

Journal of Linguistics and Language Teaching

edited by Thomas Tinnefeld

10th Anniversary Issue (2020)

JLLT

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Foreword to the Issue

The *Journal of Linguistics and Language Teaching* saw the light of day in January 2010, i.e. ten years ago. Back then, I recognised the necessity to launch a new scientific journal which would feature not ,only' *linguistics* and not ,only' *language teaching*, but both fields combined, and which would thus put focus on the phenomenon that linguistics on the one hand and language teaching and, as its basis, language methodology, on the other are, more often than not, closely intertwined. The range of contributions JLLT has covered ever since, which reach from theoretical linguistics over applied linguistics to theoretical and empirical language methodology and further on to the description and analysis of practical teaching, has been proven to be fruitful, and time has shown that there is a demand for exactly this type of academic journal. Both linguistics and language teaching are not *l'art pour l'art*, but they do have a direct impact on how human beings master (foreign) languages and communicate with each other, with communication perhaps never having been as important, and never as complex, as is the case nowadays in view of all the new ways of information exchange via traditional and new media. Thus, making scientific reflections on language and language teaching seems to be even more important for the development of our world and the understanding of people(s) than ever before. It is in this vein that we now celebrate the 10th year of JLLT's existence.

The first ten years of any journal are definitely the most difficult ones, and fortunately, this first decade has been quite a fortunate one for JLLT, which I have every reason to be grateful for. We pay tribute to this first decade by publishing a special issue to feature the journal's anniversary. I am very happy to announce that some of the members of the Editorial Advisory Board have been so nice as to contribute an article to this special issue, in which they give readers insight into their respective research fields. Their articles represent the full thematic range of the field and also convey their enthusiasm as scientists. This is one of those moments when journal readers see great minds at work and feel the advancement of science thanks to personal commitment. And this is also the moment for me to thank my dear colleagues very much indeed for having taken the time and made the effort of putting some words together for JLLT. This was very nice of you and will never be forgotten!

The eight articles published in this anniversary issue come in English, German, and Italian. They are grouped by topic, starting from linguistics itself and then going on via language methodology and cross-cultural methodology towards the very teaching of languages.

In the first article, **Günter Schmale (Lyon, France)** presents a new approach in the field of formulaic language, which he calls *polifactoriality* and which opens up new horizons in that it permits to define phenomena which could not be described as consistently as is now possible using this novel criterion. Including English, French and German in his analysis, he proves that his approach works for more than one language and also provides resourceful insights for linguists of various provenance. On top of that, readers may feel what has recently come to many researchers' minds and what we all may feel when pondering our own everyday language usage, i.e. that when communicating, we are far less "inventive" and a lot more "formulaic" than we think, i.e. by using syntagmatic, phraseological or even syntactic patterns which have been used millions of times before.

Andreea Calude (Hamilton, New Zealand) and Gerald Delahunty (Fort Collins, CO, USA) remain in the realm of the lexicon, diving deep into one specific item: *just because*. The authors describe and analyse this highly frequent expression the way it occurs in spoken and written English in New Zealand. In their corpus-based study, they document that this expression is by far more powerful and of a far higher thematic coverage and frequency than had been found in research before. By describing and analysing the impressive quantitative and qualitative range of this construction and by doing so on the basis of an abundant number of examples, the authors show that this expression is so frequent *just because* it is highly multifunctional.

In a historic approach, **Heinz-Helmut Lüger (Koblenz-Landau, Germany)** focuses on Michel Bréal, a contemporary of Ferdinand de Saussure's and an oft-neglected French linguist, who is considered as the founder of semantics by some, and his reflections on subjectivity and language use. Taking his famous *essai de sémantique* as the basis, the author wonders whether Bréal can also be seen as the founder of pragmatics. In doing so, he comes to an interesting conclusion which compares Bréal and de Saussure and which plausibly explains the weakness of the one and the forte of the other.

In the field of linguistics-based foreign language teaching, **Shing-lung Chen (Kaohsiung, Taiwan)** makes stresses the importance of games for teaching German as a foreign language. Her approach is not to incite learners to play games so as to learn this language, but to guide them to invent games on their own and to benefit from this conceptual work in such a way that their own mastery of German is increased *en passant*. The aim of Chen's approach is not primarily to improve learners' vocabulary or their sentence-building capacity, but to lead them towards real communication in the foreign language. The article comes with highly practical descriptions, convincing analyses, and with the empirical evidence that this approach leads to a considerable increase in learners' success, motivation, and problem-solving skills. What is more, it can be taken as an inspiration for language instructors who might implement this approach in their own teaching.

Learning a foreign language by employing unconventional methods is also a topic which **Ulrich Schmitz (Duisburg-Essen, Germany)** addresses. The author suggests that learners use public places to increase their command of a given foreign language. This is a special kind of scaffolding and, at the same time, an approach which incites learners to consciously keep their eyes wide open, which not only helps them better understand the country whose language they are learning, but also offers them the „side effect“ of efficiently diving into its culture. The author describes and analyses this idea, exemplifying it in a highly accessible way and showing its great potential.

Also taking public places as the starting point of his reflections, **Terry Lanb (London, UK)** advocates inclusion and social justice in London as a multilingual city. Starting from the marginalisation and exclusion which numerous language communities suffer there and in the whole of Great Britain, he identifies supplementary schools as potential spaces of hope in which these communities' languages can continue being learnt and spoken. The author's hope is based on the creative practices and the potential of resistance these schools display, the end point of this development possibly – and hopefully – being a more inclusive world in the future.

The present issue is rounded off with an article by **Inez de Florio-Hansen (Kassel, Germany)** on learning Italian in Germany in the digital age. This article, written in Italian, focuses on digitisation, artificial intelligence and robotics and plunges into media pedagogy and its important role in the process of guiding students towards media literacy. In view of the more or less unlimited opportunities the Internet offers for teaching, students will need to learn how to use it in an informed way and, at the same time, gain awareness of the problems it entails.

These articles complete the 10th anniversary issue of JLLT, which I am happy and proud to present. I am sure that many readers will be feel the same enthusiasm as I do about this wonderful scientific area which the continuum between linguistics at the one end and language teaching at the other covers and in which we work. And there are days when we all, as representatives of this area, have a feeling that somehow or other, we are doing the right thing.

October 16, 2020

Thomas Tinnefeld
JLLT
Editor

Polyfactoriality as a Defining Criterion of Formulaic Speech

Günter Schmale (Lyon, France)

Abstract

Starting from the observation that the criteria generally applied to the definition of formulaic speech – polylexicality, (relative) stability and idiomaticity – no longer reflect the current state-of-the-art insight into the nature of prefabricated speech productions (and understanding), the present paper discusses a revised vision of formulaicity taking the pivotal defining criterion of *polyfactoriality* as its basis. This notion permits to take into account segmental, prosodic, corporal, contextual and situational elements in order to define an utterance or one of its units as being formulaic, even when it consists of one lexical item only. This notion also permits to considerably extend the scope of formulaic communicative manifestations, ranging from monolexical routine formula via sentence-based proverbs to formulaic texts and even to communicative events. As a hyperonym, *polyfactoriality* equally is characterized by relative stability through its *smallest common formulaic denominator*, its semantic non-compositionality (due to its idiomatic footprint), and its *multimodal character*. Based on these reflections, a revised definition of the notion of *formulaic sequence* will be put forward.

Keywords: Formulaic speech, definition, polyfactoriality, stability, smallest common formulaic denominator, idiomatic footprint, multimodal nature, revised definition of formulaic sequence.

1 Introduction

Research on *prefabricated* or *formulaic language* or *speech*, to use generic terms,¹ generally recurs to three defining criteria so as to delimit customary lexical from spontaneous or “free choice” combinations. These defining criteria are:

- Polylexicality, i.e. “multi word” combinations (Wood 2015: 3) which consist of at least two lexical auto- and / or synsemantic items;
- Stability of its lexical elements and their combination, which can be defined by their frequency of use and / or their formal or psychological fixedness (Burger 2015: 15-19);
- Idiomaticity defined by semantic non-compositionality, the sum of the meaning of its constituents not being equivalent the phraseological meaning, and / or the syntactic irregularities (*Like father, like son* # **Like potatoes, like pasta*) or the

¹ Wray & Perkins (2000: 3) list a great number of different labels for formulaic language.

transformational restrictions (*Peter dropped a brick. # *The brick that Peter dropped.*) of a given expression.

In a wide sense, phrasemes are defined by the criteria of *polylexicality* and *stability*, in a narrow sense by *polylexicality*, *stability* and *idiomaticity*. In the first case, phrasemes are semantically transparent, in the second, they are not. However, the existing definitions of verbal and (strictly speaking) non-verbal prefabricated communicative units based on the aforementioned criteria no longer reflect the current state of research on formulaic speech language since highly relevant aspects have not been taken into account. The purpose of the present article is therefore to present and discuss the three central defining criteria in view of new insights into the treatment of prefabricated constructions. These considerations are based on the pivotal concept of *polyfactoriality* which comprises several other defining elements of formulaic speech (Section 2). These are the *scope* of formulaicity (Section 3), the *stability* of formulaic expressions (Section 4), their *idiomaticity* (Section 5) and their *multimodal nature* (Section 6). Finally, a revised definition of what we call *formulaic sequences* will be presented in lieu of a conclusion (Section 7).

2 Polyfactoriality as a Pivotal Defining Criterion of Prefabricated Speech

2.1 Polyfactoriality of Monolexical Routine Formulae

The much-used criterion of *polylexicality*, which stipulates that the presence of at least two auto- or synsemantic lexical items is a prerequisite for the attribution of the label 'prefabricated' to an expression, actually entails the exclusion of monolexical routine formulae such as *Hello, Bye, Thanks, Shit* (*Hallo, Tschüss, Danke, Mist*, in German; *salut, merci, merde* in French) from the category of formulaic language. However, it seems inconsistent to include *Good morning, Bye-bye, Many thanks or Bloody hell* (*guten Morgen, auf Wiedersehen, verflixt und zugenäht* in German; *au revoir, merci beaucoup, nom de d'Zeus* in French) into the class of pragmatemes, but to exclude their monolexical equivalents, considering that they have exactly the same communicative functions in specific situational contexts. As opposed to simplicia like *chair, dog, table* or *wall*, whose usage is by no means limited to any specific situational environments, precise contextual and contextual factors of use can be identified for *Hello, Bye or Thanks*. The following table, whose sole aim is to demonstrate the polyfactorial nature of monolexical routine formulae, shows some of these factors, which are possible not complete in number, for the routine formulae *Thanks* and *Hello!* (Table 1).

It can therefore be concluded that even though the pragmatemes *Thanks* and *Hello* are monolexical, several cotextual and contextual factors are closely related to their production. They perform specific speech acts, have a well-defined sequential position in a given situation, entail another specific speech act and are frequently accompanied by conventional Kinesic activities; a considerable number are also organized as adjacency pairs of a first pair part and a highly expectable second pair part (*hello – hello!; thanks – you're welcome; sorry – never mind*). Further factors, (e.g. their idiomatic or non-compositional nature, prosody, stylistic level or the relationship

Defining Criteria	Routine Formula	
	Lexical form	<i>Thanks.</i>
Defining Cotextual and Contextual Factors		
Situation / Speech Act	Expressing gratitude	Greeting someone
“Stability”	Highly foreseeable and expected in the respective situation	
Sequential Position	Following a beneficiary act towards the producer of the formula	Opening act of an encounter
Following Activity	<i>You’re welcome etc.</i>	<i>Hello!, Hi! etc.</i>
Kinesic Activities	Looking at the benefactor, smiling, friendly facial expression, handshake, kissing	Looking at the interlocutor, friendly expression or smiling
Non-Defining Factors		
Semantics	Compositional / transparent	Transparent
Prosody	Vocative chant or unmarked terminal intonation	Vocative chant or unmarked level intonation
Stylistic Level	Neutral, informal rather than formal	Predominantly informal
Relationship between the participants	Relative proximity or neutral	Relative proximity or neutral

Table 1: Polyfactoriality of the Routine Formulae *Thanks* and *Hello!*

between the participants involved) can be described but are not a constitutive part of the criteria that may represent a defining *factor*. Given that specific cotextual and

contextual elements are very closely linked to the production of a formulaic speech act by way of a monolexical routine formula, the central defining criterion of *polylexicality* should be replaced by the criterion of *polyfactoriality*. Within this paradigm, the monolexical form can be included in the class of formulaic expressions, given that further factors of use are so closely linked to the production of routine monolexemes that these can be described by means of several linguistic and co- and contextual factors. The use of the pragmateme in question is thus reduced to a limited number of situations. Such a limitation does not exist for *simplicia* such as *chair* or *table* for which the number of possible contexts and contexts is unlimited. Even if non-defining additional factors (i.e. connotations) could be described for *simplicia*, these would by no means permit to attribute a formulaic nature to these mono-lexematic items.

In order to limit our research field, we are obliged to exclude from the class of prefabricated expressions such metaphorical monolexical items (be they simple or composed) as *scapegoat*, *mainstream*, *breeze (into the room)*, *spearhead*, *dovetail*; *piéd de biche*, *chien assis*, *coup de lapin* in French; *Warmduscher*, *Hammelsprung*, *Himmelfahrtskommando* in German, notwithstanding their idiomatic non-transparent meanings. As stated above (Table 1), semantics is not part of the defining factors of monolexical routine formulae and, thus, not sufficient for the definition of a monolexical linguistic item as opposed to polylexical formulaic expressions where idiomaticity can be a distinctive factor that permits to distinguish idioms from collocations, or proverbs from commonplaces.

2.2 Polyfactoriality of Polylexical Formulaic Expressions

A polyfactorial approach towards the description and analysis of formulaic language is equally necessary and beneficial as far as other, polylexical and stable, types of formulaic expressions, such as common places, proverbs, idioms or collocations, are concerned. In fact, in order to facilitate their adequate reproduction by foreign language learners, their syntactic, prosodic, semantic and situational conditions of use have to be described in detail.

Some examples may suffice to illustrate this hypothesis, which obviously needs further corpus-based investigations in order to be substantiated and gain scientific status. The German commonplace *Was sein muss, muss sein*², for instance, whose usage is very close to a routine formula in that it is closely linked to a situation-specific speech act. Syntactic, lexical and situational factors are listed in the following table using the same criteria as for monolexical routine formulae:

² Semantically close equivalents seem to exist in English: *What has to be, has to be*; *What will be, will be*; *What must be, must be* or, rather archaic, *Needs must (when the devil drives)*. American English: *That's the way the cookie crumbles*; also: *A man's got to do what a man's got to do*. However, detailed corpus analyses are necessary in order to establish whether these commonplaces are pragmatically equivalent. The same applies to French: *Il faut ce qu'il faut*; *On ne peut pas faire autrement* or *Qu'est-ce que tu veux que j'y fasse*.

Defining Criteria	Commonplace
Lexical form	<i>Was sein muss, muss sein.</i>
Defining syntactic and lexical factors	
Polylexicality	Five lexical units: sentence or utterance value
Stability	Expression predominantly used in this form
Semantics	Transparent, tautological
Non-defining situational factors	
Sequential Position	Following a preceding action which needs to be justified or which could be challenged – oftentimes as a final statement
Situation / Speech Act	Underlining – resignedly, ironically or quizzically – the necessity of a preceding action considered by the speaker himself or by somebody else as cumbersome or even of unfavourable implications ³
Following Activity	None if the speaker’s final statement, otherwise: accepting (<i>I understand</i>) or challenging (<i>I don’t agree</i>)
Kinesic Activities	Depending on the communicative modality: mimics or gestures expressing regret, amusement or irony
Prosody	According to communicative modality
Stylistic Level	Informal, to be used in everyday situations
Relationship between the participants	Familiar rather than distant (symmetrical), if used by a hierarchically superior speaker

Table 2: Polyfactoriality of the German Commonplace *Was sein muss, muss sein*

³ The definition in the German Redensarten-Index (https://www.redensarten-index.de/suche.php?suchbegriff=was+sein+muss+muss+sein&bool=relevanz&gawoe=an&sp0=rart_ou&sp1=rart_varianden_ou; 20-09-2020: „Bekräftigung der Notwendigkeit einer Sache“ (substantiating the necessity of a state of affairs; our translation) thus yields only part of the meaning and communicative function of this commonplace.

Probably less closely linked to specific communicative situations, yet producing commentative speech acts, are proverbs such as *Strike while the iron is hot* – a saying which also exists in German as *Man soll das Eisen schmieden, solange es heiß ist* or in French as *Il faut battre le fer tant qu'il est chaud*. The same grid of different types of criteria is used to describe the conditions of use pertaining to this proverb:

Defining Criteria	Proverb
Lexical Form	<i>Strike while the iron is hot</i>
Defining syntactic and lexical factors	
Polylexicality	Six lexical units: sentence or utterance value
“Entrenchment”	Expression mainly used in this form
Semantics	Non-transparent, but metaphorical, thus interpretable via the image employed (if one knows about forging)
Non-defining situational factors	
Sequential Position	Preceding, accompanying or following a course of desirable, necessary or logical actions
Situation / Speech Act	Advising or commenting on the necessity to act while it is possible to act or when one has the greatest chance of success ⁴
Following Activity	Absence, acceptance, rejection, challenge (of form or function) by recipient
Kinesic Activities	Possible gesture to emphasize the expression; “amused” mimics in order to attenuate its rather ossified nature
Prosody	Specific prosody to stress the importance of the advice or, on the contrary, to signal distance as to its possible datedness
Stylistic Level	Neutral, not familiar, rather elevated type of register
Relationship between the participants	The speaker has to be in a (situational or hierarchical) position to give advice or to comment on others’ actions

Table 3: Polyfactoriality of the Proverb *Strike while the iron is hot*

Finally, the same grid of describing criteria is applied to an idiomatic, thus semantically non-compositional expression on a syntagmatic level which does not have utterance or sentence value: *add fuel to the fire / flames, jeter de l’huile sur le feu* in French, *Öl ins Feuer gießen* in German:

⁴ Cf.: “to take advantage of an opportunity as soon as it exists, in case the opportunity goes away and does not return”. (<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/fr/dictionnaire/anglais/strike-while-the-iron-is-hot>; 19-10-2019). Again, this definition, even though semantically more or less adequate, neglects necessary conditions of use pertaining to this proverb.

Defining Criteria	Idiomatic Expression
Lexical form	<i>Add fuel to the fire / flames</i>
Defining syntactic and lexical factors	
Polylexicality	Five lexical units of syntagmatic value
“Entrenchment”	Expression mainly used in this form
Syntax	Syntagmatic form: at least a subject is needed to use it within an utterance
Semantics	Non-transparent, but metaphorical, thus interpretable via the image employed (provided participants know elementary facts about the impact of adding fuel to fire)
Non-defining situational factors	
Sequential Position	Preceding, accompanying or following a course of actions considered as potentially dangerous
Situation / Speech Act	Advising against or commenting on the activity mentioned, which has detrimental effects on the action under way ⁵
Following Activity	Absence, acceptance, rejection, challenge by the recipient
Kinesic Activities	Expressive mimics or gestures emphasizing the expression
Prosody	Neutral or expressive suprasegmental activities
Stylistic Level	Neutral register
Relationship between the participants	Undefined, any type of relationship

Table 4: Polyfactoriality of the i+Idiom *Add fuel to the fire / flames*

As mentioned above, the polyfactorial description polylexical phrasemes is necessary in order to provide for an adequate use of idioms, proverbs or commonplaces by learners. The only major phraseological class whose usage cannot be closely linked to specific situations seems to be *collocations* such as *brush one’s teeth* (*se laver les dents, sich die Zähne putzen*), *make a decision* (*prendre une décision, eine Entscheidung treffen*) or *pack a suitcase* (*faire ses valises, einen Koffer packen*). For these relatively stable lexical combinations, which, however, are not semantically compositional for the non-native speaker as verb choice is arbitrary, none of the

⁵ Once again a definition taken from a dictionary, e.g. *to make an argument or bad situation worse* is insufficient to describe implications of usage exhaustively. (<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/fr/dictionnaire/anglais/add-fuel-to-the-fire>; 19-10-2019).

above-mentioned defining criteria can *a priori* be described. Yet, corpus-based studies might reveal that collocations are used within certain recurrent types of constructions and thus have a more or less stable form. Generally speaking, such constructions are form-meaning pairs having the form of syntactic frames which is more or less lexically provided (Section 3). Only studies having large corpora as their basis can identify the types of constructions and tokens which are really employed by language users.

3 Scope or Extension of Prefabricated Language

As demonstrated above, prefabricated expressions can consist of a simple lexical item, provided additional situational elements guarantee its polyfactoriality. But how far can prefabrication or formulaicity go? Burger's (2010) widely employed classification of polylexical, stable and idiomatic expressions, comprising referential, communicative and structural phrasemes, does not go beyond syntagmatic value (*to drop a brick*), sentence value (*All that glitters is not gold.*) or utterance value (*Like father, like son; Good morning*); textual phraseme structures are mentioned (Burger 2010: 37) without being dealt with in detail. Prefabricated texts were studied by Gülich (1988), who analysed German obituary notices or acknowledgements in doctoral dissertations. Günthner (2006) and Luckmann (1988) went even further and extended the notion of *text* to communicative genres, such as *wedding ceremonies*, *religious services* or *court trials*, defined as "culturally and historically specific socially conventionalized and formalized solutions to communicative tasks" (Luckmann 1988: 281). As opposed to printed texts, which can also recur to pictorial elements, communicative genres comprise any type of symbolic interaction (and probably certain kinds of objects and settings) and therefore possess a fundamentally multimodal nature (e.g. wedding ceremonies)..

Traditional phraseological research has also studied certain types of syntactic patterns (Burger 2010: 44-45 or Fleischer 1997: 31ff for German), providing slots for completion through certain types of lexical items that belong to specific paradigmatic classes. To illustrate this point, a few items from English, French and German are listed in Table 5.

Recent studies from corpus linguistics and construction grammar have considerably enlarged the panel of lexicogrammatical patterns or constructions which Fillmore, Kay & O'Connor (1988) first described in their seminal "*Let Alone*"-paper. They distinguish *substantive idioms*, which correspond to classical idiomatic expressions whose syntactic frame is lexically provided and more or less stable, on the one hand, and *formal idioms*, whose morphosyntactic frame provides slots which are not or only partly lexically filled. These offer a wider lexical choice to the user which, however, is not unlimited as certain paradigms must be respected. Such *formal idioms* or *constructions* comprise the aforementioned patterns. However, *constructions* are more than the latter, as co(n)textual and situational factors have to be taken into account (analogously to the polyfactorial description of phrasemes in Section 2.2).

Type	Tokens
English	
X _{NP} after X _{NP}	Day after day; year after year; time after time; night after night...
X _{NP/Adj} by X _{NP/Adj}	Step by step; little by little; inch by inch; word by word; letter by letter...
X _V like + X _{NP}	Sleep like a log; work like a horse; drink like a fish; swear like a sailor; stink like a sewer...
What a + X _{NP} !	What a mess / stupid idea / load of nonsense, rubbish / drag...!
French	
X _{NP/V} c'est X _{NP/V}	La retraite c'est la retraite !; un ami c'est un ami (Schafroth 2014: 76); promis c'est promis...
X _{NP} après / par X _{NP}	Jour après jour; année après année; semaine par semaine...
bête comme + X _{NP}	Bête comme ses pieds / ...une oie / (un) chou / un âne / une cruche / un manche...
C'est à + X _{GInf} !	C'est à pleurer / s'arracher les cheveux / désespérer / mourir de rire / hurler...
German	
X _{NP/VB/Part} ist X _{GN/VB/Part}	Bier ist Bier und Schnaps ist Schnaps; vorbei ist vorbei; versprochen ist versprochen; geschenkt ist geschenkt...
X _{NP} an / auf / für X _{NP}	Schulter an Schulter; Schlag auf Schlag, Schritt für Schritt...
x hin, x her	Geld hin, Geld her; Krise hin, Krise her;
Was für ein(e) + X _{NP} ! / So ein(e) + X _{NP} !	Was für / So ein Glück / Pech / Mist!

Table 5: Phraseological Models in English, French and German

Below are some more constructions of this type, i.e. syntactic frames offering slots for more or less open choice in terms of lexical completion:

- The *Incredulity Response Construction* of the [PP + (und; for German) + NP / Inf / Adj (+ Comp)]? type, which is used in English, French and German:
 - *Me, lie / a liar? Her, sing arias? Me, crazy?*

- [Moi INF?; Schafroth 2014 : 76) : *Lui avocat ? Moi abandonner ? Lui s'excuser ?* (ibid. : 77).
- *Ich und zu spät? Du und verlässlich? Er und ein Freund?*
- The *exclamatory / emphatic construction*:
 - [How + Adj + is / are + Comp!] in English: *How strange / weird / stupid is that!*
 - [Wie + Adj + V_{sein} + CompNom + denn!] in German: *Wie geil is das denn?* (Auer 2016: title); *Wie krass wär das denn?* (ibid.: 71); *Wie schlecht / beschränkt is das denn?* (ibid.: 74).
 - An equivalent French structure does not really exist, but constructions like [Qu'est-ce que c'est + Adj !] : *Qu'est-ce que c'est idiot / bête / nul / pénible !* express the same idea.
- The *desperation-construction* in French and German:
 - [C'est à + Inf + (Comp) !] (Schafroth 2014 : 76) : *C'est à mourir de rire / désespérer / se les mordre / se taper la tête contre un mur !* (ibid. : 77).
 - [Es / das ist + (ja) + zum + Comp + werden!]! *Es ist zum Haare ausreißen! Es / das ist (ja) zum wahnsinnig werden! Es ist zum Verzweifeln!*
- The *dissatisfaction construction* in French:
 - [Qu'est-ce qu'il a à + Inf ?] : *Qu'est-ce qu'il a à me regarder comme ça ? Mais qu'est-ce qu'il a à vouloir tout changer ?* (Schafroth 2014 : 76-77).
 - In English [Why + are you etc. + PP +V-ing + Com?], e.g. *Why are you staring at me?* or *Why are you saying that?*
 - Or in German: [Was + V + PP + Com.], e.g. *Was glotzt du mich so an?* or *Was redest du da?*

These are only a very limited number of *constructions* which have so far been described since Filmore, Kay & O'Connor's (1988) and Goldberg's (2006) seminal work on construction grammar. In order to circumscribe the field of study for practical purposes, we suggest limiting *constructions* to polylexical and / or polyfactorial lexicogrammatical expressions, thus excluding patterns of the morphematic, monolexical (except for one-word routine formulae; Section 2.1) and monofactorial type, included in Goldberg's influential approach. Even though *composition*, *derivation* and *borrowing* from other languages are still highly productive in English, French and especially German, it would go far beyond the scope of the above construction paradigm to include patterns of word formation.

On the other hand, it is likely for lexicogrammatical form-meaning pairs, i.e. *constructions*, to go far beyond of what has been researched on and described in this field. In fact, corpus analyses reveal that numerous syntactic features appear in recurrent

forms, and many lexical phenomena appear in recurrent combinations of lexical units. This fact leads to the the daring hypothesis that almost any phenomenon pertaining to polyfactorial language production, including prosody and corporal expression, can be described as a *construction* when examined on the basis of vast corpora when considering different textual or communicative parameters such as personal, diatopic, diastratic and diaphasic aspects. This hypothesis will, of course, have to be substantiated by extensive corpus research.

4 Stability vs Smallest Common Denominator of Formulaic Expressions

Lexical and / or structural fixedness or stability of expressions, allowing their recognition and interpretation, is generally stipulated as the main defining criterion of formulaic language (Section 1). However, stability consists of relative fixedness, allowing for a great number of modifications, according to Burger (2010) and Elspass (1998):

Almost any operation which would *a priori* seem impossible following one's own intuition can be found in authentic texts, be they spoken or – which would seem even less likely – in written productions. (Burger 2010: 23; our translation)

Elspass is even more outspoken:

I start out from the hypothesis that basically no phraseological category, no phraseological type is exempt from the possibility of modification of whatever kind. However, assertions on modifiability have to be based invariably on authentic language use. (Elspass 1998: 161; our translation)

Mel'čuk, who considers stability as a gradual property of phrasemes, prefers the use of the term *constraint* in order to define degrees of relative fixity:

A phrase is non-free (= phraseologized), if (i.e. *if and only if* as a necessary and sufficient condition; GS) at least one of its lexical components L is selected by the speaker in a linguistically constrained way – that is, as a function of the lexical identity of other component(s). (Mel'čuk 2012: 33)

But on what grounds can the phraseological nature of an expression be discerned or recognized if it deviates considerably from the dictionary version? Provided that the hearer is familiar with an existing form of a given phraseme, which is being modified, the presence of specific lexical and / or structural elements of the generally known version allow him to interpret its phraseological form in the given context. The interpretation of modified phrasemes is thus based on the *smallest common formulaic denominator* for the expression in question which, in fact, is the decisive criterion for the more or less stable nature of a phraseme. Different types of lexical and / or structural phenomena may constitute this smallest common denominator:

- Archaic or “cranberry” lexical units, unique words surviving within idiomatic expressions exclusively, permitting an immediate interpretation of the respective idiom, such as *spick and span*, *happy as a sandboy*, *on tenterhooks*, *make headway* (Trawinski et al. 2008: 2). German has *auf Anhieb*, *das*

Hasenpanier ergreifen, Tacheles reden, die Spendierhosen anhaben, and keinen Hehl aus etwas machen. In French, there are *avoir la berlue, avoir maille à partir (avec qqn), battre la chamade, chercher noise, conter fleurette, se mettre martel en tête* (Lamiroy 2010: 12). Any one of these isolated elements primes the corresponding idiom for the phraseoliterate language user.

- „Phraseological patterns, models or moulds, following a structural format and displaying a constant semantic interpretation whose auto-semantic components can be lexically filled more or less freely”. (Burger 2010: 44-45; our translation) (Table 5 for instances of such models).
- *Lexicogrammatical Constructions* as form-meaning pairs that provide paradigmatic lexical slots within syntagmatic recurrent models (Section 3 for examples)..
- *Word-play procedures* based on phraseological expressions in print advertising (Schmale 2015, Jamet & Schmale 2018, Schmale (forthcoming)) show that advertisers resort to a large variety of different types of modifications of phraseological expressions in order to achieve their goals, in particular to attract the observer’s attention. Below are some of the means employed (occurrences from our personal collection of print adverts):
 - *Homophones* in adverts for hamburgers – *Pleased to meat you* or *Meat the new burger* (Appendix: Figure 1) in English, *Lard et la manière* in French, *Bäcker mit Laib und Seele* in German. Such homophones easily invoke the phonetically corresponding lexical units *meet, l’art* or *Leib*.
 - *Homoiophones*, i.e. lexical units which are phonetically and / or scripturally close to homophones, such as *Visez juste!* (*visez* = target) for *Vissez juste!* (*vissez* = tighten / loosen à screw; French advert for screwdrivers; Appendix: Figure 2), *Schweiz gehabt!* for *Schwein gehabt!* (advert for a casino in Switzerland; Appendix: Figure 3); *Chip Chip Hooray* for *Hip Hip Hooray* (advert on a London bus). Such homoiophones, based on phonemic change, equally trigger an easily accessible interpretation of the phonetically close lexical item belonging to the phraseological unit.
 - *Lexical substitution* is the most common means of wordplay with idiomatic expressions in the three languages in question. *Heavy as a feather* (Appendix: Figure 4) for Nike mountain jackets immediately suggests the phraseological comparison *light as a feather*, and *Have an ice day* (*West ice cigarettes* advert) evokes the routine formula *have a nice day*. In French, the same observation holds true for *prêts-à-partir* (Toyota sales) which directly alludes to *prêt-à-porter*, whereas in German *Kann ich Sie mal unter sechs Augen sprechen?* (*ntv* German political talk show), the phraseoliterate hearer cannot but think of *unter vier Augen* (i.e. including four eyes = in private).
 - *Contextual and iconographic elements* in particular, which facilitate the interpretation of a slogan calling on a modified idiom. Even if, due to the fact that the original phraseme is easily recognizable, modified idioms might be

interpretable on the sole segmental level, pictorial components of print advertisements are requisite to unravelling the meaning of the modified formulaic expression

The part of an advert for Icelandic hamburgers in Figure 1 promotes eight different types of *meat* burgers. As the slogan *Pleased to meat you!* in itself does not make sense, the verb *to meat* being inexistent, the observer cannot but interpret the homophonic verb *meet* within the routine presentation formula *Pleased to meet you!* expressing his – desired – satisfaction when being offered a large choice of hamburgers.

The slogan *Vissez juste !* (Figure 2) might point to a technical activity but is by no means unambiguous. It is only the picture of a set of socket spanners which disambiguates this imperative construction by alluding to the collocation *viser juste* ('shoot straight', 'aim right', 'be on the right track') so as to express the meaning 'use these socket spanners is the right way to work'.

The Swiss advert for the *Schaffhausen Casino* resorts to the slogan *Schweiz gehabt!* (Figure 3), which is uninterpretable on the sole textual level. The photo of a stylized pig(gy bank) helps the reader to attribute a logical meaning to the catch line by invoking the idiom *Schwein gehabt* ('be very lucky') so as to express the meaning 'play in this casino successfully'.

The Nike advert for mountain jackets, finally, modifies the phraseological comparison *light as a feather* to *heavy as a feather* (Figure 4). The slogan in itself does not reveal what is as *heavy* or rather as *light as a feather*; it is the picture of the jacket in combination with the text which reveals that it is the Nike jacket which is very *light*. What is more, the bold representation of the adjective *heavy* is made up of feathers, which by definition are very *light*. As in Figure 3, it is thus the (pictorial) context of the print advert which helps readers to disambiguate the slogan and, at the same time, the interpretation of the underlying phraseological expression.

The aforementioned phenomena represent but a selected number of elements triggering off the recognition of a formulaic expression, be it an idiom, a collocation or a routine formula. They consequently constitute what we decided to call the *smallest common formulaic denominator*, which permits (however, not *guarantees* as the hearer does have to be familiar with the corresponding expression) the recognition and interpretation of the respective locution. This possibility to interpret a more complex structure from one of its constituents, even a minimal one, seems to coincide with a general principle of language use. As a matter of fact, participants in communicative interaction have the capacity to anticipate and / or complete not only formulaic sequences, but also how partners' speaking turns will continue or be terminated in general. Their ability to complete their interlocutor's incomplete utterances appropriately, thus producing "collaborative sentences" (Jefferson 1973: 69) or "joint sentences" (Sacks 1992: 185), demonstrates the fact that much of what speakers verbally produce is indeed prefabricated in a certain way: specific elements put us on the right track of how our interlocutor's utterance could be terminated and / or interpreted. Lexical, structural and co(n)textual phenomena help us to do so!

5 Idiomaticity vs the Idiomatic Footprint of Prefabricated Language

Whereas formulaic sequences are generally defined by *polylexicality* and *relative stability* or *polyfactoriality* and a *smallest common formulaic denominator*, phraseological research calls upon the criterion of *idiomaticity* so as to delimit formulaicity in a narrower sense. As a rule, the determination of the idiomatic character of a phraseme recurs to the gradual phenomenon of *semantic non-compositionality* (e.g. Mel'čuk 2011 : 47).⁶

Burger (2010: 36- 58) distinguishes (*full*) *idioms* (e.g. *push the daisies*, *manger les pissenlits par la racine*, *die Radieschen von unten begucken*; *partial idioms* like most phraseological comparisons (*proud as punch*, *fier comme Artaban*, *stolz wie Oskar*); and *collocations* having a *priori* compositional semantics (*make a decision*, *prendre une décision*, *eine Entscheidung treffen*). However, even within these compositional collocations, the verbs employed are by no means semantically mandatory. They are rather based on conventions of the respective language. Otherwise, it would be possible to simply translate them from one language into another, i.e. *make* > *faire* > *machen*; *prendre* > *take* (more common than *make*) > *nehmen*; *treffen* > *meet* > *rencontrer*. Obviously, this is impossible (although it is frequently done even by advanced foreign language learners).⁷ Hausmann (1997) thus rightly points out that for non-native speakers, everything is idiomatic (i.e. non-compositional) in a foreign language as almost any formulaic expression is subject to combinatorial and selective preferences. Feilke (1998: 74) therefore advocates the term *idiomatic footprint* which, to a greater or lesser extent, affects any language production. As a consequence, even Sinclair's (1991) *open choice principle*, which permits free structural and / or lexical choices as opposed to the *idiom principle* which entails single choices, is prone to preferences which are not necessarily transparent or obvious for the non-native speaker.

The *idiomatic footprint* – a term which we prefer to *idiomaticity* generally linked to non-compositionality, structural deviations or transformational limitations – thus is a gradual phenomenon affecting language productions in general and formulaic expression in particular, which makes it arduous to differentiate idiomatic from non-idiomatic locutions: for a German learner of English, the understanding of *make a decision* would certainly be effortless, but would he produce it if he had not learned it before? We therefore agree with Cowie et al. (1983) who posit:

There is no clear dividing-line between idioms and non-idioms: they form the end-points of a continuum. (Cowie et al. (1983: xiv)

⁶ Syntactic irregularity (*Like father, like son*) and transformational restrictions (*He kicked the bucket, but not: *the bucket was being kicked by him*) are further characteristics of idiomaticity. However, even if frequently focused upon by idiomatic research, these only affect a minority of formulaic expressions. In fact, the majority follow “regular” syntax and semantics.

⁷ In our translation classes from French to German, most corrections bear on inadequate verbs within collocations, e.g. *eine Entscheidung *nehmen* instead of *treffen*, translation of the French *prendre une décision*.

6 Multimodality of Formulaic Speech

Like any oral communication, the production and reception of formulaic expressions proceed in a multimodal way, recurring to segmental, prosodic and corporal means of coding and decoding utterances in general and prefabricated ones in particular. What is more: any enunciation takes place in specific cotexts and contexts which deliver important cues for the interpretation of formulaic utterances, especially when they are modified.

It seems that routine formulae (pragmatemes in Mel'čuk's (2011) terms) have a multimodal nature in that specific corporal activities are concomitant to their production, as shown for *Thanks* and *Hello* (Table 1 above). However, like any utterance, a formulaic one may be prone to be accompanied by corporal activities. Schmale (2005), studying the conversational treatment of idiomatic expressions in German talk shows, observed that nonverbal activities frequently serve to illustrate idioms in various ways: participants gesture to symbolise inverted commas. A talk show host may produce a movement with his right hand from left to right in order to illustrate or underline his statement concerning a gradual or slow process; he may also make a gesture using both hands first to the left then to the right to stress the meaning of *to go from one extreme the other*.

While it is basically impossible represent an idiomatic expression in its integrity using gestures (Imagine doing so for *Like father like son* or *push the daisies*), a gesture might help disambiguate a metaphorical expression by visually creating a referent for part of the idiom. This is the case when a talk show guest utters *Mir ist so ein Stein vom Herzen gefallen* (I was so tremendously relieved), simultaneously making a big circle with both arms stretched out over her head in order to indicate the strength of her feeling of relief, thus semantically filling the otherwise non-referential lexeme *so*.

As for Burger's (2010) kinegrams like *wrinkle one's nose*, *rub one's hands (with glee)*, *land on one's feet*, *knit one's brows*, which verbally depict a corporal activity, it is necessary to distinguish genuine kinegrams (which can be executed nonverbally, alone as an emblem or by accompanying their verbal production) from pseudo-kinegrams (*pull sb's leg*, *tear one's hair*, *lose one's head*) which normally are restricted to the verbal form, a corporal activity being impossible. Following Baur, Baur & Chlosta (1998), certain gestures endowed with a phraseological equivalent like *have it up to here* or *to the eyeballs* as well as obscene gestures using one or two fingers, which do not have to be verbalized when produced, are phraseogestures in a narrow or strict sense.

Dausendschön-Gay, Gülich & Krafft (2007: 469) even believe that stereotyped mimo-gestual patterns or models exist alongside with verbal formulaic sequences. Greeting or leave-taking sequences are a suitable instance for recurring corporal activities which are even more or less compulsory: smiling, handshaking, embracing, hugging, kissing, waving or distancing.

7 Towards a Revised Definition of Formulaic Sequences

Following these reflections as well as the efforts undertaken in Schmale (2011, 2013, 2018), a new definition of *formulaic sequences* is finally put forward for discussion. As opposed to our previous definitions, we abandon the notion of *prefabricated turn-construction unit* (PTCU) on account of its limitation to a single formulaic construction, in favour of the notion of *formulaic sequence* (= FoS), which allows the inclusion of any type of prefabricated construction from the phrase to a communicative genre, and define it as follows:

A *formulaic sequence* is, in a wider sense, stamped by its polyfactorial nature and the presence of a smallest common formulaic denominator, and, in a narrower sense, by the existence of an idiomatic footprint.

The following elements are vital to the definition of formulaic sequences:

- (i) A *formulaic sequence* is characterized by its *polyfactorial nature*, i.e. a foreseeable combination of at least two verbal and / or corporal and / or situational elements.
- (ii) The FoS is recurrently (re)produced in a more or less foreseeable lexicogrammatical form and recognized as such by competent members of the speech community on the grounds of a *smallest common formulaic denominator*.
- (iii) The formulaic sequence can be subject to an *idiomatic and pragmatic footprint*, i.e. susceptible to be embossed by syntactic or semantic deviances from the norm or else by specific conditions of use and connotations.

The following specifications are necessary:

- (ad i) The criterion of *polyfactoriality* is applicable when at least one of the following combinations of factors exists:
 - at least two lexical units,
 - a lexical unit closely linked to a situational factor,
 - a lexical item accompanied by a stereotyped kinesic activity,
 - a nonverbal and a closely linked situational parameter.

Formulaic sequences can, thus, extend from a monolexical routine formula via a syntagmatic idiom or collocation and a proverb to a prefabricated text (e.g. an obituary notice) or a communicative genre (e.g. a wedding ceremony), equally including phraseological models (Section 3, Table 5) as well as *constructions* (Section 3) or morphosyntactic frames.

- (ad ii) The smallest common formulaic denominator allows the recognition and interpretability of a formulaic sequence even in case of considerable variation from its conventional form. *Recognizability by the speaker's speech community* implies that any degree of dissemination and durability of the formulaic sequence in question is imaginable: a formulaic sequence can thus be limited to a small in-group and even be used recurrently during one single encounter.

- (ad iii) The *idiomatic footprint* infers that a formulaic sequence can be semantically totally transparent or completely opaque, regularly built in terms of its structure or subject to morphosyntactic irregularities or transformational restrictions, even prone to pragmatic constraints.

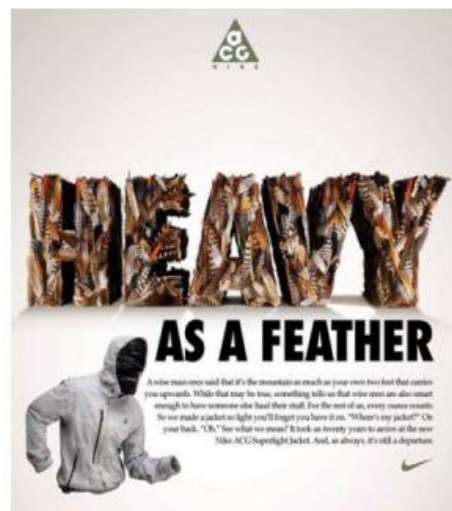
Based on this enlarged definition of linguistic formulaicity, studies of large corpora have to be carried out in order to describe the polyfactorial nature of prefabricated expressions. A comprehensive description of the conditions of use is the *conditio sine qua non* for adequate lemmatization and usage by learners.

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Appendix: Print Advertisements



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***Just because* Constructions in Spoken and Written New Zealand English**

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Abstract

Just because (JB) is widely used and has been a target of commentary and humorous use by English speakers and aroused some interest among linguists, who have investigated its syntax, semantics, and derivation. Some, based on researcher constructed data, have proposed construction analyses (Hirose 1991, Bender and Kathol 2001). Another (Hilpert 2005: 97), using a diachronic corpus, proposes that JB has been grammaticalized as a concessive marker via "the discourse function of inference denial." Our study, based on a corpus of New Zealand written and spoken English, demonstrates, amongst other significant findings, that JB occurs in a far broader set of grammatical contexts than the earlier literature recognizes, that JB constructions are significantly more frequent in spoken than in written English, that JB adverbial clauses are more likely to occur in pre-posed than in post-posed position, that the meaning of *just because* affects this distribution, that *just because* is far more likely to be followed by a clause than a prepositional phrase, and that JB constructions are extremely likely to occur in the discourse context of a negator.

Keywords: *Just because, inference denial, New Zealand English, polarity, spoken language, quantitative linguistics*

1 Introduction

The expression *just because* (JB)^{8,9} is strongly enregistered (e.g. Agha 2003, Silverstein 2003, Johnstone 2014). It occurs across multiple genres and media and as a target of popular usage commentary (e.g. <https://www.quickanddirtytips.com/education/grammar/can-you-start-a-sentence-with-just-because/>), commercial (e.g. *just because* e-cards; *just because* flower shops), and humorous use (e.g. Homer Simpson cartoons; <https://me.me/i/just-because-i-dont-care-doesnt-mean-i-dont-understand-11750940>; Japanese anime film <http://just-because.jp/>). An internet search

⁸ *Just because* is one of many more or less fixed expressions beginning with *just*: *just in case/time*; *just the thing/job/ticket*; *just my luck*; *just about right/done*; *just a minute/moment*; *just now/then*; *just who/what/when/why*, etc.

⁹ Lee (1987, 1991) and Kishner & Gibbs (1996) are studies of the meanings of *just*; Lindemann & Mauranen (2001) is a study of *just* in an academic corpus; Disken et al. (2019) is a corpus study of collocates of *just* and its emergence as a pragmatic marker; Iten (1998) is a relevance theoretic study of the causal and concessive meaning relations between *because* and *although*.

on Google Chrome for *just because* returned "About 7,090,000,000 results (0.56 seconds)" (29-11-2019).¹

In spite of its ubiquity and prominence, it has garnered little interest from linguists. Those who have addressed it investigated its syntax, semantics, and derivation. However, these studies are limited by their decontextualized data and their narrow foci, e.g. on the construction in which JB introduces a finite clause functioning as the subject of a predicate headed by *doesn't mean* (1), and its relation to a construction in which an adverbial clause introduced by JB is pre-posed to a sentence whose *it*-subject is anaphoric to the JB construction and whose predicate is also headed by *doesn't mean* (2).

(1) Just because he's a bloke doesn't mean that he's wrong (#28).²

(2) Just because he's a bloke, it doesn't mean he's wrong.

Because of its remarkable online presence and our belief that *just because* and the structures incorporating it are in flux - *just because* may be grammaticalizing, perhaps lexicalizing, though our methodology does not allow us to determine this, and the structures it introduces may be expanding their syntactic range - our study is the first in a series of proposed comparisons of JB constructions across various English dialects. Because one of us (Calude) is thoroughly familiar with the New Zealand Corpus of Written and Spoken English (Holmes et al. 1998, Bauer 1993, Calude & James 2011), this paper presents a corpus-based study of the forms, meanings, and functions of JB constructions³ in New Zealand English (NZE).

2 Goals of this Study

In contrast to the narrow theoretical foci and limited data sources of earlier studies of JB, we have two interacting goals for this study. First, we identify the formal, semantic, and discourse features of the JB constructions, specifically:

- i. the relative frequency of each construction in spoken and written mode,
- ii. the range and relative frequencies of constructions introduced by JB and their grammatical roles,
- iii. the interaction between the meanings of a JB construction and its grammatical distribution, and
- iv. the polarity characteristics of the JB constructions and of the discourse contexts in which the constructions occur.

¹ Compare this number with "About 6,160,000,000 results (0.89 seconds)" on November 3, 2019.

² Numbers in this format refer to examples in our data – which we make fully available.

³ A note on our terminology: "JB construction" refers to the grammatical unit, typically a clause or prepositional phrase, introduced by just because; "JB sentence" refers to the sentence in which the JB construction functions as subject or other grammatical relation.

Second, we explore co-occurrence relationships amongst these features, e.g. the semantic and pragmatic features associated with JB constructions functioning as sentential subjects.

3 Brief Literature Review

With one exception (Hilpert 2005, 2007), the prior research on *just because* is based on data constructed by authors in support of particular theoretical analyses - construction grammar (Hirose 1991, Bender & Kathol 2001, Kanetani n.d, 2007, 2019), and minimalism (Matsuyama 2001). Hilpert argues from a diachronic corpus that JB has grammaticalized into a concessive marker indicating inference denial. While our study has substantially different goals and methodology, we nonetheless feel genre-bound to review that research, however briefly. We discuss the most important of our precursors in chronological order.

3.1 Hirose (1991)

Hirose (1991) provides an intricate argument that (*just*) *because*-clauses in subject position derive "from the blending of a construction with a *that*-clause as subject and one with an adverbial *because*-clause" when "they perform an identical function," in this case "to deny the inferential process of drawing a certain conclusion from a certain factual premise and express some doubt about the validity of the conclusion as well." This "semantic function" "restricts the distribution of *because*-clause subjects" to "negative sentences with verbs of inference" (32).

However, Hirose's analysis is unsatisfactory in several ways. First, it does not specify exactly how the blending of the two constructions is effected. Second, it is observationally inaccurate in several respects: (i) His claim that the main clause of a sentence with a *because*-clause subject must be headed by a verb of inference (18) must be revised to allow other expressions of inference such as nouns like *reason*, as attested by his example: *Because men are still incapable of being angels is no good reason why they should be ants*. (ii) His claim to the contrary notwithstanding (19), *because*-clause subjects do occur in positive sentences, e.g. *Because some body parts have already been turned into commodities means that trade in human organs must be better regulated* [adapted from Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 731, [24] i)]. Third, he regards *just* as an optional modifier of *because* (17), and so fails to distinguish the two expressions: *just because* is a strongly entrenched and enregistered expression and occurs far more frequently as the introducer of a subject clause than *because* does. A search for *because* in the spoken COCA corpus returned no *because*-clause subjects in the first 100 concordance lines, whereas a search for *just because* returned 14 *just because*-clause subjects. Fourth, his claim that the inference denial interpretation of a *because*-clause subject is a "semantic function" (32, emphasis added) contradicts his claim that the inferential reading is based on Piercean abduction (20) for the simple reason that the abductive process is a pragmatic one (though he may be using "semantic" more broadly than he should). We believe that this analysis is unwarranted because the semantics of the predicate of the main clause - *mean* / *reason* - denotes the inferential relationship. Additionally, Hirose

claims that the abductive process cannot return a causal reading of *because*-clause subject constructions, though he does not explain why.

3.2 Bender & Kathol (2001)

Bender & Kathol (2001) [B&K] argue for a construction analysis of inference, denying *just because* sentences, e.g. *Just because we live in Berkeley doesn't mean that we're left wing radicals* (B&K example 1). They argue that the *just because* expression and the predicate are not combined into a single sentence as subject and predicate by English syntax. Rather, they are combined as a "specialized subtype of head-modifier constructions" in which the *just because* construction is always an adjunct (18) that "preced[es] a negated main clause, and specifies that the negation in the main clause should take scope over the adjunct" (15). This allows for the inference denial reading, which would be impossible if the JB construction were the syntactic subject, as the negator could not take the JB construction within its scope.

However, the JB constructions pass several of the tests for subjecthood identified in Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 236-243). They occur immediately before their predicates. The sentence may undergo subject auxiliary inversion, e.g. *Doesn't just because he's rich mean he's happy? Does just because he's rich not mean he's happy?* And tag questioning, e.g. *Just because he's rich doesn't mean he's happy, does it?* A single overt subject allows for coordinated predicate VPs, e.g. *Just because the T.V. is on doesn't mean we're watching it or care about it.* Subjects are typically obligatory in indicative sentences, so an inference denial sentence in which the JB construction is juxtaposed to its predicate but is not a subject, violates this general pattern. Matsuyama (2001) provides several further arguments for the subjecthood of JB constructions. All of these observations strongly suggest that the JB construction can be a subject and should therefore be outside the scope of the negation. However, the following remarks on the scope of negation from Horn & Wansing (2017) suggest that the case may be more complicated than Bender & Kathol assume.

Negation also interacts in complicated and often surprising ways with quantification and modality. Perhaps the most analyzed interaction is with universal quantification. Despite the *locus classicus* '*All that glitters is not gold*' and similar examples in French, German, and other languages, the wide scope of negation over universal subjects (or in cases like *All the boys didn't leave*, the possibility of such readings, depending on the speaker, the intonation contour, and the context of utterance) is often condemned by purists, yet is not as illogical as it may appear.

3.3 Matsuyama (2001)

Matsuyama (2001) presents a minimalist (Chomsky 1995) analysis of both clausal and phrasal JB constructions, respectively: *Just because he is a professor of medicine at Cambridge does not make his findings unquestionable* [Matsuyama's (4b)] and *Just because of his dumb mistake doesn't mean you're going to have lights out in Manhattan* (Kanetani 2019: 131 (1)). He argues thoroughly and convincingly that clausal JB constructions can be sentential subjects (332-351). He also argues that within his minimalist analysis, *just because of NP* is a prepositional phrase and

consequently cannot function as a subject (351-352), and thus accounting for the ungrammaticality he accords **Just because of my being here doesn't mean I didn't go* [his (67) adapted]. We will have more to say about this judgment in our discussion of Kanetani (2019).

3.4 Hilpert (2005)

Hilpert (2005) is a diachronic corpus study of the "grammaticalization of the English phrase *just because* into a concessive marker" (85) "by way of the discourse function of inference denial." His data consist of 2062 instances of *just because* drawn from several corpora: BNC written, Literature Online, Modern English Text Collection, and London Times Digital. He argues that the phrase *just because* has grammaticalized into a concessive marker (85), though he provides no proof of grammaticalization or of concessivity. He argues that "[s]entences of the form *just because X it doesn't mean Y* state that Y is not a valid inference from the fact X" (87). Hilpert identifies a range of expressions, verbal, nominal, and idiomatic, that "are semantically related to inferencing" and that function in the place of *doesn't mean* in the JB sentences, e.g. *assume*, *think* (88, his Table 3). Hilpert also provides a list of 13 "syntactic environments" in which JB occurs in his data (90-91, his Table 4) which we present in our Table 4 below along with the types of JB constructions identified in our data but not in Hilpert's. He briefly discusses each of his environments, paying special attention to the constructions represented by *Just because X, it doesn't mean Y* and *Just because X doesn't mean Y*, both of which "appear only after 1950" (94) and "instantiate the semantic prototype of inference denial," though the form without the *it* main-clause subject now occurs more frequently than its alternative (91).

3.5 Hilpert (2007)

Hilpert (2007) is a less technical follow-up to Hilpert (2005). It repeats the analysis of JB constructions proposed there and wonders why the JB clausal construction has not excited any prescriptive animus even though it is a recent and somewhat idiosyncratic innovation not entirely consistent with English grammar. He argues that it escaped critical scrutiny because it "gradually evolved out of a canonical syntactic structure," which he characterizes as "a regular hypotactic (subordinate) construction - a preposed *because* clause followed by a negative main clause" (32), from which it developed into an idiomatic marker of concessivity (31). It certainly has not escaped scrutiny now, as our Google searches indicate.

3.6 Kanetani (n.d., 2007, 2019)

Kanetani discusses the JB and related constructions in a series of papers (n.d., 2007, and 2019), although he does not distinguish sentences in which the subordinate clause is introduced by *because* from those introduced by *just because*. Kanetani (n.d.) argues that JB constructions of the types represented in (1) and (2) above are similar to "reasoning" constructions such as *It has rained, because the ground is wet* because the *because*-clause represents a premise from which the proposition represented by the main clause can be inferred. They are similar to "causal" construc-

tions such as *The ground is wet because it has rained* as the *because*-clause is presupposed in each type.

Kanetani (2007) compares patterns of modification of *because* and *since* by "focalizing" adverbs such as *simply*, *only*, and *just*. Drawing on Quirk et al. (1985) he distinguishes between exclusive and particularizing focalizing adverbs (e.g. *just*, *simply*, etc. vs. *especially*, *largely*, etc.; 353), he concludes that conjunctions in the causal construction can be focalized by both exclusives and particularizers, e.g. *He went to college just / largely because his parents asked him to* [cf. Kanetani's (30) and (31)], whereas inferential *because* and *since* clauses can be focalized by particularizers but not by exclusives (357). While analysis of the distribution of these adverbs would benefit from a corpus study, this is beyond the purview of our present study.

Kanetani (2019: 131-145) engages Matsuyama's (2001) minimalist explanation for the ungrammaticality of sentences of the form *Just because of NP doesn't mean Y* - the JBoDM construction. Kanetani notes that such sentences do occur (none occur in our corpus) even though they are felt to be less than fully grammatical. He provides a construction grammar analysis derived from that in Hirose (1991) that accounts for both their occurrence and residual feeling of ungrammaticality: the JBoDM construction is produced online by analogy with the inference denying *because* construction; the latter is "well entrenched," the former "is a product of analogical deduction" and is therefore not an established construction (145).

4 Methods, Data, and Coding

The data for our analysis is drawn from corpora of spoken (approx. 1 million words) and written (approx. 6 million words) of New Zealand English. Our AntConc (Anthony 2016) search for the string *just because* returned 90 useable instances of the expression and surrounding context (we included 2-3 sentences or turns before and after the constructions).

As we discussed in Section 3, previous accounts of JB constructions have uncovered some of their different syntactic forms and their combinations, as well as their distinct pragmatic interpretations and characteristics. One of the major goals of our work here is to unite the (fuller) range of these two different sets of characteristics in the same analysis in order to study how these might pattern together (that is, which syntactic forms might be associated with which semantic, pragmatic, and discourse characteristics). To this end, we manually coded our 90 examples for a number of variables, as described and exemplified below. We especially want to emphasize our use of naturally occurring data (rather than introspective, author-created examples as has been done in the majority of previous work on JB constructions), because we believe that naturally occurring data contains the key to identifying and understanding the full range of uses and functions of the construction by speakers.

First, we coded the linguistic medium - spoken or written discourse - that the JB construction occurred in. To the best of our knowledge, no one has considered this distinction in relation to JB constructions before.

Second, we considered syntactic form. Table 1 lists the types of complements of JB that we encountered in our data, though we also found instances from other sources in which *just because* seems to reject a complement:

- (3) "Oh, oh, *why?*" pleaded the girls.
 "Because."
 "Because *what?*"
 "Just because." (Farrell 2002: 300)

	JB Constructions	Example
1	<i>just because</i> + prepositional phrase	<i>just because of an accident or what</i> (#71)
2	<i>just because</i> + simplex clause	<i>just because they called him a director doesn't mean that he was necessarily a partner</i> (#68)
3	<i>just because</i> + complex clause	<i>just because the international bankers say you've got to do this</i> (#73)
4	<i>just because</i> + coordinated clauses	<i>just because someone else breaks a window and steals something</i> (#70)

Table 1: Structural Types of JB Constructions

Third, we identified the grammatical functions of the JB constructions we discovered in our data, which we list with examples in Table 2:

	Functions of the JB Construction	Example
1	Subject	<i>Just because they called him a director doesn't mean that he was necessarily a partner</i> (#68)
2	Preposed adverbial clause	<i>Just because our population is small, it doesn't mean that we are less deserving . . .</i> (#30)
3	Post-posed adverbial clause	" <i>You can tour just because you want to tour and make it an event . . .</i> " (#6)
4	Complement clause	<i>We are told it is just because Elm Court is not making a profit.</i> (#13)

5	Stand-alone (not grammatically integrated into a larger unit)	<p>Speaker 1: <i>yeah it sounds gripping news all right</i></p> <p>Speaker 2: <i>oh yes just because you won't eat them (#79)</i></p> <p><i>"You ask very obscure questions, Mr Craddock," complained Mr Tyler.</i></p> <p><i>"Just because you contemplate the answer in advance and you don't like the answer, Mr Tyler. Is that not the position?" asked Mr Craddock. (#24)</i></p>
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Table 2: Grammatical Functions of the JB Construction

Fourth, we determined for each JB sentence, whether the JB construction could be moved from the position it occupied in the original to another position in the sentence. For example, we determined whether preposed JB constructions might be post-posed. Compare the preposed JB construction of (5) with the post-posed version in (6).

- (5) Just because it's not now on the agenda, and most are supportive and comfortable with our present system, there's no reason not to provide for a process to manage the inevitable debate (#22).
- (6) There's no reason not to provide for a process to manage the inevitable debate, just because it's not now on the agenda, and most are supportive and comfortable with our present system.

Conversely, some post-posed JB constructions may be preposed:

- (7) I would probably continue to do this even if the business made only a modest profit on some jobs and even losses on others, just because I am passionate about it (#33).
- (8) Just because I am passionate about it, I would probably continue to do this even if the business made only a modest profit on some jobs and even losses on others.

Not all our examples allow these reversals, so our fourth factor is a binary distinction regarding the possibility of reversal.

Fifth, we noted whether the JB expression was associated with a negator and if so, where the negator might occur. We found several possibilities:

Examples where the negator modified the JB expression itself:

- (9) McCaw and Carter will be valued not just because they are once in a life-time players but because they offer a lot in terms of leadership . . . (#8)

Examples where the negator was inside the JB construction include:

- (10) We are told it is just because Elm Court is not making a profit (#13)

Examples where the negator modifies the verb *mean*:

- (11) Just because our population is small, it doesn't mean that we are less deserving . . . (#30).

Examples where the negator negates the main clause with which the JB construction was associated:

- (12) Sacramento's lawyer Robert Fardell, QC, said the authority was not sued just because it was thought to have 'deep pockets' . . . (#29).

Sixth, we noted the number of negators within the JB construction and in its relevant context, which we characterize as the intensity of negation of the fragment of discourse.

Seventh, we noted whether the JB construction was presupposed or not. We deemed it to be presupposed if both of us agreed that it was not asserted and if it seemed to be assumed to be true whether positive, negated or questioned, i.e. whether it "survived negation" and interrogation. Of the 90 instances, 80 (88.9%) were presupposed:

- (13) there's nothing to stop you going this other way just because everyone goes to england (sic) the <laughs> the same old way (#89).

Four instances (4.4%) were not presupposed, e.g.:

- (14) was that just because of an accident or what (#71)

And six instances (6.7%) were undecidable, e.g.:

- (15) Speaker A: yeah it sounds gripping news all right
Speaker B: oh yes just because you won't eat them (#79)

Finally, we identified several meanings associated with JB constructions. Table 3 specifies these, giving examples of each type⁴:

	Meanings	Example
1	for this <u>r</u> ea <u>s</u> on <u>a</u> lone (RA), ⁵ in other words, for this reason and only / just this reason	<i>But the jury had to be certain that Watson had lied and not just been mistaken. People had many different reasons for lying – the jury must not decide that just because a person lied he or she was guilty. However, lies could be a guide to the general credibility of a person. (#5)</i>

⁴ There was one case whose meaning we could not determine.

⁵ RA, RO, and NBR are the acronyms we used to code the meanings associated with the JB expression indicated in the table.

2	for this <u>r</u> reason and <u>o</u> thers (RO), in other words, this is just one reason among other reasons	<i>'A lovely try,' making me blush, but I see other men smiling and nodding their heads, and understand he's speaking for them all, and I move closer to him on the seat. He's pleased not just because our team has won. It's the beauty of the cut-through that moves him, and the pass from centre to wing, and the run for the corner. (#60)</i>
3	for <u>n</u> o <u>b</u> etter <u>r</u> reason than (NBR), in other words, for this reason which is not even a good reason	<i>He seems to think, just because his head is full of Jesus, that he has a direct telephone line with him. Well, boy, let me tell you a thing or two about Sione. (#58)</i>

Table 3: Semantic Interpretations of JB Constructions

4.1 "Syntactic Environments" of *just because*

Hilpert (2005: 89-94) provides a valuable list of 13 "syntactic environments of *just because*" and their typical meanings. Our NZE corpora included 12 other environments not found by Hilpert in his British and American data. We append our 12 environments to Hilpert's 13 in Table 4. The table gives the structure of the environment, an example of each structure, the meaning of the JB construction, and the frequency of each type in our corpora.

Structure	Hilpert's examples	Meaning	Fre- quency in NZE Corpus
1. Just because X it doesn't mean Y.	<i>Just because you play guitars it doesn't mean you've got soul.</i>	Inference denial	4
2. Just because X doesn't mean Y.	<i>Just because data satisfy ex- pectations doesn't mean they are correct.</i>	Inference denial	17
3. Just because X NEG-CLAUSE.	<i>Just because you donate an egg, that does not make you a parent.</i>	Inference denial and concessive	4
4. Just	<i>Just because it's a Number One</i>	None given	none

because X NEG-VP.	<i>record doesn't make it a better record.</i>		
5. Just because X POS-CLAUSE.	<i>"Just because he won a few stupid car races," she went on, "he seems to think he rules the world."</i>	Not normally concessive, cause not well founded.	3
6. Just because X POS-VP.	<i>Just because he's got a black belt means nothing.</i>	VP has negative meaning, though formally positive	none
7. Just because X!	<i>Just because she's never had a proper job.</i>	Exclamatives with causal and concessive meanings	1
8. NEG-CLAUSE just because X.	<i>You cannot leave your parents just because you want to.</i>	Concessive and causal	24
9. POS-CLAUSE just because X.	<i>Utopias lead to disappointment just because they are utopias.</i>	Causal	16
10. POS-CLAUSE not just because X.	<i>"We had a very good season," Walsh reflects, "not just because we've won something, but because you learn in the process."</i>	JB construction in scope of NEG so downplay validity of invoked reason	4
11. POS-CLAUSE just because of X.	<i>A total of 37 in every 100 women believe that bankers treat them differently just because of their sex.</i>	Causal	2
12. POS-CLAUSE not just because of X.	<i>Clients were also causing headaches, and not just because of fees.</i>	Denies causal relationship	1
13. NP is just; because CLAUSE	<i>The Lords of Earth presume to think Their Actions just, because we please to wink.</i>	<i>just</i> means "fair" – pre-grammaticalized meaning	none (our search did not allow it)

Examples found in the NZE corpora but not found by Hilpert (2005)			
a. And not JB construction	<i>And not just because it was Picasso who had so few redeeming features. (#1)</i>	For this reason and others; presupposed JB construction	2
b. NEG-CLAUSE just because of NP	<i>The subject of his first great musical partnership hasn't come up just because of that anniversary. (#2)</i>	Cause, for no other reason than ...	2
c. JB construction. Tag question	<i>Just because you contemplate the answer in advance and you don't like the answer, Mr Tyler. Is that not the position? (#24)</i>	Undecidable	1
d. X NEG-think that JB construction, clause	<i>Clearly Mendoza doesn't think that just because you know about cars, you have to give up the more feminine joys in life. (#26)</i>	Denies that presupposed JB construction is adequate reason for clause	1
e. or JB construction	<i>His determined struggle into the Otago University staff club for the front-bench meeting, after a nasty cycling accident was a sign of his determination to support Phil Goff- or just because Mr Mallard never resists a chance to air his views? (#31)</i>	Potential alternative reason for action	1
f. JB of X, POS-Clause	<i>Just because of the earthquake, I was wondering whether people would want to come into town, but it was like everybody needed a bit of a laugh. (#47)</i>	Reason	1
g. If clause, JB construction, then clause	<i>If her mind gets all disturbed and upset just because she sees wiki then it's pathetic. (#57)</i>	Reason/cause	1
h. Wh-clause JB construction	<i>What makes a lie more respectable just because it is said by an MP? (#64)</i>	Reason/cause	1
i. Stand alone JB sentence	<i>um i guess it's we've just been taking things more seriously and that and just</i> <i><new speaker> what things</i> <i><first speaker> just because</i>	Reason/cause	1

	<i>small group for a long time was just more of a social time together rather than talking about anything christian or as a support group or anything you know as any real function like that it was just like a get together and muck around and smoke cigars and do stupid things and that's all we did. (#69)</i>		
j. NEG clause JB construction	<i>I haven't been living on a diet of takeaways just because I've had twelve pies in the last three days it's only because the garage was close to the film festival. (#40)</i>	Inferential	1
k. why JB construction	<i>why just because you were away from home? (#84)</i>	Reason/cause	1
l. NEG JB construction as focus of <i>it</i> -cleft	<i>When Prime Minister Jim Bolger lost his temper with Winston Peters in Parliament last week . . . it was not just because he sees sly racism in the NZ First leader's anti-immigration campaign. (#87)</i>	Reason/cause	1

Table 4: Types of JB Constructions from Hilpert (2005: 89-94) and NZE Fata

So, even though our database consists of just 90 examples, it includes a much broader range of distinguishable sub-types than Hilpert's much larger dataset and represents a broader range of meanings of *just because*. We do not know whether these uses are unique to New Zealand English or whether they are attributable to the careful manual inspection of our examples; future work would clarify this.

5 Statistical Analyses

As outlined in our methods section, our data consisted of three types of categorical variables: seven different syntactic / grammatical variables (such as function or position of the JB construction), two discourse-pragmatic variables (linguistic mode; whether or not the JB construction is presupposed), and one semantic variable (the interpretation of the JB construction). There was one exception, namely, the variable of JB construction length is numerical, which we coded as total number of words. We wanted to explore potential associations between the form of the JB construction and its interpretation, or use in discourse, and following this, any interactions between these. We discuss the simple associations first and consider interactions thereafter.

It is not straight-forward to analyse association measures between so many categorical variables, especially given the small data sample available to us. For these reasons, hypothesis testing was not possible. Instead, we used Cramer's V value as a measure of association (as suggested by Levshina 2015: 222), and we performed Fisher's exact tests in addition (some of our counts were zero so Fisher's exact was more appropriate than a traditional Chi Square test)⁶. Our primary interest was any potential association between interpretation and form, so we calculated the values above for all the combinations between the interpretation variable and all other variables coded. The results are given in Table 5 (the most significant ones are shaded).

Variables	Cramer's V ⁷	Fisher's exact ⁸ (2-sided)	Strength of Association
Interpretation & Function	0.20	0.422	low-moderate
Interpretation & Position	0.253	0.056*	moderate
Interpretation & Structure	0.27	0.051*	moderate
Interpretation & Mode	0.42	0.0001***	high
Interpretation & Presupposition	0.16	0.056	low
Interpretation & Reversibility	0.48	<0.001***	high
Interpretation & negation locus	0.21	0.099	low-moderate
Interpretation & negation intensity	0.198	0.369	low

Table 5: Association Measures between Interpretation of JB Constructions and Various Formal and Discourse-Pragmatic Factors

The strongest association was observed between the JB construction interpretation and its reversibility, position and structure, and the linguistic mode it occurred in. One useful way of visualising these associations is via Mosaic plots (Baayen 2008: 111-113, Levshina 2015: 219). Figures 1-7 below give the Mosaic plots corresponding to these relationships. We discuss each one in turn.

First, we consider the spread of JB constructions across the two modes investigated: speech and writing. Given the total number of words examined in the two modes, speech has significantly more occurrences of JB constructions compared to writing

⁶ All graphics included in the paper and the modelling was done using R Software (R Core Team 2017).

⁷ Cramer's V range 0-1 is interpreted as follows: 0-0.20 low association, 0.20-0.50 moderate association, 0.50-1 high association.

⁸ Fisher's exact p-values are marked by *, **, *** depending on the strength of significance (following R convention).

(Fisher's Exact $p < 0.001$, CI (5.678, 13.882), odds ratio=8.83) even when ignoring the JB constructions used in quotes in the written corpus (Fisher's Exact $p < 0.001$, CI (2.974, 8.348), odds ratio=5.00).

However, when looking at the actual JB constructions in our data, we found further differences between how they are used across speech and writing, depending on their more specific interpretation. The Mosaic plot in Figure 1 gives the relative proportion of JB constructions of various meanings (across *columns*, from left to right) as found in the different modes (across *rows*, from top to bottom). The plot shows that the greatest proportion of our data was made up by the JB constructions interpreted as “no better reason” and found in spoken language (the largest grey box in the plot):

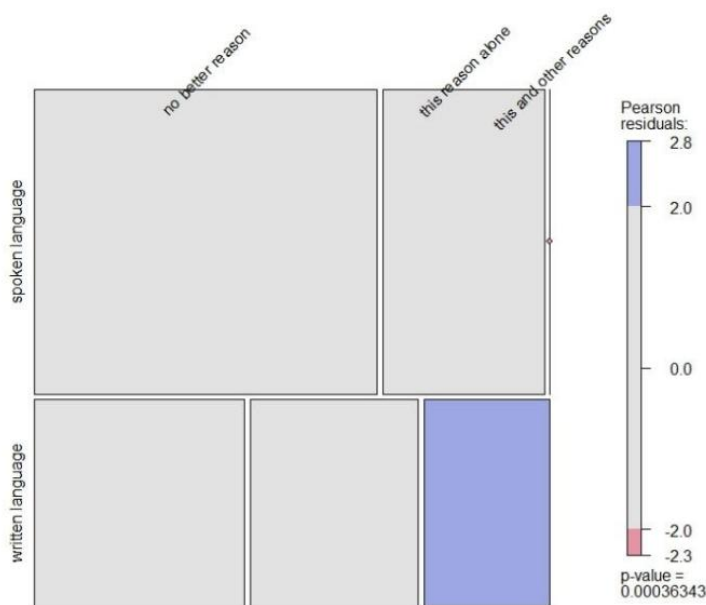


Figure 1: Mosaic Plot of JB Construction Interpretation and Mode

The Mosaic plot also shows that JB constructions whose meaning can be summarized by “this and other reasons” are significantly more likely to be found in written than in spoken language (where they are altogether absent). The blue box indicates a statistically significantly higher than expected proportion of JB constructions meaning “this and other reasons” in written language, and the tiny red box indicates significantly fewer than expected counts of JB constructions meaning “this and other reasons” in speech (note that mosaic plots automatically calculate a Chi-Square p-value; we prefer the more conservative Fisher Exact test – they both give the same answer in this case).

We now turn to associations found between the various interpretations of JB constructions and their formal properties. The first association plot we consider is between JB construction interpretation and likelihood of being able to reverse the order of the JB construction and the y-clause.

In Figure 2, we see that JB constructions meaning “this and other reasons” are significantly more often reversible than non-reversible, compared to what might be expected by chance. However, in general, the majority of JB constructions are overwhelmingly non-reversible constructions, so JB constructions with the meaning “this

and other reasons” are unusual (among JB constructions) for their association with reversibility (compare the total area of the bottom row of boxes to the total area of the top row of boxes):

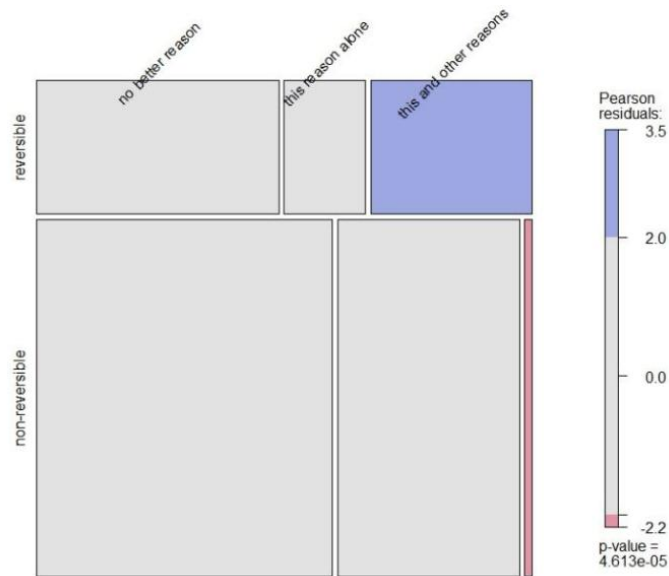


Figure 2: Mosaic Plot of JB Construction Interpretation and Reversibility

The Mosaic plot in Figure 3 shows the association between the interpretation of the JB construction and the position of the various types of JB construction. The figure shows that JB constructions interpreted as “this and other reasons” are more likely to precede the Y-clause than follow it (however, this is outside the statistical significance level of 0.05). Additionally, we found more preposed JB constructions than post-posed ones.



Figure 3: Mosaic Plot of JB Construction Interpretation and Position of JB Construction

Figure 4 shows the strong association between the interpretation of the JB construction and its structural properties. The figure gives a plot of the structure of the JB construction as found across the three meanings investigated. The left-hand side of the plot gives the various structures available in order of complexity (from phrase to simplex clause, coordinate clause, complex clause and complex compound clause). We see that a great majority of JB constructions are simple, followed by coordinated clauses (very few examples in our data were constructions in which the JB construction was a phrase or a complex clause). While the lack of complex clauses is not all that surprising given its high complexity, the lack of (the simpler) phrasal JB constructions was somewhat surprising given that most of our constructions come from spoken language. The plot also shows that phrasal JB constructions are more likely to be interpreted as “this reason alone” and much less likely to encode the interpretation “no better reason than” (though as before, this did not reach the 0.05 level of significance).

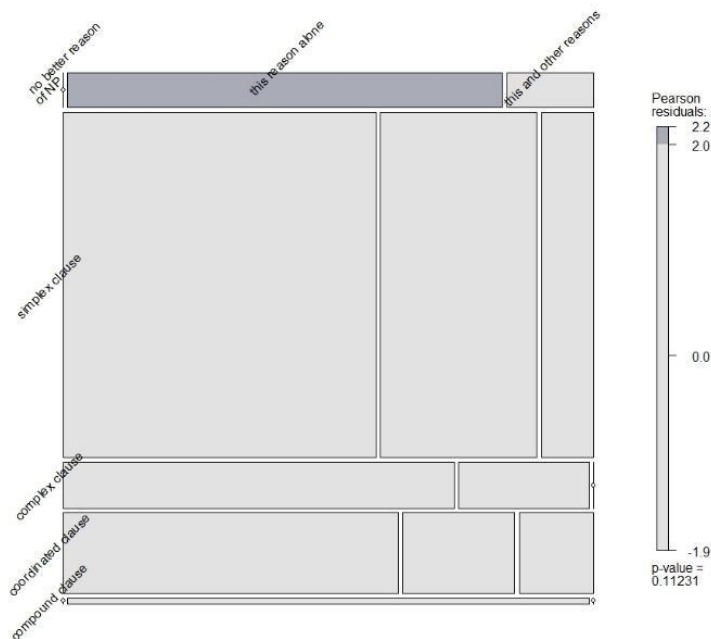


Figure 4: Mosaic Plot of JB Construction Interpretation and Structure

Figure 5 shows the strong associations we observed between the structure of the JB construction and the intensity of negation, Cramer’s Value=0.407 (where this was present, which happened in all but three constructions). The most common pattern was for the JB construction to involve one single negation marker (either within it, or within the sentence containing it). However, two negatives were significantly more likely to occur with JB constructions in which the JB construction was expressed by a coordinated clause, and a negative was most likely to occur in the wider context (that is, not inside the JB construction itself or even in the sentence containing it) when the JB construction was expressed by a complex compound clause.

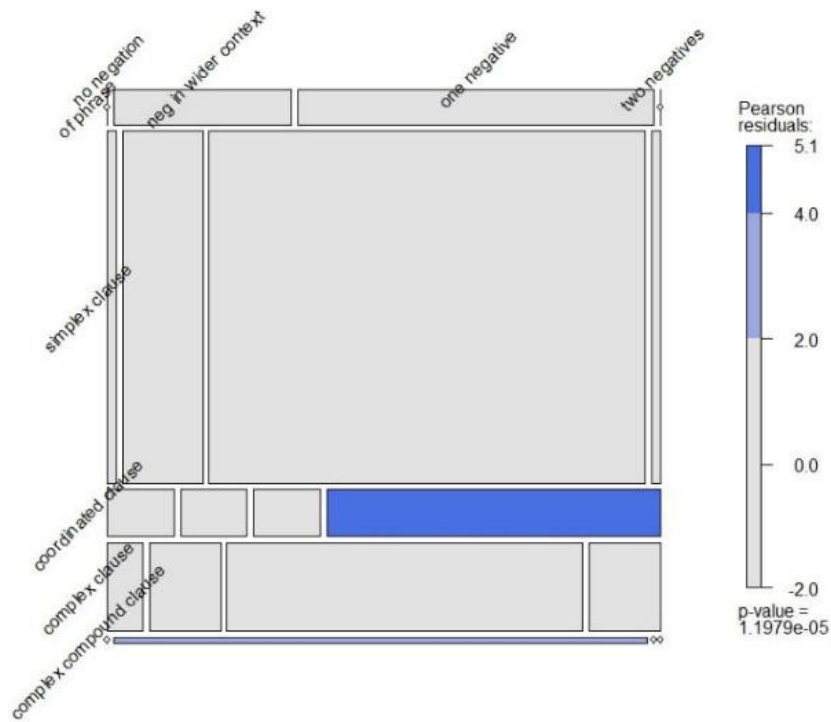


Figure 5: Mosaic Plot of Structure of JB Constructions and Intensity of Negation

Figure 6 shows the final association discussed here between the position of the JB construction and the locus of negation, Cramer's Value=0.461. As Figure 6 indicates, the preferred locus of the negative marker(s) is inside the JB construction, and this pattern is particularly significant for JB constructions in which the construction is post-posed.

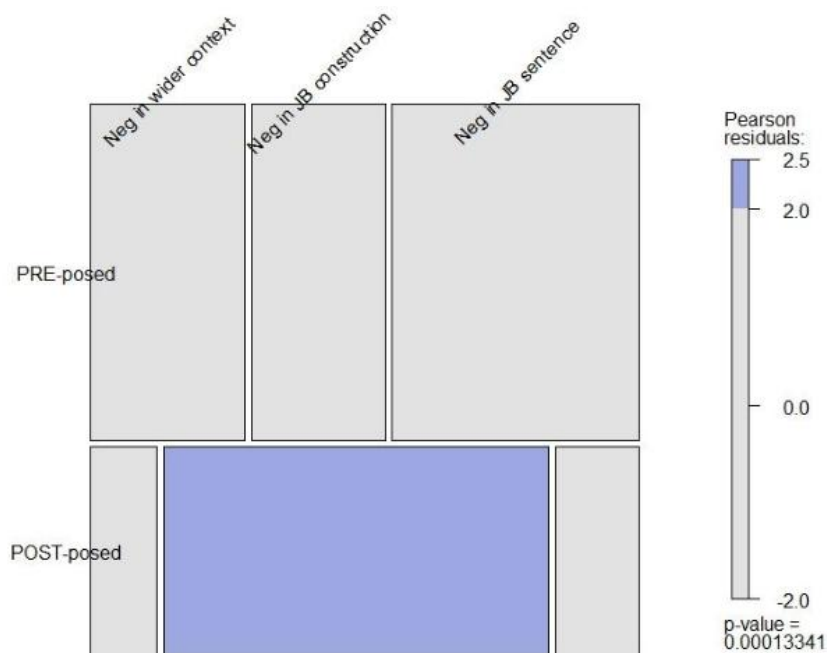


Figure 6: Mosaic Plot of Position of JB Construction and Locus of Negation

Given these associations, it seems relevant to ask to what extent we might detect interactions between the factors Investigated. For example, could it be that “this-reason-alone” JB constructions might be reversible in speech but not in writing? In statistical terms, this is an interaction between interpretation, reversibility and mode. To test this hypothesis, we resorted to a log-linear analysis (Gries 2013: 324-327, Glynn 2014: 321ff) because our parameters are almost exclusively categorical. One constraint of log-linear modeling is its thirst for data – it ideally requires five times the number of observations as the multiplication of the number of levels observed for each variable coded. As we had only 90 items, we were limited to testing at most two or three variables at one time. In light of the associations noted in Table 5, we built a log-linear model using the variables of interpretation, mode and reversibility, whose results are given in Table 6.

Model	AIC	BIC	χ^2	df	p-Value
Interpretation + Mode + Reversibility	84.918	87.342	38.450	7	<0.0001 ***
Interpretation* Reversibility + Mode	70.686	74.081	20.219	5	0.001**
Interpretation* Mode + Reversibility	69.883	73.278	19.416	5	0.001**
Interpretation* Mode	86.750	89.659	38.282	6	<0.0001 ***
Interpretation* Reversibility	71.612	74.521	23.144	6	<0.0001 ***

Table 6: Log-Linear Model with Interactions between Factors

Figure 7 shows that JB constructions interpreted as “this and other reasons” were statistically significantly over-represented in written language as non-reversible structures (and under-represented in written language as reversible ones).

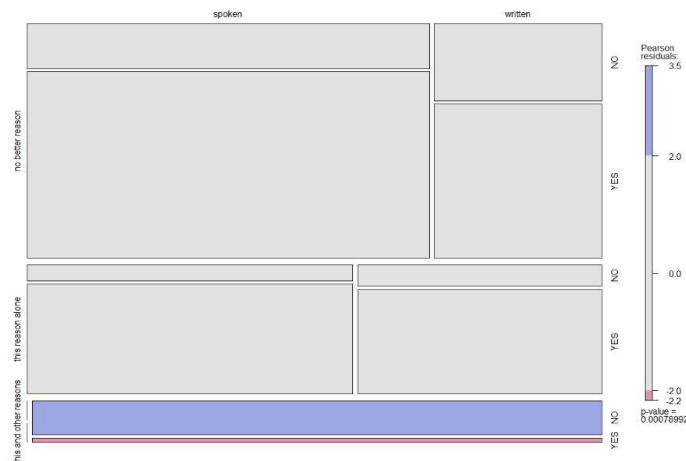


Figure 7: Mosaic Plot of Log-linear Model with Interactions between Factors

Finally, we attempted to model the position of the JB construction (preposed or post-posed) from weight measures (length of the JB construction expressed as number of words) and complexity (structure of the JB construction whether a phrase, simplex clause, complex clause or coordinated clauses) with a logistic regression, but neither of the predictors were significant in our model. This null result is not particularly meaningful because it could have occurred either because, unlike other linguistic studies of this type of phenomenon (e.g. Diessel 2008), the position of JB constructions is indeed not moderated by the structural and interpretative factors coded, or because the statistical model did not have sufficient power to detect it due to insufficient data (90 items). We mention the null result here for completeness. Below is a summary of the main associations uncovered:

- i. JB constructions are significantly more frequently used in spoken language than in written language.
- ii. JB constructions meaning “this and other reasons” are significantly more likely to be used in writing than in speech and statistically significantly more likely to be coded by a reversible construction.
- iii. Over 90% of the JB constructions involve some negation marker, and a great majority will exhibit it either within the construction itself or within the sentence containing it. However, it is also possible to encounter two negative markers, and significantly likely to do so in the case of JB constructions which are part of a coordinated clause.
- iv. JB constructions favor carrying the negative marker(s) inside the construction and this is statistically significantly likely to be the case for post-posed JB constructions.
- v. Our data contains more preposed JB constructions than post-posed ones, and JB constructions meaning “this and other reasons” show a tendency towards being preposed (but this tendency was not statistically significant).
- vi. Most of our JB constructions are coded by simple clauses or coordinate clauses, but for those few examples of phrasal JB constructions encountered, these were typically interpreted as “no better reason” (but this tendency was not statistically significant).

6 Discussion

While it is perhaps not surprising that JB constructions occur more frequently in spoken than in written New Zealand English, what is surprising is the remarkably complex interdependencies among mode, meaning, function, and form of an expression whose apparent simplicity would suggest a corresponding simplicity of distribution. These interdependencies would not have been discovered without the rigor and specificity of our methodology. We propose that this methodology will allow us (and / or other researchers) to compare the properties of JB in New Zealand English with its properties in other English varieties.

Such comparisons may well uncover differences that indicate trajectories of change, such as increasing lexicalization, grammaticalization, and pragmatization of the

expression *just because* with concomitant formal reduction and semantic generalization, perhaps allowing JB constructions to escape the negative context generally required to license them in New Zealand English discourse. Our data suggests that a careful manual inspection of data is crucial as a precursor to quantitative investigation, but also shows that once the manual inspection has been conducted, a larger data sample than our current one is needed in order to uncover patterns. However, automating the coding of JB constructions, particularly their three semantic functions (“for this reason alone”, “for this reason and others”, “for no better reason than”), must currently be done manually.

7 Conclusion

Our analysis of JB constructions involves a carefully manually annotated collection of 90 examples from spoken and written New Zealand English. Our analysis shows a predominance of negation in close proximity to the JB construction (either inside it, or in the sentence containing it), and in some cases multiple negators. We also show that JB constructions are more likely to occur in preposed position, but that their position is mediated by their meaning. We also found that JB constructions appear to be favored in spoken language and, given the presence of the negator, we hypothesize that they may be adapted to conversational genres.

One obvious topic for future research is to determine whether the patterns of *just because* we found in the New Zealand corpora are similar to those in other varieties of English. Relatedly, we would like to see research determining whether *just because* has become grammaticalized and / or lexicalized in any of those varieties, and if it has, what meanings it supports there.

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Subjektivität und Sprachgebrauch – Anregungen Michel Bréals für eine linguistische Pragmatik?

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Abstract (English)

The role of Michel Bréal in the development of modern linguistics is judged very differently. Is Bréal the "inventor" of the word *semantics* (Touratier 2000), can his *Essai de sémantique* from 1897 even be considered as revolutionary (Tamba-Mecz 1988) or as the foundation of a new linguistic sub-discipline (Schmehl 2006)? Or did Bréal merely continue the tradition of historical-comparative linguistics (Brekle 1972) and produce hardly anything new (Coseriu 2000)? Irrespective of these assessments, the following article will examine to what extent a first approach towards linguistic pragmatics can be found in Bréal's works. The focus will be on the reflections made on *L'élément subjectif* in his *Essai de sémantique*. At the same time, a chapter of this work will be presented in German translation for the first time.

Keywords: Intonation, mode, particle, pragmatics, adverb, speech act, listener, subject

Abstract (Français)

Le rôle de Michel Bréal dans le développement de la linguistique moderne est jugé de manière très différente. Bréal est-il "l'inventeur" du mot sémantique (Touratier 2000), son *Essai de sémantique* de 1897 peut-il même être considéré comme révolutionnaire (Tamba-Mecz 1988) ou comme le fondement d'une nouvelle sous-discipline linguistique (Schmehl 2006) ? Ou bien Bréal a-t-il simplement poursuivi la tradition de la linguistique comparative historique (Brekle 1972) et n'a-t-il pratiquement rien produit de nouveau (Coseriu 2000) ? Indépendamment de ces évaluations, cet article examinera la question de savoir dans quelle mesure on peut trouver les premières approches de la pragmatique linguistique dans l'œuvre de Bréal. Pour ce faire, l'accent est mis sur les commentaires de *L'élément subjectif* de l'*Essai de sémantique*. En même temps, un chapitre de cet écrit est, pour la première fois, présenté en traduction allemande.

Mots-clés: Intonation, mode, particule, pragmatique, adverbe, acte de parole, locuteur, destinataire, sujet

1 Bréal und die Leser

Von wissenschaftlichen Beiträgen werden in der Regel möglichst objektive Sachinformationen erwartet, also fachlich begründete Aussagen, die frei sind von allen emotionalen oder subjektiven Bezügen. Eine solche Form der Sachlichkeit abstrahiert gewissermaßen von jeglichem Eingebundensein in eine konkrete Kommunikationssituation; persönliche Merkmale des Textproduzenten (seine Rolle, seine Intentionen), die Hinwendung zu verschiedenen Adressatengruppen (Lesern unterschiedlicher Herkunft und mit divergierenden Positionen und Interessen) und auch die gegebenen Bedingungen der Texterstellung (zeitlicher Rahmen und andere Voraussetzungen) bleiben ohne Relevanz. So zumindest das Ideal einer subjekt-entbundenen, affekt-leeren, entpragmatisierten Wissenschaftssprache (Hoffmann 2017: 220f).

Auf das Fiktive und letztlich Uneinlösbare des Objektivitätsideals ist bereits mehrfach hingewiesen worden. Man könnte sogar weiter fragen, ob ein derartiges Stilpostulat mit dem Verzicht auf umgangssprachliches oder emotionales Vokabular, der Tendenz zur Deagentivierung, dem Ich-Tabu oder dem Verzicht auf Formen der Leser-Anrede nicht eine besondere Form von subjektiver Wissenschaftssprache darstellt:

Grundlegend ist die Annahme, dass menschliches Erkennen und Handeln nie einfach gegeben, sondern immer schon symbolvermittelt ist. [...] Am Anfang jeder Wirklichkeitserfahrung steht also eine Interpretation. Vor diesem Hintergrund wird eine wissenschaftliche Haltung zweifelhaft, die sich ganz zentral über das Ideal der Subjektentbundenheit und Sachlichkeit definiert und die Möglichkeit eines unmittelbaren Zugriffs auf die Welt behauptet. (Drescher 2003: 69)

Insofern erscheint es keineswegs inkonsequent, wenn sich bezüglich des wissenschaftssprachlichen Stilideals längst gewisse Aufweichungen und informelle Auflockerungen ergeben haben; dies dürfte speziell für Studienbücher gelten (man vergleiche etwa die Sprachgestaltung in Ehrhardt & Heringer 2011).

Ein recht frühes Beispiel liefert in dieser Hinsicht auch Michel Bréal mit seinem *Essai de sémantique* von 1897. Adressatenorientierte Formulierungen, Emotionskundgaben, beziehungsorientierte Verfahren, u.a. Möglichkeiten zur Reduzierung von Imageverletzungen, Maßnahmen zur Fokussierung, Zusatzhandlungen in Richtung Aufmerksamkeitssteuerung und Selbstdarstellung sind hier an der Tagesordnung (Lüger 2016, 2018; zu den Methoden: Olszewska 2015). Aus dem hier herangezogenen Kapitel *L'élément subjectif* seien nur einige Beispiele genannt.

Äußerst markant ist bereits die leserwerbende Eröffnung des Kapitels: Das Subjektive im Sprachgebrauch wird eingeführt in Form eines handelnden Menschen, eines Impresarios, der mit persönlichen Kommentaren und Emotionskundgaben in den Textverlauf eingreift (234, [1]) – eine in sprachwissenschaftlichen Texten eher unge-

wöhnliche Methode der Veranschaulichung.¹ Distanzmindernd wirkt sodann der durchgehende Gebrauch der Ich-Form, und auch das meist leserinklusiv eingesetzte Pronomen *nous* bzw. *wir* sorgt für eine Verstärkung der Nähekommunikation:

Plus nous remontons haut dans le passé, plus nous en trouvons. / Je weiter wir in die Vergangenheit zurückgehen, umso mehr werden wir fündig. (235, [3])

In diesem Sinne dürfte ebenso die Formel *comme on sait / wie man weiß* (241, [16]) einzuordnen sein. Verglichen mit den Sachlichkeitserwartungen dürfte außerdem die hohe Zahl an relativierenden Bewertungen überraschen; Faktizitätseinschränkungen schwanken zwischen großem Zweifel und leichter Unsicherheit:

Je suis porté à croire, au contraire, que ... / Im Gegensatz dazu glaube ich sogar, dass ... (241, [16])

Ici encore il est permis de supposer que ... / Hier ist es wiederum erlaubt anzunehmen ... (243, [21])

D'après les recherches les plus récentes, il semble que l'optatif ait été ... / Nach neuesten Forschungen scheint es so zu sein, dass der Optativ ... (238, [11])

On peut donc dire que ... / Man kann also sagen, dass ... (242, [20])

On doit comprendre maintenant pourquoi ... / Man versteht jetzt, warum ... (242, [18])

Là est sans nul doute la signification première de l'optatif. / Hierin liegt zweifellos die erste Bedeutung des Optativs. (238, [10])

Zu nennen wäre in dem Zusammenhang noch der epistemische Gebrauch von Modalverben, z.B. wenn das frz. Verb *devoir* verwendet wird, um eine Stellungnahme des Autors zur gegebenen Proposition auszudrücken:

Les linguistes qui ... devraient s'en douter / Sprachwissenschaftler, die ..., sollten eigentlich damit rechnen (243, [21])

Bereits die wenigen Beispiele verdeutlichen, wie wenig ein wissenschaftlicher Text nur aus Assertionen zu bestehen braucht. Gerade weil Sachverhalte längst nicht immer zweifelsfrei zu beurteilen sind und nicht selten abweichenden Interpretationen unterliegen, spielen vorläufige Bewertungen und subjektive Einschätzungen zwangsläufig eine wichtige Rolle. Bisweilen kommen dabei auch emotionale Einstellungen zum Ausdruck:

Cependant nous ne sommes nullement choqué de ce mélange / Durch diese Vermengung sind wir jedoch keineswegs schockiert (235, [3])

¹ Angegeben sind jeweils die Seitenzahlen der 1904 erschienenen dritten Auflage des *Essai de sémantique*; die eckigen Klammern enthalten die Abschnittsziffern der im Anhang abgedruckten deutschen Übersetzung.

Si [...], les choses deviennent encore plus frappantes / Wenn [...], erscheinen die Dinge noch frappierender (242, [19])

Aus einer solchen Perspektive wird auch das eigene Vorgehen betrachtet:

je me contente de rappeler ... / ich erinnere nur an ... (235, [3])

S'il m'arrive de formuler un syllogisme / Wenn ich einmal einen Syllogismus formuliere (237, [8])

Ein eher zwiespältiges Verfahren stellt der sogenannte „Subjektschub“ dar. Gemeint sind Fälle einer Subjektvertauschung, wenn z.B. ein Instrumentativ als Subjekt an die Agens-Stelle tritt (von Polenz 1981: 100f):

Avec l'optatif [= Instrumentativ] le locuteur [= Agens] exprime l'idée d'un désir. → L'optatif [= Agens?] exprime l'idée d'un désir.

Zwiespältig ist der Subjektschub insofern, als einerseits das eigentliche Agens, der Sprecher, wegfällt und man von einer Deagentivierung sprechen könnte, andererseits aber ein sprachliches Mittel, der Optativ, in die Subjekt-Position „geschoben“ wird und somit für die Personifizierung eines unbelebten Phänomens sorgt. Insgesamt ist der Rückgriff auf dieses Verfahren äußerst beliebt, nicht nur bei Bréal, nicht nur in der Sprachwissenschaft und ebenso im Deutschen; von daher dürfte ein personifizierender Effekt in vielen Fällen kaum noch wahrgenommen werden. Aus dem *Essai de sémantique* nur folgende Beispiele:

Elles [= les conjonctions] font appel à ... / Sie appellieren an ... (237, [8])

Mais nos langues ne s'en tiennent pas là. / Aber unsere Sprachen bleiben hier nicht stehen. (237, [9])

En réalité le français a si peu renoncé à cet élément subjectif qu'il a trouvé, pour l'exprimer, des formes nouvelles / In Wirklichkeit aber hat das Französische auf das subjektive Element so wenig verzichtet, dass es sogar neue Formen gefunden hat, um es ausdrücken. (240, [14])

Eine spezielle Form der Leserorientierung zeigt sich nicht zuletzt auf der Ebene der Textorganisation: Der Autor signalisiert mit verschiedenen Ausdrucksformen sein Bemühen um Transparenz und Anschaulichkeit. Dies betrifft nicht allein, wie schon skizziert, die Kapiteleinleitung, sondern setzt sich ebenfalls in den folgenden Abschnitten fort:

je veux parler de la première personne du singulier de l'impératif / ich spreche von der ersten Person Singular des Imperativs (241, [17])

Si des *modes* et des *temps* nous passons aux *personnes* du verbe ... / Wenn wir jetzt von den Modi und den Tempora zu den Personalformen des Verbs übergehen ... (242, [19])

Il nous reste à parler du mode où l'élément subjectif se montre le plus fortement : l'impératif. / Wir müssen noch über einen Modus sprechen, wo das subjektive Element am deutlichsten zum Ausdruck kommt: den Imperativ. (240, [16])

Je nach Zusammenhang verdeutlicht der Autor, ob er ein neues Unterthema ansprechen will (*je veux parler de*), ob gerade ein inhaltlicher Übergang erfolgt (*si nous passons à*) oder noch ein verbliebener „Rest“ abzarbeiten ist (*il nous reste à parler de*). Charakteristisch sind wiederum die Ich-Form und der leser-inklusive Pronomengebrauch.

Die bisher anhand eines Kapitels beschriebenen sprachlichen Verfahren sind symptomatisch für das gesamte Buch. Von den eingangs referierten Stilnormen der Wissenschaftssprache hat sich Bréal zugunsten einer adressatengerechten Diktion also recht weit entfernt. Er gehört offensichtlich zu den Autoren, die pragmatische Faktoren der Kommunikation nicht nur untersuchen, sondern diese auch in der eigenen Schreibpraxis zur Geltung bringen.

2 Sprach- und Äußerungsfunktionen

In den folgenden Abschnitten geht es nun verstärkt um inhaltliche Aspekte in den Ausführungen Bréals, u.a. auch um die Frage, ob oder in welcher Weise der Autor etwas zur Entwicklung einer linguistischen Pragmatik beigetragen hat. Zuvor sei jedoch noch ein kurzer historischer Rückblick eingefügt.

In der Literatur herrscht weitgehende Einigkeit bezüglich der wichtigen Impulsgebung, die von der *Sprachtheorie* Karls Bühlers (1934) ausgegangen ist. Insbesondere die Unterscheidung dreier zentraler Sprachfunktionen, integriert in dem bekannten Organon-Modell, gilt als wichtiger Meilenstein auf dem Weg zu einer pragmatischen Sprachauffassung. Zu jedem kommunikativen Austausch gehören mindestens drei fundamentale Faktoren: ein Sprecher, ein Hörer, die Dinge – so bereits die Angaben in der *Axiomatik der Sprachwissenschaften*. Die „Dinge“ sind die „Gegenstände und Sachverhalte“, über die gesprochen wird. Als verbindende Element fungiert das sprachliche Zeichen (Abb. 1). Den drei Faktoren entsprechen jeweils bestimmte „semantische Funktionen“, denen wiederum verschiedene „Leistungen“ zuzuordnen sind; damit ergeben sich folgende Relationen:

Sprecher	→	Symptom	→	Ausdruck
Hörer	→	Signal	→	Appell
Dinge	→	Symbol	→	Darstellung

Folgt man den Erläuterungen Bühlers, erscheint es keineswegs abwegig, im Organon-Modell mehr zu sehen als nur ein Zeichenmodell. Bereits Wunderlich (1969: 56) betont, es gehe hier eigentlich um „Funktionen von Äußerungen“. Man kann noch

einen Schritt weiter gehen und die Angaben *Ausdruck*, *Appell*, *Darstellung* als Bezeichnungen für sprachliche Handlungen verstehen – dies auch deshalb, weil Bühler (1934: 31) in dem Kontext (und auch an anderen Stellen) selbst von „Sprechhandlungen“ spricht und als deren Ziel das „Benehmen des Empfängers“ angibt.

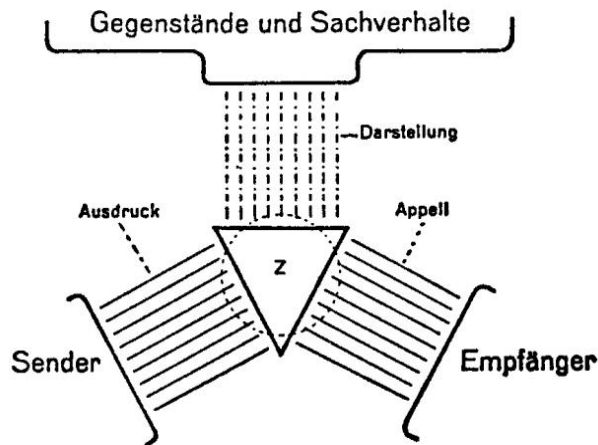


Abb. 1: Organon-Modell (Bühler 1934: 28)

Es schmälert das Verdienstvolle und die Bedeutsamkeit der Gedanken Bühlers nicht, wenn auf andere Autoren verwiesen wird, deren Arbeiten man als anbahnend oder sogar vorbereitend ansehen kann. So hat es bereits im 19. Jahrhundert diverse Forschungen gegeben, die vorpragmatische Ansätze erkennen lassen; teilweise mögen sie heute vergessen sein, andere dagegen sind nach wie vor stärker im Gespräch. Erwähnt seien nur die Namen Hermann Wunderlich, Philipp Wegener oder auch Wilhelm von Humboldt (Behr 1987, Nerlich & Clarke 1996). In diese Reihe gehört nun ebenfalls Michel Bréal, bei Bühler (1934: 322) immerhin zu den „umsichtigen Denkern“ gezählt, wenn auch nur aus zweiter Hand. Zur Begründung der Nennung Bréals in einem solchen wissenschaftshistorischen Zusammenhang sei zunächst nur eine Aussage zitiert:

La parole n'a pas été faite pour la description, pour le récit, pour les considérations désintéressées. Exprimer un désir, intimer un ordre, marquer une prise de possession sur les personnes ou sur les choses – ces emplois du langage ont été les premiers. (Bréal 1904: 243, [23])

Für Bréal ist der Sprachgebrauch grundsätzlich in kommunikative Prozesse eingebunden, von daher kann man auch von einer grundsätzlichen Handlungsorientierung sprechen. Die Dichotomie von *langue* und *parole* ist im *Essai de sémantique* kein Thema. Das Zitat deutet an, in welchem Maße Vorstellungen präsent sind, die den später von Bühler postulierten Äußerungsfunktionen entsprechen. Neben der Informationsvermittlung gehe es in der Kommunikation ebenso um den Ausdruck von Einstellungen, Gefühlen, Zweifeln und um das Einwirken auf den Adressaten, indem etwa Wünsche oder Befehle geäußert werden. Diese Sprachverwendungs-

weisen seien in der Sprachentwicklung sogar die primären. Manche Ausführungen Bréals erinnern in der Tat an Abschnitte aus sprechakt- oder handlungstheoretisch orientierten Arbeiten der 1970er Jahre, obgleich von illokutionären Akten natürlich noch nicht die Rede ist. Das folgende Zitat legt zudem die Vermutung nahe, Bréal habe auch bereits eine klare Vorstellung von dem gehabt, was aus heutiger Sicht unter perlokutionären Effekten verstanden wird:

Mais le langage ne s'adresse pas seulement à la raison : il veut émouvoir, il veut persuader, il veut plaire. (Bréal 1904: 288)

In Ergänzung zu den Erläuterungen Bréals könnte man die angesprochenen Aspekte modellhaft wie in Abb. 2 zusammenfassen:

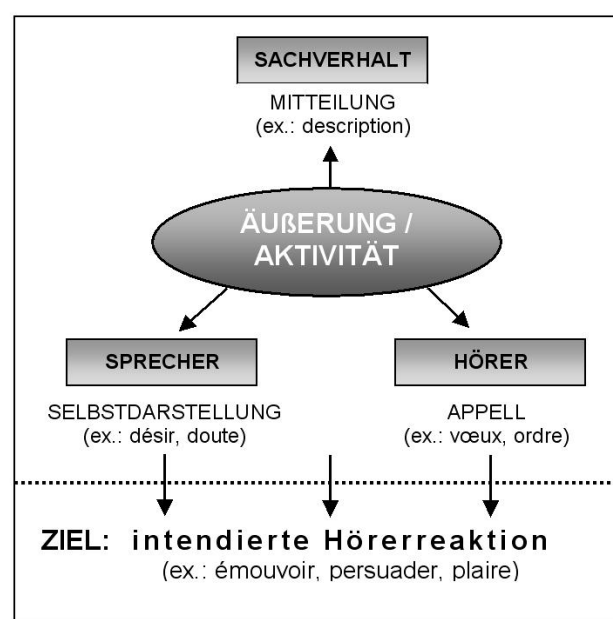


Abb. 2: Kommunikative Aktivität nach Bréal

Gewisse Parallelen zum Organon-Modell Bühlers sind offensichtlich. Die vergleichsweise geringe Resonanz der wegweisenden Konzeption Bréals ist möglicherweise einem einfachen Umstand geschuldet: Der Autor hat darauf verzichtet, seine Vorstellungen in kohärenter Weise zu präsentieren und seine Einsichten stattdessen auf verschiedene Kapitel des *Essai de sémantique* verteilt dargelegt; schematische Darstellungen, wie sie z.B. de Saussure und Bühler zur Veranschaulichung einsetzen, fehlen außerdem ganz.

3 Subjektive Elemente

Bréal beschränkt sich in seinem Kapitel *L'élément subjectif* nicht auf allgemeine Anregungen in Richtung einer linguistischen Pragmatik – ganz im Gegenteil. Wir haben es mit einer ganzen Reihe präziser Beobachtungen zu tun, die nach wie vor von großem

Interesse sind (Delesalle 1987). Aus dem Spektrum sprachlicher Mittel und Verfahren, die Subjektives im Sprachgebrauch signalisieren, seien nur drei Beispiele herausgegriffen: Adverbien, Modi, Para- und Extraverbales (Nerlich 2007, Lüger 2012).

In einer Äußerung wie *Le déraillement n'a causé heureusement aucun accident de personne* (Bréal 1904: 235, [3]) liege zwar eine Sachverhaltsmitteilung vor, doch drücke das eingeschobene Adverb *heureusement* eine subjektive Einschätzung des Sprechers zum mitgeteilten Ereignis aus. Bréal betrachtet daher Ausdrücke wie *sans doute, peut-être, probablement, sûrement* als Subjektivitätsmarkierungen, mit denen Sprecher ihre Intentionen nuancieren können. Anders formuliert: Wir haben es hier mit bewertenden Sprechereinstellungen zu tun, die nicht im Zentrum des Satzinhalts stehen, sondern gleichsam „nur nebenbei geäußert werden“ – so Peter von Polenz (1985: 219) in seiner Satzsemantik. In ähnlicher Weise lassen sich auch – und von Bréal ebenfalls erwähnt (1904: 235, [3]) – Partikeln zur Abtönung von Aussagen verwenden. Das Aktuelle solcher Beobachtungen Bréals hebt ausdrücklich Nerlich hervor:

Adverbien und modale Abtönungspartikel pflücken dem propositionellen Gehalt des Satzes eine zusätzliche subjektive, sprecherbezogene Markierung auf und verleihen ihm eine bestimmte Modalität oder eine illokutionäre Tendenz, um den Terminus der zeitgenössischen Pragmalinguistik zu bemühen. (2007: 166f)

Bei den Verben sind es vor allem die Modi, die Subjektives, „des dispositions de l'âme“, anzeigen (Bréal 1904: 238, [10]). So diene bekanntlich der französische *subjonctif* vielfach dazu, eine Mitteilung mit der Sprechereinstellung des Ungewissen, Bezweifelten, Befürchteten oder Gewollten zu verbinden (*Dieu vous entende ! Puissiez-vous réussir !*). Ähnliches gelte im Griechischen für den Optativ (*τεθναίης* 'wenn ich doch sterben könnte'). Eine modale Bedeutung komme auch einigen Tempora zu. Das Futur etwa könne, wie der *subjonctif*, ebenso als Zeichen des Ungewissen, des Gewünschten oder Nichtgewünschten verstanden werden:

Annoncer ce qui sera, ce n'est pas autre chose, au fond, dans la plupart des affaires humaines, qu'exprimer nos vœux ou nos doutes et nos craintes. (Bréal 1904: 239, [12])

Auf weitere, für das Französische wichtige modale Verwendungsweisen des Futurs geht Bréal hier nicht ein. Zu nennen wäre etwa das sogenannte *futur injonctif*, mit dem sich u.a. moralisch gebotene Aufforderungen formulieren lassen (*Tu honoreras ton père et ta mère*). Oder man denke an die höfliche Abschwächung einer Bitte oder Frage: *Je te demanderai de m'aider. / Vous me permettez une dernière remarque ?* (Dethloff & Wagner 2014: 269f)

Als Modus der Willensbekundung fungiere in erster Linie der Imperativ; in ihm zeige sich das subjektive Element am deutlichsten. In dieser grammatischen Form werde die Vorstellung einer bestimmten Handlung – gemeint ist die intendierte Hörerreaktion – kombiniert mit dem Wollen eines Sprechers. Bréal macht allerdings sogleich auf eine

wichtige Einschränkung aufmerksam: Der direkte, grammatisch explizite Aufforderungscharakter trete in der Kommunikation längst nicht immer in Erscheinung, zum Ausdruck des Sprecherwillens werde dagegen meist auf indirekte Formen zurückgegriffen. Eine spezielle Rolle komme dabei nonverbalen Elementen wie der Intonation, der Mimik oder der Gestik zu:

C'est le ton de la voix, c'est l'aspect de la physionomie, c'est l'attitude du corps qui sont chargés de l'exprimer. On ne peut faire abstraction de ces éléments qui, pour n'être pas notés par l'écriture, n'en sont pas moins partie essentielle du langage. (Bréal 1904: 240f, [16])

Aus heutiger Sicht mögen diese Aussagen erstaunen, zeigen sie doch ein sehr weitblickendes Verständnis von verbaler Mündlichkeit: Sprachliche Kommunikation wird nicht nur als einfache Sender-Empfänger-Konstellation gesehen und auch nicht einer linguistisch sekundären Rest-Kategorie wie der *parole* zugeordnet, sondern aus einer Perspektive betrachtet, die gerade das pragmatische Eingebundensein nicht leugnet. Sprechen ist für Bréal immer ein interaktiver Austausch zwischen den Beteiligten, „le langage est une œuvre en collaboration, où l'auditeur entre à part égale“, heißt es an anderer Stelle (1904: 266). Kommunikative Aktivitäten werden zudem verstanden als komplexe Prozesse, die – modern ausgedrückt – multikodal oder multimodal ablaufen; sprachwissenschaftliche Beschreibungen dürften also von para- und extraverbalen Faktoren nicht abstrahieren.

4 Fazit

Diese Einsichten mehrfach auf den Punkt gebracht zu haben, ist ein unbestreitbares Verdienst Bréals. Insofern kann man der von De Palo vertretenen Auffassung, Bréal habe mit seinen „subjektiven Elementen“ die Analyse der pragmatischen Dimension von Sprache vorangebracht (2001: 175), nur zustimmen. Ausdrücklich widersprochen sei dagegen der Einschätzung von Aarsleff, der in Bréal vor allem den Wegbereiter für den großen Erfolg des *Cours de linguistique générale* von Ferdinand de Saussure sieht:

Bréal was the great innovator who gave French linguistics the distinct and powerful form that by a sort of delayed reaction struck the world in its summa, Saussure's *Cours*. (Aarsleff 1982: 37)

Es sind gerade die pragmlinguistischen Vorüberlegungen Bréals, die über die *langue*-orientierten Gedanken Saussures hinausgehen, auch wenn sie wissenschaftsgeschichtlich seinerzeit mit den vorherrschenden Trends nur wenig vereinbar erscheinen – ein Schicksal, das er mit verschiedenen anderen Autoren teilt. Bezüglich der Rezeption Bréals mag es die eine oder andere Ungereimtheit geben. So berichtet Fournet (2011) von einem Kapitel *De la subjectivité dans le langage* von Émile Benveniste in dessen *Problèmes de linguistique générale* (1966). Trotz zahlreicher

Parallelen werden die Vorarbeiten Bréals mit keinem Wort erwähnt: “Quite mysteriously Benveniste never mentions Bréal as a potential source of inspiration” (Fournet 2011: 207). Weitere Beispiele ähnlicher Art ließen sich hinzufügen.

Fournet sieht den Fall Benveniste noch in einem größeren Zusammenhang, und zwar in dem nationalistisch aufgeheizten, antideutschen und antisemitischen Klima im Frankreich der III. Republik, insbesondere nach dem Deutsch-französischen Krieg von 1870/1871:

Bréal was born in Germany in a Jewish family. One is left to wonder if this was not too unpalatable in the hypernationalistic and warmongering climat of the IIIrd Republic in France, which trained two generations from 1870 to 1918 into winning back Alsace at all costs and was torn about the *Dreyfus Affair*. It would seem that it was impossible to refer to Bréal at that time and that this situation has become a kind of involuntarily acquired characteristic among French linguists. (Fournet 2011: 207f)

Dennoch seien zwei Punkte noch einmal betont, denn es müssen nicht nur äußere Umstände sein, die einer breiteren Aufnahme der Ideen Bréals im Wege standen: Zum einen hat sich Bréal nicht vollständig von der historisch-vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft gelöst, wovon auch verschiedene Abschnitte des hier zugrundegelegten Kapitels zeugen. Zum anderen hat es Bréal – wie bereits oben angedeutet – versäumt, seine Gedanken systematisch und mit einer prägnanten Begrifflichkeit als eine neue semantische oder pragmalinguistische Konzeption vorzustellen. Zumindest diese Aufgabe – nämlich die der marktgerechten Präsentation – haben die Schüler de Saussures 1916 effektiver gelöst.

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Anhang

Für die Übersetzung zeichnen Christine Bergdoll, Gabriele Straßer und Heinz-Helmut Lüger verantwortlich. Basis ist die dritte Auflage des *Essai de sémantique* aus dem Jahre 1904. Die bei Bréal angegebenen Beispiele sind wie im Original wiedergegeben. Die Abschnitte wurden für die Zwecke dieses Beitrags durchnummeriert.

Kapitel 25

Das subjektive Element

Was man unter dem subjektiven Element zu verstehen hat. – Wie es mit der Rede verknüpft ist. – Das subjektive Element ist der älteste Teil der Sprache.

[1] Wenn es denn stimmt, wie manchmal behauptet, dass die Sprache ein Drama sei, in dem die Wörter die Schauspieler sind und die grammatische Anordnung die Bewegungen der Akteure auf der Bühne wiedergibt, dann müsste man diesen Vergleich zumindest in einem speziellen Punkt korrigieren. Der Impresario mischt sich häufig in das Geschehen auf der Bühne ein, um seine eigenen Gedanken und Gefühle einzubringen – dies allerdings nicht wie Hamlet, der zwar seine Schauspieler unterbricht, aber außerhalb des Stückes bleibt, sondern wie wir es selbst beim Träumen machen, wenn wir zugleich interessierter Zuschauer und Autor der Ereignisse sind. Ich schlage vor, diese Form der Einmischung die *subjektive Seite des Sprachgebrauchs* zu nennen.

[2] Diese subjektive Seite wird ausgedrückt 1. durch Wörter und Satzglieder, 2. durch grammatische Formen, 3. durch die Struktur unserer Sprachen.

[3] Als Beispiel wähle ich eine ganz gewöhnliche Zeitungsmeldung: „Auf der Strecke Paris – Le Havre ist gestern ein Zug entgleist, was den Verkehr für drei Stunden blockiert hat; *glücklicherweise* kamen Personen nicht zu Schaden.“ Es ist klar, dass das kursiv gesetzte Wort sich nicht auf den Unfall bezieht, sondern das Gefühl des Erzählers ausdrückt. Durch diese Vermengung sind wir jedoch keineswegs schockiert, weil dies absolut im Einklang steht mit dem normalen Sprachgebrauch.

[3] Eine ganze Reihe von Adverbien, Adjektiven und Satzgliedern, die wir in gleicher Weise einfügen, drücken Überlegungen oder Einschätzungen des Sprechers aus. Ich nenne in erster Linie Ausdrücke, die einen größeren oder geringeren Grad an Gewissheit oder Vertrauen eines Sprechers bezeichnen, wie z.B. *sans doute, peut-être, probablement, sûrement* usw. Alle Sprachen verfügen über einen Vorrat an Adverbien dieser Art; je weiter wir in die Vergangenheit zurückgehen, umso mehr werden wir fündig. Das Griechische ist damit reich ausgestattet. Ich erinnere nur an die Vielfalt von Partikeln, mit denen Platons Texte übersät sind und die den Zweck haben, die Eindrücke und die Absichten der Gesprächspartner zu nuancieren². Man kann sie mit nebenbei gezeigten Gesten oder mit den verständnisvollen Blicken vonseiten eines Hörers vergleichen.

² Ἡ, μήν, τοί, ποί, ἴσως, δή, τάχα, σχεδόν, ἄρα, νύν usw.

[4] Eine richtige logische Analyse, die den Namen verdient, sollte diese beiden Aspekte sorgfältig auseinanderhalten. Wenn ich über einen Reisenden sage:

„Zu dieser Stunde ist er *wahrscheinlich* angekommen“, bezieht sich *wahrscheinlich* nicht auf den Reisenden, sondern auf mich. Die logische Analyse [I], wie man sie in den Schulen praktiziert, sah sich bisweilen durch dieses subjektive Element irritiert; sie berücksichtigte nicht, dass jeder halbwegs lebendige Austausch zu einem Dialog mit dem Leser werden kann. Dies zeigen u.a. Pronomen, die mitten in einer Erzählung auftauchen und mit denen der Erzähler sein Publikum plötzlich einzubeziehen scheint. La Fontaine hatte dafür eine Vorliebe:

Il *vous* prend sa cognée : il *vous* tranche la tête. [II]

[5] Man nennt sie „Füllwörter“, und in der Tat gehören sie nicht zur Erzählung selbst. Das schließt jedoch nicht aus, dass sie der ursprünglichen Funktion des Sprachgebrauchs entsprechen.

[6] Da man das subjektive Element nicht berücksichtigt hatte, wurden bestimmte Ausdrücke in den alten Sprachen falsch verstanden. Ein zeitgenössischer, sehr bekannter Sprachwissenschaftler kann nicht glauben, dass das lateinische Adverb *oppido* der Ablativ eines Adjektivs mit der Bedeutung ‘solide, fest, sicher’ ist³ ; er fragt, wie diese Bedeutung sich mit Ausdrücken wie z.B. *oppido interii*, *oppido occidimus* vereinbaren lässt. Hier muss man jedoch das subjektive Element in Betracht ziehen. Wir sagen auch: « Je suis *assurément* perdu » oder auf Deutsch *ich bin sicherlich verloren*. Das sind Wendungen, in denen sich gewisse Widersprüche ergeben, wenn man sich nur an den reinen Wortlaut hält.

[7] Das Gleiche ist auch mit dem deutschen Adverb *fast* geschehen, das ursprünglich eine Idee der Festigkeit oder der Gewissheit bezeichnete. Man sagte *vaste ruofen* ‘laut rufen’, *vaste zwiveln* ‘stark zweifeln’. – *Ich habe lange und fast für ihn gebeten* (Luther). – Wenn *fast* im Sinn von ‘beinahe’ gebraucht wird, dann deswegen, weil es sich auf Wendungen wie *ich glaube fast*, *ich sage fast* bezieht. Den gleichen Fall haben wir mit dem Wort *ungefähr*, das seine eigentliche Bedeutung mit der Ergänzung zu ‘ohne Furcht, mich zu täuschen’ erhält. – Auch im Lateinischen bedeuten die Wörter *pæne*, *ferme* ‘beinahe’, obwohl das erstere mit *penitus* verwandt ist und das letztere eine Dublette von *firme* ist; aber man muss die Wendungen komplett wiedergeben: *pæne opinor*, *firme credam*⁴.

[8] Der gesamte Sprachbestand wird permanent von solchen Ausdrücken geprägt. Wenn ich einmal einen Syllogismus formuliere, gehören die Konjunktionen, welche die verschiedenen Glieder der Schlussfolgerung markieren, zum subjektiven Teil [IV]. Sie appellieren an das Verständnis, sie bezeugen damit die Wahrheit und die Verknüpfung der Tatsachen. Sie gehören also nicht zur gleichen Kategorie wie die Ausdrücke, deren Aufgabe darin besteht, die Tatsachen selbst darzustellen.

³ Vgl. dazu das griechische ἔμπροσθεν ‘solide’.

⁴ Zu *paene* vgl. Mem. de la Soc. de ling., V, S. 433 [III].

[9] Aber unsere Sprachen bleiben hier nicht stehen. Die Verknüpfung der subjektiven und objektiven Elemente ist so subtil, dass ein wichtiger Teil der Grammatik hier seinen Ursprung hat.

[10] Im Verb wird diese Verknüpfung am deutlichsten. Man errät unschwer, dass wir von den Modi sprechen wollen. Die griechischen Grammatiker hatten das richtig gesehen: Ihrer Auffassung nach dienen die Modi dazu, den jeweiligen Zustand der Seele anzuzeigen, διαθέσεις ψυχῆς. In der Tat enthält eine Wendung wie θεοὶ δοῖεν zwei ganz verschiedene Dinge: die Idee einer von den Göttern gewährten Hilfe und die Idee eines vom Sprecher ausgedrückten Wunsches. Diese beiden Ideen sind gewissermaßen ineinander übergegangen, denn dasselbe Wort, das die Handlung der Götter bezeichnet, drückt auch den Wunsch des Sprechers aus. Das einfache Wort bei Homer τεθναίης, „utinam moriaris!“, bringt außer der Idee des Sterbens auch den Wunsch dessen zum Ausdruck, der diese Verwünschung ausspricht. Hierin liegt zweifellos die erste Bedeutung des Optativs.

[11] Aber der Optativ ist nicht der einzige Modus dieser Art. Der Konjunktiv verknüpft ebenfalls die Idee der Handlung mit einem Element, das den διαθέσεις ψυχῆς entnommen ist. Es trifft zu, dass er der Bedeutung des Optativs sehr nahe kommt. Nach neuesten Forschungen scheint es so zu sein, dass in den vedischen Texten der Optativ für bestimmte Verben, der Konjunktiv für andere Verben jeweils der bevorzugte Modus gewesen ist, obwohl es keinen klaren Unterschied zwischen den beiden Modi gab⁵. Diese Formenvielfalt zeigt, welchen wichtigen Platz der Sprachgebrauch dem subjektiven Element einräumte. Sprachen, die, wie das Griechische, beide Modi beibehielten, haben auch versucht, sie voneinander abzugrenzen. Aber die meisten Sprachen haben, vom Formenreichtum eher belastet, den Optativ und den Konjunktiv miteinander verschmolzen.

[12] Das lateinische Futur ist dem Konjunktiv und dem Optativ so nahe, dass man sie bei einigen Personenformen in der Konjugation verwechseln kann. *Inveniam, experiar* sind nach Belieben Futur oder Konjunktiv. Hier zeigt sich ein richtiges Gespür für die Natur der Dinge. Anzukündigen, was sein wird, ist letztlich in der Mehrheit der Fälle nichts anderes, als unsere Wünsche oder unsere Zweifel und Befürchtungen auszudrücken. Es ist verständlich, dass sich früher diese Nuancen verwischt haben. Zahllose Beispiele zeigen, dass es zwischen Futur und Konjunktiv keine genaue Grenze gab. Für den Sprachhistoriker verschwindet so der Unterschied zwischen den Tempora und den Modi⁶. Diejenigen, die heutzutage die außergewöhnliche Idee verbreiten, dass der Optativ erfunden worden sei, um einen Modus der Nichtwirklichkeit zu haben, verleihen damit unseren Vorfahren die gleiche Erfindungsgabe, wie man sie bei den Erfindern der Algebra bewundert. Die Sprache war aber in diesen frühen Zeiten gar nicht zu so hochfliegenden Zielen imstande und verfolgte eher praktische Zwecke.

⁵ Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax*, § 172. Whitney, *Indische Grammatik*, § 572 [V].

⁶ Οὐκ ἔσσεται, οὐδέ γένηται. – Οὐ πῶ ἴδον, οὐδέ ἴδωμαι. – Εἰ δέ κε μὴ δώωσιν, ἐγὼ δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἔλωμαι usw. Vgl. Tobler, *Übergang zwischen Tempus und Modus*, in: *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, II, S. 32. Siehe auch *Mem. de la Soc. de ling.*, VI, 409 [VI].

[13] Das subjektive Element ist auch in der Grammatik heutiger Sprachen gegenwärtig.

[14] Das Französische bedient sich des Subjonctifs, um einen Wunsch auszudrücken: *Dieu vous entende ! – Puissiez-vous réussir !* Einige Logiker haben vorgeschlagen, den Gebrauch des Subjonctifs als Ellipse zu betrachten: « Je désire que Dieu vous entende. – Je souhaite que vous puissiez réussir... » In Wirklichkeit aber hat das Französische auf das subjektive Element so wenig verzichtet, dass es sogar neue Formen gefunden hat, um es ausdrücken. Wenn das Französische eine Handlung mit einem Hintergedanken des Zweifels ausdrücken möchte, verfügt es über Ausdrücke wie *Vous seriez d’avis que... Nous serions donc amenés à cette conclusion... Vous pourriez avoir raison...* Mit diesen Wendungen drückt das Verb keine Bedingung aus, sondern einen für unsicher gehaltenen Sachverhalt. Das Konditional hat also einige der scharfsinnigsten Möglichkeiten des Subjonctifs und des Optativs übernommen.

[15] Die indirekte Rede ist mit ihren verschiedenen und komplizierten Regeln eine Art Transposition der Handlung in eine andere Ausdrucksweise. Was heute die geschriebene Sprache mit Anführungszeichen erreicht, kennzeichnete die gesprochene Sprache seit jeher mit verschiedenen Verbformen. Konjunktiv und Optativ hatten dort ihren natürlichen Platz, denn ein gewisser Zweifel war zwangsläufig mit der Rede insgesamt verbunden.

[16] Wir müssen noch über einen Modus sprechen, wo das subjektive Element am deutlichsten zum Ausdruck kommt: den Imperativ. Der Imperativ zeichnet sich dadurch aus, dass er die Idee der Handlung mit der Idee des Sprecherwillens verbindet. Vergeblich würde man bei den meisten Imperativformen nach speziellen Silben suchen, die genau diesen Willen ausdrücken. Es sind der Ton der Stimme, die Art der Physiognomie, die Körperhaltung, die die Aufgabe haben, den Willen des Sprechers zu markieren. Man kann von diesen Elementen nicht einfach abstrahieren, die nicht weniger wesentlich für den Sprachgebrauch sind, nur weil sie in der Schrift nicht festgehalten werden. Wie man weiß, sind einige Imperativformen mit dem Indikativ identisch; das ist aber kein Grund anzunehmen, der Imperativ sei dem Indikativ entlehnt. Im Gegensatz dazu glaube ich sogar, dass der Imperativ dem Indikativ vorausgeht und dass – im Unterschied zu dem, was gelehrt wird – dort, wo die Formen gleich sind, der Indikativ die entlehrende Form ist. Vielleicht sind so kurze Formen wie ἴθι ‘komm!’, δός ‘gib!’, στῆτε ‘halt!’ das Älteste, was es in der Konjugation gibt.

[17] Wir haben die Verdoppelung der menschlichen Person angedeutet. In der Konjugation des Sanskrit und des Zend gibt es eine grammatische Form, wo diese Verdoppelung offen zutage tritt. Ich spreche von der ersten Person Singular des Imperativs, z.B. *bravāni* ‘dass ich erflehe’, *stavāni* ‘dass ich preise’. So merkwürdig uns eine Befehlsform auch erscheinen mag, bei der die sprechende Person sich selbst Befehle erteilt, so sehr stimmt dies jedoch mit der Natur der Sprache überein⁷. Diese Form der

⁷ Man hat sich gefragt, ob diese erste Person mit ni ursprünglich ist oder ob sie eine relativ junge Erwerbung sei. Ihr Vorhandensein im Zend, wo sie im Mediopassiv eine korrespon-

ersten Person sagt auf kürzere Weise, was in anderen Sprachen mehr oder weniger umständlich ausgedrückt wird. Das Französische verwendet den Plural des Imperativs; die Hirten des Virgil rufen sich in der zweiten Person an:

Inserere nunc, Melibœe, puros, pone ordine vites!

[18] Man versteht jetzt, warum es immer so schwer gewesen ist, eine genaue und vollständige Definition des Verbs zu geben. Dies haben wiederum frühere Autoren am besten verstanden. Moderne Autoren definieren das Verb als „Wort, das einen Zustand oder eine Handlung ausdrückt“, und lassen dabei einen großen Teil seines Inhalts weg – nämlich den schwierigsten und charakteristischsten.

[19] Wenn wir jetzt von den Modi und den Tempora zu den Personalformen des Verbs übergehen, erscheinen die Dinge noch frappierender.

[20] Der sprechende Mensch ist so weit davon entfernt, die Welt als uninteressierter Beobachter zu betrachten, dass dagegen der Teil, den er in der Sprache für sich selbst gemacht hat, ganz und gar disproportioniert ist. Von den drei Personalformen des Verbs hat er eine ausschließlich für sich selbst reserviert (man nennt sie üblicherweise die erste Person). Schon auf diese Weise setzt der Sprecher seine Individualität dem Rest des Universums entgegen. Was die zweite Person betrifft, führt sie uns noch nicht sehr weit von uns weg, denn die zweite Person hat keinen anderen Zweck, als von der ersten angerufen zu werden. Man kann also sagen, dass nur die dritte Person den „objektiven“ Teil der Sprache darstellt.

[21] Hier ist es wiederum erlaubt, das subjektive Element der Sprache als deren ältestes anzunehmen. Sprachwissenschaftler, die versuchten, die Flexionsformen des Verbs zu analysieren, sollten eigentlich damit rechnen: Während die dritte Person sich leicht erklären lässt, bieten die erste und die zweite Person der Etymologie die meisten Schwierigkeiten.

[22] Für die Pronomen können ähnliche Beobachtungen angestellt werden. Ein Pronomen *moi* genügt nicht: Zusätzlich war ein spezielles Pronomen notwendig, um anzuzeigen, dass das *moi* an einer gemeinschaftlichen Handlung teilnimmt. Das ist der Sinn des Pronomens *nous*, das ‘ich und sie’, ‘ich und ihr’ usw. bedeutet. Aber damit nicht genug: In vielen Sprachen war ganz offensichtlich eine Zahl nötig, um anzuzeigen, dass das *moi* zur Hälfte in einer Handlung zu zweit beteiligt ist. Das ist der Ursprung und der eigentliche Sinn des *Duals* für die Konjugation.

[23] Man wird nun verstehen, unter welchem Gesichtspunkt der Mensch seine Sprache ausgerichtet hat. Die Sprache wurde nicht für die Beschreibung geschaffen, nicht für die Erzählung, nicht für unparteiische Erörterungen. Einen Wunsch äußern, eine Anordnung aussprechen, eine Inbesitznahme von Personen oder Sachen anzeigen – diese Arten des Sprachgebrauchs sind die ersten gewesen. Für viele Menschen sind das praktisch immer noch die einzigen Funktionen... Wenn wir noch eine oder mehrere Stufen zurückgehen und wenn wir die Ursprünge der menschlichen Sprache in der

dierende Form mit *nē* hat, lässt annehmen, dass sie älteren Datums ist. Wir hätten dann hier den Rest einer archaischen Form, die später fast überall außer Gebrauch gekommen ist, weil sie mit nichts mehr verbindbar war.

Sprache der Tiere suchen, stellen wir fest, dass bei ihnen das subjektive Element allein vorherrscht, dass es das einzig Ausgedrückte, das einzig Verstandene ist, dass es die Verstehensfähigkeit und auch die gedanklichen Fähigkeiten erschöpft.

[24] Das subjektive Element ist also nichts Nebensächliches oder Überflüssiges, sondern vielmehr ein wesentlicher Bestandteil der Sprache und wahrscheinlich die ursprüngliche Basis, der alles andere nach und nach hinzugefügt wurde⁸.

Anmerkungen der Übersetzer

[I] Unter „logischer Analyse“ ist hier eher eine grammatische Satzanalyse zu verstehen, die nach Satzteilen und deren Funktionen fragt.

[II] Der Vers entstammt der Fabel *Le Villageois et le serpent* von Jean de La Fontaine, allerdings mit einem sinnentstellenden Druckfehler: Für *tête* 'Kopf' muss es *bête* 'Tier' heißen.

[III] Verwiesen wird auf den Beitrag Bréals: Etymologies latines. In: *Mémoires de la Société de linguistique* 5 (1889), 432-433.

[IV] Gemeint sind die Konjunktionen *or* und *donc*, die im Französischen üblicherweise die Prämisse minor und die Conclusio eines syllogistischen Schlusses einleiten.

[V] Delbrück, B. (1888): *Altindische Syntax*. Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses; Whitney, W.D. (1879): *Indische Grammatik, umfassend die klassische Sprache und die älteren Dialecte*. Übers. von H. Zimmer. Leipzig: Breitkopf u. Härtel (engl. Orig. 1879: *A Sanskrit Grammar*).

[VI] Alfred Tobler (1835-1899), schweizerischer Sprachwissenschaftler, zusammen mit Erhard Lommatzsch Herausgeber des mehrbändigen *Altfranzösischen Wörterbuchs*. – Verwiesen wird außerdem auf den Beitrag Bréals: Les subjonctifs latins en -am. In: *Mémoires de la Société de linguistique* 6 (1890), 408-409.

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⁸ Siehe weiter unten zum gleichen Thema das Kapitel „Die Anfänge des Verbs“.

Zur Konzipierung von Spielen im Unterricht *Deutsch als Fremdsprache*

Shing-lung Chen (Kaohsiung, Taiwan)

Abstract (Deutsch)

Gemäß Jan & Chang (2018) sollen im Unterricht nicht nur Sprachkenntnisse vermittelt, sondern auch Fähigkeiten wie z.B. Kreativität, induktive Fähigkeiten und Problemlösungsfähigkeiten ausgebildet werden. Zur Zeit spielen die Lerner im Unterricht meist traditionelle fremdsprachlich orientierte Spiele und lernen eher passiv. In dem vorliegenden Artikel sollen die Lerner in einem ersten Versuch anhand einen gegebenen Lerninhaltes selbst ein fremdsprachliches Spiel entwickeln. Dabei können sie sowohl ihre Sprachkenntnisse zum Einsatz bringen als auch ihre Kreativität entwickeln. Die meisten fremdsprachlichen Spiele beschränken sich auf das Lernen des Wortschatzes oder auf die Satzbildung. Das Ziel des Fremdsprachenlernens besteht jedoch darin, in der Fremdsprache zu kommunizieren. In diesem Beitrag werden Spiele zu Förderung der fremdsprachlichen Kommunikation anhand des *Design Thinking*-Modells von Lernern selbst entwickelt. Anschließend wird mittels einer Umfrage analysiert, inwiefern das Entwickeln von Spielen die Lernmotivation, den Lernerfolg und die Problemlösungsfähigkeiten der Lerner erhöhen kann.

Stichwörter: Design Thinking, fremdsprachliche Konversation, Entwicklung von Spielen, Kreativität, Lernmotivation

Abstract (English)

According to Jan & Chang (2018), not only language skills should be imparted in class, but also skills such as creativity, inductive skills and problem-solving skills should be trained. At present, learners mostly play traditional foreign language oriented games in class and learn rather passively. In this article, learners are supposed to develop a foreign language game themselves, based on a given learning content. They can use their language skills as well as develop their creativity. Most foreign language games are limited to learning vocabulary or building sentences. However, the goal of foreign language learning is to communicate in the foreign language. In the present article, games to promote foreign language communication are developed by learners themselves, based on the Design Thinking model. Subsequently, a survey is used to analyze to what extent the designing of games can increase learners' motivation, success and problem-solving skills.

Keywords: Design Thinking, conversation, development of games, creativity, motivation

1 Einleitung

Im Unterricht sollen sowohl Fachkenntnisse vermittelt als auch solche Fähigkeiten der Lerner – wie z.B. Kreativität – ausgebildet werden, die es ihnen erlauben, mit den komplizierten Anforderungen des 21. Jahrhunderts zurechtzukommen (Kirschner 2015, Robinson 2011 und Pendleton-Jullian & Brown 2015). Das Einsetzen von Kreativität in Lehrplänen ist ein zunehmend aktuelles Thema im Bereich *Erziehungswissenschaft* (z.B. Amabile 1996, Craft 2011, Cremin 2015). Nach Mishra & Mehta (2017) stellt Kreativität im 21. Jahrhundert eine der wichtigsten Fähigkeiten dar. *Kreativität* impliziert viele Einzelfähigkeiten, wie z.B. die Fähigkeit zur Datenanalyse, zur Problemerkennung und zum Problemlösen.¹ Nach Torrance (1973) umfasst der kreative Denkprozess eine Reihe von Fähigkeiten, z.B. das Erkennen von Informationsproblemen, das Wiederherstellen von Daten und das Anbieten von Lösungen.

Nach Liao, Chen, Chen & Chang (2018) ist die Verwendung der Fremdsprache an sich ein Produkt der Kreativität, so dass Kreativität unbedingt in den Fremdsprachenunterricht integriert werden sollte. Außerdem ist es erwiesen, dass Kreativität einerseits und Leistung im fremdsprachlichen Lernen andererseits in engem Zusammenhang zueinander stehen. Dazu Liao, Chen, Chen/ & Chang:

Language, by its nature, is a product of creativity and has many dimensions that intertwine with it (...). As such, language and creativity share certain mental characteristics (...): for example, just as creative individuals connect two seemingly irrelevant elements into new creations that serve particular needs, language users recreate, refashion and re-contextualize languages when communicating. Creativity may thus be considered a meta-cognitive factor that substantially influences and shapes the process of learning foreign languages (Nosratinia & Zaker, 2015), and is therefore crucial to learners' mastery of their target languages (...). Empirical studies have clearly demonstrated a positive correlation between creativity and EFL language performance (...).”(Liao, Chen, Chen & Chang 2018: 215)

Trotz der Existenz zahlreicher Modelle zur Ausbildung von Kreativität ist das *Design Thinking*-Modell von der Universität Stanford weithin bekannt. Dieses Modell wird häufig in den Fachbereich *Wirtschaft* (Yang, Asaad & Dwivedi 2017) und *Architektur* (Daemei & Safari 2018) angewendet, um ein Produkt zu entwickeln und dabei die Kreativität und die Problemlösungsfähigkeiten der Lerner zu trainieren. Nach Schön (1992: 48f) ist Design als ein kreativer und reflektierender Prozess zwischen Menschen, Teilnehmern und Produkten definiert. Außerdem findet Design häufig in einem „Dialog“ zwischen dem Designer und seiner Arbeit, seinen Materialien etc. statt. Entwürfe „sprechen“ mit dem Designer, wenn er seine Entwürfe weiterentwickelt. So definiert Schön das Design als

¹ Es wird hier nicht differenziert, welche einzelnen Fähigkeiten entwickelt werden sollen. In diesem Artikel wird davon ausgegangen, dass mit Hilfe des Konzipierens von Spielen außer den Sprachkenntnissen auch die kognitiven Fähigkeiten der Lerner ausgebildet werden und somit der Unterricht noch effektiver wird. Um zu ermitteln, welche einzelnen Fähigkeiten mittels des Konzipierens von Spielen entwickelt werden, bedarf es weiterer Analysen.

„... an epistemology of practice implicit in the artistic, intuitive processes which practitioners bring to situations of uncertainty, instability, uniqueness and value conflict.” (Schön 1992:49)

In dem vorliegenden Artikel wird dargestellt, wie Lerner Spiele zum Fremdsprachenlernen zu entwickeln versuchen, um gemäß dem *Design Thinking*-Modell Kreativität zu entwickeln. Laut Rouse (1960) erkannten bereits Plato und Aristoteles, dass Spiele den Lernerfolg fördern. Die Forschungsergebnisse von Jan & Chang (2018: 9ff) zeigen, dass Spiele nicht nur die *Lernmotivation* erhöhen, sondern auch den *Lerneffekt* fördern können.

Gemäß Jan (2011: 47ff) beschränkt sich das asiatische Lernmodell (*Verstehen und Gedächtnis*) hauptsächlich darauf, Lerninhalte zu verstehen und diese dann im Kopf zu behalten. Auf diese Weise erwerben Lerner zwar Kenntnisse, entwickeln aber keine Fähigkeiten. Mit Hilfe von Spielen, in denen jedes Mal andere Aufgaben sowie andere (Spiel)Kombinationen vorkommen können, entwickeln sich Fähigkeiten, die darauf abzielen, mit Problemen umzugehen und sie zu lösen. Durch Spiele können negative Lerngewohnheiten (*Verstehen und Gedächtnis*) in positive Lerngewohnheiten (*Entwicklung von Problemlösungsfähigkeiten*) umgewandelt werden (Jan 2011: 47ff). Laut Lamerás et al. (2017: 974) stellen Lernen und Spielen denselben Prozess dar, bei dem mittels interaktiver Zusammenarbeit zwischen der Einzelperson und der Gruppe Kenntnisse erworben werden:

This argument stems from an important observation that learning is a constructive process, which encompasses aspects of collaborative learning in which knowledge creation emerges through discussion and negotiation between individuals and groups. (Lamerás et al. 2017: 974)

Laut Kili (2005) bieten Spiele verschiedene Möglichkeiten, die Analysefähigkeit der Lerner zu entwickeln:

Games should provide possibilities for reflectively exploring phenomena, testing hypotheses and constructing objects. (Kili 2005: 14)

Gemäß Mullins & Sabherwal (2018) werden in den in der Forschungsliteratur beschriebenen Experimenten meist von Anderen entwickelte Spiele verwendet. Wenn Forscher die Spiele von anderen verwenden, können sie deren Zweck jedoch nicht vollkommen verstehen und daher die Auswirkungen dieser Spiele nicht vollständig und sinnvoll interpretieren. Deswegen werden wir hier eigene Spiele entwickeln.

Heutzutage verlieren die Lerner im traditionellen Unterricht mehr und mehr ihre Lernmotivation. Im Unterricht sollen sowohl Kenntnisse vermittelt als auch die Fähigkeiten für die Anforderungen des 21. Jahrhunderts entwickelt werden. Außerdem soll der Lernprozess Freude machen. Laut Liao, Chen, Chen & Chang (2018) lernen die Schüler dann am besten, wenn sie das Lernen interessant finden:

Because most creative activities require learners to collaborate on tasks in pairs or small groups, creative pedagogy provides a supportive environment that engages them in the learning process and boosts their learning motivation (...); and language learners' motivation is closely linked to their performance (...), as when people take pleasure in an activity, they are likely to be driven by personal interest to complete any tasks that the activity requires them to perform (...). Consequently, it is reasonable to expect that

creative pedagogy can not only provide learners with the primary impetus to learn a language, but also sustain the language-learning process. (Liao, Chen/, Chen & Chang 2018: 215)

Deswegen wird von Lernern oft erwartet, eine Fremdsprache durch Spielen zu erlernen. Bisher werden Spiele konzipiert, die inhaltlich mit dem Lerninhalt nichts zu tun haben, wie z.B. PaGamO (<https://www.pagamo.org>; 10.08.2019). Es ist durchaus eine Herausforderung, Lerninhalte so in ein Spiel zu integrieren, dass *während* des Spielens Kenntnisse vermittelt und erworben werden.

Außerdem gibt es bis jetzt fast nur fremdsprachliche Wortschatzspiele (Rawendya, Yingb, Arifinc & Rosalind 2017), nur selten existieren zu Satzbildung, kaum welche jedoch zur Entwicklung fremdsprachlicher Konversation. In der vorliegenden Analyse sollten Deutschlerner auf dem Niveau A1 des Gemeinsamen europäischen Referenzrahmens für Sprachen (GeR) im Unterricht fremdsprachliche Konversationsspiele konzipieren – ein Vorgehen, das im Unterricht bislang kaum eingesetzt wird. Dabei entwickelten die Lerner anhand deutscher Lehrwerk-Dialoge ein Kartenspiel, das ihnen dabei helfen sollte, fremdsprachliche Dialoge zu lernen und später zu verwenden. Danach wurde getestet, ob Lernmotivation, Lerneffekt und Design-Fähigkeit bei den Lernern zunahm. Dabei werden die folgenden Fragestellungen untersucht:

1. Wie lassen sich Spiele für das Lernen fremdsprachlicher Dialoge entwickeln?
2. Wie kann ein Spiel Lernmotivation, Lerneffekt und Design-Fähigkeit erhöhen?
3. Inwiefern hilft das an der Universität Stanford entwickelte Modell *Design Thinking*-Modell bei der Konzeption fremdsprachlicher Spiele?

Im Folgenden wird zunächst darauf eingegangen, mit welchen Lernschwierigkeiten die Lerner im Konversationsunterricht konfrontiert werden und welche Funktionen das Spiel im Fremdsprachenunterricht hat. Daraufhin wird diskutiert, wie die Erlernung fremdsprachlicher Konversation in das Spiel integriert wird. Schließlich wird analysiert, inwiefern das genannte *Design Thinking*-Modell im gegebenen Kontext hilfreich ist.

2 Forschungsstand

Im Folgenden gehen wir zunächst auf Lücken im jetzigen Unterricht ein, um zu zeigen, dass reine Kenntnisvermittlung heutzutage nicht mehr hinreicht. Im Anschluss daran gehen wir auf die Forschungsliteratur zu Spielen im Unterricht ein, um nachzuweisen, dass mittels Spielen nicht nur Kenntnisse vermittelt, sondern hauptsächlich Fähigkeiten für die Anforderungen des 21. Jahrhunderts entwickelt werden können.

2.1 Im heutigen Konversationsunterricht bestehende Lücken

Die vier grundlegenden sprachlichen Fertigkeiten sind das Hören, das Sprechen, das Lesen und das Schreiben. Dabei sind im Konversationsunterricht die folgenden Lücken feststellbar:

1. Es fehlen oft Verwendungsmöglichkeiten zur Übung fremdsprachlicher Konversation: Bei den vorhandenen Konversationslernsystemen können die Lerner meist nicht frei kommunizieren, sondern die jeweiligen Dialoge nur mehrmals hören und auf gegebene Fragen nur vorher festgelegte Antworten geben. Beispiel für solche Systeme sind *Sprich mit mir* (1999), *Ruf doch mal an* (1995), *Live ABC's 3-D* (2006), *System Chinese Online Learning Advise* (<http://www.cola.itri.org.tw>; 20.06.2019).
2. Im Unterricht fehlt die Vermittlung des zugrundeliegenden Kommunikationsmodells, so dass die Lerner trotz guter Sprachkenntnisse nicht effektiv kommunizieren können: Da die Lerner kein Kommunikationsmodell kennen, lernen sie meist beliebig die ihnen präsentierten Sätze auswendig, so dass sie mehrere Sätze desselben Kommunikationsschrittes gelernt haben, aber ihnen die Sätze der anderen Kommunikationsschritte fehlen. Auf dieser Weise sind ihre Dialoge nicht vollständig und können somit oft nicht den gewünschten Kommunikationszweck realisieren. Beispielsweise kennen die Lerner gemäß Chen (2010: 50f) oft viele Sätze über die Feststellung eines zu zahlenden Preises, aber kaum Sätze zum Aushandeln des Preises oder zum Vergleich ähnliche Angebote.
3. Der Konversationsunterricht konzentriert sich meist auf die Vermittlung von Sprachkenntnissen, wobei die Entwicklung der für Kommunikation notwendigen Fähigkeiten fehlt. Gemäß Deterding (2012) und Hayes (2008) soll mittels *Design Thinking* im Unterricht die Fähigkeiten zum Problemlösen und zur Kreativität entwickelt werden. Hier sollen die Lerner Kartenspiele für die fremdsprachliche Konversation konzipieren, damit sie bereits bei der Konzeption des Spiels ihre fremdsprachlichen Kenntnisse anwenden und dabei auch die Problemlösungsfähigkeiten und Kreativität entwickeln (Kap. 2.2).

2.2 Funktionen von Spielen beim Fremdsprachenlernen

Nach Liao, Chen, Chen & Chang (2018: 214) konzentriert sich der jetzige Fremdsprachenunterricht meist auf gedächtnisbasiertes Lernen. Dabei wird die Anwendung der jeweiligen Fremdsprache oft vernachlässigt. Gemäß den Analyseergebnissen von Liao, Chen, Chen & Chang soll Kreativität in den Unterricht eingebaut werden, um die Motivation der Lerner zu erhöhen:

It has been argued that creativity can foster learners' original thinking, increase their engagement in the learning process, and boost their motivation (...); it has also been identified as an important component of problem-solving and cognitive skills (...)" (Liao, Chen, Chen & Chang 2018: 213)

Nach Jan (2011: 47ff) können mittels Spielen negative Lerngewohnheiten (*Verstehen und Gedächtnis*) in positive Lerngewohnheiten (*Problemlösen*) umgewandelt werden. Gemäß Deterding (2012) aktiviert das Spiel selbst die Lernmotivation, bildet verschiedene reale Erfahrungen in der Interaktion der Spiele ab, und somit können die Spiele sowohl die Lernmotivation als auch induktive Fähigkeiten fördern:

Instead of creating full games, gamification's guiding idea is to use elements of game design in non-game contexts, products, and services to motivate desired behaviors (Deterding 2012: 14)

Laut Kirschner (2015), Robinson (2011), Pendleton-Jullian & Brown (2015) gilt die Ausbildung der Kreativität als Hauptziel der Erziehung. Gemäß Liao, Chen, Chen & Chang (2018: 214) ist fremdsprachliche Kommunikation an sich eine Realisierung von Kreativität, weil dabei verschiedene Sprachelemente zu sinnvoller Kommunikation verbunden werden. Da die Lerner ein fremdsprachliches Spiel entwickeln, müssen sie dabei die Fremdsprache lernen oder ihre Kenntnisse festigen. Somit erwerben sie die jeweilige Fremdsprache bereits beim Designen des Spiels. Außerdem entwickeln sie das Spiel in Gruppen unter Verwendung der *Brain Storming*-Methode, wobei sich die verschiedenen Ideen der Lerner zum Problemlösen ergänzen und somit Problemlösungsfähigkeiten entwickelt werden. Dieser kreative Prozess bei der Spiel-Entwicklung ist somit gleichzusetzen mit dem Prozess zur Lösung neuer Probleme. Daher besteht eine enge Verbindung zwischen dem Prozess der Fähigkeitsentwicklung und dem Lernen der Fremdsprache (ibid.).

Gemäß Liao, Chen, Chen & Chang (2018: 214) haben die Lerner beim Spielen gute Laune und empfinden das Lernen als interessant, so dass sie motiviert weiterlernen. Amabile (1996) legte ähnliche Forschungsergebnisse vor, nach denen spielerische Lehrmethoden ein wichtiger Bestandteil für das Kreativitätslernen sind, und somit das Spielen die Emotionen der Lerner verbessert und auf diese das Lernen und das Gedächtnis positiv beeinflusst werden können.

3 Konzipierung fremdsprachlicher Konversationsspiele

Im Folgenden wird darauf eingegangen, wie Handlungsmuster fremdsprachlicher Kommunikation in das fremdsprachliche Konversationsspiel integriert werden können. Danach wird die Funktionsweise des Spiels demonstriert.

3.1 Integration des Fremdsprachenlernens in das Spiel

Es ist nicht einfach, das Fremdsprachenlernen in ein Spiel zu integrieren. Ein Beispiel hierfür ist PagamO (<https://www.pagamo.org/>). Dieses Spiel lässt die Lerner zunächst ungestört spielen, bricht nach einer gewissen Zeit jedoch plötzlich ab. Die Lerner müssen die erscheinenden Fragen richtig beantworten, damit sie weiterspielen können. Aber das Spiel selbst hat nichts mit dem Lerninhalt zu tun. Die Lerner müssen lediglich den Lerninhalt auswendig lernen, damit sie die Fragen beantworten und auf diese Weise weiterspielen können. Die Forschungsergebnisse von Lamerias et al. (2017: 974) zeigen, dass dem Lernen und dem Spiel meist kein gemeinsames Modell zugrunde liegt, so dass es schwierig ist, das Lernen in das Spiel zu integrieren. Daher soll hier ein kompatibles Modell entwickelt werden, das den Lerninhalt mit den Spielaktivitäten kombiniert:

Spiel	Fremdsprachlicher Dialog
Spieler-Rollen	Sprecher und Hörer als Rollenspiel
Kämpfer und Verteidiger	Fragen und Antworten auf Karten
Ablaufdiagramm	Handlungsmuster im Dialog

Tab. 1: Integration der Elemente fremdsprachlicher Konversation in das Spiel

Bei dem Versuch der Integration von Elementen fremdsprachlicher Konversation in das Spiel werden die Rollen (z.B. *Sprecher* und *Hörer*) im fremdsprachlichen Dialog mit den Rollen im Spiel identifiziert wie z.B. die Sprecher als Kämpfer mit ihren Fragekarten und die Hörer als Verteidiger mit ihren Antwortkarten (Tab. 1).

Anhand der Theorie der Diskursanalyse (Ehlich & Rehbein 1979, Ehlich 1986) wird – im Sinne der Spielregeln – ein Ablaufdiagramm entwickelt, mit dessen Hilfe ein Dialog konstituiert wird. Ein Beispiel hierfür ist eine Hotelkommunikation nach dem folgenden Handlungsmuster in einzelnen Schritten, die im Spiel anhand eines Ablaufdiagramms verdeutlicht werden. Das Handlungsmuster sieht wie folgt aus (Abb 1):

- A. Frage nach einem freien Zimmer
- B. Feststellung, ob das Zimmer dem Bedarf entspricht
- C. Feststellung des Preises
- D. Feststellung, wo sich das Zimmer befindet
- E. Erledigung der Bezahlung

Im Spiel bildet ein Kämpfer mit dem Verteidiger ein Paar. Parallel bilden die Fragesteller (Sprecher) mit ihren Fragekarten die eine Gruppe und die Hörer mit ihren Antwort-Karten die andere Gruppe.

In Abb. 2 wird aufgelistet, zu welchem Kommunikationsschritt welche Frage- und Antwortkarten passen. Beispielsweise werden für den Kommunikationsschritt *Feststellung, ob das Zimmer dem Bedarf entspricht* sowohl die Fragekarte *Ist das Zimmer mit Bad?* als auch die Antwortkarte *Ja, alle Zimmer sind mit Bad.* benötigt, um diesen Kommunikationsschritt zu vollenden. Die Zahlen auf der Karte 30, 35, 40 zeigen die Punkte sowie die Macht der Karte an. Je schwieriger die Fragen und die Antworten inhaltlich sind, desto höher ist die Punktzahl. Die Punkte spiegeln die Stärke des Kämpfers und diejenige der Verteidiger wider. Je stärker sie sind, desto mehr Punkte gewinnen sie.

Während des Spiels sollen die dem oben genannten Handlungsmuster entsprechenden Fragekarten mit ihren Antwortkarten gesucht bzw. gesammelt werden, um die dem Handlungsmuster entsprechende Kommunikation zu vollenden. Dabei zieht jeder Spieler der Reihenfolge nach eine Karte und muss richtig beurteilen, welchem Kommunikationsschritt sie zugehört. Beispielsweise zieht man die Karte







Beginn 	Pause 	Aussetzen 
Frage 1	(1) Frage nach einem freien Zimmer	Antwort 1
Frage 2	(2) Feststellung, ob das Zimmer dem Bedarf entspricht.	Antwort 2
Frage 3	(3) Feststellung des Preises	Antwort 3
Frage 4	(4) Feststellung, wo sich das Zimmer befindet.	Antwort 4
Frage 5	(5) Erledigung der Bezahlung	Antwort 5
Pause 	Aussetzen 	Noch einmal versuchen 

Abb. 1: Deutsches Spiel für die Stufe 1 (Hotel-Kommunikation)

Handlungsmuster	Fragekarte	Antwortkarte
(1) Feststellung, ob das Zimmer dem Bedarf entspricht.	Ist das Zimmer mit Bad? 30 	Ja, alle Zimmer sind mit Bad. 35 
(2) Feststellung des Preises	Wieviel kostet das Zimmer? 35 	Das Zimmer kostet 150 Euro pro Nacht. 40 

Abb. 2: Verhältnis zwischen Kommunikationsschritten und Frage- und Antwortkarten für die Hotel-Kommunikation²

1 Das Hotelbild ist der folgenden Webseite entnommen: [78](https://www.google.com/search?q=hotel+foto&tbn=isch&source=iu&ictx=1&fir=WEs6wbOHlf9F8M%253A%252C2hW56bE1ZkK1iM%252C_&vet=1&u sg=A14_-kTgpop0kTeJRaN8N9xZAzopeQleRg&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjK-LrP1YjjAhWCUrwKHRAsAj8Q9QEW AXoECAYQBg#imgrc=E9VBZKejJ8TT1M:&vet=1; 06.09.2019)</p>
</div>
<div data-bbox=)

Wieviel kostet das Zimmer? und muss sie dann auf Frage 3 legen, weil diese dem dritten Kommunikationsschritt *Feststellung des Preises* entspricht (Abb. 1). Auf dieser Weise komplettieren alle Teilnehmer gemeinsam die Hotelkommunikation, wenn alle Einzelschritte mit Karten belegt sind. Weitere Spielregel bestehen darin, dass außer den Karten zur Organisation der Kommunikation noch eine Glückskarte gezogen werden muss, die entscheidet, ob man weiter spielen kann. Bei der Karte *Noch einmal versuchen* darf ein Spieler weitermachen, um mit einer neuen Karte die Konversation zu fortzusetzen. Wenn die Pausenkarte gezogen wird, muss er eine Runde warten. Bei der Karte *Aussetzen* soll er zwei Runden warten, bis er wieder an die Reihe kommt (Abb. 1).

Fragekarte	Handlungsmuster	Antwortkarte
Haben Sie ein Zimmer frei?	(A) Frage nach einem freien Zimmer	Ja. Wir haben noch Zimmer frei.
Ist das Zimmer mit Bad.	(B) Feststellung, ob das Zimmer dem Bedarf entspricht.	Ja, alle Zimmer sind mit Bad.
Wie viel kostet das Zimmer?	(C) Feststellung des Preises	Das Zimmer kostet 150 Euro pro Nacht.
In welchem Stock ist das Zimmer?	(D) Feststellung, wo sich das Zimmer befindet.	Ihr Zimmer ist im 3. Stock, Zimmer 301.
Kann ich mit der Kreditkarte bezahlen.	(E) Erledigung der Bezahlung	Ja, gern.

Tab. 2: Konstituierung einer Konversation gemäß dem Handlungsmuster
Mit Hilfe von Frage- und Antwortkarten

In Lehrwerken werden Konversationen meist in einer festgelegten Reihenfolge angeboten und die vorhandenen Dialoge müssen in dieser festgelegten Reihenfolge auswendig gelernt werden, so dass die Lerner oft nicht in der Lage sind, im Sprachalltag auf frei gestellte Fragen korrekt zu reagieren. Dagegen können sie mittels der flexiblen Kartenkombinationen im Spiel üben, auf Fragen unmittelbar zu reagieren. Im Spiel sollen die Lerner die Sätze für einen gegebenen Kommunikationsschritt sammeln und so einen vollständigen Dialog zusammenstellen. Jedes Mal erhalten sie dabei für die Erstellung eines Dialogs unterschiedliche Sätze (Spielkarten). Das heißt, dass man nicht immer mit dem ersten Kommunikationsschritt anfängt, sondern zuerst die Satzkarten des dritten Kommunikationsschrittes und dann die Karten des ersten Schrittes erhalten kann. Das Kartenspiel ist dabei ähnlich konzipiert wie ein realer Dialog, der durchaus jedes Mal mit der anderen Frage beginnen kann. Da ein Lehrwerkdialog meist in einer festgelegten Reihenfolge vorkommt, können die Lerner dann oft nicht reagieren, wenn die Konversation anders gestaltet wird. Außerdem bietet sich im Dialog für denselben Kommunikationsschritt – wie z.B. *Frage nach einem freien Zimmer* – nur jeweils eine Antwortmöglichkeit. Im Spiel bieten sich jedoch meh-

rere Möglichkeiten für ein und dieselbe Sprechhandlung wie z.B. *Haben Sie ein Zimmer frei, Ist bei Ihnen noch ein Zimmer frei?, Gibt es noch freie Zimmer* etc. Diese Flexibilität lässt zahlreiche verschiedene Kombinationen der Dialogbildung zu demselben Inhalt zu. Da davon ausgegangen werden kann, dass ein solches Spiel den Lernern Freude bereitet, können sie es mehrmals spielen und somit den Lerninhalt immer besser zu beherrschen lernen. Hingegen können sie oft nicht ertragen, denselben Lehrwerk-Inhalt ein bis zwei Male zu wiederholen.

Die Gesprächsspiele wurden auf der Basis der Theorie der Diskursanalyse nach Ehlich & Rehbein (1979) und Ehlich (1986) entwickelt. Da aufgrund dieser Theorie eine Konversation einem gegebenen Handlungsmuster entsprechend verlaufen soll, um den Kommunikationszweck zu erzielen, dient dieses Handlungsmuster als Ablaufdiagramm des Spiels für die Bildung eines Dialogs:

Sprachliche Handlungsmuster, oder abkürzend gesagt, Muster, sind also die Formen von standardisierten Handlungsmöglichkeiten, die im konkreten Handeln aktualisiert und realisiert werden. Die Handelnden verwirklichen in ihrem Handeln ihre Zwecke. Die einzelnen Muster bilden Potenziale für die Realisierung von Zwecken, deren sich die Handelnden (...) bedienen. (Ehlich & Rehbein 1979 : 250)

Gemäß der Diskursanalyse besteht das Wesen der Kommunikation darin, gesellschaftliche Aufgaben zu erfüllen. Eine gegebene Konversation soll somit einen vorab definierten Zweck verwirklichen. Folglich bauen wir gemäß der Theorie der Diskursanalyse ein Ablaufdiagramm der Konversation für unser Kartenspiel auf, mit dessen Hilfe fremdsprachliche Konversationen mittels des Kartenspiels konstituiert werden. Für das *Einkaufen* ergeben sich dabei folgende Kommunikationsschritte:

- A. Feststellung des Angebotes
- B. Vergleich verschiedener, ähnlicher Angebote
- C. Feststellung des Preises
- D. Vergleich des Preises mit dem Wert des Angebotes (eventuell Feilschen bzw. Aushandeln des Preises)
- E. Durchführung der Bezahlung

3.2 Funktionsweise des Spiels

Im Folgenden wird nun der gesamte Prozess der Spielkonzeption dargestellt:



Gefängnis	4 Erledigung der Bezahlung	3 Feststellung, ob noch weiter bestellen	2 Essen bestellen	1 Fragen nach freien Plätzen	Gefängnis	5 Durchführung der Bezahlung	4 Vergleich des Preises mit dem Wert des Angebotes (evt. Feilschen bzw. Aushandeln des Preises)
Zurück ins Gefängnis							3 Feststellung des Preises
Beginn 	1 Fragen nach einem freien Zimmer	2 Feststellung, ob das Zimmer dem Bedarf entspricht.	3 Feststellung des Preises	4 Feststellung, wo das Zimmer sich befindet.	4 Erledigung der Bezahlung	1 Feststellung des Angebotes	2 Vergleich verschiedener ähnlicher Angebote

Abb. 3: Spiel für die Stufe 2
(Millionär-Spiel zur Hotel-, Einkaufs- und Restaurant-Kommunikation)³

Grundlage ist das Spiel *Wer wird Millionär?*⁴ Das Handlungsmuster (Ehlich & Rehbein 1979, Ehlich 1986) simuliert den Ablauf des Spiels. Das Spiel erfordert mindestens drei Spieler. Das Millionär-Spiel (Abb. 3) impliziert drei Kommunikationssituationen: Hotel-, Einkaufs- und Restaurant-Kommunikation.⁵ Die Hotel-Kommunikation ist blau, die Einkaufskommunikation grün und die Restaurant-Kommunikation gelb markiert. Auf dem Spielbrett sind die einzelnen Kommunikationsschritte aufgeführt, und die Lerner müssen die entsprechenden Satzkarten für die jeweiligen Kommunikationsschritte herausuchen, um die Konversation nachzubilden (Abb. 1). Dieses Spielbrett stellt die Aufbaustruktur der Kommunikation dar, so dass die Lerner gemäß den Kommunikationsschritten mit ihren Satzkarten eine entsprechende Kommunikation konstituieren (Bild 3). Die Spielregeln bestehen darin, dass jeder Spieler zunächst fünf Karten mit Kommunikationssätzen bekommt. Dann würfelt der

³ Das Bild für die Reise in Deutschland ist dem Internet entnommen: (https://www.google.com/search?q=Reise+Deutschland+foto&tbm=isch&source=iu&ictx=1&fir=GOAD9L2dNfuScM%253A%252Cbec78u28sTALmM%252C_&vet=1&usg=AI4_-kTBYI_7oL2WWOHiJnmKhspiiQ-g&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjVwlmL1ojjAhWKEbwKHVWYCnQQ9QEwAXoECAkQBg#imgcr=3A6CjJ5z94w2fM:&vet=1;10.07.2019)

⁴ Das Hauptprinzip des Spiels *Wer wird Millionär?* besteht darin, durch die Beantwortung von Quiz-Fragen Punkte bzw. Spielgeld zu gewinnen, um Millionär zu werden (Spielregel: <https://www.spielregeln-spielanleitungen.de/spiel/wer-wird-millionaer/>; 10.07.2019). Dafür es gibt viele verschiedene Versionen. Dieses Spiel wird hier verwendet, weil fast jeder die Spielregeln kennt.

⁵ Im Vergleich zum obigen Spiel für Stufe 1 mit nur einem Kommunikationsthema, werden in dem Spiel für Stufe 2 mehrere Kommunikationsthemen abgedeckt.

erste Spieler. Die Punkte auf dem Würfel entscheiden darüber, wie viele Schritte er vorrücken kann. Wenn er an einem bestimmten Kommunikationsschritt ankommt, kann er nachschauen, ob er die entsprechenden Satzkarten hat, um diesen Kommunikationsschritt zu vollenden. Befindet er sich beispielsweise bei dem Schritt *Feststellung des Preises*, muss er entsprechende Karten mit den Sätzen zur Preisfeststellung haben, um diesen Kommunikationsschritt zu besetzen. Ein weiteres Beispiel: Ein Spieler kommt beim Einkaufen zum Kommunikationsschritt *Vergleich verschiedener ähnlicher Angebote*. Dann muss er sehen, ob er die entsprechenden Satzkarten für diesen Kommunikationsschritt auf der Hand hat. Im positiven Fall kann er diesen Kommunikationsschritt mit der entsprechenden Frage- und deren Antwortkarte besetzen, beispielsweise mit der Fragekarte *Haben Sie Äpfel aus anderen Ländern?* und der Antwortkarte *Ja, hier sind Äpfel aus Japan und dort Äpfel aus Spanien*. Ein anderer Spieler kann diesen Schritt nun nicht mehr besetzen, sondern muss stattdessen aus seinen bisher gewonnenen Punkte eine Gebühr bezahlen. Auf jeder Karte, die ein Spieler gewinnt, ist die Punktzahl verzeichnet, mit der er eine solche Gebühr bezahlen kann (Abb. 2). Nach jedem Würfeln bekommen die Spieler eine weitere Karte mit einem Kommunikationssatz. Im negativen Fall, dass er nicht über Karten zur Besetzung des entsprechenden Kommunikationsschrittes verfügt, muss er aussetzen und kann weiterhin Karten für eine mögliche Besetzung von Kommunikationsschritten sammeln.

In die Spielkonzeption kann man – wie gesehen – also mehrere Kommunikationsthemen einbauen, deren einzelne Kommunikationsschritte dann der Reihenfolge nach auf dem Spielbrett verzeichnet sind. Wenn die Karten an alle Spieler verteilt sind, ist das Spiel zu Ende. Man gewinnt sowohl die Punkte auf eigenen Karten als auch diejenigen für die besetzten Kommunikationsschritte.⁶ Dieses Spiel wird hier lediglich als ein mögliches Modell veranschaulicht. Die Lerner können entweder das Modell eigenständig modifizieren oder eigene Spiele daraus entwickeln. Auf der Basis dieses Spielmodells können zudem Spiele für verschiedene Sprachen entwickelt werden.

4 Konzeption von Spielkarten

Die Lerner sollen gemäß dem von uns zugrunde gelegten *Design Thinking*-Modell fremdsprachliche Spiele konzipieren. Auf dieses Modell wird nun entsprechend eingegangen.

Zunächst jedoch eine kurze Vorbemerkung: Nach Jan & Chang (2018) sollen Lehrwerke in Spiele umgewandelt werden, damit die Lerner über den Erwerb von Kenntnissen hinaus zentrale Fähigkeiten entwickeln können. In Singapur beispielsweise werden in der *Canberra Primary School* – als einer „Grundschule der Zukunft“ anstelle von Lehrwerken ausschließlich Spiele im Unterricht eingesetzt (Jan & Chang 2018: 3). Vor einem solchen Hintergrund wird in dem vorliegenden Artikel die

⁶ Im Unterricht werden solche Prototypen von Kommunikationsspielen demonstriert. Die Lerner sollen dann ein eigenes Kommunikationsthema oder mehrere Kommunikationsthemen auswählen und selbst ein Spiel entwickeln.

Entwicklung von Spielen durch die Lerner propagiert, die ihrem eigenen Fremdsprachenlernen zuträglich sein können. Besonders wichtig ist in diesem Zusammenhang, dass die Lerner bereits während des Design-Prozesses des Spiels jeweilige Fremdsprache verwenden:

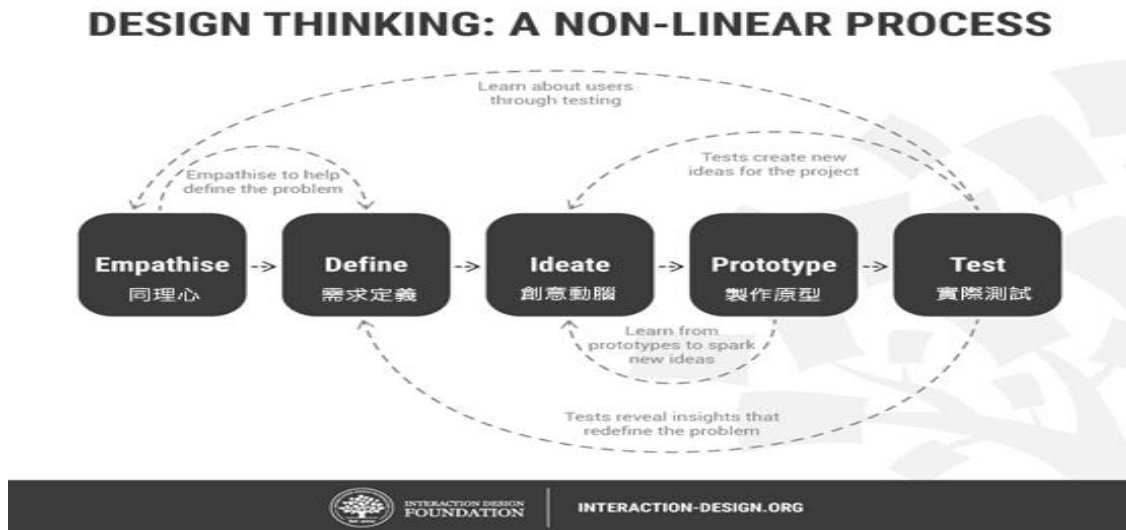


Abb. 4: Interaktion zwischen Arbeitsschritten im *Design Thinking*-Modell⁷

Das *Design Thinking*-Modell dient dazu, ein Produkt – hier ein fremdsprachliches Spiel – dem Bedarf der Nutzer entsprechend zu entwickeln. Es besteht aus fünf Arbeitsschritten, die ineinander greifen und sich gegenseitig beeinflussen.

- a) *Empathy*: Der Bedarf der Nutzer steht im Mittelpunkt, und auf diesen als Zielgruppe wird das Spiel entwickelt. Der Bedarf von Fremdsprachenlernern begründet sich in der Regel aus ihren Lernschwierigkeiten. Es müssen mögliche Gründe für die bestehenden Schwierigkeiten identifiziert werden, damit Lösungsmöglichkeiten in das Spiel eingebaut werden können. Hier besteht der Bedarf darin, Kommunikation in der Fremdsprache auf der Basis des zugrundeliegenden Modells zu konzipieren und zu realisieren.
- b) *Define*: Es werden entsprechende Daten für die Analyse und spätere Umsetzung des Bedarfs der verschiedenen Nutzer gesammelt.
- c) *Ideate*: Anhand des Bedarfs der Benutzer werden nun kreative Ideen die Konzipierung eines Produktes entwickelt
- d) *Prototype*: Konkretisierung der Ideen auf der Basis des Produkt-Entwurfs
- e) *Test*: Ausprobieren des Produkts und Sammeln von Benutzer-Feedback. Gegebenenfalls Produktverbesserung.

⁷ Original-Bild: <https://www.interaction-design.org/literature/article/5-stages-in-the-design-thinking-process>; 01.07.2019.

Aus diesen Schritten ergibt sich ein Modifizierungs- und Überprüfungs-Zyklus für das zu entwickelnde Produktes (Abb. 4):

The Stanford model has five phases or stages of design thinking, also referred to as modes, which are worked through towards problem solutions or resolutions. These five modes are: empathize, define, ideate, prototype, and test. While we describe them in linear fashion, design thinking is actually an iterative process. Designers, teachers, and others can cycle through the process or reenter modes as needed, to understand or explore problems and solutions.” (Henriksena, Richardson & Mehtab 2017: 142)

5 Ergänzende Umfrage

Für die Klärung der Frage, ob das Konzipieren fremdsprachlicher Spiele die Motivation der Lerner erhöht und ob das *Design Thinking*-Modell den Lernern hierbei hilfreich sein kann, wurde die eine die Entwicklung unseres Spieles begleitende Umfrage durchgeführt.

Die Studierenden waren bis dato fast nur mit traditionellen Lehr- und Lernmethoden konfrontiert worden. Somit dürften sie dazu in der Lage sein, den Ansatz des *Design Thinking* mit dem traditionellen Lernen zu vergleichen.

Insgesamt nahmen 32 Studierenden (sieben von diesen männlich und 25 weiblich) an der Umfrage teil, die über ein Deutsch-Niveau von A1 des GeR verfügten und bereits ein Semester Deutsch gelernt hatten. Für den Fragebogen wurde die Fünf-Punkte-Likert-Skala (Likert 1932) verwendet (1. *überhaupt nicht einverstanden* – 5. *sehr einverstanden*).

Zur Absicherung der Antworten der Befragten wurden Kontrollfragen gestellt, mit deren Hilfe sich feststellen ließ, ob die Lerner die Umfrage korrekt ausfüllten. Beispielsweise wurde gefragt, ob das Konzipieren fremdsprachlicher Spiele die eigene Lernmotivation erhöht (Frage 1) und beim Fremdsprachenlernen helfen kann (Frage 2). Zur Kontrolle wurden die gleichen Gesichtspunkte auch in negativer Form erfragt (Fragen 4 und 5). Diese Fragen mussten logisch beantwortet werden. Unlogisch ausgefüllte Fragebögen wurden entsprechend nicht in die Analyse einbezogen, da eine widersprüchliche Beantwortung dieser Fragen dafür sprach, dass der jeweilige Lerner die Umfrage nicht ernst genommen hatte (Tab. 3).

Die ersten drei Fragen beziehen sich auf die Wirkung des Designens fremdsprachlicher Spiele auf die Lernmotivation (83,25 % \pm 3,28), den Lerneffekt (81,75 % \pm 1,63) und die Entwicklung der Fähigkeiten der Spiele-Konzipierung und des Problemlösens (78,32 % \pm 2,13). An dem Durchschnittswert dieser drei Fragen von 81,09 % lässt sich erkennen, dass die Lerner den positiven Effekt des Designens fremdsprachlicher Spiele im Unterricht erkannten. Die entsprechende Gegenfrage 4 fand lediglich eine Zustimmung von 35,21 % (\pm 0,69) und Gegenfrage 5 nur eine Zustimmung von 35,87 % (\pm 0,71). Daran, dass bei den positiven Fragen (1 - 3) durchschnittlich eine Zustimmung von 81,10 % erzielt wurde, bei den entsprechenden Gegenfragen (4 und 5) hingegen durchschnittlich nur eine Zustimmung von 18,54 %, lässt sich erkennen, dass die Ergebnisse als weitgehend einheitlich und somit mehr oder weniger zuverlässig angesehen werden können. Zu der Frage, ob die Lerner weiterhin fremdsprach-

	Fragen	Prozentanteile
1	Ein fremdsprachliches Spiel zu designen steigert meine positive Laune und Lernmotivation.	83,25 % ± 3.28 ⁸
2	Ich kann beim Designen fremdsprachlicher Spiele die Fremdsprache gut lernen und anwenden.	81,70 % ± 1.63
3	Beim Designen fremdsprachlicher Spiele kann ich meine Problemlösungsfähigkeiten entwickeln. ³⁴	78,32 % ± 2.13
4	Ich finde, dass das Designen fremdsprachlicher Spiele beim Lernen nicht helfen kann.	35,21 % ± 0.69
5	Ich finde, dass das <i>Design Thinking</i> -Modell beim Lernen nicht helfen kann.	35,87 % ± 0.71
6	Ich werde weiterhin fremdsprachliche Spiele designen.	70,64 % ± 1.41
7	Ich werde weiterhin das <i>Design Thinking</i> -Modell benutzen.	69,75 % ± 1.29

Tab. 3: Ergebnisse der Umfrage

liche Spiele designen würden, fand sich immerhin eine Unterstützung von 70,64 % ($\pm 1,41$), obwohl die Konzipierung von Spielen sehr aufwendig ist. Frage 7 hinsichtlich einer möglichen weiteren Verwendung des *Design Thinking*-Modells fand ebenfalls große Unterstützung (69,75 % ± 1.29).

6 Abschließende Bemerkungen

Während in Lehrwerken ein fremdsprachlicher Dialog meist aus 12 bis 20 Sätzen besteht (Müller et al. 1996: 12f, 26, Niebisch 2016: 74, Funk & König 1994: 22f, 53, 63)), benötigt man mindestens 36 bis 52 Sätze, um genug Karten für ein Spiel zu konstituieren, damit man beim Spielen nicht lange auf eine bestimmte Karte warten muss. Auf diese Weise werden die Lerner dazu gebracht, mehr Sätze als das Lehrwerk zu erlernen. Der Prozess der Spielkonzipierung ist somit ein genuiner Fremdsprachenlernprozess. Schon dabei wiederholen die Lerner einzelne Sätze recht intensiv. Außerdem diskutieren sie in Gruppen darüber, welchen zu lernenden Inhalt sie festlegen, welche Spielregeln sie aufstellen und welche Lernprobleme sie

⁸ Der jeweilige Wert der Abweichung bezieht sich auf die Differenzen zwischen einer Plangröße (eventuell Sollgröße) und einer Ist-Größe. Bei einem Wert 83.25 % ± 3.28 beispielsweise ergibt sich eine Schwankungsbreite von 79,97 % bis 86,53 %.

adressieren können. Darüber hinaus probieren sie gemäß dem *Design Thinking*-Modell das Spiel selbst aus und modifizieren es weiterhin auf der Basis der so gemachten Erfahrungen. Beim Ausprobieren lernen sie die fremdsprachlichen Sätze recht intensiv. Zudem entwickeln sie dabei nicht nur mehr Motivation und verbessern ihre eigenen Lernergebnisse, sondern erwerben zugleich gewisse Datenanalyse- und Problemlösungsfähigkeiten. All dies bestätigt auch unsere Umfrage. Obwohl die Konzipierung von Spielen also mehr Mühe bereitet als das traditionelle Fremdsprachenlernen, fand diese neue Lernmethode bei unseren Lernern starken Anklang. Im Hinblick auf künftige Forschung wäre es aufschlussreich zu untersuchen, für welches Sprachniveau von A1 bis B2 des GeR das Konzipieren von Spielen besonders effektiv ist und welche Arten von Spielen sich hierfür besonders anbieten.

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Fremde Sprachen lernen durch die Lektüre öffentlicher Räume

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Abstract (German)

Öffentliche Räume bieten ein ideales Gerüst zur Unterstützung beim Erlernen fremder Sprachen (*scaffolding*), denn hier erscheinen kurze, oft standardisierte und in leichten Variationen häufig wiederholte Texte an Stellen, deren vorstrukturierter situativer Kontext nur wenige Deutungen zulässt. Oft geben international verständliche semiotische Gestaltung (Textdesign, Typographie, Farbe) sowie zugehörige realistische oder ikonische Bilder zusätzliche Hinweise zur Entzifferung der Bedeutung. Außerdem erscheinen manche Zeichen im öffentlichen Raum mehrsprachig, so dass man im Idealfall von einer bereits bekannten auf eine noch unbekannte Sprache schließen kann. So können Anfänger öffentliche Plätze, Straßen und Gebäude als ersten immersiven Einstieg in ein fremdes Sprachbad nutzen, Fortgeschrittene aber als einen zusätzlichen Weg, neue Vokabeln und Wendungen zu lernen. In diesem Beitrag werden anhand konkreter Beispiele vier didaktisch-methodische Settings dafür vorgestellt. Hier geht es um Deutsch als Fremdsprache; das Modell lässt sich jedoch ebenso gut auf andere Sprachen in anderen Ländern übertragen.

Stichwörter: Öffentliche Räume, Fremdsprachenlernen, scaffolding, semiotische Gestaltung, ikonische Bilder, Immersion, Sprachbad, Deutsch als Fremdsprache

Abstract (English)

Public spaces provide an ideal framework to support learning foreign languages (*scaffolding*). This approach is fruitful because short, often standardized texts (sometimes repeated in slight variations) appear in places whose pre-structured situational context only permits limited interpretations. Internationally understandable semiotic designs (text design, typography, color) as well as realistic or iconic pictures often provide additional clues for learners to decipher meanings. In addition, some signs in public spaces are multilingual, so that ideally, learners can transfer knowledge from a language already known to new language. In this way, beginners can use public places, streets and buildings as a first immersive introduction to a foreign language, while advanced learners can use them as an additional way to learn new vocabulary and phrases. In this article, four methodological settings are presented and exemplified. the target being German as a foreign language. However, the model presented here can just as well be transferred to other languages in other countries.

Keywords: Public spaces, foreign language learning, scaffolding, semiotic designs, iconic pictures, immersion, German as a foreign language

1 *Linguistic Landscapes* als zu lösende Rätsel

Der öffentliche Raum ist übersät mit Auf- und Inschriften aller Art. Abbildung 1 zeigt eine Straßenecke in Dortmund-Nordstadt:¹



Abb. 1: Straßenecke in Dortmund-Nordstadt²

Wer an dieser oder einer ähnlichen Straßenecke steht und die Sprache, die hauptsächlich zu sehen ist, überhaupt nicht beherrscht, wird zunächst etwas ratlos sein. Ähnlich wie ein kleines Kind beim mündlichen Spracherwerb wird er oder sie versuchen, sich zusammenzureimen, was die einzelnen Wörter und Texte wohl bedeuten. Wenn unsere ratlose Person, nennen wir sie Pat, grundsätzlich (hier lateinische Schrift) lesen kann, wird sie ein Verständnis von Sprache und Schrift überhaupt mitbringen und vermuten, dass man die jeweilige Bedeutung aus dem räumlichen und situativen Kontext wenigstens teilweise erraten oder gar erschließen kann. Dabei helfen ihr visuelle Indizien: Viele Schriftzeichen im öffentlichen Raum erscheinen an ganz bestimmten standardisierten Stellen (z.B. auf Verkehrszeichen), und oft gibt ihre visuelle Gestaltung oder zusätzliche Bebilderung weitere Hinweise, die auch unabhängig von der jeweiligen Landessprache mehr oder weniger international ähnlich, also bereits bekannt sind.³

Unten links in Abb. 1 zum Beispiel kennt Pat das textlose Halteverbotsschild aus anderen Ländern. Auch das ebenfalls textlose, schwarzweiße ikonische Fahrradschild im Vordergrund mit den beiden kleinen Pfeilen wird sie problemlos als Hinweis auf einen vorbeiführenden Fahrradweg erkennen, vermutlich jedoch ohne einen Zusam-

¹ Auch in den folgenden Beispielen unterstellen wir Deutsch als zu lernende Fremdsprache. Analoges gilt natürlich für alle Fremdsprachen auch in anderen Ländern.

² Dies ist das Foto Nr. 1570 aus der Datenbank des Projekts „Metropolenzeichen: Visuelle Mehrsprachigkeit im Ruhrgebiet“, gefördert vom Mercator Research Center Ruhr (MERCUR GZ: Pr-2012-0045, Laufzeit: 01.08.2013 - 31.08.2018. Darstellung wichtiger Ergebnisse in Ziegler u.a. 2018, dort auch zahlreiche weitere Fotos.

³ Deswegen nennen wir unsere ratlose Person „Pat“: *Picture and Text*.

menhang mit dem ganz anders formatierten Schild darüber zu erahnen, das einen beschrifteten breiten weißen Pfeil auf blauem Grund zeigt. Auch das große rote gotische A-Signet mehrfach unten rechts im Bild und rechts oberhalb der Bildmitte dürfte ihr nur geläufig sein, wenn sie häufig in Deutschland unterwegs war und es ihr jemand erklärt hätte. Die meisten anderen Textstücke werden ihr erst einmal fremd sein.

Wer in fremden Ländern durch öffentliche Räume geht und sich darin zurechtfinden muss, wandert mit Leib und Seele durch semiotische Rätsel, die teils leicht, teils schwer zu lösen sind. Das ist etwas sehr viel Unmittelbareres, als Sprachen durch Bücher, im Klassenzimmer oder auch per Internet zu erlernen. Allerdings geht es nur um Schrift, fast immer sogar nur um einzelne Wörter oder sehr kleine Minitexte (wie in Abb. 1). Mündlichkeit und Interaktion fehlen völlig, es sei denn, man geht gezielt in Gruppen durch die Stadt. Aber selbst dann kann ein „Herumstrolchen“ in fremden sprachlichen Landschaften für Anfänger nur ein erster Einstieg in fremde Sprachen sein – oder aber für Fortgeschrittene ein zusätzlicher Weg, neue Vokabeln und kleine elliptische Wendungen zu lernen.

Damit gibt es vier didaktische und entsprechende methodische Settings, Auf- und Inschriften in öffentlichen Räumen zum Sprachlernen zu nutzen:

- (a) individuell als Anfänger
- (b) individuell als Fortgeschrittener
- (c) in Anfängergruppen und
- (d) in Fortgeschrittenengruppen

In jedem Fall kann man die allgegenwärtige Beschriftung öffentlicher Räume zum Sprachenlernen nutzen. In dem genannten beschränkten Rahmen (nur sehr kleine schriftliche Texte) geht es kaum motivierender und effizienter.

Im Hinblick auf Setting (a) lässt sich Folgendes festhalten: Sofern Pat die Bedeutung von *Apotheke* aus bisher bekannten Sprachen (wie z.B. Dänisch oder Polnisch) nicht erschließen kann, wird sie ins Fenster des Geschäfts rechts im Bild schauen, dann sehen, dass vorzugsweise Medikamente verkauft werden, und daraufhin mit ein wenig Intelligenz abduktiv schließen, dass das an dem Geschäft vielfach angebrachte A-Signet eine Abkürzung für das ebenfalls häufig zu lesende *Apotheke* sein dürfte – ein ganz anderes Wort als das bisher bekannte *pharmacy*, *farmacia* o.ä. zusammen mit dem international gebräuchlichen grünen Kreuz als Signet. Damit könnte Pat auch auf die Idee kommen, die weißen Schilder mit schwarzem Text unten rechts an der Säule richtig als Schilder von Arztpraxen zu identifizieren, die in ähnlicher Gestaltung häufig in der Nähe von Apotheken zu finden sind. Möglicherweise könnte Pat weitere Vokabeln auf diesen Schildern erkennen und aus dem Kontext verstehen.

Wenden wir uns nun dem Einbahnstraßen-Schild zu. Ähnlich gestaltete Schilder – ohne oder mit Aufschrift in der jeweiligen Landessprache – gibt es in vielen Ländern der Welt. Zusammen mit dem weißen Pfeil könnte so unmittelbar auf die Bedeutung des Wortes *Einbahnstraße* geschlossen werden. Überhaupt hilft die international oft ähnliche semiotische Gestaltung funktional ähnlicher Zeichen an bestimmten Plätzen im öffentlichen Raum beim Verständnis ihrer Bedeutung und ggf. auch ihrer Aufschrift.

In unserem Beispiel etwa dürfte das oberste blaue Zeichen am Pfahl (samt Nummern darunter) auf Anhieb als Straßennamen-Schild zu erkennen sein. Da wir A schon als Abkürzung von *Apotheke* verstanden haben, wäre es hier vielleicht nur ein kleiner Schritt, *str.* als Abkürzung von *Straße* zu erraten, das zwei Handbreit darunter ja in *Einbahnstraße* vorkommt.

Kurzum: Platzierung, materielle Grundlage und formales Design von Auf- und In-schriften im öffentlichen Raum wirken als erleichterndes Gerüst (*Scaffolding*) (z.B. Wood, Bruner & Ross 1976: 90f, 98), um das Verständnis von Wörtern und Texten zu unterstützen.

Einmal so weit gekommen, steht Pat hier mit dem gleichen Wissen vor dem gleichen Rätsel wie auch alle Menschen mit Deutsch als Erstsprache: Wie verhalten sich das Einbahnstraßenschild und das Fahrradschild zueinander? Dafür gibt es wenig Hinweise, nur Konventionen: Schilder, die an demselben Pfosten montiert sind, hängen oft (nicht immer) irgendwie zusammen. In unserer Kultur liest man von links nach rechts und von oben nach unten. Ganz unabhängig von der einzelnen Sprache steht das Thema ('worum es geht') meist vor dem Rhema ('was zum Thema zu sagen ist'), das dann seinerseits wieder zum Thema für ein weiteres Rhema werden kann. Prototypisch sehen und lesen wir das an unserem Schilderpfahl, der wie eine vertikale Zeile wirkt, in der Bedeutung: "Die Kielstraße ist eine Einbahnstraße nach rechts, doch Fahrräder dürfen in dieser Straße dennoch in beide Richtungen fahren." Dass das dritte Schild als Ausnahme zum zweiten Schild gilt, muss jeder – unabhängig von der Herkunftssprache – kulturell ebenso lernen wie etwa die Tatsache, dass die auf das dritte Schild aufgeklebten Sticker keinerlei juristische Bedeutung haben.

2 Unterschiedliche Diskurse im öffentlichen Raum

Somit wird klar, dass die verschiedenen Zeichen, Wörter und Texte im öffentlichen Raum unterschiedliche pragmatische und soziale Funktionen haben, wie das bei sprachlichen und anderen Zeichen ja immer der Fall ist. Scollon & Scollon (2003: 167) unterscheiden vier Diskurstypen in öffentlichen Räumen: *regulatorisch* (z.B. Verkehrsregelung), *infrastrukturell* (z.B. Hinweisschilder zu Straßeneinbauten), *kommerziell* (z.B. Werbung) und *transgressiv* (z.B. Graffiti).

In Abb. 1 sind Beispiele für alle vier Diskurstypen zu sehen. Das Einbahnstraßen-Schild steht für den regulatorischen Diskurs (hier mit rechtlicher Wirkung), das Straßennamenschild („Kielstr.“) für den infrastrukturellen Diskurs (hier mit orientierender Funktion), die Apothekenschilder vertreten den kommerziellen Diskurs (teils mit orientierender, oft mit werbender Absicht), und die aufgeklebten Sticker auf dem Fahrradschild sind transgressiv (illegitim und meist mit anonymem Absender).

Es liegt auf der Hand, dass die verschiedenen Diskurstypen in der Regel an dafür vorgesehenen Stellen stehen. Außerdem ziehen sie unterschiedliche Sprachregister und bevorzugen unterschiedliche visuelle Gestaltungen und Typographien. So wäre beispielsweise das „A“-Signet am Pfahl genau so fehl am Platze wie das Wort

„Apotheke“ in der für Verkehrsschilder vorgesehenen Schrift⁴. Je häufiger man durch öffentliche Räume streift, desto schneller und besser wird man die verschiedenen Zeichen den Diskurstypen zuordnen können: Scaffolding für Fortgeschrittene.

3 Fremdsprachenlernen als Schnitzeljagd

Und damit sind wir beim oben in Abschnitt 1 genannten *Setting (b)* für fortgeschrittene Einzel-Lerner und -Lernerinnen. Jetzt gehen wir davon aus, dass Pat schon ein wenig Deutsch beherrscht. Der öffentliche Raum kann nun vor allem zum Vokabellernen genutzt werden. Grammatik entfällt weitgehend, denn Texte im öffentlichen Raum sind für extrem kurze Wahrnehmungsspannen verfasst: Das Publikum eilt durch eine unüberschaubare Vielfalt sprachlicher und nichtsprachlicher Zeichen von höchst unterschiedlicher Relevanz und kann es sich kaum leisten, in sich kohärente längere Texte zu lesen. Deshalb greift die Konstruktion und Rekonstruktion visuell erschließbarer Bedeutung im öffentlichen Raum auf eine sehr effiziente Arbeitsteilung von vier Zuträgern zurück:

- i. erlerntes konventionelles Vorwissen der Adressaten,
- ii. Bedeutung des Erscheinungsortes⁵,
- iii. visuelle Erscheinung (z.B. Typographie und ggf. zugehöriges Bild) sowie schließlich
- iv. Wörter und Wortketten.

An der Straßenecke in Abb. 1 etwa hat jeder Passant, auch wenn er kein einziges Wort der deutschen Sprache versteht:

- i. eine Ahnung sowohl von der Bedeutung des Stadtbildes allgemein als auch intuitives Wissen über unterschiedliche Diskurstypen.
- ii. die (begründete) Vorstellung, dass die jeweiligen Zeichen irgendetwas mit der Stelle zu tun haben, an der sie sich befinden: So dürften die Schilder an genau diesem Pfahl Verkehrsschilder und nicht etwa Werbung sein.
- iii. auf der Basis der visuellen und typographischen Gestaltung, das Verständnis, dass „Lidl“ (ganz unten hinten im Bild erkennbar) nicht etwa ein Gattungsname - also eine unbekannte Vokabel – ist, sondern ein Eigenname, der stets in diesem Logo erscheint.

So steht der Fremdsprachenlerner also nur noch vor der Aufgabe, einzelne Wörter und gegebenenfalls Wortketten zu erschließen. Dabei hilft ihm, dass er sich kaum um Grammatik kümmern muss, denn wegen der genannten Arbeitsteilung wird man kaum grammatische Markierungen finden (in Abb. 1 zum

⁴ Nämlich die Serifenlose Linear-Antiqua, Verkehrsschrift gemäß DIN 1451, Teil 2 (Allgemeine Verwaltungsvorschrift zur Straßenverkehrs-Ordnung vom 26. Januar 2001).

⁵ Vgl. Auer (2010: 275) über ortsfeste Schrift, die Handlungs-Räume eröffnete.

Beispiel keine einzige), obwohl sie im Deutschen als einer herkömmlich eher synthetischen Sprache sonst viel häufiger vorkommen als etwa im Englischen. Allein schon weil Design viel an semiotisch ordnender Leistung übernimmt, bleibt für Grammatik nicht mehr viel zu tun (zur Arbeitsteilung zwischen Grammatik und Design: Schmitz 2017).



Abb. 2: Parkhaus am Hauptbahnhof Bochum⁶

Dies gilt auch für Abb. 2. Zwar finden wir fünf Pluralmorpheme, zwei davon bemerkenswerterweise bei Fremdwörtern aus dem Englischen (*Fahrzeuge*, *Einsatzfahrzeuge*, *Services*, *Tage* und *Tickets*. Außerdem steht auf dem Schild vorne links der bestimmte Artikel *der* hier im Genitiv. All das dürfte Pat aber keinerlei Probleme bereiten. Schwieriger sind schon einige Vokabeln. Selbst wenn *Polizei* bekannt ist – was genau heißt *Bundespolizei*? Wenn Pat es genau wissen will (was hier gar nicht notwendig ist), könnte sie es mit elementarer Kenntnis der Wortbildung deutscher Substantive erschließen. Sonst hilft simples Nachschlagen im mitgeführten Handy- oder Tablet-Wörterbuch. Ähnliches gilt für *17 Tage Erlebniswelt / Mit 100 % Ökostrom* auf dem großen Plakat am Parkhaus. Konstruktiv etwas aufwendiger ist die Ellipse weiter unten *Jetzt Tickets sichern!* Das Ausrufzeichen deutet auf einen Imperativ hin. Das Verb *sichern* kann – wie die meisten Wörter – mehrere Bedeutungen haben; in Verbindung mit *Tickets* lässt es sich an dieser Stelle im kommerziellen Diskurs aber leicht disambiguieren.

Ähnlich können Pat und jeder Fremdsprachenlerner sich durch semiotische und linguistische öffentliche Landschaften bewegen: linguistische Schnitzeljagd mit schnellen Erfolgserlebnissen. Auf diese Weise im räumlichen und visuellen Kontext gelernte Vokabeln werden später in der Regel auch selten vergessen.

⁶ Foto Nr. 5937 aus dem Projekt „Metropolenzeichen“.

4 In Gruppen durch sprachliche Landschaften streifen

So viel zum individuellen Fremdsprachenlernen im öffentlichen Raum. Geht das auch in Gruppen? Ja, und es macht mehr Spaß – egal ob mit oder ohne Lehrer (Setting (c) und (d)). Zunächst kann man alles auch in Gruppen genau so machen wie oben für einzelne Stadtbesucher beschrieben, nur dass man sich gegenseitig in welcher Sprache auch immer darüber austauschen kann. Hier einige weitere Vorschläge, zuerst für Anfänger, dann aufsteigend für fortgeschrittenere Lerner und Lernerinnen:

- (1) In kleinen Gruppen geht man durch ein vorher abgestecktes Gebiet (z.B. eine Einkaufsstraße) und fotografiert oder notiert sämtliche Texte, die mindestens ein Wort und höchstens einen vollständigen Satz umfassen. Schon dabei wird man merken, dass es weniger Verständnisschwierigkeiten gibt als man vorher befürchtete. Denn manches kann – wie oben beschrieben – aus dem jeweiligen räumlichen und visuellen Kontext erschlossen werden. Dabei kann man sich gegenseitig helfen.
- (2) Mehrsprachigkeit im öffentlichen Raum ist ein weiteres Hilfsmittel, Wörter und Texte in einer fremden Sprache zu erlernen. Manche Schilder funktionieren gerade so wie ein mehrsprachiges Wörterbuch (Abb. 3 und 4). Allerdings muss man kritisch damit umgehen: Wenn dank der unterschiedlichen Kompetenzen in der Gruppe falsche Übersetzungen auffallen, sollten mögliche Gründe für die Fehler diskutiert werden.



Abb. 3: Brautkleider⁷



Abb. 4: Drücken⁸

- (3) Alle Mitglieder einer Gruppe können einzeln ausschwärmen, um sämtliche mutmaßlichen grammatischen Morpheme auf In- und Aufschriften in einem vorher abgesteckten kleinen Gebiet (z.B. dreißig Meter einer belebten Straße) zu notieren oder auf Fotos zu unterstreichen. Im anschließenden Gruppengespräch darüber werden zunächst die übersehenen oder die falsch markierten Stellen besprochen. Danach werden die richtig beobachteten grammatischen Markierungen auf ihre spezielle Form und ihre grammatische Funktion im jeweiligen Kontext hin analysiert.

⁷ Foto Nr. 4049 aus dem Projekt „Metropolenzeichen“.

⁸ Foto Nr. 1869 aus dem Projekt „Metropolenzeichen“.

- (4) Ausgewählte elliptische Passagen, die nur wenige Wörter umfassen, werden zu kohärenten ganzen Sätzen ausformuliert. Vergleichsweise einfach geht das zum Beispiel mit der Aufforderung *Drücken* in Abb. 4. Etwas schwerer ist *Brautkleider* in Abb. 3 auszuarbeiten etwa zu „Hier gibt es Brautkleider.“ oder „Hier können Sie Brautkleider für 200 Euro kaufen.“ Auch Abb. 2 bietet Gelegenheit dazu, die elliptischen Texte zu ganzen Sätzen auszuformulieren und dann zu entscheiden, welche Version an diese Stelle besser passt und warum. Sehr schwer wird es mit den Schildern am Pfahl in Abb. 1, zum Beispiel so: „Die Kielstraße hier ist eine Einbahnstraße. Allerdings dürfen Fahrräder in beide Richtungen fahren.“ [Wieso hält man das für Fußgänger eigentlich für selbstverständlich?] Freilich sind das hier nur Anregungen anhand der Abbildungen. Wirklich fruchtbar wird das Lernexperiment erst, wenn man selbst auf die Straße, auf Plätze oder an und in Hauptbahnhöfe geht.
- (5) In manchen Städten werden Flächen bereitgestellt, die man straflos mit Graffiti beschreiben kann. Hier könnte man Texte platzieren, die man vorher gemeinsam überlegt und in der neu erlernten Fremdsprache formuliert hat, um zum Beispiel auf ein bestimmtes Anliegen hinzuweisen.
- (6) Am Ende dieses didaktischen Streifzuges durch sprachliche Landschaften kann man gemeinsam darüber diskutieren, warum nicht alle entdeckten Wörter und Texte auf Schildern, in Schaufenstern, an Häusern und Wänden, auf Plakaten und Aufklebern in Deutschland vollständig in deutscher Sprache gehalten sind. Oder aber umgekehrt: Warum nur einige (und zwar welche?) mehrsprachig daher kommen und nicht alle?

5 Extras

Wer sich eingehender mit der Forschung zu *Linguistic Landscapes* beschäftigen möchte, wird fündig zum Beispiel bei Auer 2010, Domke 2014, Pütz & Mundt 2019, Schmitt 2018, Shohamy & Gorter 2009, Ziegler et al. 2018 und Ziegler & Tophinke 2019 und in *Linguistic Landscape – An international journal*. Ausführliche Anregungen zu *Linguistic Landscapes* in der Deutsch- bzw. Fremdsprachendidaktik geben Ehrhardt & Marten 2018, Marten & Saagpakk 2017 und Badstübner-Kizik & Janíková 2018; für Hochschulstudierende Saagpakk & Marten 2020 (hierzu auch Dürscheid 2016). Anregend und zur Nachahmung empfohlen sind auch die Lingscape-App (Purschke 2018)⁹ sowie die *StadtsprachenApp* für Düsseldorf.¹⁰

⁹ Kostenlos herunterzuladen bei <play.google.com/store/apps/details?id=ch.ibros.lingscape> (31.07.2020).

¹⁰ Beschreibung bei <stadtsprachenapp.de>, kostenlos herunterzuladen bei <apps.apple.com/de/app/stadtsprachenapp/id1459243663> bzw. <play.google.com/store/apps/details?id=de.stadtsprachenapp&hl=en_US> (31.07.2020).

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Supplementary Schools as Spaces of Hope for a More Inclusive World: Challenging Exclusion and Social Injustice in Multilingual London

Terry Lamb (London, UK)

Abstract

Following a contextualisation of multilingual London, I will explore the ways in which many of London's – and indeed the UK's – language communities and the languages they speak suffer marginalisation and exclusion. Based on an exploration of language education policy, the article employs the construct of “monolingual habitus” (Gogolin 2002), which, whilst tending to monolingualise multilingualism, also offers insights into how the habitus might be shifted. Despite the structural forces at play, I argue that, through their supplementary schools, the language communities themselves can be conceived of as “spaces of hope”, able to challenge the constraints they encounter in order to ensure that their languages continue to be spoken and learnt. I support this argument by first considering their creative educational and cultural practices, and then the ways in which they act as spaces of resistance to the challenges they face. However, I also maintain that they have the potential to play a role in shifting the monolingual habitus beyond their communities, co-creating a more linguistically inclusive society. Further research is needed, however, to understand the processes that may be conducive to this shift and lead to a more inclusive and socially just world.

Keywords: Urban multilingualism, plurilingualism, social justice, supplementary schools, monolingual habitus, resistance, language policy

0 Preface

It is already mid-May. We have been in lockdown in the UK since mid-March as a consequence of the Covid-19 pandemic and I haven't been outside the house for almost ten weeks - other than to the garden, where I am now sitting with my laptop. As with all of my academic friends and colleagues around the world, it has been not only a time of deep anxiety, but also a time of fervent activity, in which we have had to seek ways of coping with the practicalities of lockdown - a word, which has now become part of our everyday vocabulary - whilst also ensuring that we maintain our wellbeing and our social networks. Initially this consisted of ensuring that we had enough food and other essential items to be able to survive without leaving the house. At more or less the same time, however, we urgently had to find ways of moving our teaching and our meetings online. A further priority for me as part of my cross-university responsibility was to develop new policies relating to research ethics, not only in areas of medical and health-related research, but in all disciplines.

The notice placed on the University Coronavirus Response Page, stating that ‘All face-to-face research interactions must cease immediately, until further notice’, was the first and by far the most simple step to take and researchers, including undergraduate and postgraduate students, set about finding ways of refocusing their research or experimenting with online options.

Our lives in recent months have in these ways been defined by the need to overcome constraints. Of course, as social beings, we are never free from constraints: these may be external, such as those challenging us particularly acutely during the pandemic; or they may be internal, those which are, in Ricoeur’s (1995) thinking, passed on through our histories and experiences and translated into our mental heritage – our beliefs, worldviews, attitudes etc. that influence how we perceive the world and what we consider to be possible (Trebbi, 2008). However, the current constraints are in much sharper relief than usual, palpable, threatening and frightening. In order to overcome them, we have needed to think differently, imagining other histories and other futures, other ways of doing, of being. And it is precisely through experiencing other ways of thinking and encountering other stories, histories and possibilities that, according to Ricoeur, it becomes possible for us to avoid being victims of constraints.

How then does this connect to the emergence of this article? I had already decided that the focus of the article would be on the various language communities I work with in London, revisiting some previous research on the critically and collectively autonomous ways in which they ensure that their languages are maintained and learned through the organisation of supplementary (sometimes called complementary) schools (Lamb & Vodicka 2018). Right at the very start of lockdown, however, I noticed (on Twitter) that some of them were already starting to meet online and to organise their gatherings in new digital spaces, addressing the challenges of maintaining not only their language and culture work, but also the creative and cultural elements that run through their pedagogy, imagining new ways of thinking, doing and learning. I found this immediate leap into the unknown inspirational. Of course I understood from many years of experience of working with supplementary schools that their work within and beyond their communities is in fact always characterised by the need to overcome constraints (such as having no official funding, no space of their own to teach children in, no route to qualified teacher status for their staff). What they were – and are – doing, however, in this current crisis made me wish that other people beyond their communities could notice this and maybe stop and think; I wondered whether, by noticing this, such visibility could trigger in any way some shift in mindset amongst the general population, encouraging them to reconsider their assumptions, their internal constraints, and start to value the multilingualism that these communities bring and, with that, the individual plurilingual¹ identities. For this to happen, however, the activity would need to be seen.

¹ Inspired by the Council of Europe’s (2001: 4) work, I use the term *multilingualism* to refer to the presence of a range of languages in social spaces (the city, the school, etc.) and *plurilingualism* to refer to an individual’s capacity to draw on and use the languages that form part of their language repertoire. Where I quote other authors, I use their preferred terminology.

1 Introduction

The language communities² that inspired this article are living, learning and working in London, a linguistically highly diverse city. London's linguistic diversity is by no means a recent phenomenon; it has indeed been a multilingual city throughout its history, from its origins as a Roman city in 43 CE, through its period of rapid population growth from about one million in 1800 to 6.5 million in 1900 (Mehmedbegović, Skrandies, Byrne & Harding-Esch 2014: 8), and continuing to the present day with its estimated population of over 9.3 million (World Population Review 2020). Much of London's population growth over these two millennia has been a result of migratory movements, which have brought ever-increasing diversity to the city (Cohen 1998). Establishing how many languages can be found in London is, however, challenging, because the complexity of its multilingualism is difficult to capture by means of a quantitative language survey (Carson & Extra 2010, Extra & Yagmur 2011). Challenges to quantification include the use of a range of diverse, often opaque, and contested terminologies (e.g. mother tongue, first / second language, main language, home language), confusion about what a discrete 'language' actually is when it forms part of a "complex and layered" (Blommaert & Backus 2012: 32) as well as subjective language repertoire that will usually include a number of language varieties, and the lack of clarity regarding what it actually means to 'know' or 'use' a language in relation to proficiency levels and language skills. In addition, such surveys tend to rely on self-reporting by individuals, who are expected to engage with this complexity and opacity, and yet who, in their everyday lives, tend simply to shift between different ways of communicating through language according to where, when, with whom, by what means, and why they are communicating, without necessarily ever being aware of or reflecting on this. It is no wonder, then, that such complexity leads to conflicting results in language surveys. In 2000, for example, Baker & Eversley's (2000) survey of languages spoken by children in London schools recorded a total of over 300 languages, whereas Eversley, Mehmedbegovic, Sanderson, Tinsley & Von Ahn's (2010) survey ten years later claimed a figure of 233.

Any attempt at quantifying multilingualism has, in any case, only limited value (Salverda 2006) in a city characterised by the "diversification of diversity" that is related to globalisation (Rampton, Blommaert, Arnaut & Spotti 2015), a city which can be described as linguistically superdiverse (Lamb 2015, drawing on Vertovec 2007), as reflected in the challenges to quantification identified above. In this age of liquid modernity (Bauman 2000, 2011), quantification cannot reflect the lived experiences and the negotiated, fluid identities, "constructed not from order, but disorder" (Block 2006: 213), of individuals and the communities with which they identify. Nor can it illuminate the "palimpsestic relationships between these diversely plurilingual people" (Lamb 2015: 3), the "multilingualism of entanglement" (Williams & Stroud 2013) that contributes to the vibrancy of many urban spaces around the world, such as the market in Sydney described by Pennycook & Otsuji (2015) or the South London street explored by Hall (2013). Furthermore, and of particular relevance to this article, it cannot convey any sense of the linguistic hierarchies, social injustices, and struggles experienced in the city and its civic spaces, local neighbourhoods, places of employment,

² I understand that the construct of *community* is a highly contentious one. Drawing on Block (2006: 25) and Bauman (2001), I am not intending to essentialise the idea of the community as a demographic and uniform entity, but understand it more as a permeable, collective space of belonging, in which people relate to each other from a position of trust.

and schools (Lamb & Vodicka 2018), and how these manifest themselves through localised language practices, behaviours and policies.

Although the immediate inspiration for the article are the plurilingual individuals, families and communities I am currently working with in London, the context described above could relate to many parts of the UK, including Sheffield and Nottingham, where I have worked previously. In exploring the ways in which the evident multi- and plurilingualism are positioned in society as a whole, I include a particular focus on supplementary schools (also known as *complementary schools*), the semi-formal communities that choose to meet in the evenings and at weekends in order to ensure autonomously and collectively that their languages and cultures are passed on to the younger generation (Lamb 2015, also Section 5 of this article). In so doing, I position them as agentive, resisting the hegemony of monolingualism by creating spaces in which their linguistic and cultural identities can be safely nurtured and maintained. I also explore their potential to change mindsets beyond their communities, since the social injustices experienced when their languages are devalued and excluded can only be dismantled if there is change on structural, social and individual levels across society through a process of re-education. Despite its critical condemnation of social injustice, therefore, my article explores not only the ways, in which the language communities are constructing new worlds for themselves in the present, but also the possibility of broader social change and hope for the future.

In order to do this, I am not reporting on an individual piece of research in this article, but instead adopting a bricolage approach that allows me to draw not only on a range of my own studies and other existing scholarship, but also on diverse theoretical, interdisciplinary positions and constructs as well as my personal experiences of involvement in policy and practice (Denzin & Lincoln 1999, Rogers 2012). This approach enables me to address the complexity as well as the urgency of the issues under investigation by drawing eclectically, but critically and reflexively, on multiple perspectives. It also echoes the need to understand the changing urban context from two different but complementary perspectives on late modernity: the late manifestation of modernity with its changing but persistent hegemonic and colonialist structures; and the *post*-modern with its complexities, fluidities and flux (Andreotti 2010, Bauman 2011, Levy-Strauss 1966). It allows me to reconcile both the need for long-term critical resistance to the hegemonic forces that engender social and cultural reproduction, as well as the potential of “bottom-up ethnographic and participatory approaches to research and action with linguistic communities themselves” (Lamb 2015: 153). In this way, this article is also identifying a new research agenda to inform further work with the communities and to support them in their struggle (e.g. Lamb, Hatoss & O’Neill 2019).

Following a contextualisation of multilingual London, I will explore the ways in which many of London’s – and indeed the UK’s – language communities and the languages they speak suffer marginalisation and exclusion. In order to understand the paradoxes that this produces, including in relation to language education policy, the article engages with the construct of “monolingual habitus” (Gogolin 2002), which, whilst tending to monolingualise multilingualism, also offers insights into how the habitus might be shifted. I then build on this to consider the ways in which language communities, through their supplementary schools, can themselves be considered as “spaces of hope”, able to challenge the constraints they encounter and to maintain their languages. First considering their creative educational and cultural practices,

then the ways in which they act as spaces of resistance to the challenges they face, I argue that they have the potential to play a role in shifting the monolingual habitus and co-creating a more linguistically inclusive society. In so doing, I suggest that further research is needed to understand the processes that may be conducive to this shift and lead to a new, inclusive and socially just world.

2 Monolingualising Multilingualism: Shifts, Swings and Paradoxes

Drawing on Bauman (2011) and Andreotti (2010), I have previously argued that, in order to understand the ways in which our urban environments are transforming in this “third phase of modern migration”, the “age of diasporas” (Bauman 2011: 35), we need to develop a theoretical perspective that encompasses two co-existing interpretations of late modernity (Lamb & Vodicka 2018: 11). In one of these interpretations, the fluid complexities of life in our cities, already suggested above, reflect a version of late modernity that is *post*-modern, in which the “grand narrative” has lost credibility and is replaced by “the gradual emergence of the flimsy, indistinct, fragile and ultimately fictitious nature of system boundaries” (Bauman 2011: 33, Lyotard 1984). This manifests itself in an ever-shifting jumble of multilingual dispositions, behaviours and interrelationships that emerge spontaneously in particular urban spaces. For example, as I walk from the underground station to my flat in Barking, East London, at the end of my working day, I see and hear languages from all around the world, snippets of conversations that appear to involve different languages and language varieties, for me a linguistic utopia where all languages are welcomed, used and enjoyed. At the same time, however, the contrast with central London, where I work reminds me of the presence of stark social injustices and inequalities, which reflect a different, more critical perspective on late modernity, one which “is a late development of modernity and its related hegemonic, colonialist power structures” (Lamb & Vodicka 2018: 11). In relation to the focus of this article, namely multi- and plurilingualism, this is manifested in the reinforcement of a Herderian ideology of ‘one state, one people, one language’ (Lamb 2015: 3), a “monolingualizing ideology” (Blackledge 2000: 38), which marginalises and excludes certain language communities, and which can be witnessed across all levels of society, from educational contexts to everyday life in particular urban spaces.

Evidence for this contention can be found in numerous reports conducted into the state of language learning in UK education systems, usually triggered by concerns about the decreasing number of language learners in schools and, hence, in universities. A report from the British Academy (2013a), for example, focusing specifically on the need for increased capacity in a range of languages in the field of UK diplomacy and security, stated that “the current apathy towards language skills across government and the perception that they may in fact be detrimental to an individual’s career development and advancement are particularly worrying” (ibid.: 76). The report also found the study of languages in universities to be in “a persistent state of crisis” (ibid.: 62), thanks to the falling number of language learners in schools, described by one university spokesperson as “nothing short of disastrous for the country as a whole” (ibid.: 60). In short, the focus of the report is largely on the “persistent deficits in foreign language skills that threaten our future capacity for influence” (ibid.: 6) – a statement, which is hard to reconcile with my experience of the visual and

audible linguistic landscape of multilingual Barking and of many other contexts across the UK. This discourse of deficit is, however, common when reporting on the linguistic capacity of UK citizens. A headline on the British Council website states “British worst at learning languages” and goes on to claim that “British people are generally not very good language learners” (British Council, n.d.). A report by Cardiff Business School for UK Trade and Investment (Foreman-Peck & Wang 2014) was entitled “The costs to the UK of language deficiencies as a barrier to UK engagement in exporting”, stating that “even among Anglophones the UK seems to be linguistically backwards” (ibid.: 1). In 2019 the All-Party Parliamentary Group on Modern Languages launched its *National Languages Recovery Programme*, stimulated by this apparent deficit, and was reported in the newspaper *The Independent* under the headline: “Britain’s dwindling language skills are a disaster for the country and needs action” (The Independent 2019: 4th March 2019).

Given my 40 years’ experience of working in educational institutions in multilingual cities, such statements raise for me the question of which British people and which languages these reports and headlines are referring to. According to the National Pupil Database in 2018, 54.4% of pupils aged 10-11 years in Inner London primary schools were classified as having English as an Additional Language (EAL) (Demie 2018); in other words, they are plurilingual, speaking other languages at home. Though Inner London has one of the highest percentages of plurilingual children, numbers elsewhere are not insignificant; according to the school census of 2013, the percentage of pupils in English primary and secondary schools aged 5-16 with EAL had increased from 7.6% in 1997 to 16.2% in 2013, which translates into more than a million pupils (Strand et al 2015: 14). Reports on the shortage of language learners, then, seem to be referring only to those British citizens in formal education who, stereotypically, speak only English and struggle to learn other languages, seeing little need to learn them because of the status of English as a *lingua franca*. It would appear to be these British citizens, or at least some of them, who need to be encouraged to learn the languages offered in school to enhance their cultural capital and to contribute to the nation’s economic and political needs. In contrast, the many plurilingual citizens of the UK, who may have a range of capacities in a number of languages and who may shift with ease from one language to another in their homes or other informal spaces, are clearly not the ‘British’ being referred to in such discourses. They appear to be “others”, a concept with roots in postcolonial theory, which “assumes that subordinate people are offered, and at the same time relegated to, subject positions as others in discourse” (Jensen 2011: 65). Furthermore, this “othering” process also relegates the languages that they speak to a lower position in the hierarchy of languages. On the one hand, languages perceived as having a higher status (e.g. Chinese, French, German, or Spanish) are valued sufficiently to be offered on school curricula. On the other hand, the many languages commonly heard in London’s neighbourhoods, often languages from Africa, South Asia, or Eastern Europe (e.g. Somali, Bengali or Albanian), which are learnt and spoken by many children at home and in their local communities, including their supplementary schools, continue to be perceived as unimportant, even problematic (Edwards 2001, Lamb 2001, Lamb & Vodicka: 12). Rather than being valued as a resource and considered as linguistic capital on which to build, these languages are perceived merely as obstacles to English and to learning more generally (Lamb 2015, Li 2011). The “monolingualizing ideology” (Blackledge 2000: 38) thus means the exclusion of these languages from formal learning spaces, indeed often from other formal public spaces (Lamb & Vodicka 2018), with children who speak them often being considered, at best,

as semi-linguals (Pearse 2006), with low capability in their home language and a deficit in English, at worst, as “language-less” (Blommaert, Creve & Willaert 2006: 53), as ‘non-English speakers’ (Chen 2007, Siraj-Blatchford 1994), defined by what they are perceived *not* to have rather than what they *do* have. This goes some way to responding to Piller’s (2016: 31) questions: “[H]ow [is it] possible that linguistic diversity – ubiquitous as it is – is so often obscured from view? How can linguistic diversity remain hidden in plain sight?” In other words, how is multilingualism being monolingualised?

This paradox is, in fact, also raised by the British Academy. After expressing its concern about the falling numbers of language learners in schools and universities and the need to attend to the development of language skills in the UK, the report referred to above (British Academy 2013a) recognised that “not enough is done to encourage or develop the skills of native or heritage speakers at the school level” (45). Indeed the British Academy then devoted a separate report (British Academy 2013b) to “Multilingual Britain”, focusing on the value of the UK’s multilingualism for businesses, public services and social cohesion. Its most recent publication on languages (British Academy 2019), produced together with the three other UK National Academies (the Academy of Medical Sciences, the Royal Academy of Engineering, and the Royal Society) takes this forward by calling for a national strategy for languages, suggesting the need to place greater value on “‘community’, ‘heritage’, or ‘home’ languages (ibid.: 8) and to “build[ing] bridges between mainstream and complementary education” (ibid.: 6).

Although this appears to be a promising development, it is less so when considered historically. Since my own career began as a languages teacher in schools in 1979, I have seen the pendulum swing several times in relation to official support for and valorisation of what in the UK tend to be called ‘community languages’³. In Benson & Lamb (2020), I provide an example of the ways in which London’s multilingualism was more educationally valued in the 1980s, particularly in cities, describing a North London secondary school, in which, as Head of Languages, I was able to introduce an innovative and inclusive languages curriculum. This consisted of month-long tasters of Turkish and Greek (the languages, which, apart from English, were the most widely spoken in the school and neighbourhood) being offered alongside French and German tasters to all 11-year-olds, following which of the pupils were able to choose which language to continue studying for the next five years of compulsory language learning. In addition, the other 40 languages spoken by pupils in that school were represented in meaningful ways on the curriculum, such as in language awareness lessons (drawing on Eric Hawkins’ (1987) work) as part of the Personal, Social, Health Education curriculum, through events and exhibitions, such as the Multilingual Maths Week organised by the mathematics department, or in optional lunchtime and after-school classes. This curriculum was informed by the principle that everyone needs to be educated to value multilingualism if we are to develop more inclusive

³ The term *community language* is not without problems. Indeed, with so many different languages and variants spoken in communities across the UK, including those commonly taught in schools such as French, German and Spanish, it is difficult to identify what is *not* a ‘community language’. The term also belies the fact that many of the languages are major world languages, such as Arabic and Urdu. Alternatives such as *heritage languages* or *home languages* are no better, however, as they also reduce their temporal and spatial dimensions.

attitudes and approaches to linguistic diversity in society, and research conducted by my department demonstrated its success:

- Firstly, it led to a significant number of monolingual English speakers choosing to continue with either Greek or Turkish rather than the more traditional choice of French or German, their justification being that they wanted to speak the languages of their friends and their neighbourhood;
- Secondly, motivation for language learning was enhanced, as evidenced by the increased number of students opting to study an additional non-compulsory language the following year;
- Thirdly, teachers reported that their students showed an increase in interest and curiosity in relation to the languages spoken by their classmates – and indeed, it also stimulated the teachers' interest in the children's plurilingualism, evidenced by, for example, the inclusion of a range of languages in classroom displays across different subjects.

It has to be said that, in that London school, much of this innovation was made possible by the Local Education Authority's commitment to supporting multilingualism, with a special adviser for community languages in place and a Centre for Bilingualism established, which taught courses in a range of languages in the Centre itself, whilst also offering all schools access to peripatetic teachers who could move from school to school to teach a range of languages. My mainstream school's close partnerships with supplementary schools were also helpful in promoting a positive, visible image of the various language communities as well as providing support to enable students to practise their languages in and beyond the classroom. In addition, and highly significantly, schools at that time were able to offer a more devolved and flexible curriculum, which allowed them some freedom to adapt it to their local contexts.

In the 1990s, however, following the Education Reform Act of 1988, such opportunities disappeared with the introduction of a more rigid National Curriculum (DES 1989a). In relation to the languages curriculum, a list, consisting of the official languages of the European Union (at that time Danish, Dutch, French, German, Greek (Modern), Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish), specified which languages could be offered as an 'unconditional foundation subject' for an obligatory full five years. Other languages, including Arabic, Turkish and Urdu, appeared in a second list and could only be offered if the child was already studying a language from the first list (DES 1989b). At the same time, financial support for supplementary schools and community languages generally became more variable; many supplementary schools lost it completely as a result of their funders, the local education authorities, losing much of their funding from central government along with many of their statutory responsibilities for education, which were instead either centralised at a national level or devolved to individual schools (Lamb 2001).

The pendulum swung again, however, at the turn of the millennium when, following a change of government in 1997, the first National Languages Strategy for England and Wales, *Languages for all, languages for life*, was published (DfES 2002a). This national strategy had been stimulated by a major report by the Nuffield Foundation (2000), which, amongst its many recommendations, had made a case for greater support for community languages in mainstream education. This included proposals for the development and provision of teaching and accreditation, as well as routes to

qualified teacher status, in a much wider range of languages than hitherto, arguing that “the multilingual talents of UK citizens are under-recognised, under-used and all too often viewed with suspicion” (ibid.: 36). Building on the research conducted to inform this report, the government established the National Languages Steering Group to develop a National Languages Strategy, the first ever in the UK. Amongst a wide-ranging set of interventions that emerged from the Strategy, many were designed to promote the teaching and accreditation of community languages not only in schools but also beyond the classroom, including support for “language learning through community resources and family learning” (DfES 2002a: 14). Over the following eight years, large amounts of funding were provided by the government for developments such as Asset Languages (Jones 2007), which offered accreditation of learning in 25 languages, including the first ever accreditation for Somali and Yoruba, and the *Our Languages* project, which funded partnerships between mainstream and supplementary schools (Sneddon & Martin 2012). I was also personally involved in the two-year World Languages Project, which was funded in 2009 to conduct research into diversified languages curriculum models and ways of enhancing qualified teacher supply in community languages with a view to informing a strategy specifically aimed at broadening the range of languages offered in schools. To reinforce its position on multilingualism, the Strategy was accompanied by a separate pamphlet, *Language learning*, in which was stated:

We need to [...] recognise the contribution of languages – not just European languages, but all our community languages as well – to the cultural and linguistic richness of our society, to personal fulfilment, commercial success, international trade and mutual understanding. (DfES 2002b: 1)

In a further review of languages in 2007 (DfES 2007: 16), community languages were acknowledged as a “national asset”. The review also announced

the establishment of a new National Resource Centre for Supplementary Education which will support the development of more and better supplementary schools, through, in particular, the extended schools and specialist schools programme. (ibid: 16)

Nevertheless, this positivity towards multilingualism came to an end yet again in 2010, when the National Languages Strategy was dismantled, without replacement, by the incoming Coalition Government, bringing about the loss of all of the related interventions, including those referred to above. Since then, the place of community languages in mainstream education and the valorisation of learning in those languages, including in supplementary schools, has been diminished, leading the British Academy, as seen earlier, to argue for new government interventions that take a more inclusive approach to multilingualism by building on the country’s linguistic wealth.

3 Understanding and Challenging the Monolingualising Ideology

This brief overview of the past 40 years has portrayed the ebbs and flows of policy in relation to the place of multilingualism in education. It has demonstrated some of the ways in which, alongside the clear presence of linguistic superdiversity, forces have been at play to promote or demote different languages, in the latter case contributing to the exclusion of particular plurilingual identities from educational contexts. Further-

more, however, these monolingualising forces also filter down into everyday practices and interactions at social and individual levels. An example of this can be seen in the marked increase in aggressive and violent behaviour towards people speaking other languages in public spaces following the Brexit vote in 2016. In her research conducted in Manchester, Rzepnikowska (2019) reported increased hostility and violence towards people from Polish backgrounds, with use of the Polish language identified as one of the “markers of difference” (ibid.: 90) that attracted negative attention. Further hostility was seen at the end of January 2020 when, on the day the UK left the European Union, a “Happy Brexit Day” poster appeared anonymously on every floor of a block of flats in Norwich, a city in the East of England; it included the following statement (original spelling and punctuation included):

We do not tolerate people speaking other languages than English in the flats. We are now our own country again and the the Queens English is the spoken tongue here. If you want to speak whatever is the mother tongue of the country you came from then we suggest you return to that place and return your flat to the council so they can let British people live here and we can return to what was normality before you infected this once great island. (BBC, 1st February 2020)

If we take the position that the injustices, discrimination and prejudices highlighted above are intolerable, that social justice is to be striven for and that the needs and rights of all of our communities are to be addressed at all levels of society, it is necessary to try to understand how such hegemonic policies and practices emerge. What are the roots of both the hierarchical positioning of diverse languages and the sometimes violent public outbursts against people speaking a different language? Insights into this question can be gained by enlisting the two different interpretations of late modernity discussed earlier. Heller (1999), for example, has argued on the basis of rich ethnographic research in Toronto, Canada, that the complex relationships between people with different language backgrounds and the ways in which they negotiate their fluid identities make it difficult to identify the source of discriminatory attitudes and practices. This may be the case, but, from a critical late modern perspective, there is a need to continue to try to understand where these attitudes and practices are coming from in order to identify possible ways of addressing them. Blackledge (2006) has indicated, for example, that a critical analysis of political discourses can reveal the ways in which discriminatory ideologies are constructed by politicians. Referring to Bourdieu’s (2000: 169) “magical frontiers” between the dominant and the dominated, he argues that these frontiers,

reinforced constantly and relentlessly in discursive acts of recognition and misrecognition, appear to have a crucial role in the construction and maintenance of social worlds in which one language is generally held to be superior to others, and speakers of that language held to be superior to speakers of other languages. (Blackledge 2006: 23)

Such ideologies can be seen to impact on both structural and social levels, as well as on the individual level (also Phipps 2019: 24). In other words, the politicians’ discourses can be translated into policy if they are in a government position that enables them to do so; on the social and individual level, on the other hand, they can manifest themselves in an aversion to learning languages or even to the presence of other languages in shared spaces, as demonstrated above.

Without forgetting that, from a social justice perspective, there is ultimately still a modernist imperative for *structural* change to address the hegemonic social structures

that produce social injustices such as poverty, institutional racism etc., the significance of social and individual manifestations of exclusionary behaviour cannot be underestimated. At all levels, it would seem that the monolingualising ideology is sustained by a complex co-existence of interweaving dispositions, attitudes and histories, similar to Ricoeur's (1995) philosophy referred to in the Preface to this article. In his book on multilingualism in Australia, Clyne (2005) has referred to the construct of "monolingual mindset" to describe the paradox of the representation of Australia, clearly a highly multilingual nation, as a monolingual English speaking country. In order to understand the ways in which such mindsets might evolve and persist, my work on linguistically diverse cities (Lamb 2015, Lamb & Vodicka 2018) has instead previously drawn on Bourdieu (1985) as well as Gogolin's (2002) construct of "monolingual", summarising *habitus* as:

an internalised set of cultural norms that shape individual thinking, identities, choices and behaviours, [and which] is constructed by power relations; [...] it is not determined by structures but emerges from dynamic webs of dispositions that have been shaped by past and present experiences and practices. (Lamb & Vodicka 2018: 10)

Furthermore, I have argued that Bourdieu provides insights into possible strategies to shift the monolingual to a "plurilingual habitus" (Lamb 2015: 157), when he states,

To change the world, one has to change the ways of world making, that is the vision of the world and the practical operations by which groups are produced and reproduced. (Bourdieu 1994: 137)

Whilst acknowledging that this is no mean feat, in Lamb & Vodicka (2018), we draw further on Bourdieu's insights (1994: 137-138), coupled with our own interdisciplinary exploration of the constructs of space and place, to suggest that linguistically diverse cities produce "the conditions in which multilingualism can be normalised and interlingual⁴ encounters nurtured" (Lamb & Vodicka 2018: 15). This can be made possible through

changes in the education and everyday experiences of everyone, both formally in educational spaces and informally in public spaces, which must valorise, make visible and normalise the presence of the languages of our communities and develop a 'plurilingual

⁴ In Lamb (2015: 159-160), I define *interlinguality* as follows:

I construe interlinguality as dispositions, knowledge and skills dynamically related to a plurilingual habitus. A plurilingual habitus offers more than a perception of plurilingualism as normal; it represents the genesis of new relationships and commitments between languages, individuals and communities. I define interlinguality as an awakening to the enjoyment and value of all languages, a creative and flexible approach to using them as a means of understanding and communicating with others from different linguistic backgrounds, and an openness to creating the spaces not only for plurilingual encounters but also for collaborative subversion of the monolingual hegemony. In other words, it brings a value-rich, social and critical dimension to plurilingualism, involving interest in and commitment to meaningful encounters with the other, with a view to developing something new. It includes the notion of interculturalism, which involves not just the ability to interact with people from other cultures, but also to see and value the diversity of their perspectives and to mediate these differences (Byram, 2009). It also incorporates "multilinguality," which views languages as "porous," "located in the variability and fluidity of linguistic behaviour" (Agnihotri, 2014, p. 2), thereby acknowledging the realities and potentialities of on-the-ground practices such as translanguaging for negotiation of shared spaces.

habitus' through the production of interlingual shared spaces. (Lamb & Vodicka 2018: 10)

Furthermore, our reconceptualisation of the construct of autonomy from a personal to a critical, collective autonomy enabled us to understand that local communities themselves, including their grassroots groups such as the supplementary schools, have the potential to resist injustice and stimulate change. Referring back to Bourdieu, we argue:

Such groups and communities may inhabit physical urban spaces or virtual spaces in a global world, but collectively they will be living an autonomy that is in the present, shaping "the vision of the world," developing their symbolic power themselves, and imposing recognition of the value of multilingualism and plurilingualism in a process of shifting the monolingual habitus. (Lamb & Vodicka 2018: 13)

Despite the apparent unsustainability of top-down language policies in the UK, therefore, Lamb & Vodicka see "spaces of hope" (Harvey 2000) in multilingual cities. In these urban spaces, communities themselves engage in bottom-up language planning at a local level, taking action to ensure that their languages and cultures are passed on to future generations, for example through the creation of supplementary schools. It needs to be recognised, of course, that such bottom-up resistance is itself complex. If we turn to Giddens' (1984) structuration theory, it is clear that, although structural and ideological constraints are not seen as deterministic, given that there is always the possibility of exercising agency and modifying the social environment, at the same time, human activity cannot be accounted for solely by agency. Our position reflects this dialectic: we recognise that the language communities, and specifically here the supplementary schools, are socially positioned within and affected by the monolingualising ideology; nevertheless, we argue that they also have the potential to demonstrate agency, drawing on their critical and collective autonomy to find the "spaces for manoeuvre" in order to resist (Lamb 2000). In Marxist geographer David Harvey's (2000, 2003) terms, through their activities they are attempting to claim their "right to the city" within these complex and dynamic 'spaces of hope':

We are, all of us, architects, of a sort. We individually and collectively make the city through our daily actions and our political, intellectual and economic engagements. But, in return, the city makes us. (Harvey 2003: 939)

Turning to Paolo Freire (1998), such hope, combined with a "conviction that change is possible" (ibid.: 69), is necessary, when tackling injustice. Significantly, Freire argues that "[t]ransformation of the world implies a dialectic between the two actions: denouncing the process of dehumanisation and announcing the dream of a new society" (ibid.: 69). In so doing, he is suggesting that radical transformation of society requires not only "rebellion" and activism from the disenfranchised, but also "grassroots" education (Freire 1998: 74-76).

The collective autonomy of supplementary schools, then, is not one of absolute freedom from constraints, but can be interpreted as a commitment to maintaining their political resistance and activism whilst ensuring that they are looking after themselves creatively in the here and now to safeguard their future heritage.

4 Supplementary Schools as “Spaces of Hope”

This section will focus on the ways in which supplementary schools can be understood in Freirian terms as spaces of hope, both “announcing the dream of a new society” (ibid.: 69), through their creative educational and cultural practices as well as “denouncing the process of dehumanisation” (ibid.) as spaces of resistance. It will also be argued that they potentially have a role to play in bringing about a shift from a monolingual to a plurilingual habitus, though it will become clear that further research is needed to explore the constraints on this project as well as potential ways of overcoming them.

4.1. Supplementary Schools

Supplementary schools, often known as *complementary schools*, are voluntary schools, which have been established by linguistic, cultural or religious communities. Though supplementary schools have existed in the UK since the 1800s (Gaiser & Hughes 2015: 5), their numbers have increased considerably over the past half century. Nevertheless, knowledge about supplementary schools issuing from research is “patchy” (Myers & Grosvenor 2011: 501). Li (2006) has provided a historical overview, describing three types of supplementary school in the UK dating back to the late 1960s:

- The first type was set up by the Afro-Caribbean community, dissatisfied by their children’s experiences in mainstream education, which “often failed to reflect the interests, experiences and culture of the Afro-Caribbean community” (Li 2006: 76);
- The second followed in the late 1970s onwards and was established largely for religious reasons by Muslim communities which had migrated from the Middle East, Africa and South Asia (also Rosowsky 2008); and
- The third type consists of a range of migrant-background communities, such as the Chinese, Albanian and Turkish communities, who are committed to passing on their languages and cultures to their children.

This section focuses mainly on the latter type of supplementary schools. Such schools tend to meet at weekends or after school on weekdays and offer a range of classes and other activities to children from their community, often until they reach the age where they leave home for work or study or become volunteers themselves in the school. Though many teach their home language, others choose to teach a different language that they consider to be important, such as Urdu for speakers of Mirpuri-Punjabi in Sheffield (Rosowsky 2008) or Mandarin for Cantonese speakers (Li 2011). The following section will provide insights primarily into their educational activities before moving onto a consideration of the ways in which they can be considered as spaces of resistance.

4.2 “Announcing the Dream of a New Society”: Creative Educational and Cultural Practices

Supplementary schooling can be understood generally as “a response to a historically monolingual ideology which ignores the complexity of multilingual England” (Creese & Martin 2006: 1), with Hall et al, (2002: 415) claiming that they play a role in “correcting” the “subtractive” approach to language learning in mainstream contexts. The supplementary schools referred to in this section have mainly been established to maintain the language and culture of their particular communities and to enable the pupils to communicate with their relatives both in the UK or in the countries of origin of the communities (Cruikshank 2015), creating an environment, in which use of the language and expressions of the culture is not only normal, but valued. In addition, Creese, Bhatt, Bhojana & Martin (2006) point out that they allow “the children a safe haven for exploring ethnic and linguistic identities while producing opportunities for performing successful learner identity” (ibid.: 23). The time spent in these schools appears to be greatly enjoyed by the pupils, who tend to be well behaved, have good relations with their teachers, and to be engaged in their learning (Sneddon & Martin 2012: 44). Other studies have demonstrated additional benefits for children’s learning, with the experience of a more holistic form of learning considered to have a positive impact on children’s achievement even in their mainstream schools (e.g. Archer, Francis & Mau 2009, Martin, Bhatt, Bhojani & Creese 2004). Maylor, Rose, Minty, Ross, Issa & Kuyok’s (2013) research confirmed this, but also demonstrated that the benefits reach far beyond impact on mainstream learning, highlighting not only the pupils’ increased motivation for and attitudes to learning, but also improved behaviour, enhanced confidence, and reinforced identity and sense of belonging, which occurs, they claim, when “marginalised students are nurtured, valued and supported” (Maylor et al. 2013: 122).

The research reported above provides evidence that, at least to some extent, the supplementary schools are creating Freire’s “new society”, a safe space, in which the children are encouraged to express those aspects of their identity that are suppressed elsewhere. In this ‘safe space’, it is also possible to codeswitch between English and the home language. For example, Martin, Bhatt, Bhojani & Creese (2006), in their study of two Gujarati schools in Leicester, suggest that the two languages “are juxtaposed spontaneously in what appears to be an unproblematic and uncontested way” (ibid.: 18), both by teachers and pupils. Research by Li & Wu (2009), on the other hand, describes how the Chinese-English pupils in their study of Chinese supplementary schools use codeswitching as symbolic and creative capital. For Li & Wu (2009), creativity here means “pushing and breaking the boundaries between the old and the new, the conventional and the original, and the acceptable and the challenging” (ibid.: 209) in an environment which tends to favour use of Chinese only and in which the pupils’ command of English was superior to that of most of their teachers.

The construct of creativity in relation to learning has been explored by Banaji, Burn & Buckingham (2010), who suggest that “the ‘creative classroom’ rhetoric may be seen to promote forms of learning that are generally held to improve the experience of children in education - holistic learning, active learning, expanded notions of intelligence, attention to social and cultural contexts, social learning and ethical human development” (ibid.: 66). It can also involve content which does not only cross subject boundaries, but which is also “contextually and culturally anchored” (ibid.: 64). Despite reliance on voluntary and often untrained teachers, evidence of such creativity can be

found in supplementary schools. In her work with two Turkish supplementary schools, for example, Lytra (2011) observed how children creatively transform an authentic Turkish children's song when working collaboratively to decide how to perform it, by drawing on a wide range of semiotic resources, such as whistling, humming, clapping, or changing the rhythm. Furthermore, through such creativity, the language and culture avoid fossilisation and become "something that is used in the present or that can be projected in the future" (Garcia 2005: 601), thus looking forward to a "new society" rather than dwelling on the past.

The work of Anderson and colleagues at Goldsmiths College, London, with a range of supplementary schools as well as mainstream schools in which community languages are taught, has explored ways in which creativity in various forms can help to meet the learning and emotional needs of children in community language classrooms. In one ethnographic study of four schools (two supplementary and two mainstream), activities, including dance, song, drama and puppetry as well as the creation of artworks, films and scrapbooks, were developed by the teachers and pupils and, though carried out in collaboration with the researchers, built on practices already found in their Arabic, Chinese, Punjabi and Tamil classes (Anderson & Chung 2011, 2014). Evaluation of the activities demonstrated that they provided children with opportunities for dynamic interaction with their heritage and culture, multiliteracy development, cognitive challenge, teamwork and collaboration, deep intercultural understanding, including symbolic, spiritual and moral dimensions, enhanced motivation, and a greater capacity for learner autonomy. Significantly, as could be seen in Lytra's (2011) research, children were offered a space in which they were "given the opportunity to interact with these works in their own terms, to reinvent and reinterpret them for themselves" (Anderson & Chung 2014: 289), thus renewing them and avoiding essentialisation and a focus on the past.

In recent years, such creative approaches to announcing "the dream of a new society" have been further enhanced by supplementary schools through the incorporation of digital practices (e.g. Anderson & Macleroy 2016 Abdelhadi, Hameed, Khale & Anderson 2020). It is of course important to recognise the digital divide between those with access to technology and those without, which means that the creative affordances of technology may not be equally accessible to everyone (Banaji et al 2010: 60-61). Furthermore, the fact that many languages and language varieties have not yet been digitised should also be borne in mind (Diki-Kidiri 2008). Nevertheless, in his report for UNESCO, Diki-Kidiri (2008) recognised the potential of the Internet to offer new opportunities for the maintenance of "heritage" languages by enhancing their status, acquisition and use and supporting the development of "user-communities" in cyberspace. Such user-communities have been identified in research by Hatoss (2013), who found that members of the Sudanese Acholi community in Australia were connecting in virtual ways, building a grassroots "Cyberspora" that enabled online learning and other activities to take place across sometimes quite distant spaces. As Lamb et al. (2019) argue, there is significant access to at least smartphones in super-diverse urban communities, enabling bottom-up approaches to social networking and collaboration via, for example, social media, which "can empower users to navigate across languages, cultures, and identities" (Chen 2013: 125), thus helping learners to "construct their L2 identity and build a relationship with the target culture" (ibid.). The enjoyment of online games can also benefit language learning as well as the development of multiliteracies and cultural awareness (Soyooof 2018, Wright & Skidmore 2010).

As mentioned in the preface to this article, during the period of lockdown in London, there has been a significant presence on social media (Twitter, Facebook) from supplementary schools, who have been regularly sharing the activities that they have organised to maintain active engagement with their communities. With support from the National Resource Centre for Supplementary Education (NRCSE), I have been conducting an initial small-scale, exploratory study to inform future larger-scale research with the supplementary schools themselves into the ways in which they have overcome the constraints of COVID-19 and managed to maintain their activities. A search of Twitter and Facebook has identified a wide range of creative online activities that cross disciplines to facilitate engagement with language and culture. Much activity revolves around traditional songs and music as well as food; the latter, for example, has included learning about how fruit and vegetables grow, with children drawing details of the process and even growing some at home, as a way of engaging them physically and cognitively with the science behind plant growth. Games, such as Language Bingo and Hangman, have also been used to facilitate learning and there is evidence of use of online quizzes as an alternative to conventional teaching approaches. Other activities have been introduced which do not require pupils to spend much time online; for example, finding old photographs and paintings, then re-enacting them themselves, before uploading the old and new versions together with a written description in their home language, as well as researching the artists' lives and writing a brief piece about them. These are just some examples, which have already been published on the NRCSE website as inspiration for other schools (NRCSE 2020). It must be said that there is some evidence from three informal online discussions with the schools that there are disparities between them with regard to their capacity to deal with the constraints of COVID-19 and it is also clear that many of the activities identified have come from larger and more established supplementary schools, though some of these schools have also been actively supporting other smaller schools run by different communities; nevertheless, further research is needed to explore this more thoroughly. What has been seen, however, is that at least some supplementary schools are finding ways of demonstrating agency by continuing to create a new, albeit online, society.

Finally in this section, it is clear that the supplementary schools are often also a hub for their community, offering support in a number of areas of need that they have identified. For example, Shpresa Programme (Shpresa means 'hope' in Albanian), the Albanian school in East London established in 2003 (Sneddon & Martin 2012: 40), has initiated projects for women and girls, such as ARISE and EMPOWER, two related projects, which organise domestic violence workshops and deal with individual casework (Coy & Sharp-Jeffs 2016). The social dimension of the supplementary schools has been further demonstrated in the COVID-19 pandemic, during which time some of the communities themselves, including Shpresa and the Albanian community, have been checking that their families and friends are well and ensuring that they have what they need to cope during lockdown, as well as providing information, answering questions and addressing concerns. In this way, some of these schools reach well beyond language and culture maintenance to provide a range of services for their communities.

4.3 “Denouncing the Process of Dehumanisation”: Finding Spaces of Resistance

The other aspect of the dialectic proposed by Freire (1998: 74) concerns the need to denounce “the process of dehumanisation”, which produces oppression and injustice. The notion that supplementary education offers spaces of resistance has been mainly explored in research on Afro-Caribbean schools established in the UK in the mid-20th century. In Mirza & Reay’s (2000) investigation, these schools were described as a “new social movement”, “both radical and subversive, providing evidence of a covert social movement for social change” (ibid.: 523). As well as re-claiming a collectivist, local, family-focused version of community, which, for Mirza & Reay, had been lost in the neo-liberal individualism and competitiveness of the 1990s, such schools both valorised blackness and contested whiteness as normative, whilst also disrupting “prevailing views of correct pedagogy which pathologise child centredness” (ibid.: 532).

From a Gramscian perspective (Gramsci 1971), such schools are engaged in a “war of position”, establishing a counter-hegemony outside the state school system in order to prepare themselves for agentive confrontation of the hegemonic forces that are disenfranchising them. Although Gramsci’s construct focused on the establishment of working-class organisations as the foundations of a new culture, it is also reflected in the potential for supplementary schools as spaces of resistance (Lamb 2001: 10). However, little empirical research has been conducted on the ways in which the supplementary schools that are the focus of this article engage in radical resistance. Before concluding, then, this article will explore the limited research on this, drawing also on my own experiences of supplementary schools as spaces of resistance.

As mentioned already in this article, supplementary schools face a number of constraints that reflect their marginalisation in relation to mainstream education; this in turn echoes the marginalisation of the languages and cultures they represent in relation to the languages and cultures deemed suitable for the mainstream school curriculum. Since the 1990s, there has been an erosion of support for supplementary schools from local authorities, which previously provided, at least in some authorities, support in financial terms, as well as from local community languages advisors based in the authorities (Gaiser & Hughes 2015: 29, Lamb 2001: 6). Their main income tends to be from parental contributions, though some of the larger schools (such as Shpresa Programme) have had considerable success with funding bids to develop a range of projects and other activities (for examples of these projects: <http://shpresaprogramme.com/>; 25-08-2020). The lack of funding makes it challenging to find premises in which to run their activities. Although such schools meet in a variety of settings, including in people’s homes, many larger ones like to meet in mainstream schools. This has been difficult to negotiate, however, since mainstream schools were given devolved responsibility for their own budgets; in combination with the need to cope with government funding cuts for education overall, devolution rendered the mainstream sector less able to allow access to supplementary schools out of school hours without charging rental costs to cover the additional costs involved, such as the need to employ their school caretakers at weekends or in the evenings. Lack of funding also means that the schools rely on volunteers to teach the classes and, though some teachers have attended training courses, many are unqualified and would like opportunities for professional development, which are not always easily available or accessible (Lamb 2001). Furthermore, according to Archer et al.’s (2009) research in

six Chinese schools, the financial shortages impact on the pupils' views of their experience in the schools. Although their research into pupils' constructions of learning and teaching identified more positives than negatives, the negatives (lack of access to resources such as Information and Communication Technology; the use of particular teaching techniques), were clearly related to the lack of funds and infrastructure, a pattern which similarly emerged in Strand's (2007) broader survey of 772 pupils in 63 supplementary schools across England.

A further constraint is the current lack of accreditation for most of the languages learnt in supplementary education, which not only makes it difficult to demonstrate achievement in their languages, thus contributing to their invisibility, but also lowers the status of their languages for the children. In an article published in 2012, Sneddon & Martin explored the opportunities and challenges faced by supplementary schools, focusing on the Albanian and Bangladeshi communities. It is important to acknowledge that the article was based on research conducted before 2010, a time when government recognition of community languages as a resource was at a high, following the publication of the National Languages Strategy, which had introduced not only Asset Languages (accreditation in 25 languages) but also increased opportunities to learn community languages in mainstream schools. Even at that time, however, the lack of accreditation in many community languages posed a challenge for their communities. Whereas languages with accreditation, such as Arabic, Chinese, Somali, Turkish and Urdu, could be more easily introduced into mainstream schools, the absence of accreditation in other community languages, including Albanian, continued to exclude them. The desire for recognition both through accreditation and through inclusion in mainstream schools thus led to a vigorous campaign by Shpresa. Disappointingly for Shpresa and many other language communities, however, following the change of government in 2010, the number of languages accredited decreased rather than increased. Nevertheless, Shpresa has maintained its efforts, even taking its case for an Albanian qualification directly to the government; furthermore, their experience and expertise with campaigning for qualifications has also been shared with other supplementary schools. A later study by Sneddon (2014) demonstrated this, revealing that Shpresa was extending its community role beyond the Albanian community, creating a mentoring process, which at that time was supporting Polish, Somali, Portuguese and Lithuanian supplementary schools to

meet the language needs of their communities, to raise the local profile of their cultures, to raise awareness of the importance and value of bilingualism in community languages, and to support pupils to engage directly with examination boards and policy makers at both local and national level. (Sneddon 2014: 575)

4.4 Challenging the Monolingual Habitus

Though limited, the above research does indicate that some supplementary schools are in a position to resist the monolingualising ideology, not only by creating their own safe spaces, but also by petitioning authorities to recognise their status and to acknowledge their linguistic rights in education (Skutnabb-Kangas & May 2016). Nevertheless, as has been argued earlier, in order to shift the monolingual habitus, it is necessary to consider the ways in which these schools can contribute to re-education at a broader social level. Before concluding then, it is therefore useful to explore the ways in which they are reaching out beyond their communities.

In their article referred to earlier, Li & Wu (2009) argued that pupils in the Chinese supplementary schools involved in their study were challenging the One Language Only (OLON) or One Language at a Time (OLAT) policies prevalent in those schools, achieving this by the creative use of codeswitching, a “symbolic resource” which they use “strategically in a game of power and control.” (ibid.: 196). I argued that this can not only be positioned as a strategy to create the dream of a new society, but that it also offers an interesting challenge to the monolingual habitus, normalising the use of more than one language in one place and at one time. Creese & Blackledge (2011) have explored this in relation to the conflicting discourses of *separate* and *flexible* bilingualism: with *separate bilingualism*, the hegemony of the mainstream is countered, as the language and culture of the community is privileged within the school, though there may be a tendency to “settle on simplified cultural narratives” (Creese & Blackledge 2011: 1197); *flexible bilingualism*, on the other hand, “places the speaker at the heart of the interaction”, stressing “individual agency” to draw on all available languages in order to negotiate their multilingual identities and to interact with other people in different, flexible ways (ibid.: 1197; also Creese & Martin 2006: 1). In this way, the monolingual norm is disrupted and moves towards a normalisation of plurilingualism. Similar processes can be found in explorations of translanguaging (e.g. Garcia 2007) and plurilingual competence (e.g. Coste et al. 2009).

These studies have nevertheless mostly focused on language use within the language communities. As suggested earlier, however, it would be helpful to explore the ways in which the communities, through their supplementary schools, are increasing the visibility of pluri- and multilingualism beyond their own safe spaces and how this might contribute to a normalisation of linguistic diversity and a shift from a monolingual habitus in “interlingual shared spaces” (Lamb & Vodicka 2018: 10). Superdiverse urban localities, in which a range of diverse and hybrid language practices can be found, such as those described as transidiomatic practices (Jacquemet 2005), polylinguaging (Jørgensen, Karrebæk, Madsen & Møller 2011), and metrolinguism (Pennycook & Otsuji 2015), have developed in particular urban environments. In other urban (and indeed non-urban) spaces, however, including mainstream educational institutions, there is ample evidence of the monolingualising ideology at play, not only in the UK (e.g. Blackledge 2001, Blackledge & Creese 2010), but elsewhere (Blommaert et al 2006, Karrebæk 2013, Piller 2016, Shohamy 2006).

Though there has been very little research focusing on the outreach activities of supplementary schools, in my own experience I have seen some evidence that supplementary schools can have an impact beyond their own spaces (Lamb & Vodicka 2018: 24). In 2009, I was part of a team appointed by the Teaching and Development Agency for Schools (TDA) to conduct a two-year research project with the aim of developing a government strategy on multilingualism in schools (referred to earlier). An outcome of the National Languages Strategy (2002), the purpose of this World Languages Research was to recommend ways in which schools could diversify and increase the range of languages, including community languages, on offer to their students. As well as exploring different approaches to structuring the curriculum to allow for this, it also involved making recommendations on ways in which teachers of languages other than those traditionally taught in schools could gain qualified teacher status. Although the research was curtailed by the incoming Coalition government in 2010 – and therefore never completed –, eight case studies had been conducted in primary and secondary schools, which were already teaching a range of languages, including community languages. Significantly, a common feature of the eight schools

was their links to local language communities, often stimulated by approaches from members of those communities themselves. In some cases, for example, the mainstream schools had agreed to host the supplementary schools on their premises at evenings and weekends at no cost. One primary school in Sheffield expressed gratitude to the Our Languages government-funded project (referred to earlier) for facilitating collaboration between the school and the Sheffield Somali supplementary school, which had been proactive in promoting the Somali language. This had led to Somali being taught (by a bilingual Somali-English teaching assistant in liaison with the regular class teacher) to all seven-year old pupils for the entire year. Resources for interactive and multimedia learning in the Somali lessons had also been produced collaboratively, including the introduction of a multi-coloured puppet monster called Bahal, whose imaginary life was the vehicle for the language learning content, and a set of story sacks for parents to use with their children at home. By reaching out to the local primary school, then, the Somali school had managed to influence the experience and environment of the school as a whole, including the mainstream teachers. The Somali language (and the other languages that were also introduced in the school for different year groups) became a normal, accepted presence in the school, considered to have educational value for all.

Other studies have also provided evidence of the importance of such contact in shared spaces between the language communities and the mainstream schools. Kenner & Ruby (2013) found that the invisibility in mainstream schools of children's learning in supplementary schools was transformed when a collaborative action research project enabled a "multilingual syncretic curriculum" to be developed, bringing more holistic perspectives from the supplementary school teachers and enriching mainstream learning. Sneddon's (2014) study of Shpresa in London similarly found that a close partnership between mainstream and complementary schools had developed around the aim of nurturing children's multilingual skills. More recently, Szczepik Reed's (2020) research with three multi-ethnic Arabic supplementary schools found that they were all outward-facing, wishing to prepare children for life as part of a diverse British society and sharing a commitment to shared values. All three schools reported engagement with government initiatives and mainstream schools, criticising other supplementary schools that preferred to remain more inward-looking. In another study exploring the perspectives of a mainstream school, Maylor et al. (2013) reported that the head teacher of the school "regarded the use of his school by an Asian language supplementary school as helping to create broader community relationships between the supplementary and mainstream school communities" (*ibid.*: 120).

Generally, however, there is little systematic research focusing on the prevalence and nature of contact between supplementary schools and mainstream schools, how this has developed over time, and how it has contributed to nurturing more openness towards multilingualism. More common is research that describes the supplementary schools as "safe" but "hidden" spaces (Sneddon & Martin 2012: 36), with mainstream teachers being unaware of the learning experiences their pupils are having in their communities (Creese 2009: 272, Li 2011: 373). Yet, as I have argued, in order to begin to change the monolingual habitus, there is a need to re-educate everyone of the value of plurilingualism, which first requires its presence to be normalised and legitimised; for Marten, Van Mensel & Gorter (2012: 1) "[b]eing visible may be as important for minority languages as being heard". As a contribution to this and in collaboration with supplementary schools, I have in the past organised festivals of

multilingualism in schools and universities as well as in Sheffield city centre, the latter involving a range of activist interventions such as poster displays in public spaces, public talks on the importance of languages for business, culture and art, children's performances in a range of languages, multilingual poetry and storytelling and an interactive exhibition, as well as radio debates and interviews (Lamb 2015: 161). These activities involved significant engagement with the general public and led to rich exchanges of personal stories and experiences; some of these exchanges brought to the surface prevalent myths that problematised plurilingualism, though these could mostly be addressed through the opportunity to share in an accessible way existing research into its benefits. Nevertheless, further research is needed in partnership with the supplementary schools themselves to evaluate the impact of such events on the monolingual habitus, how it might contribute to changed mindsets and how it might illuminate obstacles to this. My own experiences as a secondary school teacher provided some evidence that enhanced visibility of multilingualism and inclusion of children's plurilingualism as a learning resource for everyone can have a positive impact; children were intrigued by the languages their friends brought with them to school and motivated not only to learn about them, but to learn them themselves (Lamb 2011; Benson & Lamb 2020). Building on research conducted in the fields of urban studies and geography, however, it will be important to explore more thoroughly the significance of different types of encounters in provoking a shift to a plurilingual habitus. Some argue that the everyday conviviality emerging from "light-touch, partially engaged, partially disengaged modes of social interaction" (Thrift 2005: 146) in public spaces is itself a contributing factor to a normalisation of diversity; others argue that more meaningful contact is needed "that actually changes values and translates beyond the specifics of the individual moment into a more general positive respect for – rather than merely tolerance of – others" (Valentine 2008: 325). A deeper interdisciplinary understanding of these processes, developed through co-produced research with the communities themselves and including a range of activist practices (Lamb et al. 2019), would make a valuable – and inclusive – contribution to addressing the ongoing constraints and challenges experienced by our diverse language communities.

5 Conclusion

This article has argued the existence of a monolingual habitus, which contributes to fear of and suspicion towards other languages, to a devaluing of many of the languages that form part of the identity of our diverse urban communities, and to discriminatory, exclusionary, and dehumanising practices that impact on linguistic rights and educational opportunities in everyday as well as formal settings. In these ways, the UK is not only "squandering our bilingual resources" (Cummins 2005: 585), but also colluding with hostility towards and oppression of our plurilingual British citizens.

In order to shift this, we need to work towards change at a structural level to address the injustices perpetuated by the socially reproductive hegemonies that permeate society. At the same time, however, I have stated that we cannot wait for change to occur at a societal and political level and indeed, this cannot happen in isolation from change at the personal level (Phipps 2019: 24). Consideration of the meaning of *habitus* enables us to imagine ways in which it can be shifted through worldmaking,

through small but significant changes in everyday practices that can bring about a new normality for all at local and individual levels. In order for this to occur, we need to find ways of re-educating beyond the language communities themselves, of decolonising our minds (Phipps 2019). Such decolonisation involves a process which can potentially be triggered by on-going exposure to new social, cognitive and emotional experiences that question and disorientate our deepest beliefs and assumptions; in so doing, this can facilitate “a work of examination that consists of suspending as far as possible the system of values to which one refers when testing and assessing it” (Foucault 1988: 197). The making of new worlds also involves engagement with difference, until it no longer appears different to us, but just part of our lives. To return to Andreotti’s (2010: 9) perspectives on the 21st century as “a more complex continuation of the ‘20th century’ ways of seeing”, the way forward is

to decolonise the imagination and to pluralise the possibilities for the future by pluralising knowledge in the present in order to enable dialogue, relationships of solidarity and, ideally, the collective creation of non-hegemonic systems. (ibid.: 9)

For Weil (2002: 33), we co-create the world by de-creating ourselves and in this article, we have seen how supplementary schools have already been stimulating and participating in such de- and co-creation. Nevertheless, it is clear that this is despite their overall marginalisation as seen in withdrawal of support and ignorance of their contribution to society. To achieve a more just society, they need to be supported again in their struggle to maintain and evolve their identities as they were in the past. At the same time, however, through opportunities to engage in collaborative research drawing on activist approaches, the hope is that we will begin to understand better the processes that may broaden the impact of their work to the wider population and, through increased visibility, make a serious contribution to the development of a new, inclusive, and socially just world.

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“I think I can see from another perspective now” – Short-Term Study Abroad and Intercultural Development

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Abstract

Foreign language study abroad has the potential to contribute to learners' culture learning and the cultivation of their intercultural competence, as it gives them first-hand experience in the target-language country and allows them to discover and partake in the local community's sociocultural practices. This article presents a study of the impact of two short-term study abroad programmes in Germany on the intercultural development of German-language students from a Singapore university language centre. The study adopted a mixed-methods approach and collected both quantitative and qualitative data through pre- / post-programme questionnaires, journals, interviews, activity observations and document inspections. The data were analysed based on Byram's (1997, 2008) model of intercultural competence, as well as Lave & Wenger's (1991) Situated Learning Theory and their notion of legitimate peripheral participation. The findings suggest that the study abroad programmes, or "In-Country Language Immersions", benefited learners in the development of the knowledge, attitudes and skills needed for the cultivation of critical cultural awareness and intercultural competence. It was further found that such positive development is often precipitated by the learners' legitimate peripheral participation in the local communities, although it is dependent on their motivation and willingness to take up such opportunities for interaction and participation.

Keywords: Foreign language learning, German as a foreign language, study abroad, intercultural development, Situated Learning Theory, legitimate peripheral participation

1 Introduction

Study abroad programmes that take foreign language (FL) students to the target-language (TL) countries can make a significant contribution to the acquisition and construction of cultural knowledge, as well to the development of their intercultural competence (IC), as they allow them to not only observe these countries' cultural practices, but also to partake in them. The first-hand experience of the target-language communities could help sensitise learners to the cultural practices and perspectives of these communities, and lead to critical reflections, not just of the target-language cultures, but also of their own native cultures – important processes in the development of intercultural competence and critical cultural awareness (Byram

1997, 2008). Intercultural development through participation in the TL communities is also supported by sociocultural theories of learning, which posit that learning is situated in the interactions between novices and experts in a community. According to Lave & Wenger's (1991) Situated Learning Theory (SLT), competence is developed and acquired through a novice's participation in a community of practice. Study abroad afford FL learners opportunities to interact with, and to negotiate and co-construct new cultural meanings with members of the TL community, which will in turn help foster intercultural competence.

Thus, it is not surprising that many university language departments have been organising study-abroad programmes, particularly those of a short-term and intensive nature, lasting less than eight weeks (Schwieter & Kunert 2012). While there are those (e.g. Davidson 2007) who dispute the possible contributions of such short-term programmes to students' culture learning, some studies have shown that they promote the development of intercultural sensitivity and intercultural competence (e.g. Chan & Chi 2017, Heinzmann, Künzle, Schallhart, & Müller 2015, Jackson 2006). However, despite these recent studies, there is still a dearth of empirical research on the effect of short-term study abroad on development of intercultural competence. This article presents a study which aimed to add to the literature by investigating the impact of short-term study abroad in Germany on the intercultural development of Singapore university learners of German as a Foreign Language, drawing upon the theoretical framework of Byram's (1997, 2008) model of intercultural language education and Lave & Wenger's (1991) Situated Learning Theory.

2 Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

2.1 Byram's Model of Intercultural Competence

Byram (1997) argues that for a foreign language learner to be able to communicate successfully and to build positive relationships with speakers of the target language, he or she will need more than just communicative competence in that target language. He or she must possess the ability to deal with the 'otherness' of the foreign culture, and to "engage with both familiar and unfamiliar experience through the medium of another language" (Byram 1997: 3). To interact successfully across languages and cultures, foreign language learners need intercultural communicative competence. And to achieve intercultural communicative competence, they will need – besides communicative competence – a good measure of intercultural competence (Byram, 2015). In his model of intercultural competence, Byram (1997, 2008) identifies five components:

- 1) *Savoir être* or attitudes of curiosity and openness in interacting with interactants from the target culture and other cultures, and the willingness to decentre from one's own cultural perspectives;
- 2) *Savoirs* or knowledge of one's own and the foreign culture, including knowledge of the sociocultural norms of interaction in both cultures;
- 3) *Savoir comprendre* or skills of interpreting other cultures and relating them to one's own culture. This also involves the ability to recognise ethnocentric perspectives in the way information about other cultures is presented;

- 4) *Savoir apprendre / faire* or skills of discovering knowledge about other cultures and applying it in interactions with interactants from those cultures; and
- 5) *Savoir s'engager* or critical cultural awareness, which enables one to critically reflect on and appraise one's own and other cultures.

Of these five components, Byram views *critical cultural awareness* as the core element of intercultural competence and thus the ultimate goal of intercultural language education, for it allows intercultural speakers to bring “to the experiences of their own and other cultures a rational and explicit standpoint from which to evaluate” (Byram 1997: 54).

With the growing mobility of foreign language learners, Byram (1997) suggests that intercultural competence can be acquired through visits, exchanges and other forms of contact with the target-language and other cultures, including short-term study abroad in the target-language environment.

2.2 Situated Learning Theory and Legitimate Peripheral Participation

Lave and Wenger's (1991) Situated Learning Theory provides a theoretical framework to explain the learning of the target-language culture and the development of intercultural competence through study abroad. In opposition to the traditional view of learning as an act of internationalisation, Lave & Wenger postulate that learning results instead from active social participation within a Community of Practice (COP) and is situated in the professional and sociocultural practices of this community. Expert members of the community of practice act as mediators who initiate novices into the community and support them in building the knowledge and skills required to participate in its practices and activities. Learning thus takes place through interactions with these expert members and the negotiation and co-construction of new meanings and knowledge. The Situated Learning Theory posits that novices will be engaged initially at the periphery of a community of practice, moving from what Lave & Wenger call Legitimate Peripheral Participation (LPP) to full participation in the centre of the community. In this process, expert members of the community of practice support and scaffold the novices' legitimate peripheral participation. Learning thus involves the establishment and maintenance of relationships between new and expert members, as well as transformations in the identity of the new members, as they assimilate into the community of practice. Figure 1 provides a visual representation of the process of legitimate peripheral participation in a community of practice:



Figure 1: Situated Learning and Legitimate Peripheral Participation

The Situated Learning Theory can similarly provide a theoretical framework to ground the learning of a foreign culture and the development of intercultural competence through language study abroad. In study abroad, FL learners visit and enter the target-language community to learn its language and culture. They would typically be engaged in language instruction, cultural instruction and experience, homestay, excursions and field trips, as well as contact opportunities with members of the local community (such as local hosts and students). In analogy to the Situated Learning Theory, participants of a study-abroad programme are thus accorded the status of legitimate peripheral participation and provided with access to interactions with and participation in the TL community – as novices to its culture and practices. Full members of the local community (such as instructors, host families, local student helpers, and even casual interactants from incidental encounters), who are proficient and knowledgeable in its sociocultural practices, support and mediate the learners' interpretation of their cultural experiences and the construction of new cultural meanings. By relating these new meanings to their existing cultural knowledge and critically reflecting on the differences between the target language and one's native culture, learners develop and acquire the skills and knowledge (Byram's different forms of *savoirs*) necessary for the cultivation of intercultural competence. Figure 2 shows how foreign language study abroad and legitimate peripheral participation afford and facilitate these processes that lead to the development of intercultural competence:



Figure 2: In-Country Language Immersion and Legitimate Peripheral Participation

2.3 Studies on Study Abroad and Intercultural Development

A number of studies (e.g. Elola & Oskoz 2008, Goldoni 2013, Harrison & Malone 2004, Pedersen 2010, Savicki, Adams & Binder 2008) have been conducted to investigate if longer-term overseas study (e.g. a study abroad semester or year) could help learners develop intercultural competence. These studies have thus far led to mixed findings that suggest that overseas study can benefit learners in developing various sub-areas of intercultural competence, although this does not automatically result from just being overseas and may require the mediation of various factors, including instructional methods, preparations, programme design, and personal experience and encounters. In comparison, short-term study abroad has received far less attention in foreign-language pedagogy research, possibly because doubts have been voiced about its potential contributions – for instance by Davidson, who believes that “development of linguistic and cultural proficiency for second language learners is extremely unlikely to occur” (Davidson 2007: 279) in the short time of one to six weeks.

In one of the earliest studies on short-term study abroad and the intercultural development of foreign-language learners, Jackson (2006) employed a wide range of quantitative and qualitative instruments (including pre- and post-sojourn surveys, participant observation, reflective diaries, individual and group interviews, informal discussions and field notes) to collect data on the experiences of 15 Cantonese-speaking English majors from a Hong Kong university during a five-week programme in England. The programme included literary, language and current affairs courses, homestay with local families, interactions with other international students, attendance at cultural events, and excursions. Although the participants had initial difficulties adapting to the English lifestyle and social discourse, the analysis of the data indicated that they made some gains in their intercultural competence, par-

ticularly in the area of *savoir être*, displaying a more positive attitude towards cultural differences, and a higher degree of openness towards the target-language culture and other cultures. In a follow-up study involving a largely identical five-week programme in the same country and 13 participants of a similar profile, Jackson (2009) used the Intercultural Development Inventory (Hammer & Bennett 2002) to measure gains in students' intercultural sensitivity following the study-abroad experience. The results were mixed, with nine of the 13 students registering a gain in intercultural sensitivity, but only five advanced to a higher level of development. Jackson found that those who reached a higher level of development reported observations that went beyond superficial aspects of the target-language culture, as evidenced by more substantive, comparative and analytic diary and survey reports.

In another study, Bloom & Miranda (2015) sought to ascertain if a four-week study abroad programme in Salamanca (Spain) had a positive effect on the intercultural development of ten undergraduate and two graduate foreign-language students of Spanish. The programme included two intensive courses focusing on the Spanish language and culture, respectively, as well as homestay with local Spanish families. The researchers administered the Intercultural Sensitivity Index designed by Olsen & Kroeger (2001, cited in Bloom & Miranda 2015) to participants' pre- and post-programme to measure any changes to their intercultural sensitivity arising from the programme. In addition, they also analysed reflective journal entries written by students on their impressions of the target-language culture and culture in general to triangulate and interpret the data of the Intercultural Sensitivity Index. Bloom & Miranda came to the conclusion that the short-term study abroad experience did not generate any significant shifts in the intercultural sensitivity of the participants, and recommended that further research be conducted to determine the reasons for this result (e.g. if it could be attributed to the duration or the design of the programme).

Heinzmann, Künzle, Schallhart & Müller (2015) carried out a study involving 405 upper secondary German- and French-speaking students (with an average age of 16) from Switzerland who went on short-term language exchanges ranging from one to six weeks in areas where the respective target language was spoken. While they found that these short-term exchanges can impact the development of students' intercultural competence positively, they also came to the insight that the length of the programmes can make a difference, as very short programmes of only one- to two-week durations seemed to limit students' opportunities for interactions with the host communities and the development of intercultural skills. They further highlighted the importance of interactions and opportunities to use the target language with the local communities (including host families and local tandem partners), which provided students with an insightful and beneficial experience of the target-language culture. However, positive intercultural development and students' willingness to engage with the local people seemed to depend largely on their predisposition to do so and their level of intercultural competence before the exchange.

Another study that also pointed to the positive impact of short-term study abroad on the development of intercultural competence was reported by Schwieter & Kunert (2012). The participants of this study were 28 Canadian learners of Spanish on a three-week programme in Spain consisting of an intensive language course, guided tours and homestay. During open-ended interviews, most of the participants reported having become more sensitive and open to other cultures through their participation in the programme. The researchers identified key factors contributing to the participants'

positive development in the pre-departure cultural sessions to prepare them and to pique their interest in the target-language culture, as well as in the interactions with the host families.

While the above review shows that there is growing interest in the study of the link between short-term study abroad and foreign-language learners' intercultural development, the currently available literature is still comparatively sparse, and none of the previous studies have sought to illuminate the effect of short-term study abroad from a sociocultural perspective or, specifically, on the basis of the Situated Learning Theory and Legitimate Peripheral Participation.

3 Background and Participants of the Study

The current study was conducted at the language centre of a public university in Singapore, which teaches German as a Foreign Language (GFL) to students from area studies programmes (European Studies and Global Studies) in the Arts and Social Sciences faculty, for whom it is a requirement to read a prescribed number of German courses, as well as non-major students from other departments and faculties, who study the language as an elective.

The centre organises non-compulsory short-term study abroad, officially termed In-Country Language Immersion (ICLI), lasting two to four weeks on an annual basis. Currently, it offers such programmes in various countries in Europe and Asia for the following objectives:

- 1) to support students in the development of their communicative competence in the respective target languages by exposing them to language instruction and authentic communicative situations in a native-speaker environment; and
- 2) to give students the opportunity to experience and participate in the target-language cultures, and to thus to support the development of their intercultural competence.

The participants of this study were 17 volunteers out of a total of 30 learners of German as a Foreign Language who attended two in-country language-immersion programmes of three-week duration at universities in the German cities of Freiburg and Münster in May / June 2015. Of these 17 students, seven (one male and six females) were in Freiburg, while ten (five males and five females) went to Münster. The participants were graduate and undergraduate students from different faculties and years of study who gave their informed consent to the study. Prior to their in-country language immersion, they had completed two semesters of German language study (corresponding to the A1 level, as described in the Common European Framework of Reference). Their ages ranged from 19 to 25. Table 1 summarises the participants' particulars:

	Age	22 (mean)
Gender	Female	11
	Male	6
Year of Study (Completed before ICLI)	Year 1	10
	Year 2	4
	Year 3	0
	Year 4	1
	Graduate	2
Faculty of Study	Arts and Social Sciences	9
	Business	1
	Computing	1
	Engineering	4
	Science	2

Table 1: Participants

Both the programmes offered in Münster and Freiburg, respectively, were planned by the local partner universities in conjunction with the Singapore university to achieve the latter's ICLI objectives specified above. Each programme included 50 hours of intensive language instruction and a culture-focused programme consisting mainly of visits to places of historical and cultural interest (e.g. local museums and local festivals), excursions to other cities and neighbouring regions (e.g. Heidelberg and the Ruhr region), and social contact with local families and students (e.g. by attending regular casual meetings of local students, called *Stammtisch* in German). At each of these locations, the language instruction and the cultural activities were distributed over the three weeks of the programme, with the language classes held mostly on weekday mornings, while the cultural activities were conducted on weekends and selected weekday afternoons. Student tutors were engaged by both partner universities to accompany the students on the cultural activities to provide interactional opportunities in the target language as well as to help them adapt to the local environment and life.

The language courses offered dedicated classes customised to the requirements of the Singapore university language centre and were designed according to the principles of the communicative and intercultural approach to foreign language learning. The course lessons and tasks were aimed at preparing students for interactions with the target-language communities. They included, for instance, practice tasks to internalise vocabulary and grammar, simulations of communicative situations, such as role-plays, as well as out-of-class information gathering and interactional tasks, such as interviews with host families and members of the local communities. The last-named tasks were typically focused on aspects of the target-language culture and were intended to encourage critical reflection on the German and the students' native cultures. For instance, in Freiburg, one of the tasks took students onto the streets to ask passers-by about multiculturalism in the city and to ascertain their attitudes

towards it. The results were then presented and discussed in class with respect to the situation in Singapore.

Students lived with host families for the entire duration of the programme, with no more than two students assigned to each family, to provide them with first-hand experience of local family life and the sociocultural practices of the local communities. The local hosts were encouraged by the partner universities to interact with their student guests – as far as possible, only in German – and to undertake activities with them in order to expose them to local culture, traditions and practices.

4 Study Design

4.1 Research Questions

The study sought to answer the following three research questions:

- 1) Did the short-term in-country language-immersion programmes have a positive impact on the intercultural competence of Singapore university learners of German as a Foreign Language?
- 2) In which areas of intercultural competence did Singapore university learners of German as a Foreign Language benefit from their short-term in-country language immersion?
- 3) How did the experience of in-country language immersion contribute to the development of Singapore university German as a Foreign Language learners' intercultural competence?

4.2 Data Collection and Analysis

A mixed-methods approach was selected for the study, and both quantitative and qualitative data were collected through pre- and post-programme questionnaires, weekly journals, semi-structured interviews as well as activity observations and document inspection during visits to both sites of in-country language immersion. The varied nature of the data collected allowed for greater data triangulation and a profound description of the participants' intercultural development.

4.2.1 Pre- and Post-Programme Questionnaires

A pre- and a post-programme questionnaire each was administered online to all 17 participants to collect quantitative data. Both questionnaires contained the 24-item Intercultural Sensitivity Scale (ISS) developed by Chen & Starosta (2000), which has been tested, validated and applied in a considerable number of studies on intercultural competence in different countries (e.g. Chen & Starosta 2000, Coffey Kamhawi, Fishwick & Henderson, 2013, Fritz, Mollenberg & Chen 2001, Ruiz-Bernardo, Sanchiz-Ruiz & Gil-Gómez 2014). The participants responded to these 24 items on a five-point scale ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5). A

higher score on the intercultural sensitivity scale (total possible score: 120) indicates a higher level of intercultural sensitivity. In addition, the pre-programme questionnaire also gathered personal information such as the participants' age, major, faculty and year of study, level of German attained, and previous overseas experience.

The pre-programme questionnaire was completed about a week before the ICLI programmes, and the post-programme questionnaire about a week after the programmes. Frequency and mean analyses were carried out on the personal data of the participants, where appropriate. The pre- and post-programme ISS scores as well as the difference between these scores were computed for all participants to determine if the participants had made any gains in intercultural sensitivity, and thus in intercultural competence. A paired samples t-test was conducted to ascertain the statistical significance of the mean difference between the pre- and post-programme ISS scores of all participants.

4.2.2 Journals and Interviews

Six of the 17 participants also consented to providing qualitative data by writing journal reports prior to, during and after their ICLI experience. The journals provided the main body of data for this study. These six participants were requested to submit five journal reports for the study, beginning with a pre-programme report at least three days before departure. In this report, they were asked to write about their previous overseas experience, their prior knowledge of the German culture, their motivation and expectations for the ICLI programme, and any problems they might anticipate for the stay in Germany. Subsequently, for every week of the ICLI programme, they submitted a report about their study abroad experience, including classroom and other activities, incidents and problems, contact with local people, insights into German culture and community, and feelings and perceptions in relation to the above. They were instructed, in particular, to report any new knowledge and perspectives they might have gained about German culture and their own native culture. Within seven days after the ICLI programme, they submitted the fifth and last journal report, i.e. the post-programme report, about their feelings and perceptions with regard to the ICLI and its various components, including the instructional and cultural activities, accommodation, visits and excursions. They were also asked to comment on the new knowledge and perspectives they had gained about German culture and their own native culture. All journal reports were submitted to the researcher via e-mail.

After an initial analysis of the journal reports, the six participants were invited to individual semi-structured interviews to verify the initial findings from the analysis of the questionnaire and journal data, and to gather supplemental information, where necessary. The interviews were audio-recorded and subsequently transcribed for analysis.

The analysis of the qualitative journal and interview data was guided mainly by Byram's (1997) model of intercultural competence, and Lave & Wenger's Situated Learning Theory (1991) so as to ascertain how the participants responded and adapted to the ICLI programme, and to the target-language community and its cultural practices and to identify the specific areas (i.e. attitudes, knowledge, skills and awareness) in which the participants' intercultural competence may have benefited from the ICLI experience. The data were read and re-read to identify and to code

emerging themes that pertain particularly to these two areas. These themes were then categorised under larger, overarching themes.

4.2.3 Activity Observation and Document Inspection

The researcher spent four days at each of the in-country language-immersion sites, Münster and Freiburg. During his visits, he observed selected activities both inside and outside of class, including classroom instruction, project work, field trips and excursions. He also requested and carried out informal discussions with teachers and administrators of the respective programmes. Field notes were taken to document insights from the observations and discussions. In addition, relevant documents, including programme schedules, course curricula, field trip itineraries and samples of instructional and information materials, were collected and inspected. The activity observations and document inspections were intended to provide insights into:

- 1) the instructional approaches, and the focus of the instructional and cultural activities at both ICLI programmes and
- 2) the extent of legitimate peripheral participation afforded by the programmes.

5 Findings of the Study

5.1 Effects of In-Country Language Immersion on Learners' Intercultural Competence – Intercultural Sensitivity Scale Scores

Table 2 shows the means of the pre- and post-programme Intercultural-Sensitivity-Scale scores of all 17 participants, and the mean difference between these scores. The mean of the pre-programme scores was 94.82 (out of a maximum of 120). The mean score rose by 5.89 to 100.71 for the post-programme scores. A paired samples t-test shows this increase to be statistically significant at the 0.05 confidence level. The ISS data thus provide an indication that the in-country language immersion had a positive impact on the intercultural sensitivity – and thus the intercultural competence – of the participants. This finding is corroborated by evidence from the journal and interview data, presented in the subsequent sections:

Mean of Pre-Programme ISS Scores	Mean of Post-Programme ISS Scores	Mean Difference Between Pre- and Post-Programme ISS Scores	Significance (Paired Samples t-Test)
94.82	100.71	5.89	0.02*

Table 2: Means of pre- and post-programmes ISS scores for all participants (n = 17; maximum ISS score = 120; * significant at 0.05 level)

5.2 Benefits of ICLI for Learners' Knowledge, Attitudes and Skills For Intercultural Development

In Byram's (1997) construct of intercultural competence, *savoirs* and *savoir être*, (the knowledge and attitudinal components) constitute necessary pre-conditions for the development of *savoir s'engager* (one's critical cultural awareness). On the other hand, *savoir apprendre / faire* (the skills of discovery and interaction) and *savoir comprendre* (the skills of interpreting other cultures) provide the means to acquire and make sense of new cultural knowledge. This section will present and discuss data which point towards the development of these components of intercultural competence among learners during their in-country language-immersion experience.

5.2.1 *Savoirs*

As the pre-programme journal reports reveal, for the participants, it had been the first visit to Germany, with the only exception being Jordan (all student names mentioned here represent randomly assigned pseudonyms), who had spent one semester on academic exchange in Munich a year before his in-country language-immersion programme in Freiburg. The other five participants had not had any first-hand exposure to or more than superficial knowledge about the German culture prior to their ICLI trips. It is therefore not surprising that they would learn much about Germany and its sociocultural practices through the ICLI experience, which Deeraj, who was in Münster, described as "both enjoyable and educational", and which had taught him "plenty about the Germans and their culture" (post-programme report). Indeed, in the journal data, there was much further evidence of the participants acquiring new cultural knowledge, or *savoirs*:

Excerpt 1:

The home-stay experience was a once-in-a-lifetime experience. It felt as though I was immersed in the German culture – seeing the way they live their life, seeing how they speak to one another, etc. Rather than learning about the German way of life, we experienced it first hand. (Nor Alinah, Münster, Post-Immersion Report)

Excerpt 2:

[...] during the tour by Mandy [a student tutor] through the city, we were told that the water from the fountains are also potable (unless it was explicitly stated that we weren't to drink it). This shocked us greatly, until we saw the state of water running through the small 'canals' of the city. The water there was clean, cold, and clear! The fact that water from fountains here is potable is something I still can't quite wrap my head around. (Nadyah, Freiburg, Weekly Report 1)

Excerpt 3:

Having spoken with my host family, quite a bit, I've picked up quite a few little quirks of how they speak. One of these is the use of *oder* at the end of a sentence [...] It is sort of a way of seeking agreement, or perhaps a way to soften the sentence. I find that using these phrases myself makes speaking German feel a lot less 'sterile', and more of something that I can relate much more to as a person speaking to another person. I feel like this is something that's so important but yet cannot rally [sic!] be taught in class. (Jordan, Freiburg, Weekly Report 2)

In Excerpt 1, Nor Alinah attributed to her homestay experience what she had learned about Germans' sociocultural practices, which gave her the chance not just to observe the German way of life, but to actually participate in it. In Excerpt 2, Nadyah learned from a student tutor about the potable nature of fountain water in the city, which apparently took her quite by surprise. In Excerpt 3, Jordan narrated how he had gained new knowledge about sociolinguistic aspects of the German language through his interactions with his host family and then learned to apply it in his own language use.

In the next two excerpts, we see further examples of how incidental encounters and their participation in local life can contribute to the construction of new cultural knowledge, relating to public transportation in both cases. In Excerpt 4, Deeraj, who made regular use of a bicycle belonging to his host to get around Münster, wrote about his observations about cycling as a frequent mode of transport among the local residents. Natasha, in Excerpt 5, compared the behaviour of public transport commuters in Freiburg to that in her native Singapore, and related how her observations led her to gain new insights and revise some of her pre-conceptions:

Excerpt 4:

In Münster, many of the residents use bicycles as their mode of transport. It is interesting to see a system whereby commuters can ride bicycles on the road without having to fight for space with other road users. (Deeraj, Münster, Weekly Report 1)

Excerpt 5:

Another observation is the way the elderly and needy are treated on public transportation. It seems that while there is a fair amount of people who do give up their seats, it is not exactly a common occurrence (and there are a fair share of them on public transport because the more abled usually take their bikes and cars). It struck me as a little odd because I had always assumed Germans to be infinitely more polite than Singaporeans in this respect, or at least I expected so. But we actually seem to be more alike in this way. Also this notion of sitting on the outside seat is extremely common, such that most seats on the trams and buses are usually empty and a two-seater would usually be occupied by one person and his / her belongings, seemingly a higher rate than Singapore. (Natasha, Freiburg, Weekly Report 3)

Some of the reports, such as those from Natasha, Jordan and Nadyah, are fairly detailed, reflective and comparative, and provide insights beyond the superficial, which, as Jackson (2009) asserts, is usually indicative of significant intercultural development.

5.2.2 *Savoir être*

Positive attitudes towards other cultures, or *savoir être*, form an important pre-condition for successful intercultural communication, and enables us to interpret and relate to other cultures in a manner that is free from our own cultural bias (Byram 1997). Attitudes of curiosity and openness tend to contribute a greater willingness to engage and interact with other cultures, and to accept and appreciate differences between cultures. Similar to the findings reported by Jackson (2006), and Schwieter & Kunert (2012), there is evidence here of how participants, when confronted with differences in sociocultural practices during their in-country language-immersion

programmes, learned to recognise and accept these differences, which in turn helped them to adapt to life in the target-language communities.

At the end of the second week in Freiburg, Natasha reported on how her in-country language-immersion experience benefited her and made her more sensitive to and accepting of the perspectives of others:

Excerpt 6:

I don't think I'm learning so much about a culture as I'm learning how to interact with different people [...] I think I can see from another perspective now. And I am learning to respect people's different ways of doing, thinking and believing [...] I have opened up my world view and that would give me more opportunities in terms of being able to connect with different people and communicate with them as much as possible. (Natasha, Freiburg, Weekly Report 3)

The case of Nadyah provides an indication of how *savoir être* can develop through the ICLI experience. She was a 20-year-old Malay Muslim student who had only limited overseas experience beyond Southeast Asia before the ICLI trip. She was thus concerned about her stay in Germany and the problems that could arise from differences between the German and her native Malay Muslim culture (e.g. with regard to her diet, religion and dress). Indeed, these concerns were apparent in the first few days of her Freiburg stay, when she confessed to being homesick and became aware of two significant differences in the sociocultural practices of Germany and Singapore:

Excerpt 7:

Another memorable experience that happened on our second night here was an issue brought up by the host about the washroom. After dinner, she explained to us that the steam from the hot shower needed to escape, and that the shower area needed to be kept dry, to avoid bacterial growth. She then provided us with a small towel that could be used to wipe down the area after our shower. Although having a dry bath area was never the case in Singapore, this difference was backed by logic, and I could somewhat understand the reasoning behind it. Her way of (bringing up and) addressing the issue was straight to the point: pointing out what was wrong, how we could rectify it, and providing us with the means to rectify it. (Nadyah, Freiburg, Weekly Report 1)

While the bathroom maintenance in her host family was vastly different from the practice in Singapore, where bathrooms are often wet and one never attempts to wipe them dry (because of the high humidity), she was quick to grasp the rationale behind it. But an even more significant difference that proved harder for Nadyah to accept was the directness of her host's attempt to teach her the local bathroom practices – which is incidentally an example of the kind of mediation provided by a full member of a community in the peripheral participation of a newcomer, as described by Lave & Wenger (1991). Later in the same journal report, Nadyah hinted at her discomfort towards her host's directness, writing that “hedging to not humiliate someone is something we [her own community in Singapore] do a lot.” Later journal entries as well as further explications during her interview revealed that she meant to say that, in her native culture, one would be hesitant to voice criticism or to instruct others in a direct manner to avoid offending or humiliating them. However, by the end of her stay, she had apparently gained a better appreciation of the directness of her host, as Excerpt 8 shows:

Excerpt 8:

In the Malay society [...] we try not to be so direct. Like, even if you'd like to criticize someone, it'll be, I won't, it will never be direct. [...] But, with Frau F. [the host], then she would say stuff direct, yeah, so that was different. [...] I wasn't really comfortable with that at first. [...] When it was directed at me, I didn't really feel that it was positive? But looking back, then I realized that it cuts down, like it brought the issue across very fast. So she addressed the issue, then we went to talk about other topics. So she didn't really built up to it, she didn't really waste time. So it brought the point across very fast, so it was something I appreciated. (Nadyah, Freiburg, Interview)

It appears that during her stay with her host, Nadyah had kept an open mind, and eventually learned to understand and accept the differences in the interactional practices of both cultures.

5.2.3 *Savoir apprendre / faire*

Savoir apprendre / faire or the ability to interact with and discover another culture is a vital factor in the development of intercultural competence. Rightly, Byram asserts that new cultural knowledge “may be discovered in interaction with interlocutors from another country” (1997: 33). The findings from Heinzmann et al.'s (2015) study also pointed to the importance of interactions with local people for the intercultural development of foreign language learners on short-term study abroad.

The language courses at both ICLL sites in the current study were communicatively and interculturally oriented, and were designed to enhance participants' pragmatic competence and to enable them to interact with the local communities. Instructional tasks included out-of-class interactional activities through which they were to gather information about the local culture from people on the street as well as their host families. Pre-interactional practice and simulations were also conducted in class to prepare them for the interactional tasks out of class. The homestay also provided the participants with daily opportunities that allowed them to apply what they had learned in class as well as to acquire further linguistic knowledge.

In truth, not all the participants were equally positive about or responded well to the language instruction. For instance, Samuel, who was in Münster, found the instructional hours too short and reported being disappointed at not having achieved his target of becoming fluent in German – a goal, which, however, as he admitted, was unrealistic in the first place. Natasha felt that “the activities in class were not relevant enough to real life German situations” and believed that “the Singapore German classes were more relevant” in comparison (Freiburg, Post-Programme Report). Nonetheless, all other participants found language courses and homestay to be effective and beneficial in developing their pragmatic and interactional ability, as the following selection of data suggests:

Excerpt 9:

Classes held in the morning on weekdays are actually very enjoyable. I find that there is something different about learning German here. I find it more interesting since I can actually practice it every day and also, there isn't any exams. As time goes on, I think that my German is slowly improving and I am finally opening up to my host family by speaking

in German, rather than English. It takes a while to form a sentence in German but the practice is definitely helping. (Nor Alinah, Münster, Weekly Report 2)

Excerpt 10:

The instructional part of the programme was very well executed, with Mr H. W. [the instructor] providing practical lessons that equipped us with various linguistic tools. Besides greetings, we were taught how to search for furniture, look for jobs, interview people on the street, etc. As a whole, the instructional part of the programme was well-rounded, multi-faceted and was incredibly effective in boosting our confidence in speaking German to native Germans. [...] For me, the benefits of this immersion programme include the rare opportunity to practice the German language with Germans, and in a wholly German environment. (Nadyah, Freiburg, Post-Programme Report)

Excerpt 11:

I thought the best thing about the programme was being able to live with a German host family. I think I've learnt the most from them, in terms of culture and language [...] Reading, hearing and speaking German every single day really makes a big difference. [...] Speaking to people in German made me feel much more confident because I knew I was doing something right when they actually understood me. Even in German class, we learnt grammar and phrases, but it only became "real" for me (and I suspect most of us) when we actually hear it being used or when we use it ourselves. I've been travelling in German since the immersion programme ended (I'm actually headed now to Weimar), and I've actually had several chats with locals (most of them I met at beer gardens), in German! [...] I really do think that this immersion in Germany has really solidified a fundamental level of understanding of the German language, and has made me much more confident in speaking it. (Jordan, Freiburg, Post-Programme Report)

Nor Alinah reported in her first weekly report, a few days after her arrival in Münster, that she was trying to avoid conversing with her hosts in German and left most of the talking to the other student who was staying with the same family. Yet, a week later, as indicated in Excerpt 9, through the language classes and daily practice afforded by the environment, her confidence and willingness to engage her hosts in conversations grew. In Excerpt 9, Nadyah similarly highlighted the importance of learning and using German in a German-speaking environment, and pointed to the benefits of the language course for her improved ability to communicate in German. Jordan, in Excerpt 11, attributed the gains in his proficiency mainly to his authentic interactions with his host family. He had, in fact, related in Excerpt 3 how he had acquired new linguistic and pragmatic knowledge from his hosts and attempted to apply this in his speech. Apparently, his enhanced proficiency and confidence served him well in his further interactions with locals during his individual travel after the ICLI programme.

5.2.4 *Savoir comprendre*

Savoir comprendre, i.e. the skill of interpreting new cultural information and experiences, plays a key role in understanding new cultures and constructing (and reconstructing) cultural meanings. As Byram (1997) contends, this ability is relational and draws upon existing cultural knowledge, especially the knowledge of one's own culture, which serves as a "resource for learning new cultures" (Liddicoat & Scarino 2013). There are abundant journal data that underline this, as the following samples demonstrate:

Excerpt 12:

I have learnt plenty about Germans and their culture from this immersion experience. I could see both similarities and differences between the Singaporeans and Germans. Like most Singaporeans, Germans are also extremely hardworking. This could be seen from the efficiency of the transport systems and also when I observed my host. However, a difference I noticed was that courtesy was more prevalent among Germans who would often greet strangers they meet on the streets. (Deeraj, Münster, Post-Programme Report)

Excerpt 13:

[Recycling is] apparently a major issue here. The first night in our host's house, she pointed out twice (on separate occasions) that any trash must be separated into common trash, plastic, and paper. Paper and plastic was to go into bins set up in the cellar, and the common trash could be thrown in a bin in the kitchen. We were reminded that the bin inside our room is only for paper. In Singapore, it was a fairly common practice to recycle, but not to such an extent that we regulate the trash that we throw in the bedroom. So, this was an interesting practice that could indeed be emulated back home. In Singapore, there has always been an emphasis on the colour of different recycling bins. However, this was not always the case here in Freiburg. The bins are not multi-coloured and yet the emphasis that was placed on recycling was remarkably larger! It seemed like everyone here recycles! (Nadyah, Freiburg, Weekly Report 1)

Excerpt 14:

An observation on how different the lifestyle of families can be here in Germany is the different times that people tend to knock off from work. My host family is able to get home at around 6 or 6.30 in the evening. This leaves them, during summer at least, time to still go out for a short hike or walk, or even drive up to a nice picnic spot to chill. I find that so different from what I experience with my family in Singapore – by the time everyone gets back it's dark and there really isn't anything much to do except stay at home. I think that this could possibly have been a factor that greatly affects family dynamics. For example, with two working parents in Singapore, kids would only ever really have time to interact with their parents in the evening or on weekends. While that isn't in itself bad, it is really different from the German family where evenings could be used for heading out or some outdoor activities. (Jordan, Freiburg, Weekly Report 3)

In these and many other accounts, the participants displayed a natural tendency to immediately relate their new experiences to similar and comparable situations in their own culture, as they attempted to interpret and make sense of these experiences. Indeed, the myriads of new cultural information that flooded their senses during the ICLI programmes afforded them opportunities – or perhaps even compelled them – to constantly apply and hone their skills of interpreting and relating. This process of connecting and integrating new and existing cultural knowledge represents an important and necessary step in their intercultural development. In fact, it provides the basis for the critical reflections that precipitate the cultivation of the participants' critical cultural awareness.

5.2.5 *Savoir s'engager*

Byram (2008) locates *savoir s'engager*, or critical cultural awareness, in the centre of his model of intercultural competence, because it represents a key goal in the political

education of an individual and his socialisation towards intercultural citizenship. Byram (1997, 2008) describes it as one's ability to identify, analyse, interpret and evaluate one's own and other cultures based on explicit and critical criteria. The native culture will usually provide the reference base and initial criteria for the interpretation and evaluation of the other culture. At the same time, such critical analysis and reflection will invariably result in the re-examination and re-alignment of one's own cultural norms, beliefs, and values, leading to a re-appraisal of one's own culture. As Phipps & Gonzalez put it, "to enter other cultures is to re-enter one's own" (2004: 3). Indicative of positive development in one's critical cultural awareness are the ability to decentre from one's cultural beliefs as well as revisions to one's perspectives to both the other and one's own culture, including corrections to any pre-conceptions and stereotypes one may hold.

Some of the data samples cited above in fact provided examples of the critical appraisal of practices in both the target language and the participants' own culture – for example, when Nadyah tried to make sense of the different bathroom practices in a German household (keeping the bathroom dry) and mulled over the logic behind them (Excerpt 7), or when she contemplated the advantages and disadvantages of being direct in one's interactions (Excerpt 8). Another instance of such critical reflection was Jordan's reasoned and differentiated comparison of family life in Germany and Singapore (Excerpt 14), which led him to a more critical view of family culture in Singapore and the resolve to adopt some of the practices in German families to improve the quality of his own family's interactions, as the following excerpt indicates:

Excerpt 15

I've actually been talking to my family (in Singapore) about this, and we're actually really excited to try to change some of our lifestyles to include more things like simply relaxing together at home, or trying to have more interactive activities as well. (Jordan, Freiburg, Weekly Report 3)

The case of Natasha provides an example of how her homestay experience induced a remarkable change to her perspectives of German and Singapore culture, specifically to the notion of respect in the family. In her first week with her German host family, she was quite perturbed by the way the host mother and her daughter interacted, and the daughter's behaviour, which she perceived as lacking in respect to her mother:

Excerpt 16

What affected me most strongly was my host family. When I had arrived at the train station, I met with someone else's host at first, and I had hoped to be with that host. And at first when I met mine I was thinking that she's really nice too! That changed quite drastically over the next two days. Not that she wasn't nice or friendly or welcoming, but there were so many lifestyle and family dynamic changes made. Firstly, she has a teenage daughter. I haven't had that family dynamic since my younger sister grew up, so that was something new. Mood swings, talking back to parents and adults, these were things in my household that were extremely heavily punished. Respect was something taught in my house and I was more taken aback than anything that any child could talk disrespectfully back to their parents. Talking back in my household wasn't punitive but talking with a tone that disregarded the other person's opinion or just (in my opinion being taunting) was to be severely punished. The logic was that: if you wanted to be treated respectfully, you had to gain it by giving it mutually. (Natasha, Freiburg, Weekly Report 1)

Perhaps Natasha's attitude towards her host family was to some extent affected by her initial disappointment of not getting the host of her choice, and she was initially highly critical of the social discourse in her host family, basing her interpretation on the notion of respect held by her own family in Singapore. In fact, she was considering requesting a change in her host family, but eventually decided against it. Her evaluation of German family relations and interactions was to change drastically in the subsequent two weeks of her immersion stay, brought about by more intense and frequent interactions with her host and her extended family, as documented by her post-programme report:

Excerpt 17

Germans have a direct way of communication in most social contexts as well. But I appreciate that fully because it meant that any potential misunderstandings could be dealt with immediately before it led to bigger problems, and I do think that that's what leads to stronger bonds being formed between them and the people they meet, as well as the family bonds. Parents and children are free to talk about anything they want and both sides are heard. They know how to listen and yet are not afraid to be heard. That makes for a very honest and (even if somewhat blunt at times) candid conversations. [...] As for my culture, I discovered a lot of differences between the host family(ies) in Freiburg and my own at home. There are so many things I would not have chosen to tell my parents about, mostly because I always feel that it would be frowned upon and somehow upset the family dynamics (which tends to happen a lot). In my host family, mother and daughter (as well as occasionally grandparents) can come together and talk about all sorts of things, even personal and intimate issues. But it shows care and concern for each other's well-being. And while everyone had their individual separate views, they understood not to impose it on someone else. And because of that there was a lot of respect for each other, whereas in my family, there was a lot of respect for authority and seniority. Germans have a direct way of communication in most social contexts as well. But I appreciate that fully because it meant that any potential misunderstandings could be dealt with immediately before it led to bigger problems, and I do think that that's what leads to stronger bonds being formed between them and the people they meet, as well as the family bonds. Parents and children are free to talk about anything they want and both sides are heard. They know how to listen and yet are not afraid to be heard. That makes for a very honest and (even if somewhat blunt at times) candid conversations. [...] As for my culture, I discovered a lot of differences between the host family(ies) in Freiburg and my own at home. There are so many things I would not have chosen to tell my parents about, mostly because I always feel that it would be frowned upon and somehow upset the family dynamics (which tends to happen a lot). In my host family, mother and daughter (as well as occasionally grandparents) can come together and talk about all sorts of things, even personal and intimate issues. But it shows care and concern for each other's well-being. And while everyone had their individual separate views, they understood not to impose it on someone else. And because of that, there was a lot of respect for each other, whereas in my family, there was a lot of respect for authority and seniority. (Natasha, Freiburg, Post-Immersion Programme Report)

Through her in-country language-immersion experience, Natasha had not only gained a greater appreciation of the openness and frankness in German family relationships and interactions, but she had apparently also re-examined and re-constructed her notion of respect, arriving at a more critical appraisal of her own family culture ("respect for authority and seniority" as opposed to "respect for each other") and demonstrating gains in the development of her critical cultural awareness.

5.3 Legitimate Peripheral Participation and Intercultural Development

5.3.1 Contributions of In-Country Language Immersion to Students' Legitimate Peripheral Participation

The in-country language-immersion programmes were designed to enable and promote students' interactions with the local communities and participation in their sociocultural practices, that is, legitimate peripheral participation. The language courses also contributed to students' ability to engage in legitimate peripheral participation by developing their pragmatic competence and the linguistic means to interact with locals (e.g. as evidenced by Nadyah's report in Excerpt 10). The course instructors thus acted as pedagogical mediators, who scaffolded students' legitimate peripheral participation. In addition, as the site visits and observations reveal, the courses in both Münster and Freiburg utilised information-gathering tasks to enable students to interact with local people and to discover cultural knowledge outside of class. Jordan attested to the usefulness of such tasks in giving him "an extremely interesting look at the social norms in how strangers interact" (Freiburg, Weekly Report 1). In a later report, he further elaborated on these tasks and their benefits:

Excerpt 18:

Our German lecturer here seems to find it important that we get to interact with the real world in German. This week we were involved in two more activities that required us to speak to people in order to find out things or to just get information. The first of these activities was (theoretically) buying and furnishing an apartment. This required first reading the advertisement section of a local newspaper to search for an apartment, and then later going to a real furniture shop to choose furniture. While it did take up a lot of time, I felt like it made it much more personal when we presented our 'findings' and our apartment designs. The second of these activities was linked to our trip to Basel, Switzerland. It required us to speak to some Swiss locals in order to find out what some Swiss German words meant. I find it really interesting because I realize it helps us with internalizing that this foreign language is in fact used by a lot of people somewhere on Earth, and that all the little quirks or seemingly strange qualities of that language are not so to these native speakers. It makes you go "oh they really say that", when you realize that something you just brushed off as a weird phrase or word that people could never use is in fact something very normal in another culture. (Jordan, Freiburg, Weekly Report 3)

In previous sections, we had also seen multiple examples of students' interactions with the local communities, in particular with their host families. In Excerpt 1, Nor Alinah wrote about what she learned about the German culture, and attributed this to her homestay experience, which gave her the chance to participate in German family life. In Freiburg, Jordan reported picking up and then applying new sociolinguistic features in his interactions with his host family – attempts at participation in the sociolinguistic practices of target-language community (Excerpt 3). In Excerpts 7 and 13, Nadyah narrated how she was instructed by her host to dry the bathroom after having taken a shower and to sort trash for recycling – practices she had to adhere to for the duration of her homestay. As the partner institutions informed the researcher, the homestay hosts had been prepared to provide interactions in German and to support participants in adjusting to and participating in local life. In other words, they were asked to act as expert mediators – knowledgeable full members of the target-language culture – to aid the participants in their legitimate peripheral participation and culture learning in a manner consistent with Lave & Wenger's (1991) Situated Learning Theory.

In another example, Deeraj emulated the locals and made frequent use of the bicycle to travel around Münster, although, by his own admission, he hardly cycled in Singapore. His participation in this common local practice led him to compare and ponder about cycling as a means of transport and the different attitudes towards cycling in Germany and Singapore:

Excerpt 19:

Münster is a cycling city [...] I found it about it before I went there but I only saw the extent of it while I was there because, like, in Singapore, it's quite hard to ride bicycles on the road because not all road users are really friendly towards bicycle users ... and ... what I saw over there ... people ... it was actually one of the more convenient forms of transport if you live in the city. Yeah, that was something that I found interesting there. (Deeraj, Münster, Post-Programme Report)

Legitimate peripheral participation and interactions with the local communities thus facilitated the participants' appraisals of the German culture. Further evidence of this can be found in Nadyah's reflections and balanced appraisals of German home practices, which she judged to be "backed by logic" (Excerpt 7), and the directness in their interactions with others, which she eventually learned to appreciate (Excerpt 8). As Byram contends, intercultural experiences and critical reflections typically also result in the re-appraisal of one's own culture as well. Perhaps the most obvious example of how interactions with and participation in the target-language community can lead to new and more critical perspectives of one's own culture and beliefs is Natasha's discovery of the openness and respect that characterises German family communications and relationships (Excerpt 17). Indeed, her interactions with her host and her extended family mediated the re-examination and revision of the notion of respect held by her own family in Singapore.

On the evidence of the data presented thus far, it appears that the homestay was the component of the whole programme that afforded participants the most and the most telling opportunities for legitimate peripheral participation, and significantly mediated their intercultural development.

5.3.2 Motivation and Legitimate Peripheral Participation

Lave & Wenger (1991) assert that the quality and extent of learners' legitimate peripheral participation is highly dependent on how they value and desire full participation in a community of practice. In a similar vein, Heinzmann et al. (2015) found that their subjects' willingness to interact with the target-language communities was dependent on their predisposition to do so prior to the study-abroad programmes. In the current study, the case of Samuel seems to confirm the key role of motivation in determining if and how students take advantage of the legitimate peripheral participation opportunities afforded by in-country language immersion, and develop interculturally.

Prior to the trip, Samuel described himself as being "extremely introverted by nature" and was concerned that "the constant need to interact will be extremely draining" (Samuel, Münster, Pre-Programme Report). His declared goal for the in-country language immersion was to achieve fluency in German, although he had doubts about his own ambition right from the onset: "Anyway, I'd like to think that I'd come out of this programme fairly fluent, but realistically I don't expect that to happen." (Samuel,

Münster, pre-programme report). His doubts about the attainability of his own goal was to become a recurrent theme in his journal. Perhaps because of his introverted personality and his lack of conviction in pursuing his goal during in-country language immersion, he had reservations about interacting with locals, including his host family, partly attributing this to his lack of communicative ability. Instead, he seemed to interact more with his fellow participants – and in English rather than German:

Excerpt 20

However, it is perhaps unfortunate that the lot of us all come from Singapore, because then it very quickly becomes much easier to speak using English or Singaporean references, which hinders the progress of German learning. [...] I guess one more thing that I could mention is that it is still surprisingly difficult to communicate with the host family as much as I would like. Overcoming the language barrier takes much more fluency than I'd thought. (Samuel, Münster, Weekly Report 2)

Not surprisingly, his journal contained very few accounts of interactions with his host family or other members of the local community. In fact, Samuel did not even attempt to describe his host family. On the contrary, in his journal, he focused on his activities and his relationships with the other participants of the programme. Later, in the interview, he revealed that his interactions with his host got “progressively less” during his stay, and that he and his roommate had stayed out late on occasions and missed the dinners their hosts had prepared for them – and thus also opportunities for interactions with the family. Apparently, as he explained later, he gave up on his “unrealistic” goal and decided to focus on enjoying the stay in Germany instead:

Excerpt 21:

“[...] my priorities changed during the immersion itself because I started to see it more as ... okay ... since it's like ... okay, let loose and have fun. Rather than the whole focus on language learning, that sort of thing.” (Samuel, Münster, Interview)

Because of this ‘shift’ in motivation, he admitted to not having made full use of the interactional opportunities available to him:

Excerpt 22:

So if that [making use of the interactional opportunities] is not your focus, then naturally you won't try to do that so much. So even for myself, that's what I said ... like ... at the start, I did focus more on communication, but as my focus changed, then it became less and less important. Yeah. (Samuel, Münster, Interview)

We could speculate that Samuel might have been more a ‘tourist’ than a ‘sojourner’ who is truly interested in interacting with and learning more deeply about a new culture, as his repeated doubts about his own goal of achieving fluency in German and the apparent lack of interest in interactions would seem to suggest. This cannot be determined with certainty, but latest by the time he gave up on his initial goal and his motivation changed, he became a clear example of the importance of motivation for LPP (Lave and Wenger, 1991) and interactions in the target-language communities (Heinzmann et al., 2015).

5.4 Summary

Contrary to Davidson's (2007) view that short-term study abroad may not be effective in helping students learn the target-language culture, the findings of the present study show that positive intercultural development can result from an in-country language-immersion experience, given the right programme design – for instance, when the programme is designed to provide sufficient and appropriate opportunities for legitimate peripheral participation, and to support and prepare learners for social interactions and participation pragmatically and linguistically. The learners also need to be properly motivated to avail themselves of the access to legitimate peripheral participation afforded to them (also Schwieter & Kunert 2012).

The results on the intercultural sensitivity scale and extensive qualitative data from the journals, interviews and activity observations suggest an affirmative answer to Research Question 1. The in-country language-immersion programmes had, in most cases, a positive impact on the intercultural development of the participating students. The statistical analysis of the participants' ISS scores from the pre- and post-programme questionnaires points towards a significant and positive gain in the intercultural sensitivity of the respondents. In addition, there were many lengthy and substantive journal reports with critical reflections and well-balanced evaluations that are indicative of positive intercultural growth (Bloom & Miranda 2015, Jackson 2009).

With regard to Research Question 2, in our qualitative data, we have similarly seen much evidence that the participants' in-country language-immersion experience can benefit them in all areas of intercultural competence described in Byram's (1997) model, providing them with opportunities to acquire, apply and enhance their *savoirs*, *savoir être*, *savoir apprendre / faire*, *savoir comprendre*, and *savoir s'engager*. A key observation is that the development of these components was closely interlinked. For example, a positive and open attitude towards the target-language culture predisposed participants positively towards active participation in the local community, thus promoting the discovery of new cultural knowledge. Another example was how the process of interpreting and making sense of new cultural knowledge – usually involving comparisons between the new and one's native culture – frequently precedes and contributes to critical reflections and the development of critical cultural awareness.

As regards Research Question 3, the qualitative data point towards the pivotal role of the opportunities afforded by in-country language-immersion for social contact and interactions (such as with the instructors and homestay hosts), confirming the findings of previous studies (e.g. Heinzmann et al. 2015, Schwieter & Kunert 2012). This study has further shown that the resultant intercultural development can be explained by Lave & Wenger's (1991) Situated Learning Theory and is precipitated by the participants' legitimate peripheral participation in the target-language community. We have seen numerous examples of participants engaging actively in the practices of the target-language culture, and subsequently interpreting and reflecting on these and similar practices in their own culture. The fact that not all participants (specifically Samuel) achieved the same degree of intercultural development is not unusual and has been documented in other studies (e.g. Bloom & Miranda 2015, Heinzmann et al. 2015, Jackson, 2006, 2009). Indeed, in the present study, this serves to underline the importance of legitimate peripheral participation. It seems particularly revealing that Samuel, who failed to engage meaningfully in interactions with the locals and in legiti-

mate peripheral participation, hardly displayed any signs of positive intercultural development, judging by the journal and interview data he provided.

6 Conclusion

This study aimed to investigate the effect of short-term in-country language immersion on the intercultural development of Singapore university learners of German as a foreign language who participated in ICLI programmes in two German cities. The analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data collected through pre- and post-programme questionnaires, weekly journal reports, interviews, activity observations and document inspections indicates that the ICLI experience enhanced the knowledge, attitudes and skills which are necessary for the development of the participants' critical cultural awareness and intercultural competence. The findings also show that in-country language immersion offered learners opportunities to discover and to engage in the sociocultural practices of the local communities. They further suggest that the Situated Learning Theory and the notion of legitimate peripheral participation can explain this development, as those who availed themselves of the opportunities for social interactions and legitimate peripheral participation apparently benefited more from the in-country language-immersion.

Future research can seek to further investigate and confirm the positive impact of short-term study abroad and legitimate peripheral participation on the development of intercultural competence and if sociocultural theories such as the Situated Learning Theory can be used to ground and explain cultural learning. It is recommended that studies that adopt a sociocultural perspective also examine the roles of the expert members of the target-language community who mediate the participants' culture learning and their intercultural development. To date, most studies have tended to focus on the participants and have paid little attention to the perspectives and roles of mediators such as instructors, programme coordinators, peer interactants like as student tutors and student buddies, and host families.

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L'insegnamento dell'italiano in Germania nell'era digitale

Ines de Florio-Hansen (Kassel / Germania)

Abstract (Deutsch)

Der Fokus des folgenden Beitrags über den Italienischunterricht in Deutschland liegt auf Digitalisierung, Künstlicher Intelligenz (KI) und Robotik. Diese Bereiche müssen nicht nur mit Blick auf das Lernen hier und jetzt stärker berücksichtigt werden, sondern sind auch für das spätere Leben der Schülerinnen und Schüler ausschlaggebend. Es wird aufgezeigt, wann das Lernen mit Hilfe digitaler Medien sinnvoll und erfolversprechend ist. Über die Mediendidaktik hinaus geht es aber vor allem um Medienpädagogik, d.h. um den Beitrag, den der Italienischunterricht zur Ausbildung von Medienkompetenz bzw. Medienbildung leisten kann. Den Ausgangspunkt bilden die Veröffentlichungen der KMK, der Referenzrahmen der Europäischen Kommission zu den Digitalen Kompetenzen von Lehrpersonen sowie kurze Hinweise auf die Vorgaben der Kultusbehörden einzelner Bundesländer. Im unterrichtspraktischen Teil werden zunächst wichtige Möglichkeiten aufgezeigt, die sich durch das Internet und das World Wide Web (WWW) für den Italienischunterricht ergeben. Aufgrund der rasanten Entwicklung der elektronischen Technologien genügt es nicht länger, sich auf Digitalisierung zu beschränken. Bereiche der KI und der Robotik sind angemessen einzubeziehen. Zum einen müssen die Schülerinnen und Schüler lernen, das Potential dieser Werkzeuge zu verstehen und für sich auszuschöpfen; zum anderen legt die Globalisierung einen internationalen Austausch über den Nutzen und die Gefahren elektronischer Medien unter (italienischen und deutschen) Jugendlichen nahe.

Stichwörter: Italienischunterricht, Deutschland, Digitalisierung, Künstliche Intelligenz, Robotik, Mediendidaktik, Medienpädagogik, Medienkompetenz

Abstract (English)

The following article focuses on digitization, artificial intelligence (AI) and robotics with regards to teaching Italian in Germany. These areas need to be given greater consideration not only with regard to learning here and now, but also for students' future lives. It is shown how learning by means of digital media is meaningful and promising. In addition to media methodology, however, it is above all about media pedagogy, i.e. the contribution which the Italian teaching of Italian can make to training students' media literacy or media education. Our starting point are the publications of the German Conference of Ministers of Education (German: *Kultusministerkonferenz*; KMK), the European Commission's reference framework on the digital competences of teachers, as well as brief references to the requirements of the cultural authorities of individual German federal states. With regards to practical teaching, interesting opportunities for teaching that arise from the Internet are first shown. Due to the rapid development of electronic technologies, it no longer suffices to limit oneself to digitalisation. What may even be more important is to address relevant areas of Artificial Intelligence and robotics. On the one hand, students must learn to understand and make the best use of the potential of these tools; on the other hand, globalisation implies international exchanges of ideas on the benefits and dangers of electronic media among young (Italian and German) learners.

Keywords: Italian as a foreign language, Germany, digitization, artificial intelligence, robotics, media pedagogy, media competency

1 La posizione dell'italiano

Considerando lo sviluppo della partecipazione all'insegnamento della lingua italiana nelle scuole dall'inizio del millennio, vediamo che è aumentata. Mentre nell'anno scolastico 1989 / 1999 circa 33.000 alunni hanno imparato l'italiano nelle scuole generali (De Florio-Hansen 2001: 66-72), secondo l'Ufficio federale di statistica il dato per l'anno scolastico 2018 / 2019 è di 47.670 (De Florio-Hansen 2019a: 429; Michler & Reimann 2019: 1-14). Anche se il numero di partecipanti alla formazione degli adulti e all'insegnamento universitario della lingua italiana non può essere indicato in modo così chiaro, si può ipotizzare un'evoluzione positiva anche in questi settori (De Florio-Hansen 2001, 2019a).

Se si considera che l'inglese è diventato ancora più diffuso e che l'italiano è generalmente offerto come terza lingua straniera dopo il francese o il latino nelle scuole di istruzione generale in Germania, l'attuale numero di alunni può essere considerato un successo. Gli alunni scelgono l'italiano per lo più volontariamente, probabilmente perché si sentono attratti dal suono della lingua e / o da aspetti della cultura italiana. Ci si deve chiedere come rendere ancora più attraenti le lezioni di italiano nonostante la predominanza delle lingue straniere menzionate e dello spagnolo (anno scolastico 2018 / 2019: circa 464.000). Le misure organizzative e, soprattutto, pedagogico-didattiche sono un buon modo per raggiungere questo obiettivo.

1.1 Apprendimento misto (*Blended Learning*)

L'apprendimento misto è utilizzato principalmente nel settore universitario: una parte del corso è messa a disposizione degli studenti attraverso i media digitali, mentre altri contenuti sono offerti come al solito nei seminari. L'uso delle tecnologie digitali persegue diversi obiettivi: da un lato, l'offerta online rende gli studenti indipendenti dal tempo e dal luogo. Inoltre, possono ripetere i contenuti tante volte che lo ritengono opportuno. In più hanno la possibilità di recuperare le lezioni mancate. Nella maggior parte dei casi è previsto anche uno scambio online degli studenti tra di loro. I vantaggi sono molteplici: i docenti sono in grado di trattare in modo più specifico la tematica già introdotta. Se necessario, possono soffermarsi sugli aspetti che sono percepiti come problematici dagli studenti. I fautori del *Blended Learning* aggiungono che l'uso di questo tipo di apprendimento porta più spesso al dialogo tra il docente universitario e gli studenti che i seminari tradizionali.

L'approccio di apprendimento misto può essere applicato anche alle lezioni scolastiche, però con cambiamenti. Viene utilizzato principalmente nella cosiddetta *Flipped Classroom / Inverted Classroom*: si tratta di un metodo di insegnamento integrato in cui i contenuti vengono sviluppati dagli alunni a casa sulla base di un video o di tecnologie digitali. In classe si svolge una discussione accompagnata di un approfondimento. Si capisce da sé che questa forma di insegnamento richiede una specifica preparazione degli insegnanti per portare al successo.

L'esempio che segue riguarda una forma speciale di apprendimento misto, che può essere trasposto dalle lezioni di latino ad altre lingue straniere, tra cui l'italiano:

In Schleswig-Holstein hat dieser missliche Umstand zu einer Lösung geführt, die nur dank digitaler Medien möglich ist: Schülerinnen und Schüler, die das Fach Latein an der eigenen Schule nicht (weiter-)belegen können, besuchen einen schulübergreifenden Onlinekurs. [...]

Wie ist ein solcher Kurs angelegt? In jeder Woche findet mithilfe eines Konferenzsystems Onlineunterricht statt – zu festgelegten Zeiten und als Liveveranstaltung. Alle Kursteilnehmerinnen und -teilnehmer und die Lehrkraft sind zugeschaltet. In der Regel ist nur die Lehrkraft über eine Kamera zu sehen. Die Schülerinnen und Schüler bringen sich im Plenum oder in der Gruppenarbeit durch mündliche Beiträge ein und können auch schriftlich kommunizieren. Der Unterricht ist interaktiv und keineswegs anonym. (Jesper 2020: 76¹)

Probabilmente è solo una questione di tempo prima che la maggior parte degli insegnanti sia in grado di elaborare un'offerta adeguata – in collaborazione con altri che sono confrontati con simili problemi organizzativi (per maggiori dettagli si veda *ibid.*: 76-77).

Quali sono i principali vantaggi di un tale insegnamento dell'italiano online a quello faccia a faccia? Grazie all'ampia area di presentazione fornita da un sistema di conferenze, ci sono molte possibilità di visualizzazione. Le sessioni sono registrate in modo da poter essere ripetute tutte le volte che lo si desidera, indipendentemente dal tempo e dal luogo. Su una piattaforma di apprendimento gli alunni trovano particolari compiti e test che aiutano loro a praticare e a consolidare ciò che hanno imparato. A secondo della distanza geografica, gli incontri faccia a faccia degli alunni partecipanti sono indicati perché costituiscono un buon modo per rafforzare il senso di comunità. E quali sono gli effetti di tali iniziative? Ulf Jesper descrive i risultati dell'offerta, che esiste nello Schleswig-Holstein da tre anni, come segue:

Am wichtigsten ist wohl, dass die im Onlineunterricht erbrachten Leistungen denen im Regelunterricht entsprechen; sie fallen sogar besser aus. Dies zeigt die Prüfung, die jeden Kurs abschließt, sehr deutlich: Bislang haben alle Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmer die Klausur bestanden [...]

Bemerkenswert ist außerdem die hohe Motivation, mit der die Kursteilnehmerinnen und -teilnehmer arbeiten. Untersucht man, worauf sie beruht, erweist sich als stärkster Faktor nicht das Fach, sondern das Medium. Interessanterweise verbraucht sich diese Motivation nicht. (Jesper 2020: 77)²

¹ Nello Schleswig-Holstein, questa sfortunata circostanza ha portato a una soluzione che è possibile solo grazie ai media digitali: gli alunni che non possono (continuare a) studiare il latino nella propria scuola frequentano un corso online che abbraccia le scuole. [...]

Come è progettato un tale corso? Ogni settimana, un sistema di conferenze viene utilizzato per insegnare online, ad orari prestabiliti e come evento dal vivo. Tutti i partecipanti al corso e l'insegnante sono collegati. Di solito solo l'insegnante può essere visto attraverso una telecamera. Gli studenti partecipano alle sessioni plenarie o ai lavori di gruppo attraverso contributi orali e possono anche comunicare per iscritto. Le lezioni sono interattive e non sono affatto anonime. (Traduzione: D.F.-H.)

² Forse la cosa più importante è che il rendimento dell'insegnamento online è simile a quello dell'insegnamento in classe, anzi, è migliore. Questo è dimostrato molto chiaramente dall'esame che completa ogni corso: finora, tutti i partecipanti hanno superato l'esame [...].

Notevole è anche l'alta motivazione con cui lavorano i partecipanti al corso. Se si esamina su cosa si basa, il fattore più forte risulta essere non il soggetto, ma il mezzo. È interessante notare che questa motivazione non diminuisce. (Traduzione: D.F.-H.)

La maggiore autonomia degli alunni, che caratterizza tale offerta, favorisce l'insegnamento e l'apprendimento in ogni materia, soprattutto se si considera che il corso non avrebbe luogo senza l'apprendimento misto. La maggior parte dei vantaggi di un'offerta online può, naturalmente, effettuarsi in tutte le lezioni di italiano.

1.2 Alfabetizzazione mediatica nelle lezioni di italiano

Secondo molti esperti, un aspetto merita particolare attenzione se si vuole che l'insegnamento della lingua italiana mantenga ed eventualmente estenda la sua posizione nello spettro delle lingue straniere insegnate nelle scuole. Si tratta di una competenza mediatica estesa, in cui, per ora, i cosiddetti nuovi media giocano ancora un ruolo troppo piccolo nonostante il loro rapido sviluppo e la loro influenza su (quasi) tutti i settori della vita. Non ci si può più limitare all'uso occasionale dei media sociali in classe e alle sporadiche considerazioni sui loro benefici e pericoli.

Regina Schleicher, una collega dell'università Duisburg-Essen, è arrivata a questa sintesi: Secondo lei, gli insegnanti stessi hanno bisogno di un'educazione informatica per poter sviluppare concetti per le loro rispettive materie. Si dovrebbero basare su una comprensione più profonda dei media digitali e non esclusivamente sulla conoscenza e sull'uso delle applicazioni. Schleicher sostiene che nell'attuale discussione sulla digitalizzazione manca una riflessione critica dei media. In ogni caso, gli insegnanti possono indurre tali processi di apprendimento solo se essi stessi comprendono i media digitali, sia tecnicamente che in termini di significato economico e sociale (Schleicher 2019, intervista).

Nelle parti seguenti di questo contributo saranno forniti i maggiori dettagli al riguardo. Queste spiegazioni offrono una breve anteprima della pubblicazione: *Digitalisierung, Künstliche Intelligenz und Robotik. Eine Einführung für Schule und Unterricht* (De Florio-Hansen 2020). Anche se le argomentazioni seguenti si concentrano sulle lezioni di italiano, sono validi per l'insegnamento e l'apprendimento di altre lingue straniere. Questo non vuol dire che gli insegnanti della lingua italiana dovrebbero frequentare un corso di informatica; nemmeno si tratta di un appello a introdurre *alfabetizzazione digitale come materia scolastica* (Weinert 2018). L'insegnamento dovrebbe però rendere giustizia agli sviluppi dell'era digitale e dare il via ad un'educazione linguistica straniera che – oltre ad altre importanti competenze – porta a una gestione critico-costruttiva di tutti i media, compresi quelli elettronici. Ogni materia scolastica è richiesta di contribuire a far riconoscere ai bambini e ai giovani i vantaggi e i pericoli delle tecnologie digitali. Solo così loro sono in grado di agire di conseguenza sia nel presente che nella loro vita futura. Ciò significa anche renderli sufficientemente consapevoli degli sviluppi negativi. In questo modo essi sono in grado di impedire o almeno di influenzare decisioni non etiche da parte delle macchine intelligenti (Misselhorn 2018).

2 Il ruolo delle tecnologie digitali

È necessario un chiarimento fin dall'inizio: Anche se le spiegazioni che seguono riguardano principalmente l'uso dei media digitali, ciò non significa che essi debbano

avere un ruolo dominante nelle lezioni di italiano – e questo vale per ogni materia scolastica. In tutto l'articolo, i risultati delle ricerche e i pareri degli esperti sono utilizzati per dimostrare che le tecniche culturali comprovate e le corrispondenti conoscenze e competenze sono indispensabili. Sono il presupposto fondamentale per l'uso significativo delle tecnologie elettroniche.

2.1 Digitalizzazione – cosa significa?

Nei paesi di lingua tedesca il termine *Digitalisierung* (inglese: *digitalization*) descrive più o meno tutto ciò che riguarda i media elettronici. In origine, il termine si riferisce solamente alla trasformazione di qualsiasi segno in una forma leggibile da macchine o da computer. Per digitalizzazione in questo senso si intende quindi la conversione in un codice che consente la comunicazione con l'aiuto di dispositivi e di macchine. L'alfabeto Morse e il Braille, ad esempio, si basano sulla digitalizzazione. Nel contesto dei computer, questa trasformazione si ottiene di solito tramite un codice binario composto solo da una serie di zero e di uno. La digitalizzazione in senso stretto permette quindi una lettura automatica di un codice in una qualità costante, ma raggiunge, ad esempio, i suoi limiti quando si tratta di riconoscimento vocale o di traduzione automatica: nonostante i notevoli progressi, è ancora possibile solo in misura limitata tenere adeguatamente conto dell'ambiguità delle parole e degli enunciati.

Da diversi decenni la competenza mediatica è un obiettivo importante dell'insegnamento e dell'apprendimento delle lingue straniere. Mentre in passato l'insegnamento era dominato dalle fonti stampate, cioè da libri di testo, letteratura e testi di non-fiction, oltre alla lingua parlata, l'intera gamma dei media, dall'audio ai film e al video, ha trovato la sua strada nell'insegnamento delle lingue straniere. Con l'aiuto delle tecnologie elettroniche, questi media nel loro complesso sono ancora più facilmente accessibili di prima. Un compito importante degli insegnanti dell'italiano è quello di integrare i media digitali in un concetto globale di alfabetizzazione mediatica (Tulodziecki et al. 2019). Ciò richiede una visione differenziata che tenga conto non solo dell'età degli alunni, ma anche del contesto di apprendimento e, non da ultimo, della precedente formazione dell'insegnante.

2.2 Raccomandazioni della politica educativa

Il fatto che l'apprendimento con l'aiuto delle tecnologie digitali così come quello sul valore dei relativi mezzi di comunicazione non si è affermato finora in misura sufficiente è tra l'altro dovuto al fatto che molti insegnanti non si sono resi sufficientemente conto delle linee guida della politica educativa.

Si può concludere che le iniziative della Conferenza dei Ministri dell'Istruzione e degli Affari Culturali (tedesco: *Kultusministerkonferenz* (KMK) sotto forma di strategie per l'educazione nell'era digitale del 2016 e dei relativi documenti precedenti e successivi non sono ancora state presi sufficientemente in considerazione. Troppa poca attenzione è stata prestata anche alle numerose iniziative delle autorità educative dei *Länder* federali e di altre organizzazioni, disponibili soprattutto online sotto forma di piattaforme mediatiche.

Il documento di circa 60 pagine della Conferenza dei Ministri dell'Istruzione appena citato è intitolato *Strategie der Kultusministerkonferenz – Bildung in der digitalen Welt (Strategia della Conferenza dei Ministri dell'Istruzione – Educazione in un mondo digitale)*. La versione ufficiale, rilasciata nel dicembre 2017 costituisce, esplicitamente o implicitamente, il punto di partenza per le numerose pubblicazioni dei singoli ministeri della pubblica istruzione e degli istituti subordinati dei *Länder* federali. Il vantaggio principale del documento strategico è che porta i documenti precedenti al punto. Gli esperti della Conferenza dei Ministri dell'Istruzione basano il loro lavoro principalmente su una pubblicazione della Commissione europea, ovvero dell'*Institute for Prospective Technological Studies*, pubblicato nel 2013: *DIGCOMP: A Framework for Developing and Understanding Digital Competence in Europe*. In questo documento, l'autrice, Anusca Ferrari, fornisce una raccolta dettagliata delle competenze informatiche indispensabili oggi e nel prossimo futuro.

L'obiettivo principale della Conferenza dei Ministri dell'Istruzione è quello di sensibilizzare gli insegnanti ad un'adeguata educazione ai media dei loro alunni sulla base del documento. La didattica dei media e soprattutto l'educazione ai media creano importanti prerequisiti per la partecipazione sociale presente e futura degli alunni. Nel preambolo gli esperti affermano chiaramente che i media digitali o le tecnologie elettroniche non possono più essere considerati come un'appendice in classe, ma devono essere integrati in pratiche pedagogiche adeguate (KMK 2016: 9). Dopo aver formulato due obiettivi generali il documento strategico individua sei aree di competenza per le scuole così come per l'istruzione e la formazione professionale che sono adeguatamente specificate (KMK 2016: 15-18). Si tratta di:

1. Suchen, Verarbeiten und Aufbewahren (cercare, utilizzare e conservare)
2. Kommunizieren und Kooperieren (communicare e cooperire)
3. Produzieren und Präsentieren (produrre e presentare)
4. Schützen und sicher Agieren (preservare e agire con sicurezza)
5. Problemlösen und Handeln (risolvere e agire)
6. Analysieren und Reflektieren (analizzare e riflettere)

È importante notare che solo una componente, 5.4, riguarda l'apprendimento con l'aiuto dei media digitali: "Digitale Werkzeuge und Medien zum Lernen, Arbeiten und Problemlösen nutzen" (Utilizzare gli strumenti e i media digitali per apprendere, lavorare e risolvere dei problemi). Questa ed altre formulazioni del documento strategico della Conferenza dei Ministri dell'Istruzione si basano su un concetto globale di competenza che – al di là delle conoscenze e delle competenze – si concentra sulle attitudini (Weinert 1999).

Una panoramica dei dati rilevanti è fornita nella relazione annuale del Ministero federale dell'Istruzione e della Ricerca (tedesco: *Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung*; BMBF) intitolata *International Computer and Information Literacy (ICILS)*. Nell'analisi del 2013, a cui fa riferimento anche il documento strategico della Conferenza dei Ministri dell'Istruzione, gli autori (Bos et al. 2014) analizzano risultati ottenuti da un confronto internazionale delle competenze nell'ambito dei computer e dell'informatica di alunni della ottava classe. I rispettivi alunni tedeschi si trovano nella fascia media. Nel frattempo sono stati pubblicati gli ultimi risultati dello studio *International Computer and Information Literacy* che viene condotto ogni cinque anni (Eickelmann et al. 2019). Birgit Eickelmann et al. certificano alle autorità competenti e

al gruppo di persone interessate che le competenze mediatiche degli alunni tedeschi sono migliorate ma che rimane ancora molto da fare.

Mentre il documento strategico della Conferenza dei Ministri dell'Istruzione e la precedente pubblicazione della Commissione Europea nel contesto di DigCompEdu sono noti (almeno per il loro titolo), un altro progetto della Commissione Europea in relazione ai media elettronici non ha ancora trovato molta diffusione. Alla fine del 2017 è stato pubblicato un quadro di riferimento per la competenza digitale degli insegnanti, ovvero *DigCompEdu: European Framework for the Digital Competence of Educators* (autrice: Christine Redecker, editore: Ives Punie). Come per il Quadro comune europeo di riferimento per le lingue, il Goethe-Institut (cioè L'istituto culturale della Repubblica Federale Tedesca) ha adottato la traduzione tedesca. È disponibile per il download sotto il titolo: *Europäischer Rahmen für die Digitale Kompetenz Lehrender* (Quadro Europeo per la competenza digitale degli insegnanti). Basato su 20 studi di ricerca scientifica e altre 120 pubblicazioni, gli esperti della Commissione Europea hanno fissato sei aree collegate con le auspicabili competenze digitali di insegnanti ed educatori:

- 01 Professional Engagement
- 02 Digital Resources
- 03 Teaching and Learning
- 04 Assessment
- 05 Empowering Learners
- 06 Facilitating Learners' Digital Competence (Redecker 2017: 18-87)

Oltre al quadro di circa 100 pagine di cui sopra, la Commissione Europea fornisce numerosi materiali di accompagnamento. Il più significativo è l'autotest, che è disponibile per vari insegnanti, nel nostro caso per gli insegnanti delle scuole generali e professionali. Uno sguardo al quadro principale e a questi materiali supplementari rivela una grande lacuna di questi lavori: l'attenzione al dettaglio e la gradazione da A1 a C2 non tengono conto del fatto che le competenze descritte entrano in gioco solo in certe fasi, cioè quando l'apprendimento con l'aiuto delle tecnologie digitali determina l'insegnamento.

L'autotest dà anche l'impressione che le competenze descritte in dettaglio debbano essere acquisite per poter insegnare con successo. Questo non tiene conto del fatto che l'obiettivo primario è quello di istruire gli alunni ad utilizzare le tecnologie elettroniche in modo critico e costruttivo come vale per i media in generale. Si fa finta che il loro utilizzo porti generalmente ad un miglioramento dell'insegnamento e dell'apprendimento. In nessuna parte dei documenti esistono metodi comprovati e media convenzionali associati alle tecnologie digitali. Inoltre, l'intelligenza artificiale e la robotica non hanno alcun ruolo nei suddetti lavori, anche se possono certamente migliorare la gestione competente dei media e dei servizi digitali tra insegnanti e discenti.

Sarebbe eccessivo presentare le iniziative dei *Länder* federali nel contesto di questo contributo. (Per la pubblicazione del settembre 2020 è prevista una panoramica generale con gli URL.) Tutte le autorità competenti in materia di istruzione hanno da tempo incluso la digitalizzazione nei loro curricula e in parte l'hanno già attuata.

Ad esempio, subito dopo la pubblicazione del documento strategico della Conferenza dei Ministri dell'Istruzione, il Ministero della pubblica istruzione del Land tedesco Renania-Palatinato, ha lanciato ulteriori iniziative per gli studenti nella formazione iniziale così come per gli insegnanti in servizio, anche al fine di garantire un'implementazione pedagogica in classe. Inoltre le autorità educative del Renania-Palatinato tengono in considerazione il quadro europeo per la competenza digitale degli insegnanti di cui sopra. Tutte le misure si applicano sia alla pratica professionale degli insegnanti che all'insegnamento delle rispettive materie. Inoltre, le autorità educative di questo *Land* federale sono tra le poche ad utilizzare già attivamente l'intelligenza artificiale (IA) e la robotica. Come in Baviera, sono in fase di sperimentazione diverse offerte per l'utilizzo di robot nel contesto dell'insegnamento.

3 L'implementazione delle tecnologie digitali nelle lezioni di italiano

3.1 Termini importanti

La digitalizzazione in senso stretto, cioè la conversione di dati in una forma leggibile dal computer tramite un codice binario, è un processo complesso che presenta vantaggi e limiti. Il primo passo è quello di chiarire alcuni termini che insegnanti ed alunni dovrebbero conoscere fin dall'inizio se vogliono far uso dei dati elettronici in modo adeguato e utilizzarli con successo.

Spesso si sente, e non solo dagli alunni: "Lo cerco su Internet" o anche: "Non c'è bisogno di ricordarlo, è su Internet". Tali affermazioni non sono soltanto pedagogicamente discutibili, ma semplicemente infondate. Quando utilizziamo un browser per visitare un sito web, lo facciamo con l'aiuto di Internet. Ci dà accesso ai dati, ma non sono le informazioni in sé. Internet si riferisce piuttosto a tutte le reti collegate che utilizzano il protocollo Internet (IP) per connettersi ai dispositivi corrispondenti in tutto il mondo. È, per così dire, la rete di reti e comprende reti globali e regionali di tutte le aree possibili. Si basa su una ricchezza di risorse come documenti ipertestuali e applicazioni del *World Wide Web* (WWW), ma anche programmi di posta elettronica, telefonia e scambio di dati. Il WWW costituisce l'area informativa vera e propria; su di esso sono memorizzati i siti e i dati corrispondenti a cui abbiamo accesso via Internet.

I documenti e altre risorse si ricercano sul WWW con l'aiuto dell'*Uniform Source Locator* (URL), l'indirizzo web. Le risorse web sono unite da collegamenti ipertestuali che permettono all'utente di spostarsi da un documento all'altro, ad esempio cliccando su parole o immagini evidenziate. I siti web formattati in *Hypertext Markup Language* (HTML) sono accessibili via Internet. Per il trasferimento dei dati viene utilizzato il protocollo di trasferimento ipertestuale (http), mentre l'HTML è il linguaggio di descrizione utilizzato per presentare i dati sul web (De Florio-Hansen 2019b: 292).

L'attuale sviluppo di Internet così come lo conosciamo oggi è iniziato con l'espansione del Web 1.0 al Web 2.0 negli anni '1980. Il Web 2.0 ha aperto agli utenti la possibilità di utilizzare attivamente Internet, ovvero di pubblicare i propri contributi. La sua diffusione è strettamente legata al nome di Tim Berners-Lee, che lavora al *Conseil européen pour la recherche nucléaire* (CERN; Organizzazione europea per la ricerca

nucleare). Lo scienziato britannico ha fatto pressione con successo per la democratizzazione di Internet, il cui uso in origine era limitata ai servizi segreti e a pochi esperti, in modo che tutti possano accedervi e, soprattutto, possano pubblicare testi, immagini, audio e video non censurati.

Che questo sviluppo democratico non sia sempre stato auspicabile e che nel frattempo abbia portato a notevoli eccessi non è passato inosservato a Berners-Lee, naturalmente. La critica non si riferisce solo alle notizie false, ai discorsi di odio e al cyberbullismo, ma in particolare agli algoritmi dovuti al profitto, che promuovono il potenziale di dipendenza, possono scatenare la depressione e portare a un inspiegabile cambiamento delle opinioni politiche tra non pochi utenti (sezione 4). Dopo circa trent'anni, Berners-Lee ha quindi presentato, in occasione di una conferenza nel 2019, un documento concepito da oltre 80 organizzazioni dal titolo *Contract for the Web*, che ha lo scopo di riparare Internet (*to fix the Internet*) e di proteggerlo dalla distopia digitale (Wikipedia.org s.v.: “Contract for the Web”; Agosto 2020).

3.2 Conseguenze pratiche per l'insegnamento

A volte degli insegnanti sostengono che le tecnologie elettroniche dovrebbero essere utilizzate solo se possono produrre effetti migliori in confronto ai metodi e ai media tradizionali. Questo atteggiamento è problematico per una serie di motivi: se i media elettronici sono in gran parte esclusi dalle lezioni di italiano, l'immagine di questa materia scolastica viene danneggiata. Nel caso di un'ampia esclusione, la maggior parte degli alunni percepisce le lezioni di italiano come antiquate, soprattutto se i media digitali sono usati frequentemente in altre materie, soprattutto nelle lezioni di inglese.

In molti casi, l'uso delle tecnologie elettroniche è associato ad un aumento della motivazione, anche se gli obiettivi di apprendimento possono essere raggiunti senza i cosiddetti nuovi media. Tuttavia, gli alunni devono trovare assurdo che i media in questione siano lasciati fuori dalle lezioni di italiano, mentre determinano non solo la vita quotidiana dei bambini e dei giovani, ma anche quella degli adulti.

Il fatto che, nonostante l'uso dei media digitali, non ci sia stato finora un miglioramento più significativo dei risultati dell'apprendimento non è necessariamente dovuto alla mancanza di certe caratteristiche delle tecnologie elettroniche. Spesso non esistono misure di formazione pedagogica e didattica adeguate.

Come è stato sottolineato più volte, l'uso concreto dei media digitali in classe è indicato quando facilitano l'apprendimento, mettono a disposizione percorsi differenziati verso gli obiettivi e aprono ulteriori prospettive. Il compito principale, tuttavia, è quello di condurre gli alunni ad una gestione critica-costruttiva delle tecnologie digitali – in combinazione con altri media. Per mettere gli alunni in grado di sfruttare le opportunità che meritano oggi e in futuro in un mondo pubblico e privato caratterizzato dalla digitalizzazione, dall'intelligenza artificiale e dalla robotica gli insegnanti di lingua italiana non devono in nessun caso fare a meno di questi media.

3.3 Dai media tradizionali alla tecnologia educativa

Da un lato, i seguenti confronti mostrano che i media si completano a vicenda. In molti casi non si tratta di sostituzione. D'altra parte, le seguenti spiegazioni sono utili se si vuole approfondire l'argomento con gli alunni andando oltre all'utilizzo consueto.

3.3.1 Lavagne tradizionali e SmartBoard

Dal 1990 circa, le lavagne bianche interattive, oggi per lo più sotto forma di SmartBoard, sono state utilizzate non solo in azienda, ma anche in classe. Nel frattempo sono ampiamente diffuse nelle scuole: il vantaggio principale di una SmartBoard è che basta un solo dispositivo per le varie applicazioni multimediali. Gli insegnanti (e gli alunni) usano le lavagne bianche principalmente per avere un accesso continuo a Internet, per visualizzare i contenuti, per archiviare e riutilizzare il materiale creato, per caricare materiali su una piattaforma comune e per collaborare con altre scuole (anche Thaler 2012: 74). Non è raro che gli insegnanti tengano la tradizionale lavagna accanto alla SmartBoard.

È chiaro che l'intera gamma di strumenti digitali può essere sfruttata al meglio con una SmartBoard. Tuttavia, per gli insegnanti in alcuni luoghi è ancora un lungo cammino verso un uso efficace, che può essere abbreviato dalla formazione (interna o interscolastica) degli insegnanti. Inoltre, anche gli alunni devono essere introdotti all'uso di queste lavagne in fasi di pratica appropriate. In generale, va tenuto presente che l'uso della SmartBoard comporta un grande rischio se i discenti non sono sufficientemente coinvolti nel suo utilizzo. Anche degli insegnanti esperti delle riguardanti tecnologie possono essere tentati di ritornare alle lezioni frontali (De Florio-Hansen 2019b: 296). Se le suddette (e alcune altre) riserve vengono prese in considerazione e in gran parte superate, la SmartBoard è un'utile aggiunta (!) alla tradizionale lavagna.

3.3.2 Libri di testo e software educativo

Nonostante le possibilità offerte dall'uso di un'ampia gamma di media per l'insegnamento e l'apprendimento delle lingue straniere, i libri di testo, compresi quelli in formato digitale, e i materiali associati costituiscono ancora la base dell'insegnamento. Sono indubbiamente aiuti indispensabili per la progettazione delle lezioni, a condizione che siano completati da altri materiali e media.

La maggior parte degli insegnanti di italiano sa che gli obiettivi dell'insegnamento delle lingue straniere non possono essere raggiunti solo con il libro di testo. Tuttavia, in molti casi il corso è ancora identico al libro di testo. Per rendersi conto della struttura dei libri di testo in lingua straniera, è utile confrontare il libro di testo utilizzato in classe con un libro di testo più vecchio. Un tale confronto può essere effettuato bene con gli alunni. Si può notare che anche nei libri di testo più recenti l'attenzione è ancora rivolta alla completezza: tutti i requisiti dei Ministeri della Pubblica Istruzione dei 16 *Länder* tedeschi dovrebbero essere coperti in un unico libro di testo – indipendentemente dal sovraccarico che ciò comporta per insegnanti e alunni.

E i numerosi materiali supplementari che gli editori offrono per ogni libro di testo? Il software didattico fornisce un equilibrio? Fin dall'inizio, la maggior parte delle applicazioni non erano altro che esercizi e attività che si potevano fare anche con carta e matita. Tuttavia, non si può negare un aumento della motivazione; un CD o DVD motiva gli alunni più di un esercizio stampato in un libro di testo o in un supplemento. In un ampio studio intitolato *Appschaftung der Lehrkraft?* (Schmidt 2016), l'autore mostra che poco è cambiato nel corso degli anni: ancora oggi i contenuti degli esercizi sono raramente integrati in un contesto comunicativo. Prevalgono gli esercizi per consolidare il vocabolario e la grammatica. Schmidt attesta a una grande parte di essi una mancanza di qualità didattica.

Tuttavia, questa forma di software di apprendimento ha dei vantaggi: poiché gli alunni determinano da soli i progressi, questi software consentono una certa individualizzazione. Gli esercizi aprono anche la possibilità di un feedback, perché gli alunni possono verificare le loro soluzioni in modo indipendente. Sebbene queste funzioni di tutorial siano ancora piuttosto limitate, promuovono l'accettazione di software di apprendimento legato al libro di testo.

3.3.3 Testo e ipertesto

Si vede che per molti è sempre più difficile scrivere testi coerenti. L'uso dei media digitali ha fatto sì che le regole della buona scrittura non siano più sufficientemente rispettate, non solo tra i bambini e i giovani. Ciò vale non solo per i testi sul web, ma anche per quelli sulla carta stampata. La lettura e lo scrivere di SMS, tweet e altri brevi messaggi ha lasciato dei segni. Inoltre gli stili di scrittura sono influenzati dagli ipertesti.

Un hypertexte est un document ou un ensemble de documents composé de plusieurs unités d'information qui sont liées entre elles par des hyperliens. Ce système permet à l'utilisateur d'aller directement, c'est-à-dire d'une façon non-linéaire, à l'unité qui l'intéresse. Beaucoup d'unités ne sont pas seulement textuelles, mais aussi audio-visuelles ; dans ce cas on parle d'hypermédiâs. (De Florio-Hansen 2019b: 300)³

Il web è quindi la piattaforma ipertestuale di Internet. Nella maggior parte dei casi, gli alunni hanno già da tempo esperienza con gli ipertesti e i collegamenti ipertestuali. Dato che si occupano principalmente del contenuto delle loro ricerche, solo pochi si rendono conto dell'organizzazione non lineare dell'ipertesto. È quindi consigliabile famigliarizzarli con questo fatto attraverso un esempio concreto: *Create un sito web per far conoscere la vostra scuola.*

Prima di iniziare a progettare il proprio sito web, gli alunni dovrebbero informarsi sui possibili aspetti. È meglio se creano a mano uno schema con ramificazioni e aggiungono parole chiave come gradi, attività, ecc. Dopo essersi reso conto delle presentazioni web di scuole tedesche e italiane comparabili, iniziano a lavorare sul proprio

³ Un ipertesto è un documento o un insieme di documenti composto da diverse unità di informazioni collegate tra loro da collegamenti ipertestuali. Questo sistema permette all'utente di andare direttamente, cioè in modo non lineare, all'unità di interesse. Molte unità non sono solo testuali, ma anche audiovisive; in questo caso si parla di ipermedia. (Traduzione: D.F.-H.)

sito redigendo un elenco di possibili aspetti. Nel corso delle loro attività – le discussioni si svolgono non solo in piccoli gruppi ma anche in plenaria – scopriranno che alcuni aspetti non sono rilevanti per i bambini e i giovani italiani. D'altra parte, certi fatti richiedono ulteriori spiegazioni perché il sistema scolastico tedesco non è sufficientemente noto al gruppo target. Alcune caratteristiche importanti necessitano quindi di una (breve) spiegazione.

Nella sessione plenaria i discenti concordano quali aspetti vogliono includere nel loro ipertesto sotto forma di link. Ogni piccolo gruppo è responsabile di uno o due collegamenti. I risultati, presentati davanti alla classe, vengono esaminati e discussi. Quando gli alunni si sono finalmente messi d'accordo su una versione finale – di solito ci vogliono diversi tentativi – mettono insieme il loro lavoro. Naturalmente possono anche includere immagini, suoni e video. Prima di mettere il sito su Internet, possono presentarlo ad altre classi (nei quali si studia l'italiano) per una revisione. Dopo esaminano eventuali obiezioni e suggerimenti e, se necessario, li incorporano nella loro presentazione della scuola.

3.3.4 Piattaforme di apprendimento e risorse educative aperte

A causa della rapida diffusione delle tecnologie elettroniche, anche gli strumenti utilizzati sul web stanno cambiando così velocemente che non esiste una definizione precisa per molti strumenti. Ad esempio, è difficile indicare precisamente le differenze tra il vecchio CALL (*Computer Assisted Language Learning*) e il nuovo CELL (*Computer Enhanced Language Learning*). Quindi, è sensato concentrarsi principalmente sui risultati dell'apprendimento.

Nonostante queste limitazioni, una piattaforma di apprendimento si differenzia notevolmente dai software di apprendimento. Come spiegato al punto 3.3.2, i software di apprendimento, in particolare i prodotti che accompagnano i libri di testo, seguono un concetto di apprendimento più o meno lineare:

Un *learning management system* (LMS) è la piattaforma applicativa (o insieme di programmi) che permette l'erogazione dei corsi in modalità e-learning [...]. Il learning management system presidia la distribuzione dei corsi on-line, l'iscrizione degli studenti, il tracciamento delle attività on-line. Gli LMS spesso operano in associazione con gli LCMS (*learning content management system*) che gestiscono direttamente i contenuti, mentre all'LMS resta la gestione degli utenti e l'analisi delle statistiche.

La maggior parte degli LMS sono strutturati in maniera tale da facilitare, dovunque e in qualunque momento, l'accesso e la gestione dei contenuti.

(Adattato da Wikipedia.it s.v. *Learning management system*; Agosto 2020)

A differenza dei software di apprendimento, i LMS sono applicazioni complesse che consentono agli utenti di svolgere attività molto diverse. Oltre ad un'ampia gamma di contenuti didattici, i loro vantaggi consistono soprattutto in una maggiore individualizzazione dell'apprendimento. Da un lato, gli utenti possono organizzare e controllare da soli i loro progressi. D'altra parte, gli insegnanti o i tutor hanno la possibilità di seguire l'apprendimento degli alunni nel dettaglio e di dare loro un feedback individuale in qualsiasi momento.

Una piattaforma di apprendimento è considerata una forma speciale di e-learning, ovvero l'apprendimento misto come descritto nella sezione 1.1. Nel contesto scolastico, viene utilizzato sia all'interno che all'esterno della classe, cioè i LMS sono utilizzati in parte in classe e in parte nella preparazione e nel *follow-up* domestico. Spesso le piattaforme di apprendimento sono organizzate in modo tale che l'insegnante o il tutor possa integrare dei compiti e delle attività nella piattaforma, adattandoli alle esigenze dei singoli alunni.

Ulteriori vantaggi delle piattaforme di apprendimento, di cui beneficiano in particolare i discenti, sono la combinazione di diversi media e la progettazione multimodale, vale a dire che vengono coinvolti diversi canali sensoriali. Inoltre, c'è la possibilità di comunicare con altri discenti. Nel complesso, i LMS offrono un quadro di riferimento per la maggior parte degli aspetti dell'apprendimento, in particolare l'archiviazione dei dati, la creazione e la modifica di attività, la comunicazione (posta o chat), l'invio di messaggi, la creazione di piani di lavoro e l'integrazione di contenuti elettronici.

Particolarmente degna di nota è la possibilità di creare dei Wiki tramite le piattaforme di apprendimento. I Wiki sono sistemi ipertestuali il cui contenuto non solo può essere letto, ma anche completato e riscritto online nel browser. È anche possibile integrare collegamenti e immagini interne ed esterne. In più i Wiki permettono di lavorare insieme su documenti multimediali. In questo modo, le conoscenze e le idee di tutti gli alunni possono essere utilizzate e collegate.

Le molteplici funzioni dei LMS hanno il loro prezzo. Molti sono soggetti a pagamento e spesso sono molto costosi. La maggior parte dei ministeri di cultura fornisce informazioni sul cosiddetto software *open source* che può essere utilizzato gratuitamente. Il Portale didattico del Land tedesco di Renania Settentrionale-Vestfalia (*Bildungsportal Nordrhein-Westfalen*), ad esempio, gestisce un corrispondente elenco di fornitori.

Anche l'UNESCO dispone di risorse educative aperte (Open Educational Resources; OER) per promuovere l'implementazione di piattaforme di apprendimento nelle scuole europee (<https://openeducationalresources.de/was-ist-oer/>). Un noto OER è Moodle, che corrisponde in gran parte alle possibilità di applicazione menzionate e in più protegge anche la sfera privata degli alunni. Ma anche se gli utenti di queste piattaforme ricevono un feedback continuo dal sistema e dai tutor, i risultati dell'apprendimento individuale sono solo un'istantanea. Per una valutazione più completa, gli alunni dovrebbero utilizzare altri strumenti, come per esempio il Portfolio europeo delle lingue (cf. <https://www.schulministerium.nrw.de/> ultimo accesso settembre 2020).

4 Tecnologia dell'informazione e della comunicazione

Come spiegato sopra, l'effettiva diffusione di Internet e del WWW è iniziata con il Web 2.0; da questo punto in poi, gli utenti hanno potuto pubblicare essi stessi i loro contributi, mentre in precedenza erano limitati al ruolo di utenti passivi. Anche il termine italiano *Tecnologia dell'informazione e della comunicazione* (TIC) sottolinea il legame tra le due aree. Tuttavia, è utile dividerle e trattare prima i più importanti strumenti dell'informazione; in seguito viene presentato l'uso della tecnologia della comunica-

zione nelle lezioni di italiano sulla base delle reti più importanti. Ci sono a meno due ragioni per questo:

1. Per scopi didattici gli alunni cercano ancora principalmente informazioni sul web, sia incoraggiati dall'insegnante sia di propria iniziativa, senza comunicare nella stessa misura via Internet nel contesto scolastico. Non a caso il documento strategico della Conferenza dei Ministri dell'Istruzione cita la gestione delle informazioni (sezione 2.2) come il primo dei sei campi di competenza.
2. Gli alunni sono spesso lasciati soli a cercare sul web, mentre trovare le informazioni giuste e valutare l'affidabilità richiede pratica. Pertanto, soprattutto nei gruppi di alunni che hanno ancora poca esperienza con il web in lingua italiana, la valutazione dei risultati trovati è una priorità.

4.1 La tecnologia dell'informazione nell'insegnamento della lingua italiana

Lo sviluppo durante gli ultimi decenni si può circoscrivere in questa maniera:

Depuis l'apparition des médias de l'information il y a quelques décennies, il est évident que les médias de l'information n'offrent aucune garantie d'un apprentissage effectif en soi, mais que l'enseignant doit faciliter l'usage de ces dispositifs. Il faut intégrer la technologie électronique moderne dans l'éducation d'une façon positive pour promouvoir un environnement d'apprentissage plus diversifié. Même si la technologie de l'information est considérée parfois comme supplément pour enrichir les méthodologies éprouvées, c'est l'enseignant qui introduit et explique les outils numériques. Les apprenants ont besoin d'indications claires quant à la manière et l'objectif de leur usage afin d'éviter des distractions et des dérivations. (De Florio-Hansen 2019b: 308)⁴

4.1.1 Wikipedia

Non c'è dubbio che non solo gli insegnanti, ma anche la maggior parte degli alunni hanno già più volte cercato delle informazioni nell'enciclopedia online Wikipedia. Questa enciclopedia progettata dagli utenti esiste dal 2001 ed è pubblicata in quasi 300 lingue. Wikipedia e i suoi strumenti associati (per una panoramica, si veda Wikipedia.org) offrono più di 40 milioni di voci, di cui circa 1.600.000 in italiano. Nel frattempo, l'accesso è possibile anche da dispositivi mobili come gli smartphone, contribuendo così – considerato positivamente – all'apprendimento m(obile).

⁴ Dall'emergere dei mezzi di informazione, alcuni decenni fa, è diventato chiaro che i mezzi di informazione non offrono di per sé alcuna garanzia di un apprendimento efficace, ma che l'insegnante deve facilitare l'uso di questi dispositivi. La moderna tecnologia elettronica deve essere integrata nell'istruzione in modo positivo per promuovere un ambiente di apprendimento più diversificato. Sebbene l'informatica sia talvolta considerata come un supplemento per arricchire le metodologie collaudate, è l'insegnante che introduce e spiega gli strumenti digitali. Gli studenti hanno bisogno di chiare indicazioni su come e per quale scopo devono essere utilizzati per evitare distrazioni e distrazioni. (Traduzione: I. F.-H.)

Studi scientifici dimostrano che Wikipedia, nonostante i sospetti contrari, contiene meno errori rispetto alle enciclopedie stampate, che non sono state in grado di reggere il confronto con la concorrenza e che sono state per lo più abbandonate. Per quanto riguarda l'insegnamento e l'apprendimento delle lingue straniere, non è certo uno svantaggio che le voci per la stessa parola chiave in lingue diverse spesso differiscono notevolmente in termini di contenuto. Gli alunni avanzati possono, ad esempio, confrontare i testi introduttivi o le definizioni di *Romanzo giallo* in Wikipedia.it e di *Kriminalroman* in Wikipedia.de. Le due tabelle dei contenuti rendono chiaro anche il diverso orientamento culturale delle voci. Attraverso tali confronti, gli alunni imparano, tra l'altro, che non è utile cercare una parola chiave italiana nella Wikipedia in lingua tedesca. Come minimo, entrambe le versioni devono essere confrontate per verificare le somiglianze e, soprattutto, le differenze.

4.1.2 Confronto delle voci nei dizionari

Non è assolutamente sufficiente inserire semplicemente il vocabolo richiesto o l'espressione mancata con l'aggiunta *traduzione italiana*. Supponiamo che i discenti stiano cercando un equivalente per *allenare* nel senso di allenare qualcuno. Fanno entrare *trainieren italienische Übersetzung* in un motore di ricerca. Il primo verbo che ricevono è *allenarsi*. Ma per ottenere l'equivalente di cui hanno bisogno, debbono consultare vari dizionari e cercare le rispettive voci. I dizionari online sono particolarmente adatti a questo scopo, in quanto contengono molti esempi in italiano e la corrispondente traduzione delle frasi esemplari in tedesco. Gli alunni, anche quelli avanzati, debbono fare pratica nella lettura sommaria dei numerosi esempi di traduzione (tedesco-italiano e viceversa). Questo vale sia per i dizionari online che per quelli in stampa.

Come suggerimento per le lezioni con gli alunni avanzati, è utile un confronto tra una voce in un dizionario in stampa e in un dizionario online. L'insegnante introduce i discenti al confronto dei dizionari e fa capire loro che inserire la parola cercata e fare pochi click non è sufficiente. Se vogliono davvero conoscere il significato di singole parole o di certe espressioni, devono confrontare le voci che cercano in dizionari monolingui e bilingui sia in stampa che online. Lo sforzo iniziale considerevole che una tale ricerca richiede, diminuisce notevolmente nel corso dell'esercizio. Inoltre, questa attività fornisce informazioni sui vantaggi dei vari dizionari, ma mostra anche i rispettivi limiti.

4.1.3 WebQuest

Un altro modo importante per supportare la ricerca di informazioni sul web da parte degli alunni è *WebQuest*. Si tratta di formati didattici in cui gli alunni lavorano principalmente con informazioni provenienti dal web. Per garantire che l'attenzione principale sia rivolta alle attività di apprendimento e non si limiti alla ricerca di informazioni adeguate, l'insegnante fa una selezione delle possibili risorse. Secondo Fässler (2013: 247) un'attività basata su WebQuest consiste in sei fasi:

1. Einleitung (introduzione)
2. Aufgabe (compito)

3. Informationsquellen (fonti di informazione)
4. Arbeitsprozesse (processi di lavoro)
5. Anleitung (istruzione)
6. Evaluation / Zusammenfassung (evaluazione / riassunto)

Oltre al lavoro sui contenuti didattici, i WebQuest contribuiscono al miglioramento dell'alfabetizzazione mediatica: attirano l'attenzione degli alunni sui siti web più importanti, contribuiscono a migliorare la navigazione in Internet, insegnano strategie di ricerca finora sconosciute, aumentano l'orientamento verso i siti web in lingua straniera e incoraggiano il download di testi, immagini e file audio (Grünewald 2006: 165). Lavorare con WebQuest richiede competenze di lettura ben sviluppate. Questo include lo *skimming*, la lettura rapida di un testo alla ricerca del messaggio essenziale, e lo *scanning* per cercare un'informazione specifica. Gli insegnanti possono trovare un gran numero di suggerimenti per WebQuest sui server dei Ministeri della Cultura dei *Länder* federali, ma possono anche progettarli essi stessi.

4.2 La tecnologia della comunicazione e i media sociali nell'insegnamento dell'italiano

Le distinzioni generali aiutano nella scelta di servizi elettronici adeguati all'insegnamento delle lingue straniere: un'utile distinzione è quella tra lo scambio sincrono, cioè simultaneo, e i contatti asincroni. La maggior parte degli alunni si sente sopraffatta dalla comunicazione sincrona perché non dà loro abbastanza tempo per pensare (De Florio-Hansen 2019: 310-314). A parte il fatto che la comunicazione diretta con i gruppi di apprendimento in Italia non è solitamente possibile per motivi organizzativi.

Un'altra importante distinzione è quella tra comunicazione online scritta e orale. Molti discenti preferiscono le repliche scritte, anche se devono essere fatte immediatamente, come per esempio in chat (ibid.). In generale, si pone la questione di come motivare gli alunni ad accettare le sfide e a reagire immediatamente. Poiché le chat scritte possono essere conservate senza difficoltà, sono utili le fasi di pratica in cui rivedono e eventualmente correggono i loro enunciati. Per i motivi sopra citati, oltre che per considerazioni di contenuto, i contatti via e-mail – che esistono dal 1984 – godono ancora di grande popolarità. Permettono agli alunni di scambiare opinioni con coetanei di lingua italiana anche su questioni delicate, ad esempio: come affrontare il cyberbullismo? o: come combattere la dipendenza dal gioco d'azzardo?

4.2.1 Forum Internet e media sociali

Per gli alunni avanzati, i forum su Internet sono una buona alternativa alle chat scritte. Anche se questi forum sono molto esigenti per loro, in quanto sono discussioni pubbliche online, per lo più iniziate da persone di madrelingua italiana, sotto forma di messaggi inviati, sono anche una buona alternativa alle chat scritte. Tuttavia, l'accesso è facilitato dal fatto che le voci archiviate possono di solito essere lette senza un login. I forum su Internet sono spesso organizzati in modo gerarchico e i loro sotto-forum assomigliano alla struttura ipertestuale. Il vantaggio di queste comunità online per gli alunni è che possono leggere i post a loro piacimento e poi preparare e pubblicare un commento. È meglio che l'insegnante supporti i singoli alunni inizial-

mente nella selezione dei forum di interesse tematico e nella stesura di commenti appropriati.

A questo punto è importante affrontare lo sviluppo dell'atteggiamento critico-costruttivo nei confronti dei media sociali che è stato più volte citato. Come possono gli insegnanti incoraggiare i loro discenti nelle lezioni di italiano a riflettere e discutere i molti pericoli dei media sociali come Facebook, Twitter o Instagram?

Innanzitutto, come tutti sappiamo, è una questione di rispetto della sfera privata spesso trascurata. Molti bambini e adolescenti si superano con dettagli piccanti (talvolta inventati) della loro vita, senza considerare che così facendo rivelano anche cose di altri, ad esempio dei familiari o degli amici, che non dovrebbero essere rese pubbliche. Solo per impressionare gli altri, molte persone si vendono in rete. A questo proposito sono in aumento le iniziative, anche da parte delle autorità culturali e delle organizzazioni subordinate, che propagano misure contro le diverse forme di dipendenza, ma che spesso rimangono inefficaci. Nella sezione 5, in relazione alle funzioni dello smartphone, saranno discussi i pericoli dovuti a certi algoritmi senza che gli utenti dei media sociali si rendano conto di queste manipolazioni.

4.2.2 Blog e podcast

La sezione 4.1.1 descrive l'enciclopedia online Wikipedia come una fonte di informazioni che può essere utilizzata dagli alunni in italiano. Anche se sono pochissimi gli studenti che ne fanno uso, va notato che anche loro possono partecipare all'ampliamento e al miglioramento di Wikipedia. Per fare questo, accedono ad una parola chiave in Wikipedia.it, esaminano ciò che c'è scritto e apportano correzioni se necessario. A questo scopo, sono particolarmente utili i termini regionali o i nomi delle pop star.

In questo senso, si possono visitare e modificare anche altri Wiki. Lo ZUM-Wiki (Centro per l'utilizzazione dei media nell'insegnamento) offre una tale possibilità agli insegnanti. È una piattaforma per i processi di insegnamento e di apprendimento che segue gli stessi principi democratici di tutti i wiki. Ognuno può partecipare alla progettazione di questa piattaforma, da solo o in collaborazione con altri (<https://wiki.zum.de/wiki/Hauptseite>; Agosto 2020).

I blog (weblog) – il più noto è il microblog Twitter – sono di solito costituiti da siti web con discussioni e informazioni pubblicate sul Internet (anche De Florio-Hansen 2019b: 313). Le singole entrate, disposte in ordine cronologico inverso, sono spesso tenute in uno stile informale. Mentre tempo fa i blog erano progettati per lo più da singole persone, dal 2010 circa ci sono anche blog con più autori. La maggior parte, indipendentemente dal fatto che siano stati progettati da privati o, ad esempio, da giornalisti e scienziati, consentono ai visitatori di lasciare commenti online.

Dall'avvento dei servizi di blog hosting e dei software speciali, tuttavia, i blog possono essere scritti e postati sul web anche in classe senza problemi, non solo quelli testuali ma anche quelli arricchiti da vari media. Oramai è possibile scriverli anche su tutti gli strumenti digitali, compresi gli smartphone. Nelle lezioni di italiano, la creazione di blog non è indicata solo per la loro facilità d'uso, ma soprattutto per la loro popolarità.

Le classi o i gruppi di apprendimento sono comunità con gli stessi interessi. Possono, ad esempio, esprimere le loro opinioni sullo stesso argomento nei post in lingua italiana e, dopo un'opportuna revisione, pubblicarle su Internet. I blog letterari sono interessanti per altre classi o gruppi di apprendimento che hanno letto la stessa opera letteraria. A volte la cooperazione interscolastica si traduce in un progetto che può essere reso accessibile al pubblico.

I podcast (una contrazione di *iPod* e di *broadcast*) sono file audio o video per uso asincrono. Poiché possono essere scaricati su tutti i dispositivi mobili, anche sui lettori MP3, gli interessati hanno la possibilità di ascoltarli o leggerli in qualsiasi momento a loro piacimento. Abbonandosi a determinati podcast, essi raggiungono l'utente – generalmente gratuitamente – sul proprio dispositivo digitale. I designer di podcast ben noti commercializzano la loro popolarità. I cosiddetti influencers consentono alle aziende di inserire pubblicità di prodotti nei loro podcast (o in altri media sociali) a pagamento.

Nelle lezioni di italiano, i podcast – ormai un mezzo riconosciuto – sono utilizzati principalmente per l'ascolto in madrelingua. Naturalmente, gli studenti possono anche creare autonomamente dei podcast se si sentono capaci di poter comunicare online (De Florio-Hansen 2019b: 321).

5 Intelligenza artificiale (IA) e robotica

5.1 Perché l'IA e la robotica nelle lezioni di italiano?

Oltre all'insegnamento delle conoscenze, capacità e competenze, l'insegnamento scolastico fornisce un importante contributo all'educazione sociale e alla vita degli alunni. Ciò significa che tutti gli insegnanti, compresi quelli della lingua italiana, devono adottare misure didattiche e pedagogiche adeguate affinché i discenti non solo siano in grado di agire in modo appropriato nel qui e ora, ma si sentano anche adeguatamente preparati per la loro successiva vita professionale e privata.

A causa del rapido sviluppo delle tecnologie elettroniche, non è sufficiente arricchire l'apprendimento con l'aiuto dei media digitali. Come indicato più volte in precedenza, l'apprendimento sull'uso dei media elettronici svolge un ruolo centrale in ogni lezione. Gli alunni possono valutare adeguatamente l'importanza sociale ed economica della digitalizzazione e utilizzare gli strumenti selezionati per sé stessi solo se imparano a conoscere gli strumenti rilevanti e la tecnologia dietro di loro in classe. Oltre all'utilizzo di Facebook, Twitter e Instagram, uno smartphone dispone ormai di tutta una serie di applicazioni i cui vantaggi e pericoli dovrebbero essere conosciuti (sezione 5.4). Altrimenti, i bambini e i giovani sono svantaggiati non solo nel loro ambiente attuale, ma anche nella loro vita futura. In definitiva, siamo tutti chiamati a porre fine a sviluppi non etici, ora e in futuro. Ogni soggetto, anche l'insegnamento dell'italiano, deve e può contribuire al raggiungimento di questo obiettivo centrale.

Tuttavia, coloro che vogliono capire anche solo approssimativamente la tecnologia alla base delle conquiste digitali e i loro vantaggi e svantaggi hanno bisogno di conoscenze di base di IA e di robotica. Soprattutto, è importante poter rendersi conto del significato e degli effetti degli algoritmi di ricerca o di raccomandazione (sezioni

5.2 e 5.3). La conoscenza dell'IA e della robotica è di importanza elementare anche per capire meglio le diverse forme di giochi per computer, così come gli effetti delle macchine intelligenti e dei robot sul mondo del lavoro – aspetti che prima o poi saranno rilevanti per gli allievi (sezione 5.4).

Nell'insegnamento della lingua italiana non è il caso di mettere l'accento sui risultati tecnici. Se programmati da *data scientists* esperti e responsabili (Zweig 2019), l'IA e gli algoritmi sono per sé neutri. Tuttavia, essi sollevano numerose questioni etiche che dobbiamo affrontare. Solo chi ha le conoscenze necessarie può contribuire a garantire che le tecnologie elettroniche sviluppino il loro potenziale positivo e non danneggiano le persone.

5.2 Dove si trova oggi l'IA? Quali sviluppi sono prevedibili?

Il termine *intelligenza artificiale* è fuorviante. Da un lato, non esiste una definizione precisa di intelligenza (umana). In secondo luogo, gli esseri umani hanno diverse forme di intelligenza, ad esempio l'intelligenza cognitiva, l'intelligenza emotiva e l'intelligenza sociale. In terzo luogo, l'intelligenza artificiale ha poco in comune con l'intelligenza umana.

Gli esperti che si occupano di questo settore nell'ambito dell'informatica valutano realisticamente le possibilità dell'IA (Kaplan 2016, Mitchell 2019, anche Specht 2018). Questo vale anche per filosofi come Markus Gabriel, che se ne occupa nelle sue pubblicazioni nell'ambito dell'etica. D'altra parte, ci sono specialisti, soprattutto nel settore aziendale come Elon Musk, che tendono a creare scenari horror à la Sci-Fi: presumibilmente, fra non molto saremo dominati da macchine intelligenti e robot che potrebbero eliminare la specie umana per conquistare il dominio di questo pianeta.

Con queste osservazioni introduttive non è inteso affatto minimizzare i pericoli che possono derivare dall'IA. Altrimenti non dovremmo affrontare questo soggetto nell'insegnamento scolastico. Una risposta adeguata ai problemi concreti e alle questioni etiche derivanti dalle varie forme di IA richiede in ogni caso una sufficiente conoscenza di questo campo.

Quindi cosa significa AI? Si tratta di sistemi informatici che imitano l'intelligenza umana. Si distinguono da software sofisticati, come il controllo indipendente del riscaldamento, per la loro capacità di poter risolvere problemi astratti, di imparare per conto loro e di saper affrontare insicurezze e probabilità (Specht 2018: 222). In generale, si distingue tra un'IA debole e un'IA forte. Un'IA forte non solo dovrebbe essere in grado di svolgere tutte le funzioni cognitive di cui il cervello umano è capace, ma dovrebbe anche avere coscienza, sentimenti e libero arbitrio. Siamo molto lontani da questo. (Walsh 2018, Mitchell 2019)

Sebbene l'IA abbia fatto notevoli progressi negli ultimi decenni, è ancora limitata ad alcune applicazioni. Una pietra miliare nello sviluppo dell'IA, iniziato negli anni 1950, è Alpha Go di Google, un computer che ha sconfitto il campione del mondo nel gioco giapponese Go nel 2016. La particolarità di questo software è che si è sviluppato sulla base della miriade dei dati inseriti, ma senza l'intervento di un programmatore. È qui che entrano in gioco l'apprendimento meccanico (*machine learning*) e l'apprendi-

mento profondo (*deep learning*), che, come è noto, non costituiscono ancora un'intelligenza artificiale forte.

L'IA ha fatto grandi progressi non solo nei giochi come scacchi, ma anche in numerosi altri settori. Importanti aree di applicazione sono il riconoscimento delle immagini e del parlato. Nell'insegnamento delle lingue straniere, è una buona idea permettere agli alunni di lavorare con i software di traduzione. Utilizzando testi brevi, possono verificare in che misura la traduzione in italiano o in tedesco soddisfa i loro criteri di qualità. Questo non incoraggia gli studenti a utilizzare tali strumenti per i compiti a casa o per altre attività scolastiche? Da un lato, gli alunni hanno probabilmente scoperto da tempo queste possibilità da soli e le utilizzano. D'altro canto, non bisogna dimenticare che anche i traduttori professionisti delle case editrici e delle organizzazioni utilizzano tali software e poi aggiungono solo gli ultimi ritocchi ai testi.

La conclusione tratta da scienziati ed esperti è che finora l'IA dipende sempre dall'inserimento di dati adeguati, anche se il software elabora alcuni di questi in modo più o meno indipendente. Inoltre, l'IA è sempre specializzata per un settore di attività selezionato. Con i software di traduzione, ad esempio, non è possibile operare il riconoscimento dei volti. In generale, il confronto tra intelligenza artificiale e quella biologica non è utile. Dopotutto, anche gli aerei non sono uccelli artificiali (Kaplan 2016). Ciò non significa che non dobbiamo approfittare dei risultati ottenuti finora dall'IA. È certamente interessante per gli studenti scambiare idee con i giovani italiani sulle possibilità e i limiti dell'IA. Quali esperienze hanno fatto? Quali sono le loro preoccupazioni? Quali sono le opportunità importanti per loro?

5.3 L'eminente importanza degli algoritmi

Tutte le applicazioni e le attività menzionate nella sezione 5.2 e molte altre si basano su algoritmi più o meno sofisticati. Senza algoritmi, il nostro smartphone sarebbe semplicemente un telefono. Non ci sarebbero i media sociali, i giochi per computer, l'Internet delle cose, le macchine intelligenti e i robot. Per questo motivo è indispensabile che anche nelle lezioni di italiano lingua straniera vengano tematizzati gli aspetti tecnici più importanti. Il vocabolario e termini tecnici permettono inoltre lo scambio con i partner italiani.

Che cosa è dunque un algoritmo? In parole povere, un algoritmo è una sequenza di istruzioni per risolvere un problema. Naturalmente, questa definizione vale anche per una ricetta, ma quella lascia al cuoco un certo margine di manovra. Un algoritmo, invece, deve seguire rigorosamente le istruzioni sotto ogni aspetto. Il presupposto per uno compatibile con il computer è la digitalizzazione, cioè la conversione dei singoli passi in un codice leggibile dal computer.

Una definizione comprensibile è quella del matematico russo Markov (1954). Secondo lui, la caratteristica più importante di un algoritmo consiste nella prescrizione rigorosa della sequenza dei passi anche se essa possa essere variata entro il limite del sottile. Da questa definizione ne consegue che gli algoritmi sono validi solo quanto i dati e le istruzioni su cui si basano. Un semplice esempio è un algoritmo di ricerca: il conducente di un'automobile vuole arrivare da A a B attraverso il percorso migliore. Prima che l'algoritmo possa funzionare, deve conoscere ciò che il conducente intende

per percorso migliore: La distanza più breve? Il tempo di percorrenza più breve? Quali sono le comodità, ad esempio le aree di riposo ecc. che l'autista si aspetta lungo il percorso? Anche nelle ricerche per uso scolastico è molto importante sapere in anticipo quali informazioni precise si vuol avere.

La situazione è simile con gli algoritmi di raccomandazione: Quando i singoli alunni cercano una giacca per sé stessi sul proprio smartphone, ottengono risultati molto diversi. Queste differenze sono dovute a numerosi criteri, che gli offerenti ricevono principalmente attraverso i media sociali. Che cosa cercava la persona in precedenza, per quanto tempo si è trattenuta con certe offerte, quali informazioni aggiuntive ha ottenuto via Internet e, soprattutto: quali giacche hanno acquistato altri utenti con un profilo simile? L'esempio è molto semplificato, ma chiarisce perché Facebook, Instagram, Twitter ecc. hanno un così grande interesse per i nostri *like* e altre espressioni di consenso. Prima che arrivi il suggerimento: "Potrebbe piacere anche a te" ... innumerevoli algoritmi hanno funzionato nel sottofondo. Chiunque divulghi i propri dati nei media sociali senza particolare attenzione, seguendo il motto: "Non ho nulla da nascondere", può fare un grande danno a sé stesso e agli altri. Questi rischi devono essere discussi – in modo adeguato – anche nelle lezioni di italiano.

Un'unità di lezione può consistere nel descrivere le proprie esperienze con gli algoritmi di ricerca o di raccomandazione utilizzando un esempio, selezionando le tre rappresentazioni più significative in plenaria e inviandole ai partner italiani per conoscere le loro esperienze. Il successivo confronto consente di trarre conclusioni sul comportamento dei rispettivi utenti su Internet e può fornire importanti spunti di riflessione. Ora, non è affatto grave se le giacche offerte non piacciono. Molto più gravi sono due aspetti in particolare, che qui possono essere toccati solo brevemente (De Florio-Hansen 2020).

Di eminente importanza sono gli algoritmi che prendono decisioni al posto degli esseri umani o su di essi. In generale, i grandi progressi nel campo della medicina sono visti come positivi: gli algoritmi possono aiutare nella diagnosi e nella terapia di malattie gravi in collaborazione con i medici. Ad esempio, sono utili nella diagnosi del cancro della pelle. Secondo il parere di molti esperti (Zweig 2019), diventa problematico quando il software decide quale richiedente viene assunto e quale no, o chi è escluso da un credito. I dati degli interessati sono spesso utilizzati a loro insaputa. Non è raro che i responsabili non sono in grado di dire al richiedente perché è stato escluso. Questo perché il software continua ad imparare dall'abbondanza di dati e trae le proprie conclusioni, che anche i programmatori ad un certo punto non riescono più a capire. Tali decisioni sono particolarmente gravi nell'ambito del sistema penale. Negli Stati Uniti, in alcuni Stati federali, i tribunali hanno utilizzato i corrispondenti programmi software per determinare il tasso di recidiva. Se il profilo di un criminale mostrava somiglianze con quello di altri criminali che avevano commesso altri crimini, veniva comminata una pena più severa (per ulteriori dettagli: Zweig 2019). Va da sé che nelle lezioni di italiano non si possono chiarire tutti i dettagli informatici. Tuttavia, i casi di uso non etico degli algoritmi dovrebbero essere trattati affinché gli alunni trovino il coraggio e le argomentazioni appropriate, ora e in futuro, per porre fine a tali macchinazioni. Questo può essere facilitato da un confronto tra la legislazione corrispondente in Germania e in Italia.

Almeno altrettanto pericolosi sono gli effetti delle applicazioni software che tutti si portano dietro nel proprio smartphone, spesso senza esserne consapevoli. In particolare

WhatsApp, che fa parte di Facebook, è stata recentemente oggetto di critiche, cosicché anche i media tradizionali mettono in guardia dagli effetti negativi. Il punto non è che la lingua sta soffrendo, che molte persone oggi non scrivono più a mano o che gli incontri faccia a faccia stanno diminuendo. A questo si può rimediare, anche se non è facile ottenere un cambiamento di pensiero e soprattutto un cambiamento di comportamento. La digitalizzazione, Internet e il web, così come i media sociali, hanno dei vantaggi inestimabili che pochi di noi vogliono fare a meno, per non parlare del fatto che rinunciandoci, catapulteremmo noi stessi e, soprattutto, le generazioni future in disparte.

Tra i numerosi scienziati e altri esperti che hanno denunciato le gravi conseguenze dei media sociali, Jaron Lanier, pioniere della Silicon Valley nel campo della realtà virtuale, gioca un ruolo di primo piano. Nel 2018 ha presentato un libro intitolato: *Ten Arguments for Cancelling Your Social Media Accounts Right Now*. In questa nuova pubblicazione Lanier dimostra, utilizzando fonti rilevanti, che l'uso frequente dei media sociali porta inevitabilmente a comportamenti che creano dipendenza e depressione a causa degli algoritmi. Secondo l'autore, ulteriori motivi per non usare Facebook e Co. sono la perdita del libero arbitrio, la diminuzione dell'empatia e spesso un cambiamento delle convinzioni politiche. Lanier non è solo ad avere queste convinzioni, ma le ha messe insieme in modo efficace per un grande pubblico. Tuttavia, l'autore non implica affatto che i suoi colleghi della Silicon Valley vogliano causare questi effetti con i loro algoritmi. Piuttosto, ne accettano i notevoli effetti negativi sugli utenti a scopo di lucro.

Il già citato Markus Gabriel, professore di etica ed esperto di IA, assume una posizione simile, anche se non la esprime in modo così radicale come Lanier (Kulturzeit.de, 07.02.2010). A suo avviso, abbiamo perso il controllo sulla struttura dei media sociali; stiamo giocando una sorta di "social go" contro l'intelligenza artificiale. A causa di una certa dipendenza, ci sentiamo obbligati di controllare il nostro smartphone più e più volte per non perderci nulla.

L'IA ha programmato queste reazioni emotive dentro di noi. Gabriel lo trova molto problematico, ma ritiene che si possa invertire questa perdita di controllo, malgrado che i fornitori delle grandi piattaforme come Facebook o Twitter non stanno facendo niente o poco per limitare gli abusi. Sembra che i discorsi di odio e simili fanno comodo ai commercianti online, perché studi scientifici dimostrano che la paura spinge la gente di fare più acquisti.

Secondo Gabriel (2020), la violenza – reale o virtuale che sia – è sempre problematica. In definitiva, egli vede questo come una minaccia alla democrazia perché i media sociali non sono soggetti alla legislazione nazionale. La modalità di lotta è sempre mantenuta, perché su Facebook o Twitter non è stato ancora possibile ottenere la decisione di un tribunale come in uno stato costituzionale. Le piattaforme sostengono che loro non sono responsabili dei contenuti. Pertanto, Gabriel chiede che le leggi nazionali siano riconosciute anche nei media sociali. Soprattutto, però, noi stessi siamo tenuti a controllare il nostro comportamento in ogni fase dell'utilizzo dello smartphone. Solo allora potremo riprendere il controllo.

5.4 Gli effetti delle macchine intelligenti e dei robot sul mercato del lavoro e sulla società

La digitalizzazione e l'intelligenza artificiale non solo hanno cambiato radicalmente il modo in cui interagiamo tra di noi e con le notizie e le informazioni, ma anche le condizioni del mercato del lavoro. Sebbene l'automazione dei processi di lavoro esista da decenni, è l'uso delle cosiddette macchine intelligenti che ha portato ad un cambiamento massiccio dall'inizio del millennio. Una macchina intelligente è un programma software basato su sofisticati algoritmi che – spesso sotto forma di robot o di strumenti robotizzati – svolge attività monotone e faticose che prima venivano fatte da uomini. Se un'azienda vuole rimanere competitiva, non può evitare di far svolgere una parte più o meno grande del lavoro dalle macchine intelligenti. I vantaggi sono evidenti: le macchine eseguono il lavoro con qualità costante, sono in funzione giorno e notte e non si stancano.

I cambiamenti nel mercato del lavoro sono notevoli: molti posti di lavoro sono andati perduti, altri sono cambiati così tanto che i lavoratori incaricati del controllo sono obbligati di aggiornarsi permanentemente. D'altra parte, anche le macchine intelligenti e i robot hanno contribuito a creare nuovi posti di lavoro.

Le macchine intelligenti non vengono utilizzate solo nelle aziende, ma anche, ad esempio, nella cura degli anziani. I produttori di questo software stanno cercando di dare alle macchine intelligenti l'aspetto più umano possibile. Si parla di un robot umanoide. A parte il fatto che molti anziani preferirebbero essere curati da un essere umano e non da un robot, la ricerca ha dimostrato che troppe somiglianze con gli esseri umani non sono sempre un vantaggio. I doppioni umanoidi spaventano molte persone. Per essere più precisi: la somiglianza con gli esseri umani è accettata fino a un certo punto. Ma se si supera questo limite, il rifiuto è diffuso. Questo è il punto in cui gli alunni delle lezioni di italiano possono scambiarsi idee tra di loro, ma anche con i coetanei di lingua italiana.

Riassumendo, si può dire: Non solo nell'area cognitiva, ma anche in quella fisica non c'è il pericolo che i robot possano superare gli esseri umani, anche se le macchine intelligenti possono arrivare a soluzioni che nessun programmatore ha mostrato loro.

Tutti gli aspetti menzionati e un grande numero di altre utilizzazioni dell'IA e soprattutto degli algoritmi che sono presenti in ogni utilizzazione dei media digitali vanno approfonditi in ogni materia scolastica così come previsto dalla strategia della Conferenza dei Ministri dell'Istruzione. L'insegnamento dell'italiano così come quello delle lingue straniere in generale si presta anche perché c'è sempre la possibilità di contatti internazionali.

6 Problemi etici

In generale, si tratta di proteggere la dignità della persona, la sua autodeterminazione e la sua libertà d'azione. Dobbiamo preparare gli studenti a tracciare la linea di demarcazione tra ciò che è tecnicamente fattibile e ciò che è eticamente accettabile.

Ogni volta che la tecnologia non è solo un mezzo per raggiungere un fine, ma degenera oltre certi limiti, occorre cautela. Non può essere tutto indebitato all'aumento del profitto. Piuttosto, ci vuole una serie di regolamenti. Finora, però, i legislatori reagiscono troppo lentamente. Il regolamento di base dell'UE sulla protezione dei dati del 2018 è un passo nella giusta direzione. Ma sono necessarie ulteriori iniziative legislative.

Ogni insegnante deve contribuire a sensibilizzare i suoi discenti di rendersi conto dei pericoli che l'uso, soprattutto quello esagerato, dei media digitali può comportare. Quando si esige di inserire le tecnologie elettroniche nell'insegnamento, soprattutto in quello delle lingue straniere, non ci si può limitare ad insegnare e imparare con l'aiuto dei media digitali. Un accento molto maggiore va messo sull'apprendimento delle funzioni di queste tecnologie. Solo così gli alunni di oggi possono essere in grado nel futuro ad affrontare almeno i problemi più urgenti che la digitalizzazione continua a comportare.

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Impressum

Herausgeber / Editor:

Prof. Dr. phil. Thomas Tinnefeld

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Redaktion: Wiss. Beirat (vgl. *Editorial Advisory Board*, vordere Umschlaginnenseite);

E-Mail: linguisticsandlanguageteaching@googlemail.com

Internet: <http://sites.google.com/site/linguisticsandlanguageteaching/>

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