could not. The new variable called “Relative Language Fluency,” ranged from 1 to 5 and was coded as follows: (5) respondent can speak a language other than English very well, (4) respondent can speak a language other than English well, (3) respondent can speak a language other than English not very well, (2) respondent can speak a language other than English poorly or hardly at all, and (1) respondent cannot speak a language other than English.

2.3 Dependent Variables

The *General Social Survey* for the year 2000 also included variables regarding attitudes toward immigrants and mixing cultures in the U.S. The four available variables relating to immigrant attitudes in the 2000 GSS ask

the respondents to react to the following statements: “More immigrants cause higher crime rates,” “Will immigrants cause economic growth?,” “Immigrants open the country to new ideas and culture,” and “Immigrants cause Americans to lose jobs.” Participants ranked their response to these survey statements on a four point scale: (1) Very likely, (2) Somewhat likely, (3) Not very likely and (4) Not likely at all. On the other hand, the General Social Survey asked respondents to communicate “their attitude toward mixing cultures in the U.S.” They were asked to rank their views on a seven point scale ranging from 1 to 7, where (1) is “Maintain Distinct Cultures” and (7) is “Blend in to Larger Society.” It is important to note that not all of the questions presented here measure the same thing. In broad terms, the four questions concerning immigrants measure an individual’s sentiment with regard to the effect which immigrants have or have had in shaping America. On the other hand, the question about mixing cultures in the U.S. deals with a respondent’s desired level of multiculturalism in America.

For simplicity, the immigrant variables from the GSS dataset were combined into two indexes. “More immigrants cause higher crime rates “and “Immigrants cause Americans to lose jobs” were grouped into one index called IMMIGRANT PERSPECTIVES 1, while “Will immigrants cause economic growth?” and “Immigrants open the country to new ideas and culture” were grouped into IMMIGRANT PERSPECTIVES 2.¹ All the immigrant variables were measured on the same scale, and thus the computation of both indices represents an average value of the two variables included in each index. The variable “mixing cultures in the U.S.” was not grouped along with any of the other immigrant variables because, as stated earlier, it does not attempt to

¹ The grouping of the four variables into two indices was justified by factor analysis. The analysis was run including all four variables and the rotated component matrix indicated that “More immigrants cause higher crime rates “and “Immigrants cause Americans to lose jobs” loaded on one component, while “Will immigrants cause economic growth?” and “Immigrants open the country to new ideas and culture” loaded on a second component.

measure the same phenomenon as the immigrant questions. In this analysis, MELTING POT was the name given to the variable with regard to “mixing cultures in the U.S.” in the 2000 GSS and in this study as well.

The reported values for the two variables included in Immigrant Perspectives 2 and the values of Melting Pot were recoded reversely so that higher values represent favorable attitudes towards immigrants and lower values negative ones. This was done so that all the relevant variables in the analysis would have the same direction: higher values for Immigrant Perspectives 1 and Immigrant Perspectives 2 represent favorable views towards immigrants, higher values for Melting Pot represent a greater desire to encourage cultural diversity and higher values for RELATIVE LANGUAGE FLUENCY represent more fluency in a foreign language.

2.4 Procedure

Multiple linear regression analysis was used to assess the relationship between knowledge of a foreign language and attitudes towards immigrants, on one hand, and the assimilation of cultures, on the other. Three separate regressions were run: (1) Regression model with Immigrant Perspectives 1 as dependent and Relative Language Fluency as independent, (2) Regression model with Immigrant Perspectives 2 as dependent and Relative Language Fluency as independent and (3) Regression model with Melting Pot as dependent and Relative Language Fluency as independent. Thereafter, for each regression model, socio-demographic and socio-economic control variables such as age, sex, race, education, income, and occupational prestige were included. This was done to evaluate the relationship between each dependent variable and Relative Language Fluency while accounting for the effects that these socio-demographic and socio-economic variables may also have on each of the dependent variables. The variable AGE was measured in years, SEX is a dichotomized variable where (1) is men and (2) is women,

RACE is a dichotomized variable in which (1) is white and (2) is non-white, EDUCATION was measured as the highest year of the respondent’s education, INCOME was measured as the respondent’s yearly income in constant 2002 dollars, OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE consists of a prestige score that was assigned to respondents’ occupations, where higher numbers indicate greater prestige.

3. Results

Table 1 includes the standardized coefficients obtained by including Immigrant Perspectives 1 as a dependent variable and Relative Language Fluency as independent in multiple linear regression models. Model 1 in

Table 1			
Standardized coefficients with IMMIGRANT PERSPECTIVES 1 as dependent in the regression			
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Relative Language Fluency	0.123***	0.117***	0.085*
Socio-demographic control variables			
Age		-0.061*	0.001
Race		-0.043	0.04
Sex		0.005	0.017
Socio-economic control variables			
Income			0.298***
Education			0.029
Occupational Prestige			0.037
R square	0.015***	0.02***	0.13***
n= 1,136			
* coefficient is significant at the .05 alpha level			
**coefficient is significant at the .01 alpha level			

Table 1 shows that in a bivariate model, Immigrant Perspectives 1 and Relative Language Fluency are positively related to each other indicated by a

Beta (standardized coefficient) of 0.123 which is significant at the $p < .001$ alpha level. Put differently, greater fluency in a language other than English corresponds with more favorable perceptions of immigrants as measured by the two variables included in Immigrant Perspectives 1. In Model 2 we see that after controlling for the effects of socio-demographic variables such as age, sex and race, the relative Beta weight of Relative Language Fluency remains virtually unchanged and significant at the $p < .001$ level. In Model 3 after controlling for socio-demographic *and* socio-economic variables, the relative Beta weight of Relative Language Fluency slightly decreases to 0.085 and is significant at the $p < .05$ level. Furthermore, we observe that in Model 3, in addition to Relative Language Fluency, a respondent's income influences his or her views about immigrants as it has a Beta weight of 0.298 and is significant at the $p < .001$ level. Broadly, according to Model 3, higher levels of income and greater fluency in a language other than English are both associated with relatively more favorable views towards immigrants measured as an index of responses to: "More immigrants cause higher crime rates" and "Immigrants cause Americans to lose jobs."

Table 2 contains the standardized coefficients obtained by including Immigrant Perspectives 2 as a dependent variable and Relative Language Fluency as independent in linear regression models. Model 1 in Table 2 displays the bivariate model consisting of Immigrant Perspectives 2 and Relative Language Fluency. The two variables are positively related to each other, indicated by a Beta of 0.141, which is significant at the $p < .001$ alpha level. Again, just as in Table 1, better language fluency is associated with more optimistic views about immigrants, measured as an index of responses to "Will immigrants cause economic growth?" and "Immigrants open the country to new ideas and culture" grouped in Immigrant Perspectives 2. In Model 2, after controlling for the effects of socio-demographic variables such as age, sex and race, the relative Beta weight of Relative Language

Fluency is slightly reduced to 0.119 and remains significant at the $p < 0.001$ level. In Model 3, after controlling for socio-demographic *and* socio-economic variables, the relative Beta weight of Relative Language Fluency

Table 2
**Standardized coefficients with IMMIGRANT PERSPECTIVES 2
as dependent in the regression**

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Relative Language Fluency	0.141***	0.119***	.083*
Socio-demographic control variables			
Age		-0.165***	-0.109**
Race		0.06	0.087*
Sex		-0.03	-0.04
Socio-economic control variables			
Income			-0.02
Education			0.196***
Occupational Prestige			0.03
R square	0.02***	0.05***	0.07***

n= 1,121
* coefficient is significant at the .05 alpha level
**coefficient is significant at the .01 alpha level

is reduced marginally to 0.83 but continues to be significant at the $p < 0.05$ level. Moreover, Model 3 in Table 2 indicates that in addition to language fluency, non-white, younger and more educated individuals are also linked to more favorable responses towards immigrants as measured by the Immigrant Perspectives 2 index.

Table 3 displays the standardized coefficients obtained by including Melting Pot as a dependent variable and Relative Language Fluency as independent in multiple linear regression models. Model 1 in Table 3 represents the bivariate model including Melting Pot and Relative Language Fluency. The two variables are positively related to each other and Model 1 displays a Beta of 0.068 which is significant at the $p < .05$ alpha level. It is important to note that the initial bivariate Beta between Melting Pot and

Relative Language Fluency is lower than those displayed in the two previous tables between attitudes towards immigrants and Relative Language Fluency. In Model 2, once we control for the effects of socio-demographic variables, we see that the standardized coefficient for Relative Language Fluency loses significance at the 0.05 alpha level. In Model 3, once we control for socio-demographic and socio-economic variables, the coefficient for Relative Language Fluency is also not significant at the 0.05 level. That is, once we take into account the effects of socio-demographic and socio-economic variables, Relative Language Fluency is not considerably helpful

Table 3
Standardized coefficients with MELTING POT as dependent in the regression

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Relative Language Fluency	0.068*	0.042	0.039
Socio-demographic control variables			
Age		-0.138***	-0.1**
Race		0.043	0.034
Sex		0.062*	0.051
Socio-economic control variables			
Income			-0.015
Education			0.026
Occupational Prestige			0.106*
R square	0.005*	0.03***	0.03**
n= 1,151			
* coefficient is significant at the .05 alpha level			
**coefficient is significant at the .01 alpha level			

in explaining the variation in the Melting Pot variable. On the other hand, in Model 3 the coefficients for occupational prestige and age are significant at the $p < 0.05$ and indicate that younger individuals and those with more prestigious occupations are broadly more in favor of maintaining distinct cultures in the U.S.

4. Limitations

An important limitation of this study is that the level of language fluency of those who participated in the 2000 *General Social Survey* is based on their own personal appreciation of their second language competence and not an independent, objective examination. Thus some respondents may have modestly underestimated their second language fluency while others may have exaggerated it.

Another potential limitation of this study is the possible presence of statistical interaction between relative fluency in a second language and the location of residency. That is, the relationship between fluency in a language other than English and attitudes towards immigrants may differ considerably according to where one lives. This may be particularly true in those counties and states which receive a large influx of immigrants and those where immigration is a highly politicized issue. In the present study, some of this potential bias was reduced by excluding those who learned a foreign language because his or her parents spoke it at home, that is, those who may have an ethnic link to the language. Testing for statistical interaction was not possible because the GSS does not identify the states or counties where the respondents reside; it only identifies the broad region—like New England, Southwest, Southeast, etc. Testing for statistical interaction was not feasible even when using the regional categories used by the GSS because there was scarcity in the sample of speakers of a language other than English in many of the listed regions. The presence of statistical interaction would require evaluating the association between second language competence and attitudes towards foreign culture separately for regions in which this relation functions markedly differently.

5. Discussion

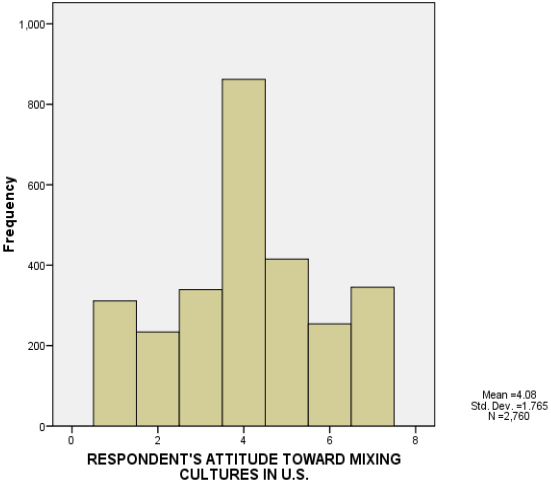
Much emphasis was given to the inclusion, appreciation and practice of culture within the teaching of foreign language in the *Standards for Foreign Language Learning*, which have served as a benchmark for foreign language education in America since 1996. Nonetheless, the link between fluency in a second language and a desire to achieve greater multiculturalism in American society is paradoxical. As observed in tables 1 and 2 in the results section, relative fluency in a second language is positively related to favorable views of immigrants even after taking into account the effects of control variables like age, race, sex, education, income and occupational prestige. On the other hand, relative language fluency in a second language is only marginally correlated to attitudes opposing the assimilation of different cultures into an overarching American culture. As seen in table 3 in the “results” section, this marginal correlation between fluency in a second language and favoring the maintenance of separate sub-cultures loses significance when the effects of variables like age and occupational prestige are also considered. In sum, the degree to which one knows a language other than English, in conjunction with other socio-demographic and socio-economic variables, is useful in explaining some of the variation in viewpoints pertaining to the impact and contribution of immigrants in American society, while it is not helpful in assessing the variation in attitudes towards the amalgamation of diverse cultures into one mainstream culture.

Although it is somewhat counterintuitive, the lack of a strong connection between competency in a second language and a strong inclination towards maintaining visibly separate subcultures in America has some plausible explanations. For instance, even those who may be highly appreciative of foreign cultures, and of their local manifestation, may also not be willing to take an extreme position which encourages cultural

separation because a lack of integration may, in the long run, be economically or socially detrimental to members of isolated subcultures. On the other hand, possibly for a small portion of the sample, there may be some confusion with regard to the way in which we interpret the responses of those who favor multiculturalism. The question of whether one does or doesn't favor "the mixing of cultures," as it is stated in the GSS, could also have an alternative interpretation. Namely, perhaps some of the respondents who strongly favor keeping cultures distinct may do so because they essentially dislike foreign or minority sub-cultures and want to keep them away from the American mainstream.

Another element which sheds light on the weak relationship between second language fluency and the support of multiculturalism is the ongoing ideological debate between multiculturalism and assimilation in

Figure 1



America. This debate is evidenced in the even split between those who favor assimilation and those who favor maintaining distinct cultures. Figure 1

displays the distribution of responses regarding the “mixing cultures in the U.S.” ranging from (1) to (7), where (1) is “Maintain Distinct Cultures” and (7) is “Blend in to Larger Society.” While most participants chose the middle ground, there is almost the same number of people leaning towards assimilation as there is favoring multiculturalism. The split has much to do with counteracting forces on traditional assumptions and implications of integration and cultural diversity. On one hand:

Since the 1960s [assimilation] has been seen in a mostly negative light, as an ethnocentric and patronizing imposition on minority peoples struggling to retain their cultural and ethnic integrity. It represents a bygone era when the multicultural nature of American society was not comprehended, let alone respected, as there appeared, at least to white Americans, a unitary and unquestionable American way of life (Alba & Nee 2003:1).

On the other hand, there is also concern that the large influx of immigrants from Latin America and Asia has altered the Anglo-Protestant cultural and religious foundations of America; such views were included, for instance, in Samuel Huntington’s *The Hispanic Challenge*. From this perspective, a “cult of ethnicity” represents an attack on Anglo-American heritage and challenges national unity (Schlesinger 1991:52). At the core of these contrasting views is a struggle to define what it currently means to be “American” and how it is that recent waves of immigrants are to be integrated into such a definition. As evidenced here in this article, acquiring fluency in a foreign tongue not spoken at home by one’s parents is not, as of now, a central or defining component of this debate.

6. Suggestions for Future Research

The findings presented in this study should be corroborated by examining the same variables for other years in which the *General Social Survey* was done. The variables used to carry out the study were obtained from the *multiculturalism* module in the 2000 GSS. The main difficulty in validating the results found here with data from other GSS years was that the same set of variables included in the 2000 GSS under the *multiculturalism* module was not exactly the same as in previous or subsequent years. Forthcoming years of the GSS may ask respondents questions which address the same variables used here, in which case, the research design could be replicated to assess whether or not the findings attained in this study hold over time.

Additionally, even though competence in a second language was more strongly linked to positive portrayals of immigrants than it was to enhancing multiculturalism, more research needs to be done to assess whether this relationship varies according to the second language that is learned. That is, for instance, whether someone who learns Spanish as a second language and speaks it well is more likely to have favorable views towards immigrants from Latin America *only*, or if such favorable views are extended to all immigrants as a whole. It is under this scope that the relationship between the relative knowledge of a language other than English and support for multiculturalism can be more comprehensively assessed.

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FROM SAFETALK TO EXPLORATORY TALK AND BACK AGAIN: MISSED OPPORTUNITIES IN A MULTILINGUAL LUXEMBOURGISH PRIMARY CLASSROOM

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Abstract

This paper takes a socio-cultural perspective on classroom interaction, relying on Vygotsky's well-known contention that intermental activity promotes intramental development. It explores the quality of classroom interaction by contrasting various forms of talk including safetalk and exploratory talk. In the second part of the paper, I briefly explain the background of the Luxembourgish system of education and then provide a detailed analysis of some ethnographic data from a multilingual second-year primary classroom. The focus is on the different kinds of talk used in the classroom interactions both between teacher and students, as well as amongst the students themselves. More particularly, I show how in one peer group discussion the potential for exploratory talk is lost for a number of reasons, and as a result the talk is mostly limited to playful safetalk informed by features of cumulative and/or disputational discourse. The paper concludes with some comments on the extra complications introduced in multilingual settings, where it is not enough to train teachers how to get their students to use exploratory talk but there is also a need to deal with the additional question of language choice.

1. Introduction

There has been a long-standing concern in educational studies, and related academic fields, with the quality of classroom interaction (e.g. Barnes & Todd 1977; Galton 1989; Sheeran & Barnes 1991; Bennett & Dunne 1992; Bourne 1994; Wegerif & Scrimshaw 1997). In this paper I will primarily discuss the work of the "Thinking Together" team of researchers, mostly connected with the Open University in England, and then apply some of their insights into the quality of classroom talk to the multilingual setting of a Luxembourgish primary classroom. The main scholars involved in the project include Lynn Dawes, Karen Littleton, Neil Mercer, Sylvia Rojas-

Drummond, Claire Sams and Rupert Wegerif, and various aspects of the project have been described in numerous publications (for book-length studies, see Mercer 1995, 2000; Mercer & Littleton 2007; further recent representative publications include Littleton et al. 2005; Mercer et al. 2004; Dawes & Sams 2004). According to Rojas-Drummond and Mercer (2003: 100), a major aim of the project is to show that “educational success, and failure, may be explained by the quality of educational dialogue rather than being just the result of the intrinsic capability of individual students or the didactic presentational skills of individual teachers.” The Thinking Together researchers take a socio-cultural perspective on the quality of classroom interaction, relying on – as well as providing empirical evidence for – Vygotsky’s well-known contention that intermental (social) activity promotes intramental (individual) development. They are interested in studying both aspects, not only the intramental but also the intermental, and base their work on the assumption that it is through the observation of classroom talk that one can reach an understanding of children’s reasoning skills or, as Mercer (2000:170) puts it, of “children’s development as *interthinkers*.”

This paper will therefore explore the quality of classroom interaction by contrasting different forms of talk including safetalk and exploratory talk. In the second part of the paper, I will briefly explain the background of the Luxembourgish system of education and then provide a detailed analysis of some ethnographic data from a multilingual second-year primary classroom. The focus will be on the different forms of talk used in the classroom interactions both between teacher and students, as well as amongst the students themselves, and I will conclude with some comments on the extra complications introduced in multilingual settings.

2. From Safetalk Towards Exploratory Talk

Most commentators who focus upon teacher-led safetalk see it as a basically negative procedure that constrains classroom learning. A classic study in this respect is Hornberger and Chick (2001), in which the authors present an ethnographic study of language practices in two classrooms: one in South Africa where Zulu-speaking students are taught through the medium of English, and the other in Peru where Quechua-speaking students are taught through Spanish. In both cases, the language of instruction is imperfectly understood by many students and even by some of the teachers. As a result, interaction in these classrooms was limited to mere repetition, cued responses and chorus-like answers, and writing consisted mostly of copying from the board. Hornberger and Chick analyze these practices as safetalk, which they define as a form of classroom interaction that allows a minimal kind of participation without loss of face for the students and (especially) the teacher. They note that such safetalk practices do not contribute to student emancipation but, on the contrary, to the continuing marginalization of the language minority students and their communities.

According to Hornberger and Chick (2001:51), safetalk “creates a space where the students know more or less what to expect and how to behave in class, but where a high price is paid in terms of (a lack of) learning.” Gutierrez, Rymes and Larson (1995:449) refer to such practices as the “teacher script,” which they define as “an orientation that members come to expect after repeated interactions in contexts constructed both locally and over time.” In their ethnographic study of urban classrooms in Los Angeles with a majority of African-American and Latino students they show how the potential boredom of such a teacher script can lead to the development of a student counterscript in the classroom underlife, with the students parodically re-keying the teacher script in order to have some fun. In a way, both teacher script and student counterscript constitute comfortable,

predictable or “safe” spaces that amount to kinds of classroom survival strategies. However, opportunities for meaningful learning are lost; instead, the negative teacher safetalk develops in parallel to, but without vitally intersecting with, an equally negative student-student safetalk. For Gutierrez et al. (1995), the student counterscript only becomes positive if it fuses with the teacher script in an unscripted “third space,” where the potential for more authentic interaction and heteroglossia is created. Unscripted interaction in the third space has direct personal and social relevance to the students’ lives; and it roughly corresponds – though there are differences of emphasis – to what other authors have referred to as “dialogic inquiry” (Wells 1994), “hybrid discourse practice” (Kamberelis 2001), “bridging discourses” (Gibbons 2006) or “exploratory talk” (Mercer 2000, 2004).

Mercer (2004:146) distinguishes between three basic types of classroom talk, which he defines as follows:

Disputational talk, which is characterized by disagreement and individualized decision making. There are few attempts to pool resources, to offer constructive criticism or make suggestions. Disputational talk also has some characteristic discourse features – short exchanges consisting of assertions and challenges or counter assertions (“Yes, it is.” “No it’s not!”).

Cumulative talk, in which speakers build positively but uncritically on what the others have said. [Speakers] use talk to construct a “common knowledge” by accumulation. Cumulative discourse is characterized by repetitions, confirmations and elaborations.

Exploratory talk, in which [speakers] engage critically but constructively with each other’s ideas. Statements and suggestions are offered for joint

consideration. These may be challenged and counter-challenged, but challenges are justified and alternative hypotheses are offered. Partners all actively participate and opinions are sought and considered before decisions are jointly made. Compared with the other two types, in exploratory talk knowledge is made more publicly accountable and reasoning is more visible in the talk.

It would seem to me that classroom safetalk frequently includes features of cumulative discourse and, if a clash develops (e.g.) between the teacher script and the student counterscript, also of disputational talk. Indeed, Mercer's definition of cumulative talk is somewhat reminiscent of the limited I-R-E (Initiation/ Response/ Evaluation) pattern of classroom talk that Gutierrez et al. (1995) and many others observed in their ethnographic studies of classroom interaction. Moreover, both cumulative and disputational talk are to a large extent based on the transmission of knowledge model – whether it is assumed to work efficiently, as in the case of cumulative talk, or is disrupted at moments of disputational talk. They usually involve minimal, non-critical forms of thinking on the part of the students which could be termed “safethink” and which amount to wholesale acceptance – or rejection – of the teacher's and the school's authoritative discourses; but there is no coming together of these authoritative discourses with the students' own internally persuasive discourses (Bakhtin 1981).

This is a serious limitation in so far as many scholars nowadays – following Bakhtin – see the process of classroom learning not as the transmission of knowledge but as a dialogic process of constructing new identities and knowledges (e.g., Kamberelis 2001:87; Morson 2004:317). For these scholars, knowledge is co-constructed, with students as active and creative participants, both intermentally and intramentally. Kamberelis (2001:87) describes this process as one in which students “make new and

unfamiliar discourses their own by re-accenting them and integrating them with discourses from more familiar domains such as everyday life and public media.” Hence, there is a need to build bridges between students’ out-of-school resources and school learning, and it is such “literacy bridges” (Weber 2008) that in turn create the potential for the form of classroom interaction that Mercer calls “exploratory talk.” At the same time, it should be clear that exploratory talk is an ideal, and that every actual classroom interaction will tend to combine features of the different types of talk (Mercer 2000:102). Moreover, exploratory talk is not something completely different from cumulative talk: in the case of teacher-led classroom dialogue, it just requires a shift from the closed I-R-E format to a more open and inquiry-based I-R-F (Initiation/ Response/ Follow-up) pattern which could include “using more complex actions in the third part of the I-R-F that affirmed student responses, probed students’ understandings, elicited student elaborations, and modeled desired actions, strategies and outcomes” (Hall & Walsh 2002:200). Wegerif (2005:227) also stresses the importance of such modeling by the teacher, which should involve “always giving reasons for claims, asking children what they think and showing through careful listening that their views are valued.”

In this way, the teacher creates a “community of enquiry” in the classroom, “in which individual students can take a shared, active and reflective role in the development of their own understanding” (Mercer 2000:161). Mercer refers to this shared communicative space jointly created by the interaction of teacher and learners as an “intermental development zone” (IDZ), with a focus on the quality of learning as an intermental or “interthinking” process, which distinguishes it from Vygotsky’s “zone of proximal development” (ZPD) with its stronger focus on individual, intramental development (Mercer 2000:141).

In order to facilitate the practical implementation of this program, Dawes, Sams and the Thinking Together Team (2004) have developed the “Talk Box” materials – a set of twelve “talk lessons” which provide teachers with activities for establishing (or rather getting their students to establish) the “ground rules” needed to generate exploratory talk. They insist that it is essential for students themselves to decide upon their own ground rules and hence to feel some “ownership” for them, just as it is essential for the teacher to model the rules, once they have been agreed upon, in her or his own talk. At the same time, teachers need to be aware of the limits to the degree of agreement that can be reached in any classroom. The Talk Box materials were used with children aged 8-11 in primary schools both in England and Mexico over periods of five to eight months. Children were video-recorded in both “target” and “control” classes (the latter did not do the Talk Box activities), and the amount of exploratory talk used by both groups was compared. This was done in part by analyzing the children’s use of a number of key terms and phrases which were found to be important indicators of exploratory talk and which included: *I think/ do you agree?! why?! because/ if/ would/ could* – as well as, more generally, longer utterances. In both the English and Mexican classrooms, it was found that children in target classes used far more exploratory talk than children in control classes. Furthermore, children in target classes were more successful in carrying out problem-solving tasks, both when working in groups and importantly also when working on their own. Rojas-Drummond and Mercer (2003:105-106) conclude that “target children appeared not only to have learned more effective discourse strategies for thinking collectively ... but also ... to have improved their *individual* reasoning capabilities.” Wegerif and Mercer (1999:11) add that “this finding supports the claims of socio-cultural theorists ... that the development of human mental abilities depends on a link between the ‘intramental’ and the ‘intermental’, mediated by language.”

The Thinking Together program has convincingly shown how children's use of exploratory talk leads to the development of their reasoning skills. Mercer and Wegerif (1999:95) also insist that the use of exploratory talk needs to be taught explicitly, and that otherwise children are unlikely to use language in this way. A final point that I need to mention here is Wegerif's (2005:227) suggestion that playful talk may be a "neglected fourth type of talk." However, playful talk is perhaps not so much a further type of talk but rather an overarching category – a bit like safetalk – which can be informed by features of disputational, cumulative or exploratory talk. Wegerif also points out that it can function as either "on-task" or "off-task" talk, the difference being that on-task playful talk is "useful in an educational context," whereas off-task playful talk is "just a bit of fun, if anything it is subverting the task" – though he acknowledges that this is a distinction which may well be hard to maintain in actual contexts of use (Wegerif 2005: 229-230; cf. also Yonge & Staples 1998).

In the remainder of the paper, I apply some of these ideas to an analysis of educational dialogue in a multilingual second-year primary classroom in Luxembourg. As most of the research so far has focused on monolingual classroom environments, I explore the extra complications introduced in multilingual settings. In this particular case study, we will see how the potential for exploratory talk in one peer group discussion was lost for a number of reasons; as a result, the talk is limited to various forms of safetalk with features of cumulative and disputational discourse, and it develops along predictable grooves of the playful mode, without much "real" learning taking place, thus suggesting that a lot of this playfulness is "off-task." But before we look at the data in detail, a few words of introduction may be needed about the Luxembourgish school-system.

3. The Luxembourgish School-System

In trilingual Luxembourg, which is a meeting-point of the Romance and Germanic worlds, three languages are officially recognized in the language law of 1984: Luxembourgish, French and German. Luxembourgish language varieties are Germanic and bear similarities to the Moselle Franconian varieties spoken in adjacent parts of Germany, Belgium and France; they thus belong to the western part of Moselle Franconian.

Over the last three to four decades, Luxembourg has become a highly multilingual society with 39% resident foreigners, the largest group of whom are the Portuguese (65,700 Portuguese citizens live in Luxembourg out of a total population of c.450,000). Students in the Luxembourgish school system consist of 63.6% Luxembourgish citizens and 36.4% non-Luxembourgish citizens; over half of the latter group are Portuguese citizens, and over three-fourths of them are potentially romanophone (Statec 2006; see also Horner & Weber 2008). Yet the Luxembourgish school system has not responded to these far-reaching demographic changes. The basic structure of the educational system has remained unchanged for almost a hundred years: it demands that students meet high language requirements in German and French from primary school upward, and some additional languages (mostly English) at secondary level. In primary school, German is used as the language for teaching basic literacy and as the primary medium of instruction, regardless of whether the students' home language(s) is Luxembourgish or a non-Germanic language, such as Portuguese and French. The teaching of French constitutes a major component of the curriculum already by the third year of primary school, and in secondary school there is a gradual shift to French as the medium of instruction. Moreover, it is important to note that the Luxembourgish educational system is marked by a clear division into classical lycées (LYCÉE CLASSIQUE) and technical lycées (LYCÉE TECHNIQUE), thus creating two separate educational

tracks that usually provide students with different career opportunities upon completion of their studies.

The rather inflexible language regime of the Luxembourgish school-system creates myriad problems for many students, primarily – but not exclusively – those whose home language is not Luxembourgish. For romanophone students, the situation is compounded by the fact that Luxembourgish is used as a means of spoken communication on a daily basis, and is frequently relied upon by teachers as an unofficial medium of instruction. Students from this group are disproportionately represented in the technical lycées, as are students from working class families who use Luxembourgish as a home language (cf. Davis 1994:112-116). Furthermore, the percentage of students who do not complete lycée is alarmingly high: only 16.7% of young people successfully obtain the secondary school leaving diploma (Statec, as reported in *Luxemburger Wort* 2005; cf. also Hartmann-Hirsch 1991 and Kollwelter 1998). Although frequently constructed in official discourse as providing students with a valuable asset (see Horner 2004), German-French “bilingual” educational policy in Luxembourg may thus be viewed as a gate-keeping device. As is the case in a number of other countries, educational policy sometimes fosters linguistic discrimination in Luxembourg (cf. Horner & Weber 2005, 2008).

4. The Data

The data discussed below is taken from a project on multilingualism and literacy learning of children aged 3-9, which is being carried out by the Language/ Culture/ Media/ Identities (LCMI) research unit at the University of Luxembourg.¹ It is derived from videotaping of classroom interactions,

¹ D. Portante *et al.* (2003-2006) *Children's Multilingualism up to Nine Years: Language Diversity, Learning Luxembourgish and Emergent Literacies* (Research

along with participant observation as well as interviews with teachers, students and parents. It was collected in weekly classroom visits over a period of two school years. The overall aim of the project is to explore how the diversity of students' home resources can be valorized in school learning. Hence, in the particular episode that is analyzed below, the students were given a (relatively) free space in which to express their own voices and to use their home languages such as, in this case, Portuguese. Apart from the researchers, two teachers were present in the classroom, the class teacher and a trainee teacher. We focus in the analysis on two students working together, David and Jérôme, both of them luso-descendants, born in Luxembourg but whose parents migrated from Portugal. They have very similar linguistic backgrounds: Portuguese as primary home language; reasonably fluent in (vernacular) French, which they regularly use with their siblings; learnt Luxembourgish mostly in kindergarten, and German as the language of literacy in primary school. Here they are involved in a creative writing activity, as part of which they are expected to produce a narrative in the German language entitled "Gemeinsam stark" (strong together). As we will see, for a number of reasons they end up producing a rather incoherent text. The whole episode lasts for about seventy-five minutes and can be divided into four parts: choosing a topic for the story, writing the story, reading it to the whole class, and typing it on the computer. My analysis focuses on the first two parts, though I will also briefly look at Part 3 as well as Part 4, where the boys are joined by a female student named Sandra.

project of the University of Luxembourg in cooperation with the National Research Foundation, setting 3b). Funding extension has been granted until 2009. Researchers include Dominique Portante, Béatrice Arend, Sylvie Elcheroth and myself. I am grateful to all of them, as well as Kristine Horner, for sharing ideas and data with me, and also to Sylvie Elcheroth for doing the transcription work.

4.1 A Creative Writing Activity

What is significant about Part 1, which lasts for about twenty minutes, is that the two boys never actually get around to thinking together about the content of their story. As Mercer and Wegerif have pointed out, students are unlikely to use language in an exploratory way unless they have been explicitly taught to do so. Even though this is a rather “progressive” classroom by Luxembourgish standards, the students have not decided upon any ground rules for exploratory talk. Consequently, as we will see, David and Jérôme are never wholly on task, and spend a lot of time on off-task playful talk. They develop a kind of student counterscript—or safetalk—concerned with “procedural” preconditions for carrying out the task, such as playfully worrying about the dog-eared look of the copy-book they are using or wondering about which pen to use. These sequences are marked by a high incidence of play-acting and pretending as well as creative verbal play.

The rest of the time is spent searching for a topic of their story. The boys’ code-switch between Luxembourgish and Portuguese, while the class teacher (going round from group to group) uses German, which is also the language in which the students are expected to write their story. At times, the dialogue between the two boys and their teacher has some features of cumulative talk, but it is consistently *bilingual* cumulative talk, with the teacher using German (in plain font) to ask the boys questions and the latter replying in Luxembourgish (in italics):²

² All names are pseudonyms. In the transcripts, initials are used for the different characters: D for David, J for Jérôme, S for Sandra and T for the class teacher. German is in plain font, Luxembourgish in italics, and Portuguese in bold. Please also note that I have attempted to keep translations as literal as possible, so they may sound rather ‘wooden’ at times.

- T: Gibt es etwas was ihr nicht so gut könnt?
Is there anything that you can't do so well?
- D: Eh. (*laughs*)
- J: *Jo, mee ech weess, elo et kënn mir net an de Kapp.*
Yes, but I know, I just can't think of something right now.
- T: Was denn zum Beispiel?
What for example?
- D: *Ech kann net gutt Auto fueren.*
I can't drive a car very well.
- T: Ja, du bist ja auch noch ein Kind.
Yes, after all you're still a child.
- J: *Ech ka schon Auto fueren, Här Lehrer.*
I can already drive a car, teacher.
- D: *Op Knuppautoen tä tätä.*
In bumper cars.
- T: Ja. Was könnt ihr denn noch nicht so gut?
Yes. So what can't you do very well?
- D: Eh. (*rubs his chin*)
- J: Eh. (*long pause*) *Boxen.*
Boxing.
- T: *Wat?*
What?
- J: *Boxen.*
Boxing.
- T: *Boxen? Zum Beispiel. Was könnte man denn jetzt tun, damit du besser boxen könntest?*
Boxing? For example. What could you do now, so that you would learn to box in a better way?
- J: *Ouh là là. (D. clicks his tongue)*
- T: *Überlegt es euch. (class teacher leaves)*
Think about it.

The cumulative nature of this talk is marked by the repetition of “yes” (Luxembourgish “Jo” once and German “Ja” twice), as well as the teacher’s elaboration of Jérôme’s mention of boxing. The teacher’s final comment (“Überlegt es euch” think about it) is the moment when he could have involved the boys in some exploratory talk; however, as he is going around to the different groups, he is unwilling or unable to follow this up, and so the opportunity is lost.

The boys, left on their own, decide to write not about boxing but about cycling. The following lines (mostly in Luxembourgish) occur just after they have eventually settled upon this topic:

D: *Fänk schon un, allez!*
Do get started, go on!

J: *Da looss mech iwwerleeën. Pff!*
Let me think.

D: *Allez, komm mer schwätzen (...)*
Come on, let's talk.

J: OK. (*deep breath; speaks slowly pronouncing each syllable distinctly*) Es gab einmal ein kleiner (*the rest is said very quickly*) Kind der könnte nicht Fahrrad fahren, der heißt David. (*D. laughs; J. smiles*)
OK. Once upon a time there was a little boy who could not ride a bicycle, his name is David.

D: *Jo. Komm mir schreiwen dat!*
Yes. Come on, let's write that.

Another potentially fruitful opportunity arises here: the boys' comments (let me think; let's talk) seem to indicate that they are on the point of "interthinking" and using exploratory talk. But what happens instead is that they move directly to writing the first sentence of their story. They jump from their "preconditions" talk to the writing stage, thereby skipping the "interthinking" stage altogether. For the next thirty minutes, either one or the other boy will be writing parts of the story, but what is almost entirely missing is any form of co-constructing the plot of the story, so that the incoherence of the final product comes as no surprise.

Throughout this part of the activity, the boys are focused on formal aspects: as soon as writing is involved the standard language ideology raises its Hydra head, and the main concerns come to be orthographic and grammatical "correctness." The boys seem already to have been socialized into such a way of looking at written language, as a result of which they spend a lot of their time in this part on more or less on-task, but playful

activities such as choosing the name of their protagonist and worrying about the spelling of this name (as well as of some other words). The following extract, for instance, involves stylization, with Jérôme at one stage playing the role of the teacher who checks David's writing for language errors:

- D: (*while writing*) [Er heißt Geoffrey.
His name is Geoffrey.
- J: [De Punkt ass schon hei. Schreif do hannen.
The full stop is already here. Write over there.
- D: Er
He
- J: Grouss awer (*long pause*). Du kanns awer e schéinen 'r'
schreiwen. Dat ass en 's'!
But a capital letter. But you can write a beautiful 'r'. That's an
's'!
- D: f f (*writes and mumbles letters and words to himself; long
pause*). Er
- J: (*dictating*) Er, er konnte nicht Fahrrad fahren. (*pause*) Er kann
nicht Fahrrad fahren (...) Wat steet hei? (D. stops writing; J.
takes the copy book and pretends to check what D. has written
word by word) Er konnte nicht Fahrrad fahren. Ok hues de gutt
geschriwwen. Ech hat gemengt du häss Er nicht Fahrrad fahren
(...) Kräisch net! (D. laughs and playfully hides his face) Bébé
(...)
He, he could not ride a bicycle. He can't ride a bicycle. What's
written here? He could not ride a bicycle. Ok, you have written
that well. I thought you had written He not ride a bicycle. Don't
cry! Baby.

David plays along and responds to Jérôme's mock voice by acting out the role of the shy little child who is afraid of the teacher and hangs his head in shame.

Immediately after this playful sequence, David switches to Portuguese (in bold font) and the interaction begins to take on some features of disputational discourse:

- D: *Hal op!* **Vamos fazer agora a sério, olha os outros e vê o que é que eles fizeram, nós ainda só fizemos isto.**
Stop it! We'll do this seriously now, look what the others have already done, we only have this.
- J: *Oh sou vill schon. A mir hu just dat.*
Oh so much already. And we only have that.
- D: **Agora a falar a sério temos que dar-lhe gás.**
It's serious now, we'll have to speed up.
- J: **Dar gás.** (*laughs*)
Speed up.
- D: (*angry look; raised voice*) *D'ass wouer, putain, depois não temos nada.*
It's true, fuck, afterwards we'll have nothing.

David seems to be genuinely annoyed at this moment because Jérôme fails to get out of the playful mode. Significantly, it is also at this emotionally more highly charged moment that we find two instances of intra-turn code-switching between Luxembourgish and Portuguese on David's part: "Hal op! Vamos fazer ..." and "D'ass wouer, putain, depois não temos nada" (the word *putain* is French but is commonly used in some other language varieties as a swear-word).

The disputational features of the boys' talk continue to be foregrounded, as David goes on writing but it is Jérôme's turn now to worry about the actual content and coherence of their story. Again this is an emotionally charged moment during which personal meanings are foregrounded (the feeling of being left out), and so it is not surprising that Jérôme uses mostly Portuguese. In fact, the boys regularly switch to Portuguese in affect-laden moments or activities, which seems to suggest that for them Portuguese functions as a "we-code" (Gumperz 1982) – even though it is used much more sparingly than Luxembourgish (in the children's interaction as a whole). Meanwhile, David goes on muttering to himself the German words he is in the process of writing down in the copy-book:

- D: (*mumbling to himself what he is writing*) Dann sagt
Then says
- J: **Nem sequer sei o que é que estás a escrever.**
I don't even know what you're writing.
- D: (*continues*) im Park
in the park
- J: **Já começou a corrida, já fizeste aquilo da corrida?**
Has the race already started, have you already done the thing about the race?
- D: (*continues*) und dann David
and then David
- J: **Uaah, estás a escrever tudo mal, dá-me uma vez. Deixa-me ver!**
Uaah, you're writing everything wrong, give it to me now. Let me see!
- D: (*continues*) mich
me
- J: **Deixa-me ver! Allez!**
Let me see! Come on!

Jérôme's question is ignored by David, but it raises exactly the point for which the boys will be criticized later on by the teacher, after they have read their story to the whole class: at the beginning of the story, the two characters decide to organize a cycling race (which is the part that Jérôme wrote), but the race is never mentioned again in the remainder of the story (i.e. the part that David wrote). It is interesting to note that David denies "ownership" of this first part of the story in the following (bilingual German–Luxembourgish) discussion with the teacher, which also has features of disputational talk. He deflects the teacher's criticism by dismissing it as irrelevant to himself:

- T: Sie sollen ja ein Rennen fahren. Komm wir, wir fahren ein Wettrennen (*points to copy book*) habt ihr ja da geschrieben, und Geoffrey sagt: Bis morgen früh. [Dann
They're supposed to have a race. Come on, we, we'll have a race, you have written there, and Geoffrey says: See you

tomorrow morning. Then

D: [Dat war ech net, dat war heen deen dat geschriwwen huet.

That wasn't me, that was he who wrote that.

T: Ja, aber ihr schreibt die Geschichte ja zu zweit; ihr müsst doch wissen, was der andere schreibt.

Yes, but you write the story between the two of you; you must know what the other one has written.

Finally, in the last part of the activity, the boys are joined by Sandra, a student whose home language is Luxembourgish, and together they are supposed to type the story on the computer. When Jérôme begins to type the first sentence (“Es gibt einmal ein kleiner Junge”), Sandra interrupts him and uses one of the key phrases indicative of exploratory talk (“Do you ... think?”):

J: (*looks in copy book and then types on the computer*)

S: *Mengs de wierklech et wär: es gibt? (pause) Es war.*
Do you really think it should be: there is? There was.

J: Es war? (*pause*) *Lieft heen nach? Jo! (dismissive hand gesture; continues typing)*

There was? Is he still alive? Yes!

Jérôme disagrees with Sandra: he thinks that he should use the present tense because the boy in the story is still alive (“Once upon a time there *is* a little boy”). This is another moment that could have led to the use of exploratory talk, though the focus is on a formal aspect, but it is immediately cut short and dismissed by Jérôme, who just goes on typing. Jérôme’s tone is peremptory and does not invite further exploration of this point, and accordingly Sandra does not pursue her argument. In this way, we have seen how several times the children seem to be on the verge of using exploratory talk but each time the opportunity is lost, whether through lack of interest and commitment on the part of the students, through lack of follow-up on the

part of the teachers, or through a failure to sufficiently build upon the students' existing linguistic resources.

5. Conclusion

On the one hand, the case study has provided support for some of the conclusions of the Thinking Together team: namely, the unlikelihood of children using exploratory talk unless explicitly taught how to do so, the need for agreed-upon ground rules, and the need for the teacher to constantly encourage students to use such talk. If these conditions are not fulfilled, we find students – such as David and Jérôme in the above case study – frequently engaged in playful safetalk informed by features of cumulative and/or disputational discourse.

As a result, classroom talk often ends up being largely unproductive and uncooperative. It remains locked within the realm of safetalk, which is the realm of the expected, with children not being challenged to break through their “normal” horizon of thinking. A frequent consequence is also an exponential increase of the off-task, carnivalesque (Bakhtin 1981) elements in the ways the students interact. There is, therefore, a need on the part of educators to introduce students to the use of exploratory talk, thus helping them to develop their reasoning skills and to experience new horizons of thinking – though of course this new learning has to be situated within the students' own out-of-school experiences.

At the same time, the study has revealed the extra complications introduced in multilingual classroom environments. Here it is not enough to train teachers how to get their students to use exploratory talk but there is also a need to deal with the additional question of language choice. In other words, it is not only a question of teaching methodology but also of language-in-education policy. In the specific case of Luxembourg, we may wonder whether luso-descendant students can realistically be expected to

engage in exploratory talk in the German language, even though German is the language of basic literacy in the Luxembourgish primary school system. They – as well as the many other romanophone children in Luxembourg – would need an additional French-language literacy program in primary school as an option alongside the traditional German-language one. This would offer them a “literacy bridge” with their existing vernacular French resources (see Weber 2008 and forthcoming); it would also make it much easier for them to engage in exploratory talk, as is indicated by some of our data (not discussed here) which shows a much higher degree of involvement on the part of David and Jérôme in French-language classroom activities, whereas German-language activities such as the one discussed above invariably seem to involve an immediate loss of motivation and investment on their part. Similar considerations may also need to be taken into account in U.S. bilingual schools when deciding at what grade levels and in which languages (e.g. Spanish or English) exploratory talk should be explicitly introduced into the curriculum.

NOTES:

Basic Transcription Conventions

1 Languages:

German – plain font
Luxembourgish – italics
Portuguese—bold

2 Simultaneous speech:

D: [Er heißt Geoffrey.
J: [De Punkt ass schon hei.

3 Emphatic speech is underlined:

S: Mengs de wierklech et wär: es gibt? Es war.

4. The location of inaudible speech is indicated thus:

D: Allez, komm mer schwätzen (...)

5 Gestures and other non-verbal actions are explained in italics and between brackets:

D: Eh. (*laughs*)

(adapted from Mercer 2000: xii-xiii)

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EL CODE-SWITCHING EN LAS CLASES DE ITALIANO LENGUA EXTRANJERA EN EL CONTEXTO BILINGÜE CASTELLANO-CATALÁN

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Resumen

A partir de la década de los años Cincuenta se ha empezado a pensar en el bilingüismo como algo normal y positivo en la vida de muchas personas y no solamente un fenómeno que interesa algunas comunidades específicas que mantienen una situación de bilingüismo social. Con la noción de exolingüismo, es decir la conversación en la que uno o más interlocutores no dominan totalmente la lengua utilizada, se permite la convergencia de la investigación sobre el bilingüismo y la investigación sobre la adquisición de lenguas. Este acercamiento ha llevado a considerar el aprendizaje de una lengua extranjera como un proceso que lleva a un bilingüismo. Considerando el aula de lengua extranjera como un espacio bilingüe y teniendo en cuenta los fenómenos de las lenguas en contacto, en este artículo pretendemos averiguar si los alumnos alternan las lenguas y si el code-switching representa para los alumnos un recurso para el aprendizaje de la lengua.

1. Introducción.

1.1 La conversación bilingüe.

El interés por el bilingüismo ha aumentado desde el momento en que se ha empezado a considerarlo como algo normal y positivo en la vida cotidiana de ciertas comunidades (Weinreich 1953; Mackey 1976; Grosjean 1982; Lüdi y Py 2003). Algunos de los estudiosos más destacados sobre bilingüismo, como Mackey (1976) y Grosjean (1982) y más recientemente estudiosos sobre plurilingüismo (Beacco 2005) lo definen como algo habitual en la manera de expresarse de muchas personas. En sus estudios

Mackey (1976) y Grosjean (1982) ponen en evidencia el hecho de que el bilingüismo está presente en la mayoría de la población del planeta y en la mayoría de los países sin prestar atención a la clase social ni a la edad de los habitantes, es decir que es una situación normal que no se limita sólo a algunas comunidades específicas, sino que es también un fenómeno individual. Sostienen que es muy difícil encontrar una comunidad que sea totalmente monolingüe y que probablemente no ha existido nunca un grupo lingüístico que haya vivido totalmente aislado de otros grupos lingüísticos y que la historia de las lenguas está llena de ejemplos de lenguas en contacto.

Según Grosjean (1990) los hablantes bilingües son aquellos que usan dos o más lenguas en su vida cotidiana. Estos hablantes normalmente escogen una lengua base, que será la lengua principal de la interacción, pero que pueden cambiar, dentro de la misma conversación, si la situación, el tema, el interlocutor, etc. lo requieren. Lüdi y Py (2003) afirman que ser bilingüe no quiere decir en absoluto que se empleen las dos lenguas indistintamente, más bien lo contrario. Es decir que es muy habitual encontrarse con situaciones en las que cada lengua tiene unas funciones comunicativas diferentes y que esta repartición sigue unas reglas sociales (por ejemplo lengua profesional vs lengua privada, lengua escolar vs lengua familiar, etc.). Dado que todo tipo de comunicación presupone cierta cooperación de los interlocutores, los hablantes bilingües, en una situación bilingüe están negociando continuamente y llegan a menudo a una elección de la lengua utilizada. Los hablantes bilingües, aunque no tengan una competencia equilibrada en las lenguas que utilizan, aprovechan su repertorio lingüístico global con el fin de alcanzar los objetivos del intercambio. No es nada inusual en una situación de bilingüismo que delante de una dificultad léxica momentánea o duradera, el hablante recurra a la otra lengua, consciente de que el interlocutor tiene un repertorio más o menos

igual o que está en condiciones de entender la otra lengua (Matthey y De Pietro 1997).

Boyer (1991) opone dos tipos de modelos elaborados: el modelo bilingüe y el modelo diglósico. Estos dos modelos tienen aspectos metodológicos y teóricos diferentes. El modelo bilingüe se presenta como pacífico, consensual, colaborativo, dinámico y sincrónico. Es microsociolingüístico, es decir, centrado en las interacciones conversacionales en las que aparecen diferentes lenguas. El modelo diglósico se caracteriza por una visión dinámica, diacrónica y conflictiva del contacto de lenguas en unos contextos de competencia desleal y es esencialmente macrosociolingüístico.

Esta aproximación micro a los fenómenos interlingüísticos deja un gran espacio a la dimensión émica de los contactos de lenguas, es decir de la manera en la que tales contactos son vividos en los actos de las personas que están implicadas en situaciones plurilingües (Matthey y De Pietro 1997).

Este recurso a la otra lengua, el code-switching (a partir de ahora CS) es uno de los fenómenos que se producen en situaciones de lenguas en contacto. El CS se puede definir como el uso alternado de dos o más lenguas dentro del mismo discurso. Son muchos los autores que se han dedicado al estudio del CS. Gumperz (1982), define el CS como: ‘the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems’ (Gumperz 1982:59). Este autor indica que el CS no necesariamente es el índice de un conocimiento imperfecto del sistema gramatical en cuestión; de hecho, en muchos de los casos, la información dada en el CS se habría podido expresar igualmente bien en la otra lengua.

Se ha demostrado que el CS no es un fenómeno aleatorio y que aparece con unas funciones que tienen un lugar importante en la comunicación ya que transmiten unos significados que van más allá de las

palabras y llenan la conversación de matices que de otra manera no serían transmisibles o comportarían toda una serie de explicaciones que harían la conversación incomprensible. Según Gumperz (1982), las funciones discursivas y comunicativas que desempeña el CS son: a) citas o discurso referido, b) la asignación de un interlocutor, c) marcar una interjección o un elemento fático, d) la reiteración, es decir repetir algo ya dicho en la otra lengua, sea literalmente sea modificado de alguna forma -sirve para clarificar lo que se dice, pero a veces sirven sólo para ampliar o destacar un mensaje, e) para modificar un mensaje y f) para distinguir entre hablar de la acción y la acción de hablar. Grosjean (1982) también distingue diferentes funciones ya que el CS a) permite al interlocutor resolver una dificultad con el léxico, b) puede mostrar la pertenencia del interlocutor a una comunidad bilingüe, c) permite seleccionar un destinatario dentro de un grupo de hablantes, d) puede tener una función metacomunicativa, es decir, que sugiere una cierta interpretación del enunciado, e) permite añadir al mensaje una componente expresiva (el hablante expresa por ejemplo su actitud delante de los demás participantes en la conversación) y f) atribuye a los participantes los roles habitualmente asociados a cada lengua. Lüdi y Py (2003) categorizan así las funciones del CS: a) señalización de la pertenencia de los locutores/auditores a una misma comunidad bilingüe y bicultural; b) indicación del destinatario original de un discurso referido; c) indicación del destinador original de un discurso referido d) indicación de un discurso metadiscursivo; e) aumento del potencial referencial; f) utilización de ventajas específicas en una u otra lengua (expresión precodificada, palabras transparentes, etc.); g) señalización de la pertenencia del evento relatado a un dominio de experiencia (función deíctica); y h) mejora del acceso léxico.

Gumperz (1982) establece además una distinción entre el CS debido a una competencia insuficiente y el que, en cambio, es situacional y constituye un recurso específico para los hablantes bilingües. Este aspecto es muy

importante para nosotros, ya que en el campo de la adquisición de lenguas siempre se ha considerado que el pasaje a la L1 se debía a una falta de nivel de los aprendices.

1.2 La conversación exolingüe.

En Europa a lo largo de las últimas décadas ha aparecido, sobre todo en autores suizos, franceses y alemanes (Alber y Py 1986; Gülich 1986; Py 1990; Matthey y De Pietro 1992; Castellotti 1997; Coste 1997; Simon 1997), la noción de exolingüismo. Esta noción ha permitido la convergencia de la investigación sobre bilingüismo y la investigación sobre adquisición.

Con exolingüismo estos lingüistas se refieren a la comunicación en la que uno o más interlocutores no dominan totalmente el código utilizado, en la que siempre hay un hablante menos experto que el otro en una de las dos o más lenguas que están en contacto en ese momento (Lüdi y Py 2003) y en la que es necesaria cierta colaboración para que la interacción no se encuentre en un clima de permanente incompreensión (Matthey y De Pietro 1997).

Según Bange (1992) la comunicación exolingüe exige una alta vigilancia por parte de los interlocutores porque pueden surgir problemas en el desarrollo de la conversación y los interlocutores deberán resolverlos. La bifocalización en la conversación exolingüe consiste, según Bange, en una focalización central de la atención de los hablantes en el tema de la comunicación y en una focalización periférica sobre la eventual aparición de problemas en la realización de la coordinación de las actividades de comunicación. Esta bifocalización conduce por un lado al hablante nativo a utilizar un registro de foreigner talk según lo que él cree que el hablante no nativo puede decodificar y el no nativo emplea estrategias cuya función es permitir la resolución de problemas de comunicación. Estas estrategias no son específicas de la comunicación exolingüe sino que son estrategias generales de regulación de la intercomprensión. La especificidad de la comunicación

exolingüe reside en el lugar que estas estrategias ocupan, la importancia que ellas tienen y su significado en el aprendizaje. El acercamiento entre la investigación sobre el bilingüismo y la investigación sobre la adquisición ha llevado a considerar el aprendizaje de una lengua extranjera como un proceso que lleva a un bilingüismo y el aula como un caso especial de situación exolingüe (Cambra 2003).

1.3. La clase de lengua extranjera como lugar bilingüe.

La clase de lengua extranjera (a partir de ahora LE) es, como afirma Cambra (1991), un lugar social que por definición es bilingüe y en el caso de una sociedad bilingüe, como es la catalana, plurilingüe. Los alumnos aportan a las clases de LE sus conocimientos anteriores y pueden utilizar y hacer referencia a todas las lenguas que han estudiado anteriormente.

Esta idea de la clase de LE como un microcosmo bilingüe choca con la creencia, vigente hasta hace un tiempo relativamente cercano (Cambra y Nussbaum 1997), por la cual el uso de otra lengua distinta de la que es objeto de aprendizaje se veía de una forma muy negativa, como una desviación de la lengua meta y que, por lo tanto debía de ser rechazada y alejada de la clase. Esta creencia se defendía con el argumento de que la exposición a la lengua es fundamental para el aprendizaje y que el tiempo de exposición es muy poco y es mejor no reducirlo. Pero van Lier (1996) subraya la importancia de la calidad de la exposición a la lengua frente a la mera cantidad y varios estudios, entre ellos van Lier (1995), han demostrado que el uso de la L1 en una situación de enseñanza / aprendizaje promueve y no inhibe el aprendizaje de la nueva lengua. Otros argumentos eran que la exclusión de la L1 servía para evitar las interferencias y los riesgos de la constante mediación de la L1 para comprender y expresarse en LE. Esto correspondía a un concepto de la lengua como un bloque que no admitía ningún elemento de otro sistema lingüístico. Había que evitar cualquier

contacto con otras lenguas, sobre todo la L1, con el fin de evitar interferencias. Afortunadamente este mito de una clase como lugar de interacción exclusivamente en LE se va progresivamente abandonando y ya en varios estudios, entre ellos Castellotti (2001), se ha puesto de manifiesto el rol central que la L1 tiene en el aprendizaje de una LE.

Teniendo en cuenta que los objetivos fundamentales de una clase de LE son aprender la LE y, al mismo tiempo, conseguir comunicar, siempre aparece cierta variabilidad. En algunos momentos lo que cuenta es el aprendizaje y en otros momentos es la comunicación. Esto distingue la situación de enseñanza / aprendizaje de una situación exolingüe más clásica en la cual siempre la finalidad de la conversación es ante todo la comunicación (aunque a veces también hay la intención de aprender).

Lüdi (1991) asienta que el bilingüismo de los aprendices es especialmente inestable, más aún que el bilingüismo de los emigrantes, y que a veces unos aprendices principiantes demuestran desde un estadio inicial un bilingüismo mínimo, con unos fines discursivos. La habilidad de alternar es uno de los objetivos de la adquisición y se desarrolla paralelamente a la interlengua, noción propuesta por Selinker en 1972, en LE. Esto no quiere decir que un aprendiz principiante sea un hablante que alterna de una manera competente, sino que es una persona que construye su interlengua y a la vez construye también su capacidad de alternar las lenguas. Esta competencia puede evolucionar a un ritmo diferente de la interlengua, por esto es posible que un aprendiz sepa alternar antes de haber adquirido una competencia bilingüe equilibrada.

En el presente estudio se considera la clase de LE como un microcosmos bilingüe o plurilingüe en el que dos o más lenguas están en contacto y donde por lo tanto aparecerán varios fenómenos típicos del contacto de lenguas. Partiendo del esquema de interacción que describe Bange (1992) y que denomina de bifocalización, es decir que la atención del

estudiante se focaliza alternativamente en el objeto temático de la comunicación (el contenido) y en los problemas encontrados en la realización de las actividades de comunicación (los medios lingüísticos), se han distinguido diferentes funciones del CS según el momento en que aparecen en la interacción de clase y según las intenciones de los hablantes.

Además debemos considerar que el aula es un espacio en el que, a parte de aprender un idioma, se crean relaciones interpersonales y donde las bromas, hablar de sucesos y experiencias personales y otras actividades de este tipo son costumbres cotidianas. Por lo tanto, el uso de la L1 y/o L2 en la clase de LE permite crear un ambiente relajado y amigable y por eso propicio al aprendizaje (Birello 2007).

1.4. EL CS en el aula de LE.

En el aula se puede distinguir entre dos grandes tipos de CS: el CS focalizado en el aprendizaje y el CS focalizado en la comunicación. Generalmente se ha visto que el uso de la L1 cuando la atención está focalizada en el aprendizaje el CS se debe a: 1) una necesidad de comprensión o explicación que puede dar lugar o no a una secuencia lateral en la que se tematiza la dificultad indicada por el CS y el significado es negociado entre los interlocutores; 2) una necesidad de organización y de gestión de la actividad misma.

Por lo que se refiere al primer tipo de CS, debido a una necesidad de comprensión o explicación, se ha visto que en el aula el CS puede tener una función explicativa, es decir, que se produce para hacer comprensible el input. Puede aparecer bajo forma de reformulaciones interlingüales y de traducciones literales para procurar o averiguar la comprensión y favorecer así la apropiación lingüística. La L1 se vuelve aquí el punto de referencia obligatorio para poder integrar nuevos datos. Es una estrategia de aprendizaje en la que el alumno señala que tiene un problema. También

puede aparecer como una necesidad del hablante para asegurarse la comprensión o verificarla (Cambra 2003). La L1 es sin duda un medio que tiene el aprendizaje para señalar dónde está la dificultad y es al mismo tiempo una manera de pedir ayuda.

Este CS marca el pasaje de un nivel lingüístico a un nivel metalingüístico y viceversa, en el que normalmente la comunicación tiene lugar en LE y la metacomunicación se hace en L1. Esto es lo que Brooks, Donato y McGloane (1997) definen como metatalk en el que los aprendientes se muestran capaces de reflexionar sobre su propia actividad y los recursos lingüísticos a su disposición para actuar y controlar así la comunicación. Este hablar del habla, que muchas veces aparece en L1 pero que otras veces aparece en lengua meta, tiene una función muy importante ya que permite al aprendiz hablar, pensar y actuar sobre la misma actividad oral. Cuando un estudiante habla de sus recursos lingüísticos aumenta la comprensión de los recursos, hace el estudiante más consciente de lo que sabe y lo que no sabe y contribuye al andamiaje colectivo en las actividades realizadas en parejas. En algunos casos, el CS es acompañado de la apertura de una secuencia lateral en la sucesión de intercambios (Gülich 1986), en los que el término adecuado es negociado entre los interlocutores.

En varias ocasiones el CS se debe a un comentario metalingüístico en el que la L1 alterna con la LE en secuencias en las que la LE se convierte en el objeto mencionado, ejemplo citado o corpus estudiado, con el fin de describir o de ayudar al alumno en el aprendizaje (Coste 1997). En otras ocasiones, se trata de comentarios metacognitivos en los que los alumnos verbalizan la conciencia del trabajo que están realizando (Cambra 2003).

Por lo que se refiere al CS debido a una necesidad de organización y gestión de la actividad, varios estudios (Willis 1992; Denuodom 1992; Cambra y Nussbaum 1997) han demostrado que los CS aparecen, en muchos casos, por una necesidad de gestión de la comunicación y de la organización

pedagógica. EL CS sirve a veces para introducir una actividad o un intercambio, para solicitar a los alumnos, para cerrar, resumir o enlazar unas secuencias, o para cambiar de actividad. Son una especie de CS de frontera entre dos secuencias de la clase.

En una perspectiva vygotskiana se ve el habla como el medio que permite crear una realidad social compartida en la que los individuos hablan y llevan a cabo acciones relevantes para la tarea. En ella los aprendices se ven como co-constructores del sentido y creadores de la interacción con respecto a la actividad y a ellos mismos. El metadiscurso es todo lo que los participantes dicen de la tarea que están realizando y el discurso que constituye la tarea. Muchas veces el metadiscurso no es promocionado en las clases porque tiende a aparecer en la L1 de los estudiantes, pero es un tipo de discurso muy importante ya que sirve para promover la interacción verbal y es un tipo de metacognición verbal. Es una manera a disposición del aprendiz para establecer el control del discurso y de la tarea comentando explícitamente sus herramientas lingüísticas utilizadas en esta construcción. A veces los alumnos hablan para establecer los procedimientos para realizar la tarea. Lo importante es que esta aclaración permita a los alumnos seguir con la actividad aunque hayan tenido que utilizar la L1 para llegar a ello. Parece que hay una lengua para lo comunicativo, normalmente la lengua meta y una lengua para lo metacomunicativo, normalmente la L1, hay cosas que se hacen en una lengua y cosas que se hacen en otra (Coste 1997).

A partir de todo lo dicho anteriormente, si la clase es un microcosmos en el que dos o más lenguas están en contacto surge espontáneo preguntarse si los aprendientes alternan las lenguas o si el CS es un fenómeno que interesa solamente a los bilingües que han aprendido las dos lenguas simultáneamente. Si los alumnos alternan las lenguas y considerando que estos CS no son aleatorios, pretendemos averiguar como el CS representa un recurso que el estudiante puede utilizar para facilitar su aprendizaje.

2. El contexto

El contexto social en el que nos encontramos es el de una región lingüística, Cataluña, en la que existen dos lenguas integradas en el repertorio lingüístico de los hablantes bilingües que las usan con propósitos comunicativos. Los hablantes consideran su diversidad lingüística como parte de su mundo cultural y se aprovechan de ello para cumplir con su intento comunicativo. En Cataluña nos encontramos con una lengua minoritaria (catalán) en contacto con una lengua poderosa (castellano). Según el Estatuto de Autonomía Catalán, el catalán y el castellano son lenguas oficiales en Cataluña, pero sólo el catalán se declara *llengua pròpia*, es decir la lengua nacional, autóctona y las instituciones catalanas se comprometen a proteger el catalán, usarlo normalmente y fomentar su uso en todos los ámbitos públicos (Arnau 1997).

3. Metodología

3.1 Participantes

Este estudio se ha llevado a cabo en la Escuela de Idiomas Modernos de la Universidad de Barcelona (España) que es uno de los centros oficiales de enseñanza del italiano como LE en la ciudad.

La enseñanza del italiano en esta ciudad existe sobre todo a nivel universitario o de formación continua. En la escuela secundaria se enseña muy poco, sólo en algunos centros escolares de la ciudad. Es por esta razón que la mayoría de los alumnos que se matriculan en los cursos de la Escuela de Idiomas de la universidad son, en su casi totalidad, principiantes.

Para estos alumnos el italiano no es nunca la primera LE que estudian, ya que habitualmente ya han estudiado el inglés, y en algunos casos el francés y/o el alemán. Esto significa que el repertorio lingüístico de estos alumnos es bastante amplio ya que dominan dos lenguas, el castellano y el

catalán, que utilizan habitualmente para relacionarse a las que hay que añadir por lo menos una lengua extranjera.

Los alumnos grabados y posteriormente analizados tienen una edad comprendida entre los 19 y los 23 años. Son es su casi totalidad universitarios aunque los cursos estén abiertos también a personas que no están vinculadas con la universidad.

Estos cursos, aunque no formen parte obligatoria del plan de estudios de su facultad, les proporcionan créditos que les sirven para su carrera universitaria. Muchos de ellos estudian el italiano porque van a completar sus estudios en Italia gracias a una de las becas ofrecidas por los programas ERASMUS y SOCRATES de la Unión Europea.

Los estudiantes tienen un nivel que se puede definir de entre A2 y B1 según la clasificación del Marco Común Europeo de Referencia (MECR).

3.2 Procedimiento

La metodología utilizada para este trabajo es etnográfica. Watson-Gegeo define la etnografía como: 'the study of people's behavior in natural occurring, ongoing settings, with a focus on the cultural interpretation of behavior' (1988:576). La etnografía es cualitativa y naturalística ya que la investigación cualitativa se ocupa de identificar la presencia o la ausencia de algo y determinar su naturaleza o sus características distintivas. En la investigación naturalística el investigador lleva a cabo sus observaciones en el contexto natural en el que la gente vive y trabaja. La etnografía enfatiza la naturaleza sociocultural del proceso de enseñanza / aprendizaje, incorpora los puntos de vista de los participantes sobre su propio comportamiento y proporciona un análisis holístico atento a los niveles del contexto en el que se encuentra la clase y las interacciones que en ella tienen lugar.

La observación directa de las clases es un instrumento insustituible, cuando el investigador quiere descubrir lo que pasa en la clase de lengua y

enriquecer sus conocimientos sobre la enseñanza / aprendizaje de una lengua. La grabación es el instrumento ideal para el investigador que quiere observar un fenómeno con mucho detenimiento (van Lier 1988) porque permite volver a los datos todas las veces que sean necesarias y sumergirse en los datos.

Después de haber decidido qué aspecto de la interacción íbamos a investigar y después de haberlo formulado en hipótesis de investigación empezamos con la grabación de las clases. Las clases observadas eran dos con dos profesores diferentes. Se grabaron un total de diez horas de clase para cada profesor y fueron grabadas en vídeo y audio. La grabación en audio y video nos permitió tener una visión amplia del grupo – clase y una visión micro de lo que estaba pasando en cada subgrupo o pareja. Los alumnos mismos manejaban y gestionaban los aparatos para las grabaciones audio y podían encenderlos y apagarlos según su criterio mientras que la grabadora video era de uso exclusivo de la observadora. Las grabadoras audio (por lo general tres en cada aula) eran distribuidas por la observadora al principio de la clase y luego la observadora o los alumnos mismos pasaban las grabadoras a otros subgrupos, de manera que no fueran siempre los mismos los alumnos grabados. Habitualmente los alumnos apagaban las grabadoras al final de las actividades en parejas para pasar la grabadora a otro grupo. Las grabaciones en video nos proporcionaron información sobre el comportamiento no-verbal que a veces es fundamental para el análisis de los datos.

Después de la grabación y de la visión de las cintas pasamos a la transcripción de las mismas para realizar un análisis en profundidad. Sólo una inspección minuciosa permite ver algunos fenómenos que no saltan a la vista enseguida; la transcripción permite volver atrás y mirar o escuchar lo que los alumnos hacen o dicen todas las veces que sea necesario.

4. Análisis de los datos

4.1 Algunos resultados

En el análisis de los datos se puede ver que el CS no aparece casualmente en el discurso generado por los alumnos. El CS siempre tiene una función que se puede dividir en dos categorías que resumimos en esta tabla:

1. CODE-SWITCHING FOCALIZADO EN EL APRENDIZAJE
a. Code-switching como recurso para hablar de la lengua
b. Code-switching como recurso para hablar de la tarea
c. Code-switching como recurso para hablar del aprendizaje
2. CODE-SWITCHING FOCALIZADO EN LA COMUNICACIÓN
a. Code-switching como recurso para marcar el discurso que no pertenece al contexto de aprendizaje
b. Code-switching como recurso para mantener la comunicación

Tabla 1

4.2 El CS focalizado en el aprendizaje

Como se puede ver en la tabla, en esta categoría se incluyen los CS que se utilizan para hablar de la lengua, para hablar de la tarea o del aprendizaje. El CS como recurso para hablar de la lengua es habitualmente un CS que tiene la función de hacer más comprensible el input. Pueden ser preguntas, respuestas o reflexiones metalingüísticas en las que se individualiza y tematiza la dificultad del alumno y se trata de darle alguna solución o explicación.

En el ejemplo 1 “qué son stivali?”, dos alumnas Daniela (D) y Janina (Ja) están realizando un ejercicio sobre los pronombres directos del italiano. Se trata de un ejercicio repetitivo para hacer en pareja y oralmente, siguiendo un modelo: Quando hai visto quel film? - L'ho visto giovedì (¿Cuándo viste esa película? La vi el jueves). En una de las preguntas Dove hai comprato

quegli stivali? _____ a Milano (¿Dónde compraste esas botas? _____ en Milán) a Daniela le surge la duda sobre el significado de la palabra ‘stivali’ que genera un intercambio metalingüístico que dura 13 turnos. Daniela abre esta secuencia lateral en el turno 1 en el que pone a su compañera Janina una pregunta metalingüística sobre el significado y unos turnos más tarde (turno 5) pregunta sobre el género. De hecho esta palabra es masculina en italiano pero femenina en catalán y en castellano pero Janina, que ya en el turno 4 había dado la respuesta (li ho comprati – los compré) contesta en italiano (turno 6) dando a su compañera la indicación de la marca del masculino en el demostrativo plural masculino ‘quegli’ (aquellos) que aparece en la pregunta propuesta por el ejercicio. Pero la compañera (turno 7) no entiende su explicación y le vuelve a reformular la pregunta sobre el género de la palabra ‘stivali’, tanto que Janina (turno 8) empieza ella misma a dudar pero reitera que ella ha puesto la forma masculina. Aquí Janina sigue la reflexión metalingüística en catalán y alterna las lenguas utilizando el italiano ‘non lo so’ (no lo sé) y volviendo a utilizar la última palabra ‘maschile’ (masculino) en italiano, término metalingüístico que conoce y que funciona como una etiqueta. Daniela en (11) continua con la reflexión metalingüística reformulando lo que Janina ya ha explicado concluyendo su enunciado con un ‘no’ con tono interrogativo en busca de confirmación que recibe en (12). Después de confirmar que Daniela había entendido bien ‘mh, mh’, en el mismo turno 14 Janina pone la siguiente pregunta

(1) **Qué son stivali?**

1. D: ((inint)) **què son stivali?**
2. Ja: **botes**
3. D: **botes?**
4. Ja: li ho comprati
5. D: **i és femení**
6. Ja: no, no perchè *quegli* *quegli* sono *quegli* gli
7. D: **a veure:: dic botes és femení o masculí**
8. Ja: **deu ser** ((inint)) non lo so. **jo he posat el** maschile
9. D: **perquè el gli**

10. Ja: gli sì sì. sì, no?
11. D: **perquè si no sería** quelle stivale no?
12. Ja: sì
13. D: no?
14. Ja: mh, mh dove hai parcheggiato la macchina?
1. 'D: Qué son botas?
2. Ja: botas
3. D: botas?
4. Ja: los he comprado
5. D: y es femenino
6. Ja: no no porque *aquell*os *aquell*os son *aquell*os los
7. D: a ver::: digos botas es femenino o masculino
8. Ja: debe ser ((inint)) no lo sé. Yo he puesto el masculino
9. D: porque el los
10. Ja: los sí sí. sí no?
11. D: porque si no sería aquellas bota no?
12. Ja: sí
13. D: no?
14. Ja: mh, mh dónde has aparcado el coche?'

Este intercambio es metalingüístico. Daniela abre esta secuencia lateral poniendo una pregunta metalingüística ya que tiene una duda sobre el significado de la palabra 'stivali' (botas); y posteriormente pone también en común otra pregunta metalingüística sobre el género de esa palabra. Este intercambio metalingüístico tiene lugar en la L1 en la que aparecen formas de lengua meta que son la repetición del ejercicio (stivali; li ho comprati) o come etiqueta (maschile). Daniela y Janina juntas llegan a la resolución de la duda planteada y siguen luego, y con total naturalidad, la tarea asignada por el profesor.

En muchas ocasiones, el CS es un recurso para gestionar la tarea. Puede aparecer al principio para la organización pedagógica, para introducir o cambiar una actividad, y, en otros casos, como el que se presenta a continuación, sirve para gestionar la comunicación y solucionar una dificultad que surge mientras se está realizando la tarea.

En el ejemplo 2 ‘Perdona, ¿aquí arriba?’, los tres estudiantes Telma (T), Juan (J) y Carla (C) están corrigiendo un ejercicio que ya han realizado en casa y en clase lo están poniendo en común. El ejercicio consta de una batería de preguntas a las que los estudiantes tienen que contestar utilizando el verbo sugerido por el libro. El objetivo del ejercicio es que los estudiantes utilicen el subjuntivo que en italiano se utiliza siempre con los verbos para expresar opinión como creer y pensar. Uno de los alumnos Juan tiene un problema con una de las preguntas del ejercicio: Come mai piange Robertino? (Cadere per le scale e farsi male) (¿Por qué llora Robertino? caerse por las escaleras y hacerse daño).

En el turno 1 Juan señala en castellano dónde está el problema ya que, y como demuestra en el turno 2, Telma no lo había entendido. En el turno (3) Juan expresa la duda de si la forma ‘si sia fatto’ (se haya hecho) esté correcta o no porque no ha reconocido la forma ‘farsi male’ hacerse daño) y pregunta si es un error. En el turno 4 Carla, la tercera estudiante que compone el grupo pone otra duda que en este caso es una forma influenciada por el castellano ‘si sia caduto’ (se haya caído). De hecho el italiano no tiene la forma pronominal que, en cambio, tiene el castellano. En el turno 5 Telma coge el papel del profesor, da la respuesta correcta y en el turno 6 Juan realiza una reflexión metalingüística sobre la forma ‘farsi male’, diciendo que se trata de un verbo reflexivo lo cual implica que en italiano se debe utilizar el auxiliar ser y no haber como en cambio sucede en castellano o en catalán. En el turno (10) Carla que todavía no tiene clara la forma, repite la forma verbal con tono de interrogación en busca de confirmación, que recibe de Telma en el turno (11) seguida de una reflexión/explicación metalingüística utilizando en este caso la lengua meta.

(2) Perdona, ¿aquí arriba?

1. J: aquí, aquí
2. T: ah! no! perdona, aquí arriba?
3. J: sì si sia fatto es un error?

4. C: SI SIA CADUTO
 5. T: credo che sia caduto per le scale e si sia fatto male he puesto yo
 6. J: es un verbo reflexivo
 7. C: che si sia fatto?
 8. T: si sia fatto farsi male si sia fatto no? perché è riflessivo
 9. J: si è fatto
 10. C: si sia fatto?
 11. T: si è fatto male, che si sia fatto male, no?,.....,.....anche potrebbe essere questo sì credo
1. 'J: aquí aquí
 2. T: ah!no! perdona, aquí arriba?
 3. J: sí se haya hecho es un error?
 4. C: se haya caído
 5. T: creo que haya caído por las escaleras y se haya hecho daño he puesto yo
 6. J: es un verbo reflexivo
 7. C: que se haya hecho?
 8. T: se haya hecho daño se haya hecho no? Porque es reflexivo
 9. J: se ha hecho
 10. C: se haya hecho?
 11. T: se ha hecho daño, que se haya hecho daño, no?,también podría ser esto sí creo'

En este segmento se puede apreciar el uso alternado de las lenguas que se hace indispensable para la realización de la tarea. En el turno (3) Juan marca los dos niveles diferentes de discurso: por un lado el discurso producido para realizar la actividad y por el otro el discurso producido para gestionar la tarea, como ya sucede en los turnos (1) y (2). También Telma en el turno (5) con el comentario 'he puesto yo' marca cual es el discurso comunicativo producido para realizar la tarea y cual es el metacomunicativo. Por lo tanto, los alumnos marcan claramente los diferentes discursos: el discurso para llevar a cabo la tarea, habitualmente en lengua meta y el discurso para gestionar la tarea, habitualmente en L1. Los CS que aquí aparecen se deben principalmente a reflexiones metalingüísticas que indican donde está el problema y comentarios que permiten a los alumnos de gestionar la tarea y ayudan a identificar dónde está situado en el ejercicio.

Podemos considerar que se trata sencillamente de la manera más rápida de dar solución a un problema encontrado por el camino pero, al mismo tiempo, sirve para señalar abierta y claramente donde se sitúa la dificultad. De hecho los alumnos demuestran en la parte final del ejemplo que ellos son capaces de gestionar y reflexionar sobre este asunto en lengua meta ya que aquí aparece un resumen/reformulación de todo lo comentado anteriormente. Telma, que es la alumna que tiene aquí el papel profesoral, probablemente considera que la emergencia ya está superada y puede reanudar la conversación en lengua meta.

Esto está a demostración del hecho de que el CS no necesariamente es un índice de desconocimiento de la lengua en un caso concreto sino que responde a otras funciones. En este caso, el CS tiene la función de marcar cual es el discurso propio generado por el ejercicio y el discurso que no pertenece estrictamente a la respuesta que los alumnos están dando.

En otras ocasiones el CS aparece como recurso para hablar del aprendizaje. En el siguiente ejemplo 3 se hace una reflexión sobre los hábitos de uso de la LE. Estas reflexiones sobre el aprendizaje y los hábitos sobre el uso de las lenguas pueden aparecer como una reflexión que un estudiante hace consigo mismo en voz alta. Otras veces, como en este segmento, pueden ser comentarios, reflexiones o explicaciones metalingüísticos dirigidos a un compañero. En este segmento, después de que el profesor ha dado las instrucciones para que los alumnos lleven a cabo la tarea, Daniela (turno 3) da un ejemplo a Janina para averiguar si ha entendido bien como funciona el ejercicio. Aunque aparezcan palabras en italiano, podemos considerar que el turno es en castellano porque utiliza la forma bastante típica en esta lengua ‘¿tal?’ y ‘¿cual?’ para obtener este tipo de información. Las palabras que aparecen en italiano son las que se tienen que usar en el ejercicio propuesto. Daniela con un CS al catalán comenta su incapacidad para recordar el uso de los pronombres directos. Realiza una

reflexión metacognitiva sobre sus hábitos cuando usa la lengua meta. En los últimos turnos de este breve intercambio aparece un momento relajado en el que las alumnas bromean. De hecho Janina gasta la broma y empieza el turno con la unidad ‘pues’ que tiene aquí el valor de introductor de comentario. Sigue el comentario en italiano, en el que aparece la broma y termina su turno con un CS al castellano comentando ‘será una penita’. Con este comentario la broma se hace explícita y la forma diminutiva ‘penita’ aumenta la comicidad. Las dos alumnas continúan bromeando pero en el turno (10) Janina, con otro CS ‘va’ al catalán/castellano, invita a la compañera a recentrar la actividad y sigue formulando la pregunta del ejercicio.

(3) Yo siempre me olvido

1. P: potete adesso::: potete adesso farvi in coppie le domande hai messo::: il cucchiaino? sì l’ho già messo, no non l’ho messo. hai messo i bicchieri? sì li ho già messi no non li ho portati potete? in coppie?
2. Ja: e dopo facciamo la pausa? dopo questo esercizio? ((en voz baja))
3. D: ((inint)) hai messo tal? hai messo cual?
4. Ja: ((contesta afirmativamente con la cabeza))
5. D: **jo sempre me’n oblido eh? mira!**
6. Ja: pue:::s attenta! attenta perché::: non passerai l’esame non potrai fare il terzo con tutti noi será una penita
7. D: piangeremo?
8. Ja: piangeremo!
9. D: insieme?
10. Ja: sì, sì **va!** hai già messo::: messo gli asciugamani?
 1. ‘P: podéis ahora::: podéis ahora hacerlos en parejas las preguntas has puesto::: la cuchara? sí la he puesto, no, no la he puesto. has puesto los vasos? Sí los he puesto ya no no los he traído podéis? en parejas?
 2. Ja: y luego hacemos la pausa? Después de este ejercicio? ((en voz baja))
 3. D: ((inint)) has puesto tal? has puesto cual?
 4. Ja: ((contesta afirmativamente con la cabeza))
 5. D: yo siempre me olvido eh? mira!
 6. Ja: pue:::s cuidado! Cuidado porque non pasarás el examen no podrás hacer el tercero con todos nosotros será una penita

7. D: lloraremos?
8. Ja: lloraremos!
9. D: juntas?
10. Ja : sí sí va! Has puesto:::: puesto ya las toallas?’

Daniela reflexiona sobre sus hábitos cuando usa la lengua meta haciendo partícipe a la compañera Janina. Es un comentario que además de hacer explícita una dificultad da pie a un intercambio gracioso, realizado en su mayoría en lengua meta pero con CS al castellano y al catalán. Es interesante notar como los alumnos se sienten a gusto en este tipo de actividad en pequeños grupos y como juegan con las lenguas que forman parte de su repertorio lingüístico.

4.2 El CS focalizado en la comunicación

En muchos casos los CS se deben a una necesidad de marcar el discurso que no pertenece al contexto de aprendizaje. No debemos olvidar que la clase de lengua extranjera es un lugar social en el cual varias personas se encuentran y establecen una relación entre ellas. Se pueden encontrar CS que son bromas, comentarios graciosos, comentarios sobre lo que algún compañero o el profesor ha dicho, para hacer referencia a algo que tiene que ver con la vida personal de los estudiantes, etc. tal y como se puede apreciar en el siguiente segmento:

(4) ¿Te ha mordido?

1. E: **i t’ha mossegat o és que tens alèrgia?**
2. Mi: **no, no és mossegada**
1. ‘E: Y te ha mordido o es que tienes alergia?
2. Mi: no, no es una mordida’

En este breve ejemplo las dos alumnas Eva (E) y Mireia (Mi) una vez realizada la actividad se ponen a hablar de algo que está relacionado con la vida personal fuera del aula de una de las alumnas (Mireia). De hecho Eva nota algo en la mano de la compañera y retoma una conversación que había tenido lugar anteriormente y le pregunta si eso que tiene se debe a una

mordida o a una alergia y Mireia contesta que se trata de una mordida. El intercambio aparece en catalán y, como demuestra la conjunción ‘i’ del principio, éste era un tema que ya habían abordado antes al principio de la actividad pero que habían abandonado para llevar a cabo la actividad. Estos comentarios suelen tener lugar al final de las actividades que han sido mandadas por el profesor.

Dentro de este grupo de CS focalizado en la comunicación merecen un discurso a parte aquellos que se consideran como recursos para mantener la comunicación. Son los conectores, las muletillas que se utilizan con el objetivo de crear efectos discursivos como por ejemplo, reanudar la actividad, introducir un comentario, para empezar el turno de palabra, para mostrar acuerdo, para afirmar que se ha entendido lo dicho anteriormente, para empezar a hablar, para expresar estupor, etc. Por lo general estos conectores como ‘bueno’, ‘pues’, ‘vale’, que son los más frecuentes, suelen ser elementos conclusivos o iniciales de una unidad de conversación. A veces pueden ser utilizados para recentrar o reanudar la actividad. A continuación presentamos un ejemplo extraído de una actividad en la que las alumnas tienen que hacer hipótesis a partir de unas preguntas presentadas en el libro de texto utilizado en la clase.

(5) El Presidente de la Comunidad Economica Europea

1. R: no::: chi è l'attuale presidente della Comunità Europea::: Economica Europea? Questo non esiste ora! ((risas))
2. Jn: non lo so, non lo so perché ora non esiste!
3. R: non esiste! Buono chi è l'attuale presidente della Repubblica Italiana?
1. ‘R: Quién es el actual Presidente de Comunidad Europea...Comunidad Económica Europea? Esto no existe ahora!
2. Jn: no lo sé, no lo sé porque ahora no existe
3. R: no existe! Bueno quién es el actual Presidente de la República Italiana?’

En este breve ejemplo, en el turno (3) Roser utiliza ‘bueno’ con la intención de cerrar la pregunta anterior y de introducir la siguiente. Durante la

realización de esta actividad Joana (Jn) y Roser (R) se dan cuenta de que en el momento en que ellas realizan la actividad ya no existe la CEE (Comunidad Económica Europea) porque ya se llama UE (Unión Europea). Consideran, por lo tanto, inútil responder a esta pregunta y utilizan este conector para liquidar la pregunta anterior e introducir la nueva.

5. Conclusiones

Para concluir, se puede afirmar que en las clases, como lo evidencia la observación que hemos realizado y los ejemplos aportados extraídos de nuestros corpus de datos, hay un ambiente relajado favorable al aprendizaje en el que los alumnos se sienten muy a gusto y se divierten aprendiendo. El hecho de que estos alumnos jueguen con las lenguas implica que ellos controlan la situación y muestra que hay una buena gestión de la angustia que puede generar el aprendizaje de una LE en estudiantes adultos.

Estos aprendices de LE alternan las lenguas y podemos afirmar que el CS no es un fenómeno que interesa solamente a los hablantes bilingües que han aprendido las dos lenguas simultáneamente.

Los CS en el discurso generado por alumnos que están llevando a cabo una actividad en parejas o en pequeños grupos no son aleatorios, todo lo contrario, tienen diferentes funciones. Los CS que aparecen son debidos a una necesidad de solucionar un problema, bien de lengua, bien de organización del trabajo pero siempre sin perder de vista el objetivo final que es la resolución de la tarea mandada por el profesor. El scaffolding es constante y puede aparecer en la L1 o en LE; los alumnos aprovechan de todos sus conocimientos lingüísticos para resolver un problema o para dar respuesta a una dificultad y facilitar el aprendizaje.

Para acabar, podemos decir que en muchos casos los CS facilitan el aprendizaje ya que ayudan a los alumnos a ser más conscientes de sus dudas, reflexionando sobre las lenguas y reflexionando sobre su aprendizaje.

CONVENCIONES DE TRANSCRIPCIÓN:

P	profesor
S, Ad,etc.	alumno: S Sara, Ad Ada etc.
..., ..., etc.	pausa, tres puntitos son aproximadamente un segundo. Los puntos están separados de la palabra anterior por un espacio.
((inint)), ((risas))	doble paréntesis indica una parte de la conversación ininteligible, o comentario sobre la transcripción como risas, etc.
eh:::	los dos puntos tres veces seguido indica un alargamiento del sonido anterior
?	entonación creciente, aunque no sea una pregunta
!	fuerte énfasis con entonación descendiente
<i>Cursiva</i>	indica énfasis
negrita	indica alternancia de lengua al catalán
<u>subrayado</u>	indica alternancia de lengua al castellano
<u>i</u>	negrita y subrayado indica que no se puede distinguir entre castellano y catalán
<u>doble subrayado</u>	indica que se está leyendo
MAYÚSCULA	calcos estructurales

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BILINGUALISM, CULTURE AND IDENTITY: THE CASE OF MALAYSIA

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Abstract

Bilingualism, culture and identity, in the context of multilingual-multicultural Malaysia, will form the focus of this chapter. The role played by informatization and hence the role of the lingua franca English Language in Malaysia's quest for globalization is also explored. The questions posed in this chapter include whether, with the advent of informatization, there will be retention of the various ethnic identities in Malaysia and hence Multiculturalism; or, might there be a move towards assimilation and hence the move towards a homogeneous identity? The nature of this homogenous identity, which arises from informatization or the shaping of values, beliefs, and attitudes in the English language, is more complex. Therefore, on the one hand, informatization may mean more information is available but it also allows for assimilation into the lingua franca—that is, the English Language an, the Anglo culture—to the detriment of multiculturalism.

1. Introduction

Wang describes (1994) 'informatization' as a process of change that features the use of informatization and IT [information technologies] to such an extent that they become the dominant forces in commanding economic, political, social and cultural development. Thus, informatization is the shaping of cultural beliefs and civic discourse via information and communication technology. Also playing an important role is the mass media that includes cable television and telecommunication. The consequence of informatization may be viewed as one of assimilation; that is, where values, attitudes and beliefs are shaped by technology and become assimilated into an undifferentiated society.

Informatization in a global world may be viewed positively as to a certain extent it levels the playing ground. UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, for example, argued that:

We in the United Nations are convinced that communications technology has a great democratizing power waiting to be harnessed to our global struggle for peace and development. The quantity and quality of available information is changing dramatically every day, in every country, in every corner of the world. Citizens are gaining greater access to information, too. And the spread of information is making accountability and transparency facts of life for any government (United Nations 1998).

2. A Definition of Assimilation and Multiculturalism

Milton Gordon (1964) in his 'melting pot' theory looked at melting pot assimilation which involved the fusion, both cultural and biological, of all societal groups into a totally new blend. In this hybrid society, all racial and ethnic groups become 'melted together by the fires of American influence and interaction into a distinctly new type' (Gordon 1964:115). The final outcome of such a homogenizing process is the fusion of formerly distinct groups into an ethnically undifferentiated society. This theory was popular in the early twentieth century but has since been challenged by many social scientists.

Portes and Zhou (1994) on the other hand talk of segmented assimilation. In their study that looked at assimilation among immigrants they found three distinct forms of adaptation. The first being the time honored portrayal of growing acculturation and parallel integration into the white-middle class. The second leads the opposite direction into permanent poverty and assimilation to the underclass while the third combines rapid

economic advancement with deliberate preservation of the immigrant communities' values and solidarity.

Patchen (1999) defined pluralism as a cultural/structural arrangement in which each racial and ethnic group is tolerated and protected within a system of political equality, yet free to practice its own traditions, language, and life style. Pluralism involves retention of distinctiveness between racial and ethnic groups and hence guarantees the continuance of racial group distinctiveness. The maintenance of cultural uniqueness or pluralism therefore demands the separation of racial and ethnic communal practices, and can only be accomplished by discouraging intimate intergroup relationships. (Gordon 1994; Gans 1997).

Multiculturalism which rejects assimilation began as a movement in the field of education (Higham 2001). It calls for equal-respect and recognition of contributions of all racial and ethnic groups with a focus on the importance of maintaining cultural diversity (Higham 2001; Giroux 1994; Dworkin & Dworkin 1999; Gordon & Newfield 1996).

While assimilation is not the desired outcome in Malaysia's quest to be a globalized nation, multiculturalism—for want of a better term—is. In the context of this research, multiculturalism is seen as one that rejects assimilation into a mainstream culture and an ethnically undifferentiated society. Multiculturalism, in the context of Malaysia, maintains pluralism, that is, the cultural diversity and uniqueness of all ethnic groups in Malaysia. However it does not see the maintenance process as one that rejects 'intimate group relationships' (Gordon 1994; Gans 1997) but rather one that fosters unity in diversity. In other words, unity is fostered in an environment that recognizes and respects the diversity of language and culture in Malaysia and beyond that allows for and encourages intimate interethnic relationships.

3. Language and Culture

Being proficient in a language does not only include the linguistic elements of the language but also the non-verbal and socio-cultural.

According to Bachman's (1990) Model of Language Competence, this includes the following components:

1. Organizational competence
 - (i) grammatical (e.g. syntax, vocabulary)
 - (ii) textual (e.g. written and oral cohesion)
2. Pragmatic competence
 - (i) illocutionary competence (e.g. speech strategies, language functions)
 - (ii) sociolinguistic competence (e.g. sensitivity to register, dialect, cultural figures of speech)

In other words, competence in a language or languages must include competence in the culture of the target language. This is so simply because embedded within a language is a culture. Likewise one of the means of conveying culture is via language. It is through language as a resource that one learns and gathers information and knowledge of the world. Vygotsky (1994:56) noted that "in the process of development the child not only masters the items of cultural experience but the habits and forms of cultural behavior, the cultural methods of reasoning."

Samovar and Porter (1998:20) define culture as the "deposit of knowledge, experiences, beliefs, values, attitudes, meanings, hierarchies, religion, timing, roles, spatial relations, concepts of the universe, and material objects and possessions acquired by a large group of people in the course of generations through individual and group striving." Samovar and Porter (1998:20) also embrace a view of culture that is akin to the deterministic view of language put forward by Sapir-Whorf: "As we program computers to do what they do, our culture to a great extent programs us to do what we do and to be what we are."

Such a view of culture leads one to conclude that communication among individuals from different cultures will necessarily be difficult. It also assumes that language and culture are isomorphic in nature. Can such a stand hold true in the global world today where IT and the internet translate into instant communication and air travel allows one to move from one time zone to another? Given such a scenario, the assumption would then be that with communication occurring in real time, language and culture would move towards a process of assimilation or, more radically, towards the formation of a melting pot that sees the fusion of formerly distinct groups into an ethnically undifferentiated society (Gordon 1964:115).

In Malaysia the adoption of the English Language as a tool towards globalization and the advent of informatization are considerations that have to be factored into the study of language, culture and identity. This is so because identity is linked to language just as culture is linked to language:

One of the main challenges facing many countries is how to maintain their identity in the face of globalization and growing multilingualism. There is a case for regulating the status of English but ways need to be found of reinventing national identity around a distinctive mix rather than a single language which is kept pure (Graddol 2006:116).

Hence the issue is a loaded one: to completely assimilate may mean assimilation into the English language and its culture; on the other hand, pluralism which demands the separation of racial and ethnic communal practices—and can only be accomplished by discouraging intimate intergroup relationships (Gordon 1994; Gans 1997)—may mean that the problem of identity politics can be averted but at the price of miscommunications and misunderstandings that arise because one can never be knowledgeable about all the cultures and languages of the global world.

In short, identity politics can only be averted by keeping ethnic groups apart, resulting in a scenario where one may be aware of another culture, but not understand it in total. Ultimately, then, there is a price to pay either in the form of identity politics or misunderstandings because one is not knowledgeable of cultures other than one's own.

4. The Role of Language

Language is seen first and foremost as a tool for communication. In his *Philosophical Investigations*, Wittgenstein (2001:363) writes:

[W]e are so much accustomed to communication through language, in conversation, that it looks to us as if the whole point of communication lay in this: someone else grasps the sense of my words – which is something mental...

Such a view however fails to acknowledge the other role of language as a mark of identity and power:

One of the main challenges facing many countries is how to maintain their identity in the face of globalization and growing multilingualism. There is a case for regulating the status of English but ways need to be found of reinventing national identity around a distinctive mix rather than a single language which is kept pure (Graddol 2006: 116).

Again Graddol (2006: 40) notes:

The impact of globalization on wealth is complex: it seems that inequalities are being magnified within all countries, but the gap between national economies may be narrowing. Access to English may be a contributing factor. English is at the centre of many globalization mechanisms. Its future in Asia is likely to be closely

associated with future patterns of globalization.

With informatization and the trend towards assimilation of language and culture the assumption can be made that the assimilation will veer towards the English Language and, hence, the Anglo culture. However as pointed out by Graddol (2006) ways have to be found to reinvent national identity based not on one pure language but on one that is a 'distinctive mix.'

In the light of the scenario above, culture can no longer be viewed as static or as isomorphic. Just as language is not static, culture can no longer be viewed as static; rather, both language and culture are in an emergent state in the global world. Multiculturalism, which seeks to maintain cultural diversity and diverse ethnic and lingual identity, may be the way ahead in a globalized world. This is seen in the Malaysian model of unity in diversity.

5. Multilingual-Multicultural: A Case Study of Malaysia

5.1 Malaysia

Malaysia is an independent federation with a population of 24,821,286 within an area of 128,430 sq mi, situated in Southeast Asia. Malaysia consists of two parts: West Malaysia, also called Peninsular Malaysia, on the Malay peninsula is separated by the South China Sea from East Malaysia, which is made up of the states of Sabah and Sarawak (the former British colonies of North Borneo and Northwest Borneo) on the Island of Borneo.

Malaysia is a nation that is multiracial, multicultural and multilingual. The ethnic composition of Malaysia is made up of the three major ethnic races: the Malays, Chinese and Indians. The biggest ethnic group is made up of the Malays who account for more than half of the country's population. This is followed by the Chinese who make up more than 35% of the

population. The Indian community in Malaysia is the smallest of the three main ethnic groups, accounting for about 10% of the country's population.

Malaysia achieved her independence in 1957 and this independence from her colonial masters was marked by the Malay language or Bahasa Melayu being made a compulsory subject in both primary and secondary schools. In 1975, English Primary Schools were converted into National Primary Schools where the medium of instruction was Bahasa Melayu with English having the status of an important second language. This stands true till today (Razak Report 1956; Education Ordinance 1957; Kow 2004).

In recognition of the requirement for knowledge workers¹ who are also proficient in the English Language, the Malaysian government went bilingual in its National schools as of the year 2003 with Mathematics and Science being taught in English in Standard One (age six), Form One (age thirteen) and Form Four (age sixteen). In Chinese national type primary schools the medium of instruction for these two subjects is the mother tongue, Mandarin. In Tamil national type primary schools, Bahasa Malaysian (Malay) and Tamil are the mediums of instruction. However the medium of instruction for Mathematics and Science is English (The Star January 22, 2006; see Education Bill 1995; Kow 2007).

One sees then in Malaysia, a case study of a nation that embraces multilingualism— Malay as the National Language and language of nation building, English as the language of globalization and upward economic movement, with Mandarin and Tamil as languages that are the status of a third language and as mediums of instruction in national type schools in the country. As culture is linked to a language, Malaysians embrace the Malay,

¹ Knowledge workers is a term used in the area of employment. It indicates that a workers possesses both paper qualifications and are specialists in their area of teaching, whereas in the past workers might have been trained for a specific position, but may not have paper qualifications, or vice versa.

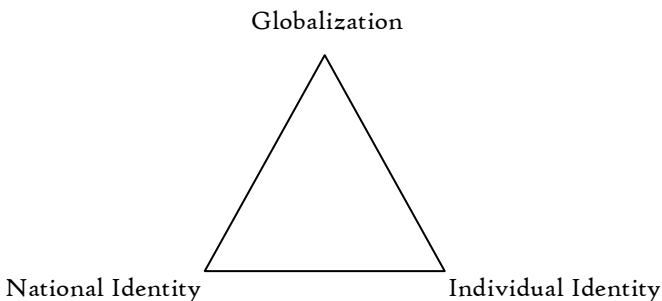
Chinese, and Indian languages, as well as the cultures of the ethnic communities:

The fusion of the various strains of Malaysian culture produces a unique amalgamation of values and practices. Each ethnic festival of Hari Raya (Malays), Chinese New Year (Malaysian Chinese), Deepavali (Malaysian Indians), Tadau Kaamatan and Gawai (ethnic communities of Sabah and Sarawak) and other religious-cultural festivals are markedly multiracial, multi-religious and multicultural. Thousands upon thousands of Malaysians from all walks of life attend these festivities.

These occasions are marked by public holidays and a concept that is exclusively Malaysian, the ‘Open House.’ ‘Open House’ is where Malaysians, including dignitaries, host a celebration where there are cultural performances and food that all the various ethnic groups participate in and enjoy.

5.2 The Tension

Although Malaysia celebrates her success in being unified, there exists a subtle tension in multilingual-multicultural Malaysia. This tension revolves around the three issues charted below: On the one hand there is the need to fit into the worldwide global movement. On the other hand, there is the need



to maintain and retain the national identity of the Malaysian. The Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia was quoted as saying, ‘the importance of Bahasa Melayu should not be underrated as not only is it the national language, but also the language of unity. At the same time, we also want to be fluent in English so that we can play our part as a major global player’ (The Star Online October 31, 2005).

The important role that language plays in determining identity is clearly signaled by the ruling party of Malaysia mandating that the national language of the nation—Bahasa Melayu or the Malay language—was to be henceforth referred to as Bahasa Malaysia or the Malaysian language. Although linguists argued that the language is the Malay language and not the Malaysia language, the government held their ground. The reason for this change was to address the issue that Bahasa Melayu implied that the language was only for the Malay ethnic race in the country thus marginalizing the Chinese and Indians. On the other hand, by referring to the national language as Bahasa Malaysia it implied that the language was the language of Malaysia and all Malaysians: “Our Father of Independence Tunku Abdul Rahman felt that Bahasa Malaysia should be used as it creates a sense of belonging among the multi-racial community and makes them feel that it is their language” (‘It stays as’ 2005).

The need to balance the two, that is Bahasa Malaysia as the language of identity and unity, and the English Language as the language of globalization and economic viability has led to the creation of a Bangsa Malaysia—or a Malaysian race. “Bangsa Malaysia is about how Malaysians see each other, and how we see ourselves,” said Deputy Prime Minister Datuk Seri Najib Tun Razak. “It’s all in the mind, if you see them through race or religion; you are going to be the loser. But if you see them as a friend, then you will be a winner” (The Star Online September 20, 2006). In other words, Bangsa Malaysia is defined by neither race nor religion, rather

it the Malaysian who transcends above both race and religion. Bangsa Malaysia is both ‘raceless’ and ‘religionless’ while at the same time Bangsa Malaysia is all religions and all races rolled into one.

On top of national identity, there is the issue of the identity of the individual. Individual identity has to be considered because one does not want to create robots who are identical and ‘identityless.’ This tension that exists in trying to balance national identity with individual identity is clearly seen in two reports by a top daily newspaper, both published on the same day:

Zainuddin to focus on unity: “My top agenda is to promote national unity through the ministry. It is important for us to adopt a more multiracial approach using Bahasa Malaysia as the medium” (The Star February 17, 2006)

Here’s food for thought for our planners and decision-makers, particularly those involved in education. Within a decade...English will become a near-universal basic skill. English is for everybody (The Star February 17, 2006).

It is no small task to develop a policy that takes into account both national and individual needs. On top of that, formulating a language policy is a doubly difficult task as issues of power and identity come into play.

A national survey has found that racial integration is still not yet a reality in Malaysia. The survey found that the majority of respondents still identified themselves according to their race and religion. When asked what they considered themselves to be first the following results were obtained:

	Malays	Chinese	Indians
Religion	61%	5%	5%
Malaysian	28%	44%	75%
Ethnicity	5%	47%	14%

(The Star July 21, 2006).

The survey results show that the Malays identify with their faith and the Chinese identify with their ethnic background. It is only the Indians who identify themselves as a race who is truly Malaysian. It can therefore be said that the Indians are the only ones who can claim to be Bangsa Malaysia.

The finding of the survey is not surprising. A publication by the Ministry of Culture, Arts and Tourism (2005:9) makes reference to Malays as not only self-centered but also God-centered:

‘Konsep budi yang dinyatakan diatas ialah asas kemanusiaan Melayu yang bukan sahaja *self-centered*, *mencentered* tetapi juga berpaksikan ketuhanan, *God-centered*. Orang Melayu memahami bahawa mereka perlu berbudi kepada Tuhan; berbudi kepada alam untuk tujuan berbakti atau beribadat kepada Tuhan;...’ (italics as in original text)

The concept of ‘doing good’ mentioned is an important aspect of Malay humanism that is not only *self-centered* but more so *centered* on religion or *God-centered*. The Malays understand that they need to be grateful to God; grateful to nature so as to be of service to God...

The publication goes on to document how Malaysia may be going through a cultural dilemma as a result of globalization or westernization:

Manusia dan masyarakat Malaysia khususnya sedang (mungkin pada tanggapan saya) menghadapi dilema budaya. Pelbagai tentangan luaran dan dalaman dihadapi kesan dari proses globalisasi (mungkin westernization) yang disalur dengan sistematis lagi halus...(30).

The people and the nation of Malaysia in particular are (in my opinion) facing a cultural dilemma. Forces from the outside and within are being felt as a result of

globalization (perhaps westernization) that is being disseminated in a systematic and covert manner...

Concern is voiced as to the impact of technology and the mass media on the nation's desire to bring about the creation of a 'Bangsa Malaysia'

(Malaysian race):

Dari semenjak merdeka (1957), usaha telah dibuat untuk mewujudkan satu bangsa Malaysia, melalui sistem pendidikan; satu bahasa (bahasa kebangsaan); satu budaya; memiliki lambang-lambang bersama dan nilai bersama...(30).

Ever since 1957 the people and the nation of Malaysia in particular are (in my opinion) facing a cultural dilemma. Forces from the outside and within are being felt as a result of globalization (perhaps westernization) that is being disseminated in a systematic and covert manner...

Since the nation achieved her independence in 1957, there have been efforts toward creating a Bangsa Malaysia. Bangsa Malaysia is an ideal race that is propagated via the education system and the sharing of one language (the national language), one culture, one semiotic system and an identical value system.

In this case study of Malaysia, a nation that is multiracial, multilingual and of diverse cultures there will always be the issue of identity to address. It is important to point out that conflict between the ethnic groups, particularly between Malays and Chinese, has played a large role in Malaysian history. The very fine balance and nuances of power and identity is implicated in the National Policy below:

Malaysia is culturally diversified and is a subscriber to the importance of cultural diversity. However, the ethnic Malay culture

remains pivotal and the National Cultural Policy formulated since 1971 is buttressed by this principle (Culture, Arts and Heritage 2005:9).

Hence while Malaysians celebrate unity in diversity and Malaysia is a melting pot of cultures—Malay, Chinese and Indian—this does not change the fact that the issue of identity still requires work. In other words, while a nation can be multilingual, to remain economically viable in a global world the question of ethnic identity is still one that is carefully and jealously guarded. This identity—which is made up of components like culture, religion and ethnicity—is complex and interwoven as strands that can withstand some strain but will break if stretched too far. The delicate tension is something that the government has to work hard to maintain.

The path ahead may be one of multiculturalism where there is equal-respect and recognition of contributions of all racial and ethnic groups. The focus is on the importance of maintaining unity in diversity. The following is a call for intimate ethnic relationships and the ideal of a Bangsa Malaysia or a Malaysian race that is united and at the same time retains their diverse culture and beliefs:

The interweaving cultural success of Malaysia is due in part to the country's constitutional bearing which recognizes multiculturalism and multi-religion while Islam remains as the official religion. Each community has the freedom to pursue its own cultural pursuits and has deep-rooted ties with the conglomerate Malaysian heritage. The Ministry of Culture, Arts and Heritage is the singular ministry entrusted with the responsibility...of safeguarding the idealism of the Malaysian nation (Culture, Arts and Heritage 2005:9).

6. Conclusion

Informatization may mean assimilation, or it may mean that multiculturalism can flourish. While sitting at home in front of a computer, it is possible to watch live broadcasts of breaking news around the world. This is best exemplified in the recent march of monks in Myanmar against the ruling military regime. While much was done by the ruling Junta to censor news about the protest, the opposing protestors managed to post news, pictures and video clips on the net. Likewise, in China where information is very much controlled by the ruling government, the rise of a new group of citizens known as 'citizen reporters' are ensuring that the days of information censorship is limited. Citizen reporters are the everyday man on the road who posts news that is considered 'sensitive' by the ruling party. This ensures not only the democracy of news reporting but there is also evidence that indicates that the emerging globalized information society, rather than weakening cultural and national identity actually strengthens traditional cultural forms. "By combating distrust and intolerance toward linguistic diversity, pluralists hope to create a climate of acceptance that will promote greater status equality between ethnolinguistic groups and therefore a higher level of national unity" (Schmidt 2000:62-63).

Although the web is in English, the rise of technology and the globalization of commerce allows for innovation and creativity in the enhancement of non-mainstream perspectives. This means that informatization need not necessarily lead to assimilation into English language and the Anglo culture. Rather informatization in the quest for globalization can lead to multiculturalism as in the case of Malaysia—a nation that is working towards unity in diversity. Informatization can lead to multiculturalism in that the world wide web need not be dominated by the English language and culture, but rather allows for innovative ways of presenting non-mainstream cultures and languages. Additionally, the

informed user of the internet can be knowledgeable about the multicultural-multilingual world because the internet allows for the showcasing of the many diverse languages and cultures of the world. These informed citizens, then, can contribute towards unity in diversity.

In this paper, showcasing Malaysia as a multilingual-multicultural nation, one finds that there are no simple answers or solutions in the language, culture and identity dilemma. Language and culture intertwine with sensitive issues of identity and rights. Just as language and culture are not isomorphic and stable but rather emergent, likewise one's identity and the nation's identity is evolving. Informatization may mean more information being available but this does not detract from the fact that ultimately the decision to assimilate or to strive for multiculturalism rests at a macro level with the nation and at the micro level with the individual. The decision to stay unified in their diversity and multiculturalism, or to push towards assimilation into a mainstream culture and an ethnically undifferentiated society lies with the individual and the nation. The crux of the matter lies in the truth that there must be mutual respect for all the cultures and languages of the world. In the global dealings one must preserve peace and minimize antagonism.

Thus, while informatization allows for assimilation into the lingua franca of English, at the same time it also allows for multiculturalism. Informatization allows the global population to learn about other cultures, religions, traditions, political and economic issues without having to do so via filtering mechanisms or censorship by parties with vested interest. It has to be reiterated that at the end of the day, the issue of assimilation or multiculturalism does not form the crux of the issue rather it is the need to harness the 'information' into building a global nation that finds unity in diversity.

The nurturing of arts and culture therefore, is pivotal to the concept of the 'towering Malaysian' envisioned by the Prime Minister, Datuk Seri Abdullah Ahmad Badawi. It is towards creating the embodiment of a towering Malaysian—one that is not only creative, energetic and strives for excellence but also a model of humanity, polite, courteous, trustworthy, diligent, caring and one that is comfortable with his identity... (Culture, Arts and Heritage 2005: 20).

The vision of Malaysia is one of a 'Towering Malaysian': that is, a Malaysian who is able to achieve excellence, a global player who maintains his language, culture and identity. More important is the fact that this Towering Malaysian is one who is 'comfortable with his identity.'

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EXISTE-T-IL UN PASSIF EN CRÉOLE RÉUNIONNAIS? DU PASSIF FRANÇAIS ET ANGLAIS AUX ÉNONCÉS ÉQUIVALENTS DU CRÉOLE RÉUNIONNAIS¹

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Résumé

L'objet de notre article est de vérifier l'éventuelle existence du passif en créole réunionnais, créole à base lexicale française. Cette structure étant une structure syntaxique plus courante à l'écrit. Elle permet d'occulter le sujet logique et de mettre en tête de phrase l'agent dans le but de le mettre en valeur, l'accentuer. Une autre structure généralement attribuée à l'oral a le même effet au plan syntaxique : la topicalisation ou mise en relief. L'oral affectionne la phrase active et recourt à diverses structures qui lui sont liées qui sont des équivalents du « on » français.

1. Introduction

Vu l'emploi très limité du passif en français ordinaire² (langue orale), nous avons voulu vérifier si des tours de valeur passive existent en créole réunionnais, langue néo-romane issue du français (voir *infra*). Aussi, la présente étude sera centrée sur la recherche de l'existence de l'expression du passif³ en créole réunionnais (désormais CR) à partir de définitions

¹Mes remerciements à Jean-Marie Pierrel, Professeur à Nancy 1, directeur de l'ATILF, Jean-Paul Chauveau, directeur de recherches au CNRS, directeur du FEW et Marcel Albinet, agrégé de grammaire pour leurs re-lectures d'une première version de mon article. Je tiens aussi à remercier Armin Schwegler professeur à l'université de Californie, pour sa re-lecture très attentive et ses remarques judicieuses qui ont fait évoluer mon article vers une vision plus éclairée des phénomènes d'oralité du créole réunionnais en mettant de côté toute approche « franco-centriste » de la question du passif dans cette langue créole.

²Dans le cadre de ce travail il ne sera pas possible de faire la revue de tous les travaux existants sur le passif en anglais et en français. Le but est de rappeler juste cette structure syntaxique dans ces deux langues européennes –l'anglais, langue germanique et le français, langue romane qui est aussi la langue-mère du créole réunionnais.

³Nous donnerons, lors de leur première apparition, une définition des concepts utilisés quand elle semblera nécessaire.

classiques sur le phénomène linguistique en anglais et en français standard.

Nous recenserons en les regroupant sous les étiquettes adéquates divers énoncés issus d'une collecte de données fondées sur des traductions :

- (i) soit manifestement influencés par le français (emprunts ou interférences)
- (ii) soit appartenant plus spécifiquement au créole réunionnais.

Nous nous demanderons dans quelle mesure ces énoncés pourront être considérés comme relevant de la syntaxe du passif.

2. Méthode d'enquête, informateurs

2.1. Méthode d'enquête

Pour établir un corpus,⁴ nous avons proposé une série d'énoncés passifs⁵ ou de valeurs passives en français à des élèves créolophones de première et de terminale du lycée polyvalent (classique et technique) Antoine Roussin de Saint-Louis.⁶ Ces différentes traductions ont été débattues avec des informateurs principaux après une demande de traduction auprès d'eux de ces énoncés.

2.2. Informateurs

2.2.1. Informateurs lycéens

Ce lycée regroupait au moment de l'enquête il y a une dizaine d'années des élèves venant de différents lieux de la région allant de Saint-Louis et de toutes les communes avoisinantes sur la côte jusque dans les hauteurs (Cilaos et toutes les communes autour de ce village des Hauts).

⁴ Voir Claude Hagège et France Le Cloarec : 1971.

⁵ L'enquête est reproduite de façon intégrale même si tous les énoncés n'ont pas été exploités dans le cadre de cet article.

⁶ Ces enquêtes ont été faites il y a une dizaine d'années. Leur antériorité n'est pas un élément négatif pour nos analyses, la syntaxe n'ayant pas évolué sur ce point selon nos constatations et d'après nos informateurs principaux.

L'intérêt du lieu (lycée de Saint-Louis) pour notre enquête, réside du fait que les familles sont créolophones et ne pratiquent généralement que le créole en famille contrairement à la région de Saint-Denis par exemple où la tendance est de parler français, langue de promotion sociale, tant dans sa variété régionale que nationale.

Ces élèves de lycée étaient âgés de 15 à 20 ans et pratiquaient le créole dans le milieu familial, un français régional ou le créole pour un grand nombre d'entre eux avec leurs amis et le français standard et/ou de niveau cultivé dans le cadre des cours de français entre autres, au lycée.

2.2.2. Informateurs principaux ou personnes -sources⁷ (adultes)

La sélection de nos personnes-sources a été motivée par leur aisance verbale et leur aptitude à pouvoir expliquer les structures avec un regard d'«enseignant» souhaitant faire passer des connaissances de leur langue maternelle, pour leur cas, à des personnes désireuses d'apprendre.

3. Langues des Réunionnais et situation sociolinguistique de La Réunion

3.1. Les langues de La Réunion : synopsis

A La Réunion, département français situé dans l'océan Indien coexistent le français standard, un français régional et un créole à base lexicale française, sujet de discussions sociolinguistiques quant à sa genèse commune avec les autres créoles français de l'océan Indien et relié, génétiquement parlant, aux français dialectaux du XVII^{ème} siècle, période de la colonisation de l'île.

3.2. Le français régional de La Réunion

Des locuteurs venus de France ont importé un parler teinté de

⁷ Merci à tous nos informateurs et personnes-sources de La Réunion et plus particulièrement à Adrienne Rivière-Damour pour son aide précieuse dans la vérification et validation des énoncés.

régionalismes qui reflètent la diversité de leurs régions d'origine. Ce français s'est enrichi du vocabulaire nécessaire à la désignation des *realia* locaux et a subi l'influence de l'environnement géographique et socio-historique. Il a donné naissance à un créole également nourri dans un premier temps d'autres apports linguistiques (malgache, swahili....) variant selon les époques. Les locuteurs de ce créole ont depuis une trentaine d'années -pour des raisons essentiellement sociales, effectué un retour vers la langue française, et tout naturellement vers le français régional, et plus particulièrement dans la région de Saint-Denis.

3.3. Le créole réunionnais : description sociolinguistique

A La Réunion, du fait du relief- montagnes, cirques- et, jusqu'à une époque récente, du faible développement des moyens de communication, des isolats se sont constitués entraînant une certaine variété linguistique dans la langue créole parlée par la majorité des habitants de l'île.

Cet état de faits se trouve confirmé dans des corpus oraux recueillis dans le but d'analyser le système verbal du créole réunionnais (cf. Leila Caid 2000, 2003, tome 2). Ces corpus constitués en prenant en compte une variété de critères sociologiques (âge, sexe, groupe socio -professionnel et surtout régions) indiquent l'emploi d'une variété acrolectale à mésolectale dans les Hauts de l'île et l'utilisation d'une variété acrolectale (Saint-Denis surtout) à basilectale dans les Bas.

4. Corpus

La diversité des lieux de résidence même sur un espace bien délimité - ainsi que des situations socio -professionnelles - des familles se reflète dans la diversité des équivalents proposés pour rendre un même énoncé du français standard. Leurs différentes productions pour chaque énoncé ont été regroupées à l'annexe de l'article.

Ces traductions proposées semblent être, en général, un reflet fidèle des divers moyens de rendre les énoncés passifs français en créole réunionnais, même s'il ne s'agit donc pas d'échanges naturels entre des interlocuteurs engagés dans une situation langagière. Nous n'avons pu disposer jusqu'à ce jour, ni du temps, ni des moyens matériels qui auraient permis cette approche, qui, toutefois ne semble pas la plus indiquée dans l'optique de l'analyse de structures propres à la langue écrite dans une langue orale. Ce procédé artificiel de collecte de données (traductions) est préféré aux enregistrements de discours libre. En effet, la possibilité de rencontrer des structures passives -s'il en existe de façon évidente- dans une conversation libre ou même semi-guidée peut être inefficace, les énoncés à valeur passive pouvant ne pas apparaître dans les corpus. D'autre part, une étude à partir de corpus oraux de discours libre ou semi-guidé ne nous permettrait pas ne serait-ce que de nous interroger sur son éventuelle existence.

Dans cette optique, une étude sur la fréquence des occurrences du passif dans des écrits littéraires en créole a été faite par P. Cellier (1985: 234) sur une oeuvre:

... quand on lit le roman de Daniel Honoré (1984) *Cemin Bracanon* (...) tout au long de ses 205 pages, on ne trouve pas de structures passives identifiables comme pour le français par un auxiliaire et une préposition passifs ni même quelque calque qui s'en rapprocherait comme parfois, nous le verrons, avec la préposition/èk/.

Il en conclut à sa non-existence en créole basilectal, variété utilisée dans cet ouvrage. Nous nous interrogerons sur son existence dans toutes les variétés de créole tout au long de cet article.

5. Définitions théoriques: voix, passif

L'étude du passif dans une langue orale, qui, de plus, est un créole

français, semble très intéressante dans la mesure où elle confirme la rareté de son emploi en français parlé. En effet, le passif est plus habituel et naturel dans les documents scientifiques et techniques, comme cela ressort de divers travaux sur la question (cf. Moignet 1975; Pinchon 1977; Gaatone 1998; Helland, 2002; Banks 1987, 1990, 1996b, 2001a, 2001c; CoVet 1985; Emout A, 1908; Haiman, 1976; Langacker & Munro, 1975; Letoublon & Maurel 1975). Il n'est pas une tournure très employée dans la langue orale quotidienne : "Dans les textes en langue de spécialité le passif a une fréquence beaucoup plus élevée que dans les textes en langue quotidienne ou littéraire" (cf. Weinrich, 1989: 100).

Cette forme est d'autant plus rare que le créole réunionnais, langue essentiellement orale, recourt généralement à d'autres procédés syntaxiques qui lui permettent de mettre au second plan ou d'occulter le sujet logique du procès lorsque le discours le nécessite.

Nous sommes ici au cœur même de la voix lorsqu'il s'agit de la langue française ou anglaise. Aussi nous définirons ce terme (voix) dans l'optique de décrire le phénomène linguistique qu'est le passif qui lui est lié pour décider de sa réalité linguistique en créole réunionnais.

5.1. La voix

C'est une catégorie grammaticale qui concerne l'orientation de la relation prédicative, c'est-à-dire la relation entre le sujet, le complément et le prédicat. On emploie aussi le terme « *diathèse* » pour désigner l'ensemble de ces orientations.

Rappelons que Confaif & Shanen (1987:172), distingue *voix* et *diathèse*:

Par voix on entend généralement une *variation du complexe verbal* (voix active, passive, pronominale) qui permet de présenter différemment le contenu d'un GV comprenant à

peu de choses près les mêmes unités lexicales,
mais avec des modifications syntaxiques qu'on
appelle souvent diathèses...

Nous utilisons donc le terme de *diathèse* comme il est présenté par le *Dictionnaire de linguistique* de Dubois J., Giacomo M., Guespin L., Marcellesi C., Marcellesi J-B, Mével J-P (1973) *i.e* comme synonyme de voix.

Pour Tesnière, le concept de *diathèse* est plus large. Il distingue six diathèses: active, passive, réfléchie, réciproque, causative et récessive.

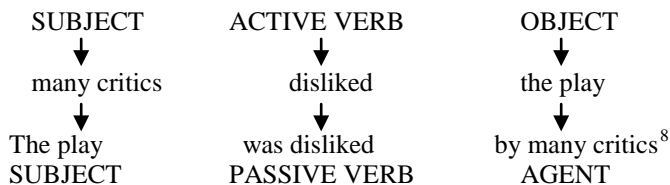
La distinction la plus courante qui est aussi celle qui nous intéresse est celle que l'on pose habituellement entre la voix active (P1) et la voix passive (P2):

1. P1 : Le chat mange la souris.
2. P2 : La souris est mangée par le chat.

5.2. Le passif

Dans la traduction des phrases passives du français standard en créole réunionnais, nous avons obtenu des énoncés qui semblent calqués sur la structure passive classique du français avec les mêmes changements qui s'opèrent entre l'actif et le passif tout comme en anglais (voir annexes).

Nous reproduisons donc le schéma clair et simple de G. Leech & J. Svartvik (1975) du passage de la phrase active à la phrase passive.



⁸ Subject : sujet ; active verb : verbe de la phrase active; object : objet ; passive verb : verbe de la phrase passive.

Many critics disliked the play. De nombreux critiques n'ont pas apprécié la pièce.
The play was disliked by many critics. La pièce n'a pas été appréciée par de nombreux critiques.

Pour transformer une phrase active simple en une phrase passive, on fait subir quelques modifications à la phrase active:

(i) Inversion du sujet logique et de l'objet.

(ii) Les marqueurs de temps et d'aspect restent inchangés dans le groupe auxiliaire.

Mais on y ajoute *Be* (anglais) conjugué + le marqueur du participe passé - *en* en anglais et - *é* en français.

Souvent l'agent n'est pas précisé. Car, en fait, lorsqu'un locuteur émet un énoncé passif, il manifeste l'intention de mettre en relief le second terme de la relation prédicative de la voix active :

"... la relation actif-passif n'est pas juste une mécanique de surface où le complément d'objet direct devient sujet et le sujet complément d'agent [...]. En effet, il s'agit de faire un choix fondamental: de qui ou de quoi veut-on parler?"⁹

La transformation passive conserve logiquement les relations de sélection de la phrase active:

3. My brother was reading the Times.
[+ humain]
(Mon frère lisait le journal *Times*)

Le verbe "*read*" exige un sujet humain. Sinon, il s'agirait d'un effet de métaphore. De même l'objet du verbe "*read*" doit désigner un texte (trait sémantique spécifique).

Ces relations de sélection sont des relations logico sémantiques. Elles subsistent dans la phrase passive correspondante qui, tout en n'étant pas "*quasi-synonyme*" de la phrase active vu le choix opéré par le locuteur dans la promotion du deuxième actant de la relation prédicative, conserve les mêmes relations logico sémantiques entre les différents éléments de l'énoncé.

⁹ cf J. Bouscaren in *Linguistique anglaise. Initiation à une grammaire de l'énonciation* Ophrys 1991

Cette analyse succincte de la notion passive démontre qu'il n'est pas possible de la considérer seulement sur un plan syntaxique. Une analyse sémantique ainsi que la prise en compte de toute la situation d'énonciation est indispensable pour éclairer cette notion.

Existe-t-il des énoncés passifs en créole réunionnais tels que nous l'avons décrits *supra* pour le français et l'anglais? Quels sont les procédés spontanément émis qui permettent d'occulter le sujet logique dans cette langue? Une première approche peut voir en certains d'entre eux des "équivalents" du "on" français.

6. Le passif en créole réunionnais: les énoncés calqués

6.1. Existe-t-il une diathèse passive en créole réunionnais?

Le passif français ou anglais avec inversion du sujet logique et de l'objet ainsi que l'addition de l'auxiliaire *être* ou *be* + participe passé dans le groupe auxiliaire peut se retrouver dans la langue des locuteurs qui ont accepté de subir nos tests de traduction lors de notre collecte de corpus, d'autres traductions n'ayant rien à voir avec le passif sont aussi à chaque fois proposées.

Commençons par examiner l'éventuelle existence du passif simple en créole réunionnais.

6.2. Le passif simple existe-t-il en créole réunionnais?

Nous relevons dans notre corpus un certain nombre d'emplois du passif:

Soit l'énoncé 1 du corpus:¹⁰

- 4.- On a trouvé une clé :
- A key has been found
- (= une clé a été trouvée)

¹⁰ Nous ne donnerons pas systématiquement la numérotation du corpus en annexe. Les énoncés seront numérotés dans l'ordre de leur traitement dans l'article.

(b) *ê kle lete truve*

Glose : Un clé-[marqueur d'accompli –la-amalgamé au participe passé-ete-] a été-trouvé

(c) *ê kle la ete truve*

Glose : Un clé-[marqueur d'accompli]la-[participe passé +être] a été-trouvé

Traduction : Une clé a été trouvée.

(b) et (c) sont en fait deux énoncés similaires. Ce sont deux variantes libres. Comme en anglais ou en français, en créole réunionnais, les marqueurs aspectuo-temporels de la phrase active (P1) sont inchangés dans la phrase passive (P2) :

P1 : *bâna la truv ê kle*

Glose : [Pronom nominalisée 3pl.] bande-là-[marqueur d'accompli]la-trouve-un clé.

Traduction : Ils ont/On a trouvé une clé.

> P2 = *ê kle la ete(lete) truve*

Glose : Un clé-[marqueur d'accompli]la-[participe passé +être] été-trouvé

Traduction : Une clé a été trouvée.

Nous remarquons l'addition des marqueurs du passif dans P2 :

(i) l'auxiliaire : *ete*

(ii) la forme longue du verbe (*truve*)

Le procès décrit dans cet énoncé est dépouillé de l'un de ses actants : le sujet logique. C'est généralement dans ce genre d'énoncés à un seul actant que se font les calques au français.¹¹ C'est un passif simple selon la terminologie de Weinrich. Dans un "*passif élargi*" apparaîtrait le deuxième actant.

Pour ce même énoncé, deux autres traductions sont proposées:

d : *bânla la truv é klé*

Glose : [Pronom nominalisée 3pl.] bande-là-[marqueur

¹¹ Voir un autre exemple en annexes = énoncés 2 FS a. b. g. h. que nous étudions infra p. 10-12

d'accompli]la-trouve- un clé
Traduction : Ils ont/On a trouvé une clé.

e : *nana é clé kə la ete truve*
[Présentatif : il y a] nana -un clé-[marqueur d'accompli]-
[pronom relatif]que-la-été-trouvé
Traduction : Il y a une clé qui a été trouvée.

Nous pouvons judicieusement soutenir que les phrases passives produites sont dues à l'influence des énoncés du français pour certains interviewés. D'autres ont confirmé par leurs productions langagières naturelles qu'une seule forme existait. Aussi, une distinction de diathèse passive ou active est nulle et non avenue pour la langue créole réunionnaise tout simplement parce qu'il n'y a pas de diathèse dans le composant syntaxique de cette langue.

Cet état de faits se trouve confirmé dans d'autres exemples de transposition de l'énoncé français en créole:

5. La souris est mangée par le chat.
lə ša la máz la suri
Glose: Le chat-[marqueur d'accompli]la-mange-la souris.

6. La maison a été peinte par Jean.
žá la pən la mezô
Glose: Jean-[marqueur d'accompli]la-pén -la maison.

Finalement nos discussions avec nos informateurs principaux qui ne se laissent pas influencer par la langue française mais qui nous donnent de façon spontanée dans une production naturelle les informations à transmettre à un interlocuteur supposé dans le contexte nous permettent de ne pas retenir des « interlectalismes » comme étant des énoncés appartenant au créole acrolectal.

Ainsi pour l'énoncé suivant :

7. Ma voiture était en train d'être réparée.

De façon naturelle, cet énoncé sera rendu ainsi en créole réunionnais:

7a. *Mwé la depoz mô loto pu repara*

Glose: Pronom1sg moi- la [marqueur d'accompli]-dépose – mon [possessif]-l'auto-[expression du but] pour réparer

Ou encore pour l'énoncé

8. Il n'aime pas être regardé.

On aura:

8a. *li em pa dămun i rəgard ali*

Glose : il [pronom 3sg sujet]-aime –nég -le monde- i [marqueur d'actualisation de procès]-regarde- lui [pronom 3sg COD]

La forme impersonnelle: /dămun/ (« le monde », en français régional)

correspond au pronom indéfini « on » en français standard.

Nous noterons que l'énoncé est moins courant et moins spontané que son équivalent employant « on » en français :

8b. Il n'aime pas qu'on le regarde.

/ dămun/ (=quelqu'un, en français standard) sera aussi employé dans l'énoncé suivant :

9. On a volé ma voiture.

9a. *dămun la vol mô loto*

Glose : Le monde-la [marqueur d'accompli]-vole –mon [possessif]-l'auto

Et, de façon pragmatique avec une redondance sémique, cet autre énoncé est parfaitement courant et naturel:

9b. *voler la vol mô loto.*

Glose : Un/Les voleurs(s)- [marqueur d'accompli]-voler –mon [possessif]-l'auto.

Traduction : On a volé ma voiture.

Après cet exposé et ces analyses, nous concluons à l'inexistence de diathèse quelle qu'elle soit dans une langue qui recourt à la simplicité de

l'expression syntaxique cependant combinée à une grande expressivité manifestée par l'intonation lorsque le contexte énonciatif le requiert.

Notons à cet égard que Ginette Ramassamy (1985:274) fait remarquer à juste titre qu'il n'y a pas de diathèse passive ni même active en créole réunionnais. Ses recherches portent sur un corpus d'unilingues créolophones.

Nous en déduisons autrement à la lumière de ce qui a été dit précédemment, qu' il s'agirait d'un passif exceptionnel calqué sur le modèle réversible du français standard, parfois utilisé dans un interlecte « brassant » français et créole:

10. *in boug lé édé par in ot boug la*

Glose : Un bougre-[marqueur d'accompli à partir de l'auxiliaire être]-lé-[aider+ participe passé] édé - par un autre bougre-[déictique] la.

Traduction littérale: Quelqu'un/ Un bougre est aidé par un autre bougre.¹²

Après investigation auprès de nos informateurs principaux il nous est possible d'affirmer que même dans le créole acrolectal l'omission de l'agent avec l'expression d'un commentaire aspectuel (aspect progressif) ne commande pas une structure passive.

6.3. Le "passif progressif" = un cas de passif simple: du français au créole réunionnais

Soit l'énoncé 2 du corpus :

11: *Ma voiture est en train d'être réparée*

11a : *mô loto le âtrê det arâze repare*

Glose: Mon -l'auto- [marqueur d'accompli -la-amalgamé au participe passé du verbe être-ete] lete-en train-[préposition-de-amalgamé à l'auxiliaire être à la forme infinitive-et] det-[arranger+ participe passé] arrangé.

11b: *mô loto le âtrê dâ repare*

¹² cf. Cellier *op. cit.*

Glose: Mon -l'auto- [marqueur d'accompli -la-amalgamé au participe passé du verbe être-ete] lete-en train-[préposition]de-réparer.

11c:* *mô loto (i) le âtrê dâ repare*

Glose: Mon -l'auto- [marqueur d'actualisation de procès] i – [marqueur d'accompli formé sur l'auxiliaire être] -le--en train-[préposition]de-réparer.

11d: *mô loto le âtrên repare*

Glose: Mon -l'auto- [marqueur d'accompli -la-amalgamé au participe passé du verbe être-ete] lete-en train-[assimilation de la consonne finale de « en train » devenu sonore et de la préposition « de »] n-réparer.

(a) est l'énoncé qui se rapproche le plus au point de vue syntaxique de l'expression du passif dans une nominalisation infinitive en français ou en anglais.

Ainsi dans l'énoncé (a), après l'unité lexicale liée exprimant l'aspect progressif /*âtrên*/, nous avons la préposition "*de*", l'auxiliaire "*être*" dans sa forme courte en créole réunionnais, /*et*/ et le verbe "réparer" dans sa forme longue /*repare*/:

âtrên + d + et + repare

prog + prép + *et* court + V long

(Il y a élision du /*e*/ de la préposition /*de*/ au contact d'une voyelle /*et*/)

L'énoncé "*d*" est une variante de l'énoncé "*a*" avec l'effacement en surface de la préposition /*de*/ et de la forme courte de l'auxiliaire *être*.

La répétition de l'auxiliaire "*être*" comme marqueur du passif peut apparaître dans les deux énoncés comme une redondance après l'expression de l'aspect imperfectif par /*le*/, allomorphe de /*et*/, /*ete*/.

L'énonciateur de (a) ou de (d) exprime donc de la même façon qu'un actant X (inconnu) accomplit Y mis en relief par sa position en tête de la phrase.

De même, comme dans l'énoncé [*ê kle lete truve*] mentionné plus haut, l'expression d'un agent explicite semble naturelle ou apparaîtrait comme un emprunt néologique du français (*cf.* Cellier: 236-237).

Après avoir enquêté sur ces énoncés auprès de personnes-sources ayant le verbe spontané et distinguant clairement français et créole, nous pouvons confirmer-ce qui a été tout de suite notre sentiment linguistique-l'existence d'un aspect pragmatique dans la description du fait relaté qui permet naturellement de visualiser l'événement commenté. Aussi l'énoncé naturel et spontané en créole réunionnais serait ici:

11e. *Mwé la depoz mô loto pu repara*

Glose: (Pronom1sg-la [marqueur d'aspect accompli]-mon
l'auto -pour -réparer)

Le sujet logique de « réparer » n'est pas mentionné ici et comme dans l'énoncé passif français, il est implicite : il s'agit du garagiste. Aussi, l'ellipse du sujet de « réparer » est naturellement décidée comme en français vu son aspect secondaire.

Il existe un cas où le sujet logique est souvent mentionné : les énoncés passifs au parfait avec des relations de sélection particulières des actants. Comment sont-ils rendus en créole réunionnais? Va-t-on retrouver cette structure passive sous une forme quelconque?

7. Les énoncés plus spécifiques

7.1. Le passif parfait en français (un cas de passif -élargi) et son équivalent en créole réunionnais

Soient les énoncés suivants :

12. Ce pot a été cassé par l'enfant.

lə po la bez ater aköz marmajla.

Glose : le pot-[marqueur d'accompli] la -baise à terre- à cause
- marmaille-là.

13. L'eau a été répandue par moi.

lo la vers ater aköz də mwé

Glose : L'eau-[marqueur d'accompli] la -verse à terre- à cause

de moi.

14. La corde a été défaire par le garçon.

la kord la demare akoz la garsô

Glose : La corde-[marqueur d'accompli] la- démarré - à cause-
le garçon.

Dans toutes ces phrases passives élargies avec le sujet grammatical ayant le trait générique [-animé], le sujet logique mentionné a le trait sémantique spécifique ["agent destructeur"] dans les phrases françaises. En créole réunionnais, l'énoncé équivalent apparaît avec le verbe au parfait : l'énonciateur exprime le résultat présent d'un procès passé. L'accent est mis sur le processus lui-même. La "cause" du processus est exprimée explicitement par la préposition /*akoz*/ suivi d'un objet qui est une circonstancielle de cause. Mais pouvons-nous réellement parler de passif ici pour le créole réunionnais? En effet, les marqueurs du passif en créole réunionnais (/ete/+ la forme longue du verbe) n'apparaissent pas dans ces énoncés. Nous avons tout simplement l'expression du parfait, du constat présent d'un événement passé, procès pouvant être complété par l'expression de la cause de cet événement passé influant sur le moment présent.

Une autre préposition /*ek*/¹³ (=avec) permet de préciser le « donneur » dans une structure attributive qui peut faire penser à une structure passive à l'apparence : la structure en /*gêj*/ (=gagner) suivi d'un « don » à valeur négative.

7.2. La structure en /*gêj*/ (=gagner)¹⁴

Soient les exemples suivants (employant la structure en /*gêj*/):

¹³ / *li la gêj ê bezmâ ek sô papa*/.

¹⁴ Notons que le verbe « gagner » dans ses différents emplois grammaticalisés en créole réunionnais trouvent leur origine dans des emplois ayant existé dans des régionalismes à diverses périodes dans l'Hexagone comme il ressort de leur histoire dans notre dictionnaire étymologique et culturel du français régional, variété de langue qui emploie un certain nombre de tours périphrastiques du créole réunionnais. Nous joignons en annexe l'article de notre dictionnaire en fin de rédaction.

15. *li la gêj ê pikir d'gêp*

Traduction: Il s'est fait piquer par une guêpe.

Glose: Il-[marqueur discontinu de l'accompli]la-gagné –une piqûre de guêpe.

16. *li la gêj ê bêzmâ ek sô papa.*

Traduction: Il a reçu une raclée de son père.

Glose: Il-[marqueur discontinu de l'accompli]la-gagner -un baisement avec son papa

Cette structure verbale /gêj + objet à valeur négative/ le plus souvent liée à l'expression du parfait comporte toujours dans le groupe auxiliaire un commentaire -aspectuel ou modal.

Elle peut être combinée à l'aspect progressif :

17. *li le âtrên gêj ê bezmâ ek sô papa.*

Traduction: Il est en train de recevoir une raclée de son père.

Glose: Il [marqueur discontinu de l'inaccompli-être] le-en train de[marqueur discontinu de l'inaccompli] –gagner un baisement avec son papa.

Pour mieux comprendre le fonctionnement syntaxique et la valeur sémantique de ce type d'énoncé, étudions-en les détails de la structure.

Elle est formée à partir de: *gêj + un objet ayant le trait spécifique (+ agression).*

Nous remarquons que l'objet est en fait le résultat de la nominalisation d'un syntagme verbal : baisement > baiser.

Soit:

15. *li la gêj ê pikir d'gêp*

Glose: Il-[marqueur discontinu de l'accompli]la-gagné –une piqûre de guêpe.

Traduction: Il s'est fait piquer par une guêpe.

Nous avons la nominalisation d'un procès passé: (passé - *pikê par ê gêp*).

L'expression de l'accompli dans /la gêj/ combinée à la forme nominalisée de

/pike/ traduit un aspect résultatif inhérent à la structure ; /ê pikir d'gɛp/ étant par sa forme nominale l'expression du résultat d'un procès.

Aussi cette valeur rend-elle très improbable la présence dans le même énoncé d'une forme progressive :

18. ?? li le â trêñ gɛj ê pikir d'gɛp.

Glose : Il-[marqueur discontinu de l'inaccompli formé sur l'auxiliaire « être »] le- en train [2° segment du marqueur d'inaccompli] gagné -une piqûre de guêpe.

Traduction en français régional de La Réunion¹⁵ : ?? Il est en train de gagner une piqûre de guêpe.

Traduction en français standard : Il est en train de se faire piquer par une guêpe.

C'est l'emploi de /gɛj/ - un objet (+ agression) qui pourrait faire déduire qu'il s'agit d'une valeur passive qui est inhérente à la locution verbale. Car, le sujet est aussi la cible et subit une "agression" (/ê pikir d'gɛp/).

Nous ne pouvons donc pas parler de valeur passive pour ce verbe très polysémique en créole réunionnais et qui se retrouve en français régional, verbe qui peut être aussi suivi d'un objet n'ayant pas ce trait sémantique inhérent (+ agression) :

19. li la gɛj é kado

Glose: (il-[marqueur discontinu de l'accompli])la-gagner-un cadeau)

Traduction: Il a eu un cadeau.

20. li la gɛj é zâfâ

Glose: (il-[marqueur discontinu de l'accompli])la-gagner-un enfant)

Traduction: Il a eu un enfant.

Le verbe « gagner » en créole réunionnais et en français régional de La Réunion a juste conservé des emplois liés à des objets très divers:

Il peut être suivi d'un objet signifiant un « don » autant qu'une « agression »

¹⁵ La traduction en français régional est donnée ici dans la mesure où elle est différente du français standard et éclaire l'énoncé créole qui en est proche.

(voir ce verbe en annexe).

La langue créole préfère l'expression directe des énoncés sans complication dirons-nous ; aussi, le deuxième énoncé employant un verbe est généralement préféré aux phrases employant des noms déverbaux dans la liste d'exemples couplés :

-15. passif : *li la gēj é pikir d'gɛp*

-15 b. actif : *é gɛp la pik ali.*

Glose : Un guêpe-[marqueur d'accompli]-la-pique-[pronom 3sg COD]-à lui.

Traduction : Une guêpe l'a piqué.

-22a. passif : *li la gēj é bezmê*

Glose: Pronom 3sg-[marqueur d'accompli]la-gagne-un baisement.

Traduction en français régional : Il a gagné un baisement.

Traduction en français standard : Il a reçu une raclée.

-22b.actif : *é mun la bez ali*

Glose : Un monde-[marqueur d'accompli]la-baise-[pronom 3sg] a lui.

Traduction littérale en français standard : Quelqu'un lui a donné une raclée.

-23a. passif : *li la gēj ê bezmâ ek sô papa*

Glose : Pronom 3sg-[marqueur d'accompli]la-gagne-un baisement- avec- son papa.

Traduction en français : Il a reçu une raclée avec son père.

-23b. actif : *sô papa la bez ali.*

Glose: Son papa--[marqueur d'accompli]la baise-[pronom 3sg] a lui.

Traduction en français: Il a reçu une raclée avec son père.

D'autre part, le sujet grammatical de la structure verbale employant /gêj/ a forcément le trait [+ animé]. Il est donc impossible de l'employer dans un énoncé employant un sujet grammatical [-animé] du type:

24. Elle (la viande) a été mangée par le chien.

24a. *lə šjé la mâž ali.*

Glose : Le chien-[marqueur d'accompli]la-mange -[pronom

3sg] a lui.

Inversement, avec le même sujet logique et un sujet grammatical [+ humain], nous constatons qu'il est possible d'employer /g'éj/.

26. Elle (une fille) a été mordue par le chien.

26a. *li la g'éj é kud' dâ ek lə šjé*

Glose : Il [Pronom 3sg]-la [marqueur discontinu de l'accompli]-gagner- un coup de dent-avec-le chien.

Les conditions sémantiques de l'emploi de la structure en /g'éj/ seraient donc :

S [+ animé] AUX g'éj - objet [+ agression]

Le sens d'"*agression*" inhérent à l'objet est pour une grande part à l'origine de la transmission de l'état de victime du sujet grammatical qui a le trait humain. Aussi, cette structure ne peut être employée lorsque le locuteur désire seulement mettre en relief l'emploi d'un instrument. Le créole réunionnais a donc recours à une autre forme.

8. Topicalisation de l'instrument

Soient les énoncés suivants :

28. *set avək kuto (mɛm) kə bân bugla i bataj*

Glose: C'est-avec-couteau-que-bande-bougre-là[GN : bande-là[déterminant discontinu]-[nom : bougre]-i[marqueur d'actualisation de procès]-bataille.

Traduction: C'est avec un couteau que ces bougres-là se sont battus.

29. *avək kuto (mɛm) kə bân bugla i bataj*

Glose: avec-couteau-que-bande-bougre-là[GN : bande-là[déterminant discontinu]][nom : bougre]-i[marqueur d'actualisation de procès]-bataille.

Traduction: C'est avec un couteau même que ces bougres-là se sont battus.

30. *ek¹⁶ kuto (mɛm) kə bân bugla i bataj*

Glose: avec-couteau-que-bande-bougre-là[GN : bande-là [déterminant discontinu]][nom : bougre]-i[marqueur

¹⁶ /ek/ est une variante à caractère diminutif de la préposition /av ek/

d'actualisation de procès]-bataille.

Traduction: C'est avec un couteau même que ces bougres-là se sont battus.

Ce sont des variantes libres, reflets de différences sociales et/ou régionales des locuteurs.

Dans le premier énoncé, la topicalisation de l'objet prend la forme:

setavək + N [instrument] + sujet... (Voir annexe, exemples 17-18)

Dans cette structure, nous avons un présentatif (*c'est*) suivi d'une préposition (*avec*) qui exprime en français standard l'accompagnement, ici, le moyen.

Aussi, son régime, suivi du sujet et du procès - désigne-t-il un instrument.

Aucun élément syntaxique ne justifierait l'étiquette de "*passif*" ici.

Nous avons une topicalisation de l'instrument par laquelle l'énonciateur choisit de mettre l'objet en valeur.

La promotion du second actant ne semble possible qu'avec des noms ayant le trait général [-animé] et le trait spécifique ["instrument"].

Dans cette structure, il s'agit d'une mise en relief de l'objet possible d'un énoncé passif français et du même coup du procès. Par conséquent, le sujet logique est mis au second plan comme dans une structure passive.

Encore une fois, la langue créole préfère les structures directes. Aussi, trouvons-nous différentes constructions syntaxiques parfois concurrentes du passif en français qui permettent au locuteur d'occulter ou de ne pas exprimer explicitement l'agent. Il s'agit des équivalents du "*on*" français en créole réunionnais.

9. Les équivalents de "*on*" en créole réunionnais

Le créole réunionnais n'a pas de pronom (ou pro-GN) qui corresponde exactement au français "*on*" pour rendre l'indéfinitude du sujet, l'aspect impersonnel de la phrase. Il supplée à ce manque de plusieurs façons:

- (i) Emploi de la première personne du pluriel
(*on = nous = /nu/* en CR)

- (ii) Emploi de la 3ème personne du pluriel
(/bân/ /zot/)
- (iii) Emploi de "pronoms" indéfinis lexicalisés :
 - a. /na / : il y a.
 - b. /en dâmun / : quelqu'un [français régional de La Réunion: un monde]
 - c. /en afêr/ : quelque chose [français régional de La Réunion: un affaire]
- (iv) Emploi du morphème verbal /i/
- (v) Emploi d'une complétive sans sujet. Autrement dit il s'agit d'un sujet zéro signifiant l'indéfinitude.

10. Conclusion

Après avoir retenu une définition de la notion passive à partir de l'anglais et du français, nous avons repéré toutes les formes du créole réunionnais qui y correspondent, qui s'en rapprochent ou qui y suppléent:

- (i) le lexique « supplée » à la non-existence du passif par la transmission de valeurs négatives en insistant sur l'état de victime de l'agent (/gêj/).
- (ii) l'emploi de différents pronoms personnels ou indéfinis (/nu/, pronom 1pl ; /i/ à valeur pronominale indéfinie ; /bânlâ/, pronom, 3pl).
- (iii) la topicalisation de l'objet accentué par sa promotion en tête de phrase grâce à son introduction par /setavek/.

Il nous semble pouvoir affirmer que dans cette langue orale il n'existe pas de forme passive. Dans les cas où le passif apparaît dans notre enquête fondée sur des traductions¹⁷ il s'agit d' « interlectalismes » favorisés par l'expression de la phrase passive française.

¹⁷ Ce choix de modalité d'enquête était tout de même nécessaire dans le cas de la vérification de l'existence d'une structure passive qui dès l'abord paraissait inexistante. La confrontation entre les deux langues par le biais de traductions nous apportait alors les différents comportements syntaxiques offerts dans les mêmes situations langagières même si par ailleurs nous avons eu des interlectalismes, phénomènes linguistiques attendus dans une situation de contact de langue et de diglossie.

Annexes

CORPUS BASÉS SUR DES TRADUCTIONS

1. On a trouvé une clé.

Une clé a été trouvée

- a - nu la trov ê* kle
- b - ê* kle lete truve
- c - ê* kle la ete truve
- d - bâna la trov ê kle
- e - nana ê kle k' la ete truve

2. Ma voiture est en train d'être réparée

- a - mô* loto le âtrê det arâže repare
- b - mô* loto le âtrên ete repare
- c - mô loto lapo ete arâže
- d - bâna lapo arâž mô loto
- e - mô loto la pu arâže
- f - bâna le âtrên d' repare mô* vwatyr
- g - mô* loto le âtrê d' repare
- h - mô loto le âtrên repare
- i - mô loto lete âtrên repare
- j - bâna le âtrên aranz mô loto repar
- k - mô* loto lapo repare
- l - bâna le âtrên d' râž mô loto

3. On était en train de repeindre la pièce

La pièce était en train d'être repeinte

- a - nu le âtrên pen læ myr
- b - nu te âtrên pên la pjës
- c - nu te âtrên pên la pjës
- d - nu te pu pên la pjës
- e - la pjës te âtrên ropén
- e' - la pjës te po ropén
- f - lo myr le âtrên dâ pên
- g - la pjës lete âtrên dâ pêd
- h - nu le pu repêd la pjës.
- i - nu le po repêd la pjës
- j - zot lete âtrên ropén la pjës
- k - læ kwé d'la kaz la pwé arprâd
- l - bânla po arpén lo sâb
- m - la sal la po ete ropén
- n - bânna le âtrên pên myrla
- o - dâ mun le âtrên pên la pjés

4. Il n'aime pas être regardé

Il n'aime pas qu'on le regarde

- a - li ém pa nu røgard ali
- b - li jém pa kât i gard ali
- c - li ém pa nu gard ali
- d - li jém pa i gard ali ém
- e - li mé pa ki røgard ali ly
- f - li em pa kə u gard ali
- g - li em pa kə nu gard ali røgard
- h - li jém pa kâ i røgard ali røgard
- i - lu ém pa kâ i agard aly agard ali
- j - li ém pa kə i gard ali
- k - ly jém pa te i røgarde ly ém pa te i røgarde

- l - li ém pa i røgard ali
- m - ly ém pa kə læ môd i røgard ali
- n - li ém pa dômôd i gard ali
- o - li ém pa kâ na é mun i argard ali
- p - ly ém pa kə nu røgard aly

5. Il voulait qu'on le laisse seul = être laissé seul

- a - li te vØ lés li tu sØl
- b - li te vØ rést tu sØl
- c - li te vØ kə nu lés ali tu sel
- d - li ve rést tu sØl
- e - li te ve te les ali tu sel vØ
- f - li vule rəs tu sØl
- g - ly vule kə nu les alu sØl/tu sØl
- h - li te voekə nu te les ali râtту sØl
- i - li te voek' te les ali sØl
- j - ly vule kə i les aly tu sØl
- k - li te i voe te les ali tu sØl
- l - li te i voe i les a li sØl
- m - li te i ve nu les a li sel

6. On peut le faire facilement = cela peut être fait facilement

- a - i pØ fər vitmâ
- b - nu gaŋ fe sa vit nu gēŋ (fer) sa vitmâ
- c - nu pe fe sa vitmâ
- d - i gēŋ fe sa vitmâ
- e - sa i fe vit
- f - nu pØ fe sa vitmâ
- g - sa i pØ fe vitmâ
- h - ni pØ fe sa vitmâ
- i - sa i pØ et fe fasilmâ
- j - le fasil fe sa
- k - fasil fe sa
- l - sa le fasil fər
- m - sa i gēj fər sa fasilmâ gaŋ
- n - nu pØ fər sa alez
- o - sa zafer la i gēŋ fe fasilmâ
- p - i poe fe fasilmâ
- q - zaferla i gēŋ fər fasilmâ

7. Le poste de télévision a été réparé

- a - nu la repar la tele/not tele
- b - arâž arâž repar læ post tele
- c - la tele la fin repare
- d - la tele la ete repare te arâže
- e - la tele le arâže
- f - tele le repare
- g - bânna la repar la tele

8. On a volé ma voiture = ma voiture a été volée

- a - bânna la trap/vol/fiaŋ/ bez/ totoš mô loto
- b - dâ mun la vol mô loto
- c - na én la vol/ lev mô loto
- d - mô loto lete vole
- e - mô loto la ete/te vole
- f - zot la vole la vwatyr

9. Ne vous inquiétez pas, on va nourrir le chien lorsque vous ne serez pas là.

- a - ékjet pa u, nu va don mâze ut šjé
- b - ékjet pi na don lə šjé mâze kâ u sra pa la
- c - ékjet pa zot, nu va don mâze lə šjé kâ uzot sra pa la
- d - kas pa la tet, nu va don mâze ut šjé kâ u sra py la
- e - pa bəzwé zot ékjet azot na nuri zot šjé kâ zot sra pa la
- f - ékjet py, nu sa don mâze lə zot šjé kâ zot sra pa la
- g - ékjet py, nu va nurir ut šjé kâ vi sra pa la
- h - ékjet pa zot nu va don dine a zot šjé kâ zot sra pa la
- i - ékjet pa zot lə šjé va géj mâze kâ zot sra pa la

10. On a dit que vous n'aimez pas ma façon de diriger.

- a - bânna la di ku jem pa mô manjar diriže
- a' - bânna la di kə vi em pa mô fasô diriže
- b - bânna la di amwé zot i em pa mô manjer diriže də fər
- c - bânna la di amwé u jem pa la fasô mi dirizə lo zafer le pa kôtâ manjer mi komâd
- d - də mun la di a mwé kə vi em pa mô manier də komâde
- e - də mun la di a mwé kə vi jem pa mô fasô komâde zot te pa dakor avek mô fasô komâde də diriže
- f - zot la di amwé komsa zot jem pa mô manjer diriže
- g - na kelké la di a mwé mwé la âtâdy dir kə vi zot jem pa mô fasô diriže
- h - bânna i di kə u jem pa mô fasô diriže
- i - ma âtâdy dir kə fasô diriže zot jem pa mô manjer diriže
- j - mwé la kony zot i jem pa mô fasô diriže
- k - zot la di kə zot i jem pa mô fasô diriže
- l - lə mun la di kə zot i apruv pa mô fasô diriže
- m - i pare kə zot le pa dakor avek not fasô diriže

11. Pourquoi l'enfant crie-t-il ? Parce qu'on le bat

Par qui est-il battu ? Il est battu par son père

purkwe zâfâ la i kri/akoz i bez ali/ki i bez ali/li la géj é bezmâ ek sô papa

12. Pourquoi pleures-tu ? Je pleure parce que mon frère a été piqué par une abeille.

purkwe u ploer ?/mi ploer pars kə mô frer la géj é pikyr də gep

13a. Où est la viande ? Elle a été mangée

13b. Par qui a-t-elle été mangée ? Elle a été mangée par le chien

usa la viad la pase ?/na én na mâz ali/kisa la mâz a li/lə šjé la mâz a li (pas de possibilité de passiver)/li la géj é ku dā dā ek lə šjé (un enfant)

14a. Le veau est né

15a. é n afer la kas lə po lə po la kase

14b. L'enfant est né

15b. lo la verse

14c. Je suis né, il y a longtemps

c - la kord la demare

14d. Ma femme a accouché de jumeaux

d - lə po la bez ater akoz lə marmaj la/ par

14e. Ses jumeaux sont nés hier

lə marmaj

14a. é ti bŃf le ne

e - lo la vers ater akoz də mwé

14b. lə ti marmaj le ne

f - la kord la demare akoz lə garsô

14c. na lôtâ mw é le ne

16. Les couteaux sont employés par les voyous pour se battre.

14d. mô fâm la géj də žymo

Les voyous se battent avec des couteaux.

14e. sô də žymo le ne jer

- setavek kuto kə båd bugla i bataj

15a. Le pot s'est cassé

- båd bug la i bataj avek kuto

15b. L'eau s'est répandue

- ek kuto mem båd bugla i bataj

15c. La corde s'est défaite

- avek kuto båd bugla i bataj

15d. Le pot a été cassé par l'enfant

15e. L'eau a été répandue par moi

15f. La corde a été défaite par un garçon

17. Les pierres sont utilisées par les femmes de votre village pour moudre le grain.

setavek gale kə fâm də zot kartje i kraz lə gré

ek gale mem kə fâm də zot kartje i kraz lə gré

18. Quand on est riche, il faut l'être discrètement.

kâ u le riš/ler é mun le riš /

la pa bəzwé môtre/i fo pa li môtre/pa bəzwé fe dâtel

19. Prends un verre, on n'est pas très riche (s) mais ce n'est pas le vin qui manque

trap é ver, nu pa tro riš me də vé i māk pa

GAGNER, verbe.

I.- verbe transitif

A.- [L'objet spécifique est un présent, un don ou a, de façon générale, une connotation positive pour le sujet.]

1. Gagner quelque chose, locution verbale.

[L'objet a la valeur [+ concret]] : avoir, obtenir, recevoir. « *J'ai gagné plein de parfums et de bijoux pour mon anniversaire.* » (Daisy)

2. Gagner « quelqu'un », locution verbale.

[L'objet a la valeur [+humain]] mettre au monde (un enfant) épouser (un homme, une femme) « *Myrose a accouché, hier ; elle a gagné un petit garçon.* » (Daisy) « *Depuis qu'elle a gagné un mari docteur, elle est fière.* » (Sabrina) « *-Tonton ! Matante Elise a gagné un bébé : une petite fille qui s'appelle Marie.* » (Henri-Paul Hoarau, 2006 : 19)

B.- [L'objet spécifique est une maladie, une agression. Il a, de façon générale, une connotation négative pour le sujet.]

1. Gagner des crises, locution verbale.

Être épileptique. « *Elle ne peut pas travailler parce qu'elle gagne des crises souvent, en plus sa tête n'est pas trop bon.* » (Daisy)

2. Gagner une crise de fièvre, locution verbale.

Faire beaucoup de température.

« *Le marmaille a gagné une crise de fièvre cette nuit : il grelottait, il n'était pas bien.* » (Adrienne)

3. Gagner, verbe transitif.

[une maladie : la grippe, le chikungunya...] : Attraper. « *J'ai gagné le chikungunya, je suis à terre, je n'arrive plus à rien faire.* » (Marlène)

4. Gagner [une piqûre de guêpe] :

Se faire piquer par une guêpe. « *Elle a gagné une piqûre de guêpe sur sa jambe ; ça a gonflé.* » (Adrienne)

3. Gagner, verbe transitif.

[un baiser] : Se faire engueuler. « *Il a gagné un baiser avec son papa parce qu'il a cassé l'auto neuve qu'il vient d'acheter.* » (Véronique). « *Kévin, arrête de ravager sinon tu vas gagner un baiser.* » (Daisy)

1. Gagner une attaque, locution verbale.

Faire une crise cardiaque. « *La vieille voisine a gagné une attaque et elle est morte sur le coup.* » (Véronique)

2. Gagner un cap-cap, gagner la tremblade, locution verbale.

Trembler à cause de la fièvre ou du froid ou par peur. « *J'ai gagné un cap-cap hier et en plus mes os me faisaient mal. J'ai compris que c'était le chikungunya.* » (Véronique). « *Quand j'ai vu la voiture écrasée, j'ai gagné la tremblade.* » (Adrienne)

3. Gagner son compte, locution verbale.

Avoir ce que l'on mérite. « *Là, tu as gagné ton compte, là ; ça t'apprendra de t'occuper de ce qui ne te regarde pas.* » (Adrienne)

4. Gagner la couleur, locution verbale.

Avoir le teint différent de ce qu'on attend (clair ou foncé). « *Elle est malbaraise mais son enfant a gagné la couleur. Le papa est yab.* » (Adrienne).

5. Gagner la honte, locution verbale.

Avoir honte. « *J'ai gagné la honte quand j'ai vu les gens arriver chez moi et que ma maison était sale.* » (Adrienne)

6. Gagner sommeil, locution verbale.

: Avoir sommeil. « *Je suis fatiguée. Je vais gagner sommeil dans un instant.* » (Véronique)

7. Gagner son tour (chez le médecin), locution verbale.

Finir par obtenir, réussir à obtenir à passer dans le cabinet (pour une consultation). « *J'ai attendu longtemps mais j'ai gagné mon tour chez le docteur.* » (Daisy)

8. Gagner la tremblade, locution verbale.

Voir *Gagner un cap-cap*.

II.-verbe intransitif

[Un objet à valeur négative est sous-entendu] « *Là, tu as gagné, là.* » (Adrienne)

III.- Auxiliaire de modalité.

Pouvoir. « *La femme de ménage ne gagnera pas casser les mangues sans gaulette, elle est trop courte.* » (Adrienne). « *Madame Payet part en voyage organisé en Australie à son âge : elle ne gagne pas parler anglais, ni même français, elle gagne parler créole seulement, elle n'a pas été à l'école dans le trou-de-bébête où elle habitait.* » (Adrienne).

Remarque

Acception B.3. : Synonyme : *Totocher*.

Acception B.1. : Synonyme : *Tomber crise*.

Acception II : Synonyme : *Gagner son compte*.

Acception III : *Gagner*, dans ce rôle syntactico-sémantique, exprime aussi bien la valeur déontique que la valeur épistémique qui est véhiculée par son correspondant du français standard dans ces acceptions. Autrement dit, il exprime la capacité physique et intellectuelle. La locution figée /*gaj la zel* / (=gagner des ailes) du créole réunionnais ne se retrouve pas en français régional.

Histoire et étymologie

Origine française avec conservation d'acceptions désuètes en français standard. Les valeurs à la fois positives et négatives véhiculées par le lexème verbal « *gagner* » apparaît dans le *dictionnaire étymologique de l'ancien français* édité par les presses de l'université Laval, Canada, Niemeyer, Tübingen, Klincksieck, Paris : « *acquérir (de l'argent, un objet, un honneur, un mal, etc.)* ; (paragraphe 3 « *engendrer un enfant* » (13° s. – ca. 1350, Mousket ; Rigomer [...] (paragraphe 10)

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REVIEW:

LINGUISTIC AWARENESS IN MULTILINGUALS: ENGLISH AS A THIRD LANGUAGE

By Ulrike Jessner

Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006.

Pp. xiii + 170. ISBN 100748619143. \$28.

Reviewed by:

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Linguistic Awareness in Multilinguals sets out to explore the crucial, yet sparsely investigated, phenomenon of metalinguistic awareness in language acquisition of multilingual speakers. In her introductory remarks, Ulrike Jessner stresses the innovative aspects of her book which concern (a) the theoretical description of the concept of metalinguistic awareness, (b) the elicitation and analysis of metalinguistic comments of trilingual language learners, and (c) the importance to foster metalinguistic awareness in foreign (English) language teaching.

As a lead into the topic, chapter 1 briefly touches upon issues of multilingualism with English, indicating its spread in a global and in a European context. Drawing on Kachru's model of the three circles of English, the author emphasizes the global role of English as a third language. For Jessner, this specifically means that English is used as an additional language, as the main learner language, and as a lingua franca among bilingual speakers of other languages. Despite the widely acknowledged status of English as a lingua franca, research has, as of yet, struggled to delineate its distinctive characteristics from Standard English. At present we are left with a general conception that L1 and L2 contexts will play a role in the use of English as a lingua franca depending on interference phenomena and on the level of acquisition of the standard model. Jessner shows that it is

similarly problematic to define the concept of the multilingual user. Following Aronin and Ó Laoire (2003), the author supports the notion of multilinguality which stresses the importance of the parameters of individual multilingualism (abilities, resources, and sociolinguistic setting).

In chapter 2, “Learning and Using a Third Language,” Jessner convincingly argues that Second Language Acquisition (SLA) has to be treated differently from Third Language Acquisition (TLA) due to the increasing complexity of cross-linguistic interaction, the importance of metalinguistic awareness in the acquisition process of a third language, and the increased pressure from language attrition and relearning. These claims are impressively substantiated by the findings from a variety of studies. Having set the scene of TLA, the author provides a dense overview of research in the areas of (a) cross-linguistic influence, (b) early trilingualism, (c) effects of third language learning on bilingualism, and (d) current models of multilingualism. The question in (c) is particularly disputed according to mixed results of studies showing both beneficial and inhibitory effects of third language acquisition on bilingual proficiency.

While the discussion in this section proves the author’s impressive grasp of research related to TLA and multilingualism, the method of sprinkling insights in little bits and pieces from a plethora of studies does not develop the arguments to their full potential. Alternatively, an in depth-discussion of some of the interesting approaches mentioned would have achieved a more profound vision of the complexity of TLA and of its prominent features, such as cross-linguistic influence.

The section on current models of multilingualism, on the other hand, offers a highly interesting and more detailed description. Emerging from a modulation of Levelt’s (1989) speech processing model, De Bot’s (2004) multilingual production model appears as one of the most influential approaches at present. Its specific characteristic is the postulation of a

language node which is responsible for the choice of language at various stages in the production chain (cf. Paradis 2004 for an alternative view). In a similar vein, Clyne's (2003) model offers an intricate language choice module, which determines a monolingual, a bilingual, and a trilingual mode and governs separation, adaption, and mixing of languages. These models are accompanied by a discussion of Green's (1998) influential account of activation and inhibition, stressing the observation that in bilinguals "both languages are continuously activated but to different degrees" (31). After briefly touching upon Grosjean's (1998, 2001) language mode hypothesis emphasizing the connection between speech situation and language choice, the chapter concludes with a summary of the dynamic model of multilingualism (Herdina & Jessner 2002).

Having established the basic theoretical framework of multilingualism in the first two chapters of the book, chapter 3 focuses on the nature of metalinguistic awareness. In a similar fashion as in the preceding chapters, the reader is provided with a dense and highly informed overview of research. At first, Jessner discusses the shift of perception regarding bilinguals' cognitive abilities. Initially, bilinguals were often considered to be cognitively disadvantaged in comparison to monolingual speakers. This belief was toppled by Peal and Lambert's (1962) seminal study which showed increased mental flexibility, enhanced abilities of concept formation, and greater diversification of mental capabilities in bilingual children. Their findings were supported by the important work of Vygotsky (1986) and by several recent studies which prove that bi- and multilingual speakers show increased communicative sensitivity and metapragmatic skills. In line with these observations, the current understanding of the cognitive and communicative status of bi- and multilingual speakers is governed by a positive attitude towards the use and acquisition of multiple languages.

When it comes to describing the concept of metalinguistic awareness, Jessner states that “it is difficult to provide a survey of research on metalinguistic awareness in multilinguals because we have to take account of several approaches linked to the theoretical backgrounds of the various studies” (43). These backgrounds are of a general linguistic, a developmental psycholinguistic, and an educational psycholinguistic nature. Particularly the latter calls forth the question of how to test language learners for their level of linguistic awareness. Grammaticality judgement tests offer a limited means of drawing conclusions about metalinguistic skills. Finally, metalinguistic awareness seems tightly connected with language aptitude leading to the observation that “the more language systems that are involved in the acquisition process, the more difficult it is to decide whether language aptitude or metalinguistic awareness influence the language acquisition progress” (68).

After the concise but profound discussion of the notion of metalinguistic awareness, chapter 4 shows the results of a study aimed at testing the presence and function of metalinguistic strategies employed by ambilingual (German, Italian) learners of English. Think-aloud protocols were elicited to eavesdrop on metalinguistic strategies of students while they performed an academic writing task in their third language – English. The results are analyzed for multilingual compensatory strategies in lexical selection, the use of metalinguistic expressions as indicators of linguistic awareness, and the interrelation of cross-linguistic interaction and metalinguistic awareness.

When experiencing troubles in lexical selection, students mostly choose German to aid their search for proper expressions (in 54.4% of the cases) while Italian (25.3%) and combined strategies (20%) are far less frequently employed. Similarly, German is the primary means of replacing L3 (English) items. The author asserts that both the students’ biographical

backgrounds of growing up bilingually in South Tyrol and the mainly German speaking environment of the university where the study was conducted are likely the impetus for priming the selection of German as a compensatory language.

As far as the use of metalinguistic expressions is concerned, the think-aloud protocols suggest three primary conclusions: (i) metalanguage exerts a control function in multilingual production, (ii) metalanguage-related switches reflect the languages involved in a compensatory strategy, and (iii) metalanguage signals the general language dominance in the respective language learning situation.

Despite these interesting generalizations, the overall impact of the study would benefit from a larger subject group (at present 15 female and two male students). In order to check whether the institutional setting exerts influence on the use of metalanguage, it seems advisable to have the same subject group perform similar tasks at an Italian university. To further increase the transparency of the study, a more methodologically-minded readership would find an appendix containing a sample of the biographical questionnaire and a few selected transcriptions of think-aloud protocols helpful.

The final substantial chapter of the book adds a didactic perspective to metalinguistic awareness in the acquisition of multiple languages. While implementing multilingualism in school curricula poses an immense challenge, it would appear beneficial for the cognitive and communicative development of children. The particular advantage of multilingual education lies in the promotion of positive transfers between different languages which leads to the creation of associative links between these learner languages. To facilitate metalinguistic capabilities of language learners in a multilingual environment, the teacher functions as a crucial purveyor of awareness and consciousness-raising activities. After a final appeal for the curricular

implementation of multilingual education and for an open dialogue between language teachers of different subject languages, the chapter ends with an outlook on how the instruction of English should create awareness of “multilingualism within English in order to foster multilingualism with English” (136).

Overall, *Linguistic Awareness in Multilinguals* is a concise study that offers a wealth of information on third language acquisition and metalinguistic awareness. The basic structure of the book guides the reader through the theoretical background before showing a possible way of tapping into and analyzing metalinguistic strategies. Although the results of the think-aloud protocols do not bear direct evidence of the advantages of metalinguistic awareness in educational contexts, the arguments in favor of multilingual education presented in the final chapter are convincing in their own right.

Due to the author’s condensed style of argumentation, which tends to weave together essential factual nuclei from a plethora of research, the book suffers slightly as far as its lucidity is concerned. More meat around the factual bones of research findings would be particularly beneficial for a readership of students of multilingualism. At present, the book is clearly targeted at scholars interested in and specializing on issues of multilingualism. Despite its minor limitations in readability, the book stands as a fundamental work on the crucial and elusive issue of metalinguistic awareness in multilingual speakers. Particularly the study on compensatory strategies of German-Italian bilingual learners of English, and the didactic outlook on multilingual education provide important stimuli for future research on the role of linguistic awareness in multilinguals.

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Call for Papers

~BOCA~ *The South Florida Journal of Linguistics* accepts papers on a rotating basis for their bi-annual publication.

The 2008 Fall publication will have a thematic focus of Culture and Language Change. While papers addressing any facet of this field will be considered, the editors are especially interested in papers addressing the following:

- Language change as a function of global and/or local contact
- Dialectical differences related to, or resulting from, socio-cultural factors
- Theories, especially socio-cultural ones, which aim to explain how and why languages change
- Developments or modifications of cultural identities as a function of linguistic change or contact
- Arenas of human interaction that are fertile grounds for language change
- Socio-cultural factors that drive similarities and differences within languages, and within patterns of linguistic change

Submissions should be no more than 20 pages, or approximately 6,000 words, and should follow the guidelines of the Linguistic Society of America's *Language* and the Unified Linguist Style Sheet—available through the Linguist List.

Reviews of books which address these issues are also welcome. These submissions should be between 1,000-2,000 words.

A separate title page should include the author's name, e-mail address and mailing address. The author's name should not appear on the manuscript pages to allow for blind review. Please also include a short (100-200 word) abstract, to be used upon publication.

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