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Janet Swaffar
Per Urlaub *Editors*

Transforming Postsecondary Foreign Language Teaching in the United States

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Janet Swaffar • Per Urlaub
Editors

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Springer

Editors
Janet Swaffar
Germanic Studies, C3300
The University of Texas at Austin
Austin
Texas
USA

Per Urlaub
Germanic Studies, C3300
The University of Texas at Austin
Austin
Texas
USA

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Contributors

Heather Willis Allen Department of French and Italian, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Madison, WI, USA

Katherine Arens Department of Germanic Studies, University of Texas at Austin, Austin, TX, USA

Glenn S. Levine Department of European Languages and Studies, University of California, Irvine, CA, USA

Hiram H. Maxim Department of German Studies, Emory University, Atlanta, GA, USA

Charlotte Melin Department of German, Scandinavian, and Dutch, University of Minnesota, MN, USA

Janet Swaffar Department of Germanic Studies, University of Texas at Austin, Austin, TX, USA

Kenric Tsethlikai Lauder Institute at the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA, USA

Per Urlaub Department of Germanic Studies, University of Texas at Austin, Austin, TX, USA

Chantelle Warner Department of Germanic Studies, The University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ, USA

Johanna Watzinger-Tharp Department of Languages & Literature/Department of Linguistics, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, UT, USA

On Language and Content: The Stakes of Curricular Transformation in Collegiate Foreign Language Education

Per Urlaub

Abstract This introduction situates the individual contributions of this volume within the context of foreign language programs at universities and colleges in the United States. To do so, the case is made that this volume, rather than making suggestions for specific curricular innovations, presents a compendium of offerings that explore the mechanisms of language, literacy and content acquisition. These new insights necessitate a broader vision of foreign language education that reaches beyond second language acquisition. It acknowledges that content and student perceptions of content should not be merely regarded as vehicles for the delivery of linguistic training, but rather that they must be the center of the collegiate foreign language curriculum. The introduction concludes by addressing how, together, the individual chapters constitute a proposal for rethinking the roles of students, the pedagogical tasks of teachers, and the objectives of foreign language education in the twenty-first century's technologically driven communication and readily available social media.

Keywords Introduction · Curriculum · Policy · Content-based language instruction · Literacy

In spring 2007, the Modern Language Association of America (MLA) issued a report that addressed the crisis in US collegiate foreign language education (Modern Language Association 2007). The principal professional organization for scholars of language and literature in the United States urged language departments to transform their undergraduate programs fundamentally, by developing and implementing curricular structures that integrate language study and content at all levels of the undergraduate program. The MLA report called for a "more coherent curriculum in which language, culture, and literature are taught as a continuous whole" (3). This call articulated a programmatic principle opposing the two-tiered curriculum that separated language instruction from content, the template for course offerings that had been the dominant curricular paradigm in collegiate modern languages departments throughout the second half of the twentieth century. In conjunction with

P. Urlaub (✉)
Department of Germanic Studies, University of Texas at Austin, Austin, TX, USA
e-mail: urlaub@austin.utexas.edu

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changing institutional needs and external political and economic pressures, some FL departments had been downsized or even eliminated, and so the MLA report lent credence to pre-existing professional voices that had urged the need to rethink the role and objectives of FL departments in the United States (see Byrnes 1990; James 1997; Swaffar 1999).

Innovative curricula that integrated language and content in ways that alleviated that upper/lower division split had already been piloted and implemented in the late 1990s at the post-secondary FL departments at Georgetown (German) and Stanford (German; Spanish and Portuguese). However, due to the heterogeneous nature of the higher education landscape in the United States, these models could not simply be adopted nationwide, but rather needed to be modified, reconfigured, and extended to fit local environments. As a result, a great diversity of curricular initiatives emerged that shared a common principle: integrating form and content at all levels of undergraduate program.

Five years after the publication of the MLA Report, the Department of Germanic Studies at the University of Texas at Austin held a symposium for faculty, curriculum developers, and administrators from a variety of institutions in order to discuss and theorize concepts, conditions, configurations, and consequences of curricular transformations in collegiate foreign language education—to take stock of the situation 5 years later and assess what these practical innovations might have meant for the language-teaching professions. The conference led to this book in addressing past, current, and possible future configurations of foreign language departments in postsecondary education in the United States.

This volume presents expanded versions of the talks given in March 2007 by nine participants in that symposium, representing a range of institutional contexts, all of which are in the process of building and reforming foreign language curricula during a major transition period in postsecondary education as a whole. The focus of this volume is thus on the transformation of foreign language curricula and learning objectives in undergraduate and graduate programs in North American universities and colleges. Individual chapters address this issue in various ways, by looking at both curricula and the relationships of foreign language (FL) departments to interdisciplinary and international programs, because changes in undergraduate programs will require revising both curricula as well as engaging more extensively in faculty development, cross-disciplinary courses, institutional structures and missions, and international education. What this volume's readers should pay particular attention to is the various frameworks in which the context of curricular transformation can be conducted. The contributions are organized in groups so as to amplify the significance of those frameworks for future transformational work.

1 The Role of Contexts in Curricular Development

Topically, this volume is anchored in the work of important predecessors from Europe and the United States, notably in publications that have long been used to guide curriculum developers. Monographs by Brown (1995), Graves (2000), Richards (2001), and Nation and Macalister (2010) all present sequential models for curriculum development by describing stages in that process as it needs to be undertaken in institutional settings, including an initial needs analysis, the implementation of proposed ways to meet those needs, and the final assessment of the new curriculum. Edited volumes by Graves (1996) and Macalister and Nation (2011) offer case studies that illustrate such processes in a wide variety of institutional settings. Highly practical in approach, these books are noteworthy in also using curricula for English for Specific Purposes programs as examples. These programs, most familiar from outside the US, model ways of integrating new and different learning perspectives, as well as specific contexts, into programs that are often under the aegis of administrative guidelines and objectives (often governmental or corporations), and not determined by individual institutions, as would be the case in the United States. Consequently, these publications are often used as authoritative textbooks to prepare graduate students in TESL/TEFL, applied linguistics, and teacher training programs to encompass and model future instructional and administrative roles.

The editors of the present volume chose their focus on the United States in no small part due to their own familiarity with this particular setting and its contexts for curricular development outlined above. In Europe, for example, the context is significantly different, and is becoming even more so. Policy efforts aimed at integrating entire educational systems of individual nations into a European framework have impacted language learning experts in many ways: the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS),[1] the harmonization of national educational system through the Bologna Process and the establishment of the European Higher Education Area (EHEA),[2] as well as the recalibrations of programs as a result of the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR)[3] all have stimulated ongoing processes of curricular transformation in higher education at institutions between the Strait of Gibraltar and the North Cape. In general, the commitment to regulatory frameworks and efforts to create compatibility across Europe are stronger than in the United States, where there is little legislative initiative from the federal government to influence curriculum and instruction at universities, which are either private entities or regulated at the state-level.

By focusing on the North American context, the contributions to this volume address the special situation of collegiate foreign language departments in the United States that have traditionally claimed considerable autonomy with regard to what is

[1] See http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-policy/ects_en.htm for more information (accessed 20 August 2013).

[2] See http://www.ehea.info/ for more information (accessed 20 August 2013).

[3] See http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/cadre1_en.asp for more information (accessed 20 August 2013).

taught and how compared to institutions in countries such as France, Germany and the UK, whose higher education sectors remain heavily regulated by national and European policy.[4] Yet despite variables that differ from institution to institution, it is increasingly evident that shared concerns, especially about accountability to students and costs, have animated widespread interest in changing the FL curriculum in college and university language departments.

First among these shared concerns is that FL departments in North America must offer language training and undergraduate degree programs that meet the formal requirements and the educational vision defined by their home institution. Therefore, successful transformations of existing foreign language programs in a broader humanities context must take into account changes in their historic institutional configurations, emerging interdisciplinary relations, local institutional priorities, faculty roles, internationalization efforts, graduate student training, research and funding priorities in the professions, and even the public discourse on foreign language education. In this context, the essays in the present volume all address curricular transformation in terms of the how specific foreign language programs in large and smaller language departments have addressed or seek to address the challenge of transforming their FL curricula in response to such demands arising from outside the FL curricula themselves.

In addressing curricular transformation in context, however, these essays also respond specifically to the MLA's call. The premise underlying all of the following chapters is that learning objectives and curricula at collegiate language programs cannot be formulated solely in terms of linguistic proficiency. Instead, they must be developed as multidimensional frameworks that integrate factors in both disciplinary content knowledge and foreign language proficiency. The sensitivity to the MLA's objective elicited different scholarly responses across the United States. Those differences suggested a need for reflection and planning relevant not only for language specialists, coordinators, and curriculum developers, but for *all* faculty represented in collegiate foreign language departments. Such a project also speaks to decision-making at the executive-level of university administrators in the humanities, business, of vocational programs with international purviews, and international education as a whole. This collection explores representative examples of best practices suggested for or implemented by FL departments in different institutions.

In addition, the essays pay consistent attention to the significant differences in the student body enrolled in university language courses and to solutions that can be applied in various contexts. Some European countries offer stronger language programs at elementary and secondary schools compared to their American counterparts. As a result, these students enter their universities with intermediate or advanced foreign language proficiency, often in more than one language. Students

[4] Accreditation tasks in U.S. higher education are currently fragmented over six regional agencies. The objective of accreditation processes is quality control. Agencies have been restricted to defining the major. The process does not consolidate the higher education sector, since accreditation does not lead to automatic acceptance by an institution of credit earned at another institution. National accreditation is limited to technical and vocational schools. For more details, see http://www2.ed.gov/admins/finaid/accred/index.html for more information (accessed 20 August 2013).

starting a new language at the university level are most likely to be motivated to supplement already existing FL competencies. That motivation is lessened when, as is commonly the case in the United States, students begin to study a language at the university level with the goal of earning a BA-degree in the FL department. Consequently, the integration of language study with the disciplinary content of the foreign language or an international program has a different and larger role in postsecondary language studies in the United States than it has for some of their European counterparts.

European models often answer to different problems than do U. S. -based ones. For example, Pérez Cañado's (2012) informative volume on competency-based language teaching in European higher education illustrates the innovative curricular thinking and implementations that were generated in recent years largely in response to European educational policy. Although context and impetus for change are very different from the situation in North America, these approaches to curriculum development address a country's potential to participate in globalization. From that perspective, curriculum developers all over the world share a rapidly increasing access to learners on a global level. Thus, it is the hope of the editors that, despite different political and administrative constraints and opportunities, language program directors and curriculum builders beyond the North American context will benefit from familiarizing themselves with developments in the United States, and that references to European curricular initiatives may assist U.S.-based specialists in fostering longer learning sequences and instructional goals that incorporate a global purview.

2 Before and After the MLA Report: Moving from Content-Based Language Instruction to Language-Based Content Instruction

The essays in this volume take up their projects in light of the longer-term evolution of FL instruction in the US, not just current issues. Content-based Language Instruction was a concept developed in the 1970s (see, for example, King et al. 1975), but when it emerged as a more broadly implemented curricular paradigm in foreign language education in the 1990s, this approach had developed towards a narrow focus on FL language proficiency, similar to many programs in vocational Languages for Specific Purposes contexts (see Snow and Brinton 1997; Basturkmen 2006).

In the research and theoretical literature on the integration of language and content in collegiate humanities-oriented contexts three major concepts have emerged to supplement that traditional focus: literacy, genre, and discourse. Although the theoretical foundations of these concepts differ significantly from each other and in the work of many of their adherents, they share an important common feature: all three terms ground significant visions of a new curriculum whose basic structure is premised on the integration of language and content at all levels of a program.

For example, Kern (2000) outlines a model for a literacy-based curriculum that is "neither purely structural nor purely communicative in approach, but attempts to relate communicate to structural dimensions of language use" (304). The result is an integrated curriculum, where "the study of language and the study of literature are treated as mutually dependent, not mutually exclusive, activities" (305). Consequently, Kern (2002) suggest that the two-tiered curriculum can be overcome through an emphasis on literacy, a concept that conveys "a broader and more unified scope than the terms reading and writing" and thus "facilitates discussion of all the reciprocal relations of readers, writers, texts, culture, and language learning" (21). In his use, then, the term "literacy" not only served as a conceptual device to integrate the various components of the collegiate foreign language department, but also as a rhetorical strategy since colleagues with a specialization in literature, culture, and linguistics are able to intellectually identify with a literacy-centered framework (Kern 2002).

The basic mechanics of such a literacy-based model, namely the bridging of language's structural features and communicative content, resonates with the genre-based approach to collegiate foreign language curriculum that was developed based on Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics. Georgetown University's German department became the epicenter of this widely recognized approach to curriculum development. Crane (2006), Byrnes and Sprang (2004), as well as Byrnes et al. (2010) exemplify applications of genre-theory to the curriculum development process by demonstrating the opportunities that a theory of language as a meaning-making system can offer to the development of collegiate FL curricula that integrate language and content.

Even more knowledge-driven than the literacy- and genre-based approaches just characterized, Bernhardt and Berman's (1999) integrated curriculum is theoretically grounded in second language reading research. It reflects the insight that second language reading comprehension is not merely a linguistic challenge, but depends to a large degree on the reader's cultural background knowledge. Thus, an integrated curriculum promotes not only language development, but also the development of such knowledge structures from the beginning stages, including through readings and discussions in the student's first language. Bernhardt's (2011) assessment of students learning in the German program at Stanford shows the effectiveness of this curricular approach. Background knowledge not only provides beginning learners with the opportunity to generate "intra-German perspectives" on cultural materials, it also provides effective scaffolding for reading and discussing culturally and linguistically increasingly complex materials in the target language in intermediate and advanced stages of the curriculum.

Swaffar and Arens (2005) strike the balance between literacy- and content-based models by suggesting a curriculum that helps language learners to develop multiple literacies in the second language, with a goal pointing beyond language and content enabling them to understand the implications of texts and other media, not just their forms and contexts. Developed with the learner's need for critical literary competencies in a variety of genre in mind, this learner-centered curriculum emphasizes "a sequence of learning rather than a sequence of material" (187). At the heart of this endeavor rests the methodology of the précis that helps learners to discover multiple

layers of communicative implications through an investigation of textual elements, discourse structures, and genre.

The concepts of discourse and acculturation are central mechanisms of the learning process in Kramsch's (2009) social semiotic view of language learning. Symbolic competence blends language and content and permits learners to participate in the "traffic of meaning through reflection, translation, and awareness for the power of language in discourse" (Kramsch 2012, p. 19). The concept of symbolic competence had a significant impact on collegiate language programs, since it informed to a large degree the MLA report that was co-authored by Kramsch (Modern Language Association 2007).

It is worth underscoring, however, that the vast majority of work done in implementing these post-proficiency models has remained in the hands of FL specialists, with only limited outreach to TESL/TEFL or European/governmental frameworks. Over the last ten years, however, the annual volumes of the American Association of University Supervisors and Coordinators have served as important venues for the articulation of innovative curricular thinking in collegiate foreign language education. With each year's volume dedicated to a special topic, these volumes have addressed issues such as the role of literature in collegiate FL instruction (Scott and Tucker 2002), advanced FL instruction (Byrnes and Maxim 2004), program articulation (Barrette and Paesani 2005), the impact of the ACTFL National Standards (Scott 2010), the role of or critical and intercultural theory (Levine and Phipps 2012), and emerging forms of online and hybrid language learning (Rubio and Thoms 2014). For the present context, it is important that all contain contributions outlining instructional and curricular innovations that are not only sensitive to the particular contexts of collegiate FL departments, but also theoretically aligned with the above sketched research clusters on and models of concepts like literacy, genre, and discourse. Consequently, these volumes have contributed significantly to the profession's efforts to integrate language and content at levels or the undergraduate program and to overcome the tradition two-tiered curriculum, and they need to be addressed by more than FL professionals.

3 Setting Our Stage: Working Outside of the FL Box to Grow FLs

A collection of nine essays like the present project cannot represent the entire spectrum of language program transformation in higher education. For example, the fact that none of the authors featured in this volume works predominantly with non-Western languages may suggest that the perspectives presented and principles discussed in the volume would only apply to curricular transformation efforts in the so-called commonly taught languages. This is, however, not the case. Although it is widely acknowledged that the acquisition of decoding competencies in languages with logographic and syllabic scripts is a major challenge that must be articulated in language-specific pedagogies especially at the beginning stages (see Walker 1989;

Allen 2008), the basic principle of the integration of language and content has been championed by researcher and practitioners in Middle Eastern and Asian foreign languages (Brustad 2006; Christensen 2009).

Similarly, this volume does not have chapters devoted to technology and assessment, although they are transformative aspects of change in contemporary foreign language education. While recent curricular innovations inform many of its chapters, they reference a number of excellent volumes that present both theoretical and practical facets of technology (see Warschauer and Kern 2000; Blake 2013) and assessment (see Norris et al. 2009). Ultimately, however, a FL department's choice of the many technological and assessment options described in these books, will be determined by the objectives and outcomes the department wishes to achieve within available constraints. In contrast, the purpose of our volume is to illustrate how faculty members in a spectrum of FL departments in institutions across the United States might go about realizing and implementing their preferred learning objectives and outcomes for curricular change. In short, this collection addresses departmental faculty in particular by presenting suggestions about how to implement transformational changes in *their* curricula *before* turning to the previously discussed volumes to select their preferred options for technological and assessment procedures.

Our enterprise is instead to advance a faculty-wide discussion that relates to recent curricular transformation processes and documents important steps towards the development of a multiliteracy curriculum in the FLs—a curriculum that focuses on language and content rather than language alone. In this effort the volume explores questions such as:

*How do historic and current disciplinary, institutional and political conditions enable and hinder curricular transformations in collegiate foreign language education programs?
*How can current theoretical frameworks guide such reform process?
*How can interdisciplinary approaches to curriculum development expand the footprint of collegiate foreign language education?
*Which kind of professional development initiatives for graduate instructors and faculty support a transcultural and multiliteracy curriculum?
*How does the transformation of the undergraduate curriculum affect graduate education?

The nine chapters are structured into three parts: Contexts: Drivers for Curricular Change, Insights: Making Curricular Transformation Work,and Outlook: Strategies Facilitating a Curricular Transformation for Multiliteracies.

4 Contexts: Drivers for Curricular Change

The first section of the volume, *Contexts: Drivers for Curricular Change*, consists of two essays that document and theorizes wider contexts and conditions that shaped foreign language programs up to the current critical transition period.

Janet Swaffar's historical analysis traces the discourses and events within the field of applied linguistics and second language education from the end of WWII to the presence and shows how these developments that have influenced the curriculum. She presents a trajectory of external influences and professional responses that

have evolved over that period by distinguishing between the innovations, policy changes, and impact of those changes on the constitution of FL departments and their curricula. Her objective is to demonstrate the ways that central features of that development have left an imprint, a palimpsest, that strongly influences the character and pedagogical practices of FL departments to the present day. Armed with these illustrations as explanations of often-pervading perspectives within and outside a department, Swaffar's chapter informs readers about the basis for some of the predispositions to resist change that may exist among fellow faculty members and administrators in their institutions. She suggests that changing existing perspectives will generally be a gradual progress, but a necessary one to engage in as a precondition for developing new perspectives that lead to making fundamental changes in an existing FL curriculum anchored in its respective historical legacy.

Glenn Levine's discourse analysis reminds us that foreign language education does not exist in a vacuum, and it would be naïve to assume that only theory and research in second language studies affect how language learning is perceived or taught in American classrooms. His chapter looks at the many external factors that influence foreign language education in the United States, as those factors are revealed in diverse discourses expressing divergent public perceptions of what should be taught and the objectives of language programs (primarily those at the K-12 level). Levine makes the case that, while such discourses have the power to channel support and consideration towards both popular and populist initiatives, they can also result in draining funding and attention from other programs that are not perceived favorably by special interest groups or the general public.

Drawing on a variety of media sources, this analysis of current trends in dominant discourses about the teaching and learning of foreign languages in the United States illustrates how many positions articulated in the public debate are contradictory and self-defeating. Levine argues that the most significant of these controversies revolve around reliance on English as a sufficient basis for global communication. Neither position in these controversies acknowledges today's rapidly changing technologies and recent insights from research about discourse processing and the way comprehension is altered when a medial text's context is resituated by reader location or predisposition. One need only consider the difference between reader reactions to a series of cartoons published in 2005 by the Danish daily newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* intended for a presumptively Christian audience when viewed by Muslim citizens and Muslims abroad (Powers 2008). Levine concludes by challenging the language profession to undertake the daunting task of challenging a largely monolingual US population to confront the dangerous political and social consequences inherent in maintaining an "English-only" sensibility.

5 Insights: Making Curricular Transformation Work

After the volume's consideration of historical and current influences on the foreign language discipline, the four contributions in the second section of the volume explore how colleagues have changed or propose to change different components in

their curricula, in full awareness of internal and external constraints on any transformative impulses.

Hiram Maxim's account of one institution's FL curricular reform describes how efforts at the departmental level were negotiated through the adoption of a conceptual framework compatible with the academic background and interests of fellow faculty members. He describes the facets of a curriculum designed to reflect both the strengths of a department's faculty and learning objectives compatible with the broader goals of Emory University. Maxim provides the reader with strategies used to engage the commitment of all his colleagues in the German Department, in this case by focusing on the academic expertise of his entire faculty and delegating different levels of task development that integrated language with interpretation and critical thinking appropriate to students' language proficiency. Maxim describes how the decisions made about what to change in the curriculum reflected particular literary and linguistic theories, in this case, Systemic Functional Linguistics. The author illustrates how teachers' desire to help students discover how particular language use creates meaning lead to identification of a sequence of curricular stages that defined levels of elementary, intermediate, and advanced courses.

The three chapters that follow explore different ways faculty members in FL languages can more actively and influentially participate in class syllabi design in a neighboring academic field (Melin), study abroad programs (Watzinger-Tharp), and contribute to business programs that seek to produce students who can operate in managerial positions internationally (Tsethlikai).

Charlotte Melin's chapter illustrates the cross-disciplinary commitment involved in designing an interdisciplinary course in sustainability studies. In doing so, she traces the stages and strategic advantages accruing to FL departments when they commit their energy and expertise to realign a foreign language curriculum with new academic programs, in this instance by developing a strong language component for an ecology course. Her account provides insight into how a single faculty members' collaboration can expand her FL department's purview beyond departmental boundaries. At the same time Melin found it could also provide a significant impetus for change within one's FL department. By applying its problem-focused approaches implemented in the interdisciplinary course development, the collaboration Melin describes here helped lead to new practices in the foreign language department's curriculum and course objectives.

Using her administrative point of view as director of the University of Utah's popular International Studies major as well as a faculty member in a languages and literature department, Johanna Watzinger-Tharp assesses and critiques interdisciplinary efforts afforded by global studies degrees. She describes why "a bifurcated 'first language, then content'" curriculum characteristic of many FL departments actually leads to significant deficits in the preparation of students to engage in broader curricular and extramural endeavors. Assessing the implications of such separate emphases in language departments' programs, she challenges the reader to do the same—to look at whether the foreign language component and particularly the curriculum in their programs contribute to what needs to be learned to prepare students for study in a foreign country. Her analysis illustrates how problematic it is to have language departments accept only their traditional, "language only" role the

internationalization efforts of U.S.-based universities and failing to help construct the components of global education: new ways of identifying, structuring, and assessing language use as part of learning about a foreign culture, its attitudes, practices, and values. She cautions that, while global education has become a priority for a large number of institutions, individual courses in language learning construed narrowly will not suffice to introduce students to the cultural and social implications of that language and hence will not prepare them to profit from their experience. Instead, Watzinger-Tharp urges that departments develop four-year programs that speak consistently about globalization as a literacy to constituents outside as well as within their FL departments, and that they construct programs with courses for nonmajors as well as majors that stress both pragmatic language use and fundamental literacy about socioeconomic and political factors that influence life and attitudes in the language use and culture of the FL taught. Her illustrations of consortia developed between different departments and colleges to conduct this work identify cross-curricular options for readers interested in instituting such interdisciplinary work in their own colleges or universities.

Kenric Tsethlikai's description of the business language program at one of America's leading business schools provides the reader with an example of a different interdisciplinary partnership than those Melin and Watzinger-Tharp describe in the preceding chapters—an international studies program that is independent from, but nonetheless consulting and working with, the FL departments at the University of Pennsylvania. His short history and analysis of language/culture studies at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School and its role in the program for executive education looks at a complex of elements that have rendered that program successful. First, the program integrates content and language studies in courses across the program to achieve one of its primary goals: the preparation of professional students who will become leaders with global perspectives. Tsethlikai then describes the three prongs of this effort to achieve this goal. The first is The Wharton School's global modular courses of language and culture studies. The second major component involves a feedback loop with former students who have been in the program providing current enrollees with extensive engagement with Wharton alumni. The third uses internships combined with study abroad to provide first-hand orientations about the operation of practices and their articulation in the targeted foreign business locale. In his conclusion, Tsethlikai distinguishes between those components he sees as unique to the Wharton context and those that could be modified and applied to other institutions in order to suggest which features might serve other postsecondary settings and how.

6 Outlook: Strategies Facilitating a Curricular Transformation for Multiliteracies

The final segment presents three vistas into the future, outlining measures that will need to be implemented in many curricular transformations, if they are to be more than cosmetic or transitory.

In her chapter, Chantelle Warner makes the case for foreign language reading instruction that encourages students to recognize and articulate their reactions to a text's format, subject matter or rhetorical features as the initial steps in reading. She establishes the ways that such reactions influence all subsequent text comprehension and are, therefore, the appropriate introduction to reading texts originating in an unfamiliar language and culture. She makes a compelling case for acknowledging affective responses as the framework and direction for subsequent reader perceptions, especially as a new student type begins to enter our classrooms. To demonstrate the possibility of so doing, Warner incisively exemplifies how foreign language readers' negative personal attitudes toward textual content or their ability to comprehend textual messages becomes a significant source of interference with comprehension—an impediment to learning that should be addressed at the onset of instruction. The pedagogical model outlined here illustrates how the integration of foreign language readers' affect fosters the acquisition of new knowledge and adds an important dimension to the teaching of reading by arguing why cognitive processes should not be privileged over affect in foreign pedagogy.

Heather Willis Allen offers concrete proposals for the curricular change necessary to prepare graduate students in foreign language studies comprehensively to integrate content and language in their teaching. She emphasizes that, even if they are in departments working to integrate language and cultural content in their curricula at the undergraduate level, graduate student instructors, especially at PhD-granting foreign language departments, rarely engage in developing the content and pedagogy of these courses. Consequently, they are insufficiently prepared for the spectrum of pedagogical demands in course preparation at all levels, innovative use of technology, and fulfilling their professional obligations as teachers and faculty members responding to the challenges of change in their departments and institutions.

As recognized in all the chapters in this volume, Allen observes that no single overarching model can replace current practices. Depending on the objectives of the language program, readers of this chapter can choose from a number of teaching approaches and mentoring techniques suggested for integrating graduate content with literature, language, and culture studies. Yet central to Allen's case is her critique of the widespread reliance on pre-service training as sufficient graduate preparation for their future roles as teachers, making instead the case for in-service sessions throughout a graduate career as far more likely to insure sound professional training. Her contribution exemplifies how such training can be augmented through in-house video or visitation feedback loops that connect graduate student and coordinator, allowing them ongoing discussions about student responses to classroom activities, the relationship of language learning to content, and indicators of knowledge acquisition.

In a more theoretical proposal, Katherine Arens' reflective essay lays out a framework for thinking about the graduate curriculum as a whole that reframes it to include not only a focus on scholarly content, but also the pedagogies exploring those contents with students. Like Allen, in rethinking the graduate language curriculum, Arens proposes that any review or structuring of a graduate curriculum in FL

programs needs to not only consider scholarship and language teaching, but also a major role for pedagogies of textual, historical-cultural, and sociolinguistic content, professional literacies, and recent adaptations of Bloom's taxonomy. Commencing with early observations in Rene Wellek and Austin Warren's (1949) *Theory of Literature*, Arens traces the MLA's evolving call for "intellectual communication" across the curriculum—the evolution of disciplinary fields within FL graduate and research contexts—in three major editions of its handbook *Introduction to Scholarship* (Gibaldi 1981, 1992; Nicholls 2007), all of which suggest how scholars in language studies can speak and write in ways that are intelligible to colleagues in other humanist studies and the sciences. She illustrates for the reader her thesis that language study must expand its purview beyond the profession's current education of specialists in relatively narrow theoretical or subject matter domains. Only such a project, she argues, can train scholars who are aware of their professional responsibilities in both their scholarly and pragmatic implications and who thus are adequately prepared to engage in the kinds of curricular transformation required by new scholarship and institutional demands. The graduate program she envisions would familiarize and empower students in the use of multiple research designs and resources, not as experts, but as strategists in planning their own scholarly research, curricula, and professional profiles. Included here is the category of FL pedagogy itself, a FL literacy underserved in today's graduate education and limited by hereditary definitions of second language acquisition that have effectively separated it from other components of the curriculum.

These three clusters emerged as central to the University of Texas meeting; they constitute approaches to the core problems facing curriculum designers in the wake of the *MLA Report* and new economic realities that have brought many institutions to rethink what they are doing. We hope that they will challenge our readers as they challenged us.

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Part I
Contexts: Drivers for Curricular Change

From Language to Literacy: The Evolving Concepts of Foreign Language Teaching at American Colleges and Universities Since 1945

Janet Swaffar

Abstract This chapter assesses the history of FL teaching and professional organizations since 1945 to explain the current lack of integration between language and content within collegiate foreign language curricula and the absence of more student-centered practices and research. It identifies major time periods marked by particular theories and pedagogical models that shaped attitudes and practices in Departments in their hiring and their classrooms. The historical analyses explores resulting concepts of learning styles and teaching objectives that evolved for beginning, intermediate and advanced level FL classes. These sections also incorporate the role of professional organizations, notably the MLA's responses and ACTFL's initiatives developed to address emergent needs across institutions. The author's objective is to illustrate how the enduring legacies of each era continue to influence FL departments' curricular decisions and in many cases explain their resistance to change. The author concludes by making the case for learner-centered pedagogies presented in forthcoming chapters and suggests the parameters for faculty initiatives to be undertaken to reform their curricula.

Keywords Audio-lingual · Cognitive · Proficiency · Standards · Bloom's taxonomy · Four skills · Psycholinguistics · Multiliteracy · Communicative competence

This chapter looks at the broad outline of developments in ways to teach foreign languages, starting from the post-WWII focus on language through memorization and skill practice as necessary initial stages in language acquisition, and reaching up to recent, student- and sociolinguistic-centered emphases in language acquisition. Its objective is to challenge readers to think about that historical legacy and its impact on the profession's practices in a period of transition in postsecondary education as a whole. This thumbnail history is not intended to be comprehensive, but rather to illustrate why the restructuring of language teaching at this time necessitates addressing the heritage of institutional and professional practices in foreign language (FL) instruction that initially dominated and still continues to influence the field well into the twenty-first century.

J. Swaffar (✉)
Department of Germanic Studies, University of Texas at Austin,
Austin, TX, USA
e-mail: jswaffar@austin.utexas.edu

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As will be traced below, in the years following WW II to the present day, shifts in major directions for FL teaching have been associated with cross-disciplinary fields, notably behavioral and cognitive psychology, psycholinguistics, discourse analysis and computer technologies. Whether these initiatives preceded or developed while simultaneously influencing FL pedagogies, each needs to be discussed as they apply to specific phases of FL teaching rather than in the strict chronology of their historical appearance. This caveat is particularly relevant here to the current chapter's references to Bloom's *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives* (1956).[1] In the following six decades, this early statement outlining a learning sequence for educator's assessment of cognitive processing has undergone a variety of reinterpretations, as new readings of the *Taxonomy* have been proposed and its applications expanded. Consequently, Bloom's *Taxonomy* will be referred to throughout this chapter in terms of the particular direction of its influence during a given era in FL teaching in the United States, not in any attempt to set a normative reading of its significance into place.

The major eras that emerge as significant need to be understood in terms of different outside forces. In the first four decades after WW II, empiricist models and structural linguistics (particularly in the 1950–1970s) that dominated the textbooks and assessment were structuring curricular decisions about elementary and intermediate years of language instruction. Advanced learners were not a special focus of attention. By the late 1970s, however, the ACTFL proficiency movement introduced a more comprehensive vision of what language instruction meant, setting performance objectives for the spectrum of language learners in North American colleges and thus intending to raise the profile of FL instruction. That vision was augmented in the 1990s by ACTFL's development of *Standards for Foreign Language Teaching*, which again broadened our focus by turning it onto what it meant to learn a language, turning classroom emphasis away from correctness and toward context-based performance of tasks relating to culture and communication in a variety of interactional settings. During this same period, the internet and increasingly available forms of online communication enabled a more intense focus on the learner that enabled Bloom's *Taxonomy* to remerge and reframe our ways of thinking about stages in the FL acquisition process. With computers and later with iPods, iPads, tablets, e-readers, and a host of downloadable applications, students and their teachers could interact with authentic foreign languages on their terms and in real time as learner communities—increasingly, FL learning became identified with learning about foreign language use as manifestations of speakers' and writers' cultures.

After a look at what each of these stages meant to FL instruction, I argue in the chapter's conclusion that the cornerstone of language acquisition today needs to be understood in new ways: FL learning now has the broader goal of helping adult learners to use their extant literacy capabilities to interact with unfamiliar concepts expressed in an unfamiliar language; they need not only to learn about and interact

[1] When Bloom's *Taxonomy* and the ACTFL *Standards* project are italicized and capitalized, they refer to the published volumes; in plain type, they refer to the model that Bloom et al. and ACTFL evolved, often represented in various diagrams.

with the language and its culture, but also how to move beyond classroom settings and manage their own identities and interactions in that new context. If this summary describes the new goals for FL learning, then such student literacy is fostered only when learners are able to apply features of preexisting knowledge to negotiate content, language, and pragmatic decisions about identity and action as covalent components of the meaning of language use. Such a project will, as the following analysis suggests, involve rethinking historically anchored structural and pedagogical components of many FL departments in North America.

1 Setting the Stage: Bloom's *Taxonomy* and the Turn Toward the Learner

In 1956, what many authorities acknowledge as the most significant twentieth-century public document in the field of education appeared: Bloom's *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives*. Written by a committee with Benjamin S. Bloom as chair, this document broke down the education process into a series of goals, each of which could purportedly be met by learners who practiced increasingly more complex tasks leading them to structured learning outcomes in different domains; those tasks moved through a hierarchy of difficulty, from simpler to more complex (the taxonomy), that outlined the logic of the educational process.[2] The original proposal by the committee defined three domains of activity through which a learner acquired knowledge, each of which could be described with its own taxonomy, reflecting a hierarchy of difficulty from simpler/more fundamental activities of mind up through more difficult ones: cognitive (human thought processes), affective (the range for human emotional responses and their impact on thinking and behavioral processes), and psychomotor (how the body learns through physical activities). The three realms have been subsequently modified by many other scholars to apply to learning processes in different frameworks, all the while stressing both learners and their development over time.

The resulting report presented the tasks associated with learning in these domains as sequences, reflecting hierarchies of increasingly complex activity. Later critics pointed out that the result was a taxonomy of objectives for classroom instruction, one that described the difficulty of tasks imposed in designing tasks and tests, and

[2] A major explication of the taxonomy, Bloom's *Handbook I: The Cognitive Domain*, appeared in 1956, and, subsequently in Krathwohl et al. *Handbook II* for the affective domain in 1964. Lorin W. Anderson and David Krathwohl edited a revised version of the taxonomies, *A taxonomy for learning, teaching, and assessing: A revision of Bloom's taxonomies of educational objectives* (2001 [1991st ed.]). The interrelationship of the psychomotor, affective, and the cognitive domains remains a conundrum for study, particularly given the variation in individual responses to learning, for example, how to swim and how to play basketball. One activity is individual and the other involves complex variables resulting from widely different participants and challenges facing an individual involved in any group interaction. See also more recent analyses about the complex interactions of different types of intelligence (e.g. Gardner 2011 [1983]).

not necessarily descriptive of cognition itself (Anderson and Sosniak 1994). Just as critically, the first and most important part of the original report nonetheless focused on what it called the cognitive domain, in line with the era's preference for equating learning with forms of knowledge construction (and not necessarily embodied human cognition), an equation called into question today with the increasing focus on the learner in sociocultural contexts—the other two domains of Bloom's *Taxonomy*.[3]

Despite such disputes, Bloom's *Taxonomy* remains a consistent reference point. Today's models for learning, especially in fields like foreign language education (but also in all subjects involving reading, writing, and critical thinking), now routinely describe sequences and constellations of pragmatic competencies associated with learning outcomes and learner motivation, as they also take mediality of the knowledge base (rather than items of knowledge reified into patterns) into account, differentiating, for example, between the literacies involved in reading texts and various forms of electronic media (e.g. Blake 1998; Berrett 2012). Researchers have produced abundant evidence about the ways that text and reader interact in a multifacetted and evolving mental processing that constitutes literacy, a word that has come into fashion to emphasize the *process* of learning, rather than the *product*, and to describe literacy as a lifelong task involving an individual learner's connections with the world, connections whose definitions vary widely depending on learner goals (e.g. Kramsch 2009).

In the present context, I suggest that Bloom's *Taxonomy* still needs to be part of an analysis of today's models for learning and curricular development, even if it has fallen into disrepute and disuse as a research paradigm, because its terminology and description of mental work (defined as tasks, not cognition) remains as a ghost in the educational machine and a live component of our thinking about learning as a structured process. That assertion is supported by any internet search using the term "Bloom's *Taxonomy*," which shows many teaching and learning aids that parallel the original heuristic.

Bloom's 1956 *Taxonomy* arranged the components of acts associated with learning in a sequence extending from simpler cognitive activities up through their uses as foundations for more complex ones. While often understood as based on different research and educational objectives than those of the twenty-first century (and hence on different models of what learning and cognition are), the proposals' authors recognized the enduring premise that "the simpler behaviors may be viewed as components… [that are based on] more complex behaviors" (Bloom 16).

As critics have frequently asserted, however, the sequence in the chart below has never been tested empirically. The theoretical model simply outlines the graduated complexity in the cognitive acts associated with learning as it was known at the time. They do not describe cognition as adhering to the brain or multimodal think-

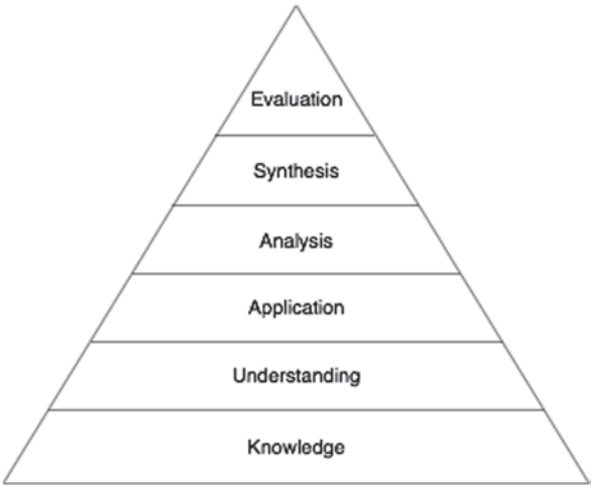
[3] Later illustrations of these two domains have been pivotal for FL research and learning theory. See Asher (1972), whose model of language learning through Total Physical Response reflects the value of integrating psychomotor responses to a comprehension-based model. Warner provides the current status of affective research and its significance for reading comprehension in this volume.

ing, they talk about the behaviors of learners—what they are expected to be able to manipulate in the tasks that are set in learning sequences. Usually represented as a pyramid moving from the simpler tasks at the base to the "tip" of more complex learning behaviors, I here reproduce Bloom's original classifications in their order ranging from simplest to more complex, more concrete to more abstract:

2 The Cognitive Processes

Original classification (Bloom 18)	Parallel terms in today's FL research
Knowledge	Background knowledge, prior verbal and non-verbal learning recalled as facts or attributes—the ability to label facts with appropriate words or expressions
Comprehension	Registering textual or visual features as meaningful, linked to prior knowledge—the ability to chain up those words in appropriate fashion, allowing for basic communication in known forms
Application	Verbal or non-verbal recall and performance ability, allowing the user to reproduce textual or visual messages in appropriate contexts and to produce basic variants
Analysis	The ability to generalize tokens to types—recognize classes of information in a visual or written text or texts as part of a larger pragmatic grid of language/symbol use
Synthesis	The ability to compare such classes of information in regard to multiple texts and with each other, and to arrive at new knowledge within existing categories/types of comprehensible performance
Evaluation	The ability to draw inferences and articulate the significance of a body of information and to assess the adequacy not only of the performance, but also with the existing typologies and categorization of tokens

More recent iterations have reversed the final two categories to reflect modern English usage (diagram below), to mix together the ideas of synthesis with the new category of "knowledge creation," a mental activity that leads to an original contribution to the realm of knowledge in a given field. In more recent models, then, some categories have been regrouped and some have been added. The original stages identified in the standard graphic representation of Bloom's work below have been subject to revisions and updating for the digital age but, I propose, remain fundamentally applicable today. The original taxonomy is usually depicted as follows:



As the graphic above suggests in its geometry, *levels* of difficulty remain critical to our thinking about teaching and learning, as we routinely use terminology like "higher order thinking" (or its circumlocutions as "problem solving" or "critical thinking").[4] And many discussions of learning cultural phenomena today still easily pick up on all three of Bloom's domains—sometimes by reference to other fields of theory (e.g. Bourdieu's 1991 *habitus*, including the *hexis*, the acculturated and habituated physical bodies), but nonetheless still remaining firmly anchored in the cognitive domain for actual models of curricular practice that stress forms of logical analysis as learning goals. The taxonomies described in the Bloom Committee's report are only one example of such hierarchies, but it remains the fundamental and perhaps most comprehensive model ever offered in US educational practice.

That today's learning models still tacitly reference such cognitivist models for learning from the post-World-War-II environment is significant for understanding what they intend, especially given that learning hierarchies have proved themselves to be resistant to the empirical research that would establish their validities. Their focus on learning in the abstract is our necessary starting point for reanalyzing the "standard account" of the historical evolution of FL teaching and learning in the United States since WW II in brief. This analysis must necessarily take into account that the transition is still very incomplete from a model of *teaching* cognitive tasks arranged in difficulty levels like Bloom's into a notion of *learning* as individual and individuated literacy acquisition. Being able to move from understanding a concept to applying it (in Bloom's language) is a formal description of one dimension of a much more complex process implicated in an individual learner's abilities to read or interpret cultural products for meaning and to draw textually substantiated inferences about the significance of that meaning for that learner, to write coher-

[4] A wealth of recent illustrations can be found on Google image search.

ently, and to think critically and constructively about the written and spoken word in its sociolinguistic context (Hymes 1974; Halliday 1987; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004; Hammer and Swaffar 2012).

The account I outline here is not an attempt to recoup Bloom in any of its historical adaptations, but rather to point back at the lost complexity of this model as describing what literacy means in terms of logic and cognition in the abstract, and to parse more carefully what the FL profession's 60-year history since World War II has actually accomplished in terms of redefining such formalist descriptions of learning as pertaining not simply to the structure of knowledge to be learned, but also to the learner and the pragmatic practices involved in learning language (and hence to complex cognitive, affective, and psychomotor interactions centered *on the individual learner* and *at an individuated site of learning*). That job involves recouping a more complete context for both the development and afterlife of such postwar models for learning and teaching. That recovery process is particularly critical since foreign language instruction has only recently begun to research how to integrate learning and language concerns. Such holistic approaches could then be integrated into classroom models.

The reasons for this dereliction arguably lie in the history of the profession's evolution and its research agenda since WW II. Dell Hymes' broader concept of communicative competence, introduced in the 1960s (Hymes 1966), was later expanded in FL pedagogy (Savignon 1972, 1983) by adding the idea of "communicative competence" focusing on oral expression. Whereas Hymes stressed that "communicative competence" commenced with comprehension of an utterance or text's context, FL pedagogy tended to stress communication, neglecting the basis for communicative competence, the comprehension of a text's ethnography. In so doing, the practice of FL education tended to eclipse the fact that comprehension is starting point of any learning sequence, preceding acts of language production, whether written or spoken, and thus is the companion in the process of knowledge acquisition and in literacy.

At that time, that lack of attention to comprehension was understandable, given that behaviorist theories had begun to influence FL instruction at beginning and intermediate levels under the aegis of outcomes-oriented models, connecting input with outcomes to be tested in what came to be identified in FL teaching as four observable but separated skills: reading, writing, listening, and speaking. Today, the assumptions made by those models have been superseded in an era when researchers have, among other options, the ability to track neurological information during processing as more complex and multi-modal than behaviorism's stress on the link of stimulus to response.

Sixty years ago, however, without access to such tools, behaviorist psychologists and positivist theorists in education could assert with impunity that only separate, discrete, externalized outcomes and observable behaviors could be the measure of learning, with data collected and assessed in quantitative analyses. Such outcomes were more readily measurable than were learning processes. Thus concrete data about discrete expressions of learning were collected and evaluated as indicators of learner achievement levels. However, efforts to undertake assessments of learning

strategies (*how* learners tried to produce these outcomes), the role of student backgrounds, of first languages, of affective influences, or perceptions about FL cultures were not done because they afforded only indirect and often only descriptive data at a time prior to computer-assisted data collections and multi-variant analyses.

Today, almost 60 years later, the FL professions are at the point where cognition, affect, and psychomotor domains need to be rethought and reintegrated as part of a single literacy-based model that describes learning. The time has come to move beyond the past's disputed but persistent implementation of heuristics like Bloom's taxonomy and to reclaim its (still largely unrealized) potential—using these heuristics derived from other strategies for understanding teaching and learning in more general terms to reread paradigms for teaching and learning FLs in a more inclusive way, accounting for the learners. Integrative, language-driven paradigms for what and how a FL is learned have become increasingly relevant for a more comprehensive learning framework demanded in today's curricula and for the more diverse and globalized body of learners who engage with it as part of a twenty-first century paradigm for learner-centered and literacy-oriented education in the FLs and beyond.

For that reason the waypoints in the teaching and learning models implemented in the United States' FL instruction after World War II bear examination in some greater detail, to see how many of the still-dominant curricular and pedagogical paradigms of earlier eras helped create a situation that today threatens to marginalize FL instruction in colleges and universities rather than integrating it as central to the literacy of the university curriculum in general.

3 Skill Acquisition as a Learning Model: The Emergence of Technocratic Language Instruction in the United States

The time-honored tradition of childhood learning as anchored in reading, writing, and arithmetic was still solidly at play in the United States after World War II, as the nation faced the challenge of developing a modern education system that would bring learners across measurable levels of achievement (ideally up to post-secondary education) and create the best educated workforce in the world.

Big science—science fostered by government funding and all too often driven by its politics—began its work in the public sphere after its wartime successes, as committees like that headed by Bloom emerged and standardized testing (aptitude and achievement) ruled as the benchmarks attesting to institutions' success in educating a new, mass student body. Both the procedures and the outcome data produced by such initiative fit empiricist (and usually experimentally grounded) theories that saw evidence of learning in performance rather than in less readily verifiable cognitive outcomes.

Influenced by behavioral psychology and conditioned response models that remained mainstream theories of learning through most of the 1960s, the skills-as-

performance model initially transferred to postwar FL instruction in the form of audio-lingual training—learning to speak a FL through rote repetition (as habits or "overlearning") and learning grammar rules inductively on the basis of that repetition. Audio-lingual secondary and postsecondary textbooks (particularly the *ALM Method* series for all the major languages taught at those levels, based on structuralist approaches to describing language[5]) reflected practices used by the U. S. military in WW II. After the war, rote memorization was held to have inherited the cachet of the scientific empiricist methods widely respected in the 1940s and 50s: input of a certain number of hours of instructions yielded predictable outputs, judged by standardized tests.

By 1958, the Cold War political climate, with its focus on a Europe dealing with the Soviet threat, contributed to government passage of congressional funding through the National Defense Education Act (NDEA). The resulting centers for teacher training led to funding for adapting instructional programs in foreign languages along these empiricist-behaviorist models—and for claims about scientific approaches to learning as compared to older four-skills curricula.[6]

Political exigencies in the 1950s also had a practical impact on the constitution of FL departments: these influences changed the make-up of language department faculty for elementary and intermediate classes. Nationwide, a surge in language requirements introduced into the curriculum increased undergraduate enrollment and encouraged expansion of graduate programs, turning FL learning into a linchpin in the postwar education system of the United States (e.g. Berman 2003; Richter 2003). The NDEA centers established to train these new instructors in the audio-lingual approach later introduced other evolving pedagogies. Instead of extensive choral work in the classroom, students were sent to language labs to practice with taped language drills in a stimulus and response framework.

With burgeoning enrollments, beginning instruction now placed new demands on FL programs and tacitly gave graduate students a new role in comprehensive or research universities—the emergence of the "teaching assistant" as instructor of record in beginner and intermediate classes. In the 1960s, the faculty position of language coordinator also emerged, initially a regular faculty member who administered programs and provided supervision for growing numbers of graduate student instructors. Gradually, this role expanded, and a faculty member would generally be hired specifically to work with first and second year language programs. To

[5] ALM textbooks for the major western languages were developed by the Modern Language Materials Development Center and published by Harcourt, Brace, and World starting in the 1960s, remaining in print for decades. Each chapter started with a dialogue to be memorized and performed in the aural-oral context of a language laboratory.

[6] Four-skills textbooks were generally characterized by chapters that focused on individual grammar topics, introduced by a dialogue and an edited reading using the respective topic (often a culture capsule or a typical student experience), and then reinforced by explicit grammar instruction referring back to the oral and printed models. In contrast, ALM was distinguished particularly by its heavy use of language labs to start each new instructional topic with an aural-oral introduction. Repetition in four-skills topics turned into drills, emphasizing automaticity in a stimulus-response model.

promote uniformity in lower-division pedagogy and assessment, such coordinators began to have weekly meetings with graduate instructors that then evolved into a required course in FL learning theory and methods. While generally not having the rank or prestige of other faculty in a FL department, the coordinator was hired not only to supervise the curriculum but also, by the 1980s, to undertake empirical research or produce "how to" or theoretical articles for education journals, visit graduate instructor classes to encourage consistent teaching practices, produce teaching materials (even textbooks) on the methods they were classroom testing and provide coherence to multi-section courses in first- and second-year levels through informal coordination and testing sessions.

By the1980s, what had been "foreign language education" in schools of education, often defined in terms of ESL/EFL settings, found its analogue in the then almost ubiquitous efforts in FL departments to provide pedagogical training of graduate students. With that status, a new research specialty emerged, most commonly known as "applied linguistics" (e.g. Magnan 1983). Such a disciplinary evolution was necessary to upgrade the status of the faculty involved in "pedagogy" as a purely pragmatic activity and occasionally in psychometric research of the type not represented elsewhere in a typical language program of the time. Where ESL/EFL had as its focus how non-native speakers integrate into English-language environments, the goal of this new FL specialty was helping second language learners acquire the languages of countries to which they had little access other than through books and limited options for immersion, such as summer school or study abroad.

However, the traditional "graduate faculty" of the typical PhD program found it difficult to accept this new entry into their programs. In their view, upper-division and graduate courses in more traditional specializations of research and publishing (e.g. linguistics or literature) were the purview of research-oriented faculty, a definition that stressed interpretative studies or theoretical modeling rather than tracing "skills" through the curriculum. That these new "applied linguists" studied lower-division learners only reinforced curricular distinctions between so-called "lower" and "upper" division language courses.

Bloom's taxonomies as originally applied suggest ways to understand this division as more than prejudice. The lower division was managing the cognitive domain of language learning, as it was defined until well into the 1980s: as a question of linguistic structure. The learner was believed to be able to automatize or "overlearn" the rules of the target language, prioritizing grammatical correctness as evidence of learning. At the same time, elementary stages in learning a FL became an issue of learning linguistic form rather than other contents, which cut the learning styles of the typical lower division FL classroom apart from those in the upper division—"skills" were supposed to be mastered as a prerequisite to upper division learning of content (especially literature and high-culture texts), and their transfer (the shift repeating paradigms to using them as part of authentic communication, for example, was assumed to be a natural sequence).

The definition of language at play since the 1950s continued to be compatible with the linguistics of later decades: formalist and relating to structures and their correct use, as documented in the linguistic evidence. When specialized domains of

language were considered (often under the rubric of "language for special purposes," such as use in business or science or medicine), those new cognitive domains were defined in terms of inventories of linguistic forms and lexical items used. Language for special purposes often ignored the factors motivating acquisition of content subsumed in definitions of "content-based instruction" today (e.g. Stoller 2004).

The research paradigms existing within the typical FL department were thus incompatible. The skills approach to the lower-divisions language classroom operated on premises that did not foster upper-division expectations about content learning, critical thinking, or articulation of affective responses to what was learned. It focused on memory work and separating speaking, listening, reading, and writing in pedagogy and assessment; it was paired with research agendas dealing with a limited range of cognitive domains: usage, correctness, automaticity, memory per se rather than their application in synthetic or analytic reasoning. Indeed, the affective domain, recognized as critical in the reading of literary works (Shanahan 1997; Tucker 2000), was viewed as a potential block to automaticity and correctness. Such fundamentally different mindsets influence FL curriculum practices, materials development and research agendas at all levels of instruction to this day.

The historical development of the profession illustrates the impact of these splits. By the 1960s, increases in secondary school FL enrollments and a one- or two-year language requirement at most postsecondary institutions created the need for a professional venue that could foster and guide policies at these levels. The Modern Language Association (MLA, founded 1883), the dominant public policy venue for language study at that time, had often addressed such issues in the past since its founding, with a periodic focus on instruction in its flagship publication, the *PMLA*. By the mid-1960s, however, two wings of the FL college faculty had emerged as increasingly separate concerns (linguists and "literary scholars") and a third had begun to (applied linguistics): instructors conducting elementary instruction anchored in memorization and reproduction of language and professors devoting their energies to teaching advanced content and interpretation of linguistics and literature. Keeping these wings of the profession together appeared to many MLA members a divide too wide to breach.[7]

The solution to this problem was addressed in 1967, when the MLA sponsored the founding of a new professional organization devoted to FL research and teaching: The American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL).[8]

[7] The Linguistic Society of America (founded 1924) was still holding its annual conference next to that of the MLA in the same city at the same time, allowing a certain amount of crossovers in a "separate but equal" gesture that would not survive the 1990s, when the conference dates were separated.

[8] Extant professional organizations such as the American Association of Teachers of German or French and their publications also mirror this shift. Their publications either split into those reflecting language teaching (often as how-tos) versus those dealing with cultural interpretation, or gradually excluded teaching topics altogether. In terms of professional practice, at their conventions these organizations also gradually drifted toward issues of state and federal mandates, learning, and articulation. Note, too, that an equivalent split happened in English departments,

4 The Challenges to Empiricist Models

As the institutional face of FL research and teaching became reified in one trajectory, the research paradigm took off in other directions, accelerating dramatically. By the 1960s, the behaviorist model for learning was being questioned in ways that acknowledged expanded domains for language learning.

Work in the emerging field of psycholinguistics was challenging premises that limited research to observable behavior and empiricist premises about language acquisition. The evolving paradigm in psycholinguistics rested on a broad range of work, from outliers as far afield Jean Piaget's (1971) research through Eric Lenneberg's (1967) related proposals about language learning and stages in cognitive development, as well as Noam Chomsky's (1965) hypotheses about differences in language acquisition due to cognitive capabilities of a child compared with those of an adult. Although much of this linguistic or learning theory was not directly applicable to adult FL learners, its emergence prompted some voices in the FL profession to take a broader look at language acquisition as the result of interrelated abilities involving thought processes, not just behavioral modification (albeit in a cognitivist-mentalist paradigm).

By the late 1960s, new and expanded publishing venues gained in audience and influence. Increasingly, journals published research on learning that introduced changes into the FL curriculum, perhaps most notably the *Modern Language Journal.* The articles by Kenneth Chastain and Frank Woerdehoff in 1968 and 1970, for example, were one landmark for change. The authors used the definitions of John Carroll, a leading researcher on human intelligence and testing (e.g. Carroll 1967), to compare the audio-lingual habit theory with various impetuses remembered today under the general rubric of cognitive code-learning theory. Their study offered evidence that would ultimately shift the direction of language teaching: it looked at two groups' scores in speaking, listening comprehension, writing, and reading, measured using the MLA's foreign language exam, which included not only grammar, but also reading and listening comprehension (see Chastain and Woerdehoff 1968).[9] Results favored the cognitive code group over habit-formation. Audio-lingual approaches emerged as the less effective teaching tools.

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with the "writing sections" run by specialists in rhetoric and composition occupying a role similar to applied linguists; their Conference on College Composition and Communication was founded earlier, in 1949, as an organization within the National Council of Teachers of English.

[9] The findings were based on a comparison of 169 Purdue University students, 87 in three classes instructed in cognitive code and 82 in three classes using audio-lingual approaches. Each class took the Modern Language Aptitude Test and the Michigan State "M" Scales, an academic motivation measure during the first week. The article's four conclusions: "…(1) that deductive presentation of material was superior to inductive (2) that analysis was superior to analogy, (3) that drills stressing understanding were superior to pattern practice, and (4) that using all the senses in assimilating material being studied was superior to the natural order of presentation" (Chastain and Woerdehoff 1968, p. 279).

What was then understood by the term "cognitive code approach" and related rubrics that were subsequently incorporated was a more deductive style for teaching, tending toward explicit instruction about grammar rules and their applications in drills and exercises correlated with them, use of glossed reading materials, and reading or listening questions to check students' grasp of factual information (Chastain and Woerdehoff 1968). Their work prompted a new wave of research, notably a large-scale study of high school FL learners that found improved performance in control groups with grammar instruction as compared with audio-lingual classes (Smith 1970). The audio-lingual method and the government money investment associated with it had not produced language learners who reflected the gradually changing definitions of desirable communicative outcomes for FL classes (Hymes 1974; Savignon 1972; Canale and Swain 1979).

Not surprisingly, in the wake of such research, the preeminence of audio-lingual pedagogies declined dramatically and the federal funding that had generated audio-lingual textbooks was not renewed.[10] The cognitive code pedagogy with its grammar explanations, vocabulary lists, and discrete point learning exercises had indeed, by the 1970s, emerged as a viable and appealing alternative to rote learning—and as a kind of compromise focus on the established four skills. Teaching materials began to reflect some gestures toward emphasizing student motivation and user-centered language choice (rather than just normative formal linguistics), but the interface between learning theory and language teaching remained largely absent in the construction of teaching materials and curricula.

Post-ALM textbooks in the 1960s and 70s did not initially pay any great attention to redefining cognitive domains associated with language study, the affective domains of learners, or new psychomotor approaches to learning styles such as total physical response or game playing. The most significant elision was perhaps the increasingly influential psycholinguistic research about links between prior knowledge and language acquisition that would start to be acknowledged in the 1970s and 80s (e.g., Anderson 1974; Rumelhart 1977; Kintsch and Van Dijk 1978).

Arguably, however, even today, many textbooks remain palimpsests of past, questioned or even discredited concepts about language learning. They do so by focusing, for example, on isolated features of formal grammatical accuracy (idioms, prepositional phrases) rather than pragmatic applications or communicated content. Comprehension tasks rarely precede complex production exercises (such as synthetic sentences)—learners are asked to make language constructions without seeing them in their natural environments. As a result, tests of such books still reward memorized command of isolated language features (morphology, "fill in the blanks") rather than holistic abilities to integrate language and meaning.

[10] Those materials needed revision: the textbooks in the ALM method for all the major secondary languages were all cut on the same pattern, translated from each other rather than reflecting the inductive grammar rule hierarchies of each individual language.

5 The Impact of Psycholinguistic Theory and Research

Starting in the late 1960s, linguists and psychologists in their research began to focus on the nature of cognitive processing in the foreign as well as the adult learner's native language (e.g., Kintsch 1970). Their impact was recognized by a diverse set of applied linguists trying to innovate programs in FL learning. As a result, by the 1970s, more student-centered learning approaches were being proposed, notably in venues such as NEH or FIPSE grants and ACTFL workshops. Some resulting publications in book series, and articles in influential venues such as *The Foreign Language Annals* and *The Modern Language Journal* introduced reading for ideas (textual propositions) and initial steps toward the pragmatics of grammar and the particular value of collocations. By the late 1970s and at the start of the 1980s, research focused on the role of cognitive processing in FL acquisition, expanding the definitions of the cognitive domain that had been in play under the sway of behaviorism. This work foreshadowed the focus on the learner that dominated in pedagogical thinking of the 1990s—"the Decade of the Learner."

Examples of efforts to establish a comprehension-based learning sequence for cognitive, affective, and psychomotor processes: Valerian Postovsky (1974) found evidence supporting teaching comprehension before asking for language production (Winitz 1981); Alice Omaggio-Hadley (1979) studied the role of pictorial input to enhance vocabulary retention; James Asher's (1972) "Total Physical Response" linked psychomotor responses to cognitive processes in FL acquisition; and Janet Swaffar and Margaret Woodruff (1978) investigated adult level content-based instruction that commenced with recognition tasks. As a master of monikers that emphasized students' affective as well as cognitive processing—coining by-words such as "comprehensible input" and "affective filter"—, Stephen Krashen (1982) emerged as a catalyst for theoretical rethinking ESL and FL pedagogy, as well. Such new, more detailed attention to the affective, psychomotor, and cognitive domains as affecting the learner in ways quite far from the formalisms of language itself (at the basis of skills-driven assessment). Together, these trends pointed to more holistic approaches to language learning (Swain 1985).

The most influential ongoing studies in this new, significantly more student-centered learning came from Canada's research centers, investigating bilingual education, as they attempted to build curricula in new ways. In ongoing contributions, Michael Canale and Merrill Swain's (1979) work argued for the value of Dell Hymes' (1974) earlier suggestions about discourse contexts as key markers of speaker intentionality. Indeed, speech acts such as inquiry or negotiation were recognized as critical to communicative effectiveness (Kramsch and Crocker 1990). This expanded definition of "communicative competence" commenced with comprehension of speaker intent prior to emphasis on student exchanges. These exchanges, anchored in familiar social situations, replaced repetition and over-learning activities by encouraging learner's language choices and expanding their freedom of expression. Pragmatic language use was beginning to assume importance in the curriculum.

Such shifts to a more learner-centered pedagogy appeared to be supported by attitude studies such as those of Elaine Horwitz (1986). Findings about stress and inhibition in a classroom focused on a teacher-driven question-and-answer environment. Earlier investigations of classroom discourses had argued for more student talk and teacher review of accuracy issues in general rather than attention to accuracy in individual oral performance (Holley and King 1975; Schumann and Stetson 1975).

These proposals gave credence to ideas about changing FL programs, but no consensus emerged about how to do so. Attitude research, discourse research, and broadened attention to sociolinguistics and user concerns did not necessarily add up to new curricula. The impact of such research was gradual, constrained by practical exigencies, unlike the curricular breaks when *the* audio-lingual approach after 1945 supplanted predecessors, only to be displaced by *the* cognitive code and any number of subsequent efforts to claim a preeminent "method" for teaching and acquiring a new language. Given this array of pedagogical options teachers trained to teach from textbooks that championed *an* approach now found themselves confronted with multiple, sometimes competing facets of new pedagogical models.

The dominant proposals centered on Communicative Language Teaching (CLT), but shared that stage with related foci such as functional-notional approaches or teaching for proficiency, all of which encouraged students' verbal interactions in and outside of class to express particular intents and to negotiate different social situations (Rivers 1981). For teachers trained in the relative straightjacket of ALM, these precepts represented a stark contrast in freedom for both their students and their curricula. For many, these new trends lacked a coherent set of pedagogical practices and involved fundamentally new modes for assessment of learning. Indeed, for a variety of reasons, entrenched practices proved difficult to alter.

As noted above, the American Council for the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) and its publication, *The Foreign Language Annals*, helped solidify not only the professional value, but also the distinctly different enterprise of professional language teachers vis-à-vis their colleagues in the fields of literature and linguistics in postsecondary institutions—validating a tribe of empiricists in the midst of a humanist discipline. It also created a professional link between K-12 teachers and postsecondary teachers of language, which over time was perceived by many to be stronger than the lower- to upper-division ties at the college level. In any case, the thus-reinforced professional divide proved particularly evident in postsecondary schools granting PhDs for language teachers.

In cases for promotion and tenure in such institutions, pedagogy and applied linguistic research lacked the prestige of literary and linguistic studies in the minds of other colleagues in the liberal arts. At the same time, they were not viewed as broad enough for most schools of education, or technical enough for the formal linguistics of the time. This lack of prestige also affected (and continues to affect today) the salaries and tenure prospects of language specialists.[11]

[11] A significant effort to emend this situation occurred in the 1980 with the creation of the American Association of University Supervisors and Coordinators (AAUSC), for directors of FL programs and their influential annual volume addressing critical issues in the profession.

Particularly in those many situations where language coordinators were untenured, they remained isolated from the advantages of research and professional development. Separated in their teaching venues from faculty teaching upper division and lacking funds and professional initiatives, they were not in a position to speak with a strong voice in crafting curriculum design for the departmental language program as a whole. The sense of competing methodologies left both teachers and particularly textbook publishers understandably preferring small-step modifications of the status quo rather than adopting full-scale innovations. While providing short readings from authentic materials that would hopefully enhance student motivation, for example, textbooks continued to offer dialogues and slot-filling or "synthetic sentence" exercises. More socio-linguistically or cognitively complex activities tended to appear at the end of chapters. They often appeared as addenda or optional components in revised editions of textbooks originally designed in the 1970s, often with "language lab" components (gradually adapted to television and, later, computer use).

Consequently, "eclectic" textbooks continued to anchor the FL profession in a tradition of amalgamated agendas (standard task sequences such as ALM dialogues and drills *and* CLT activities) rather than the sequenced, integrative learning approaches designed to bridge the lower- and upper-division gaps in objectives and pedagogies. The new, contextualized activities were often set in artificial situations, ostensibly content-based. Pragmatically, the result was a further estrangement of FL research and teaching from the departments now suspicious about "the latest methods" and their lack of success for learners, from institutions and funding agencies that had invested in audio language labs that now embraced new technologies with untested application, and from researchers in learning whose paradigms for exploring learning and the learner had greatly expanded, but lacked criteria for progress and testing programs for assessment that was reliable and verifiable.

6 Professional Organizations Weigh In: Toward a Second Post-War Curricular Reform

No wonder, then, that the FL teaching professions sought to find a new set of data validating its new practices, even as they avoided a search for a new model of learning that provided links between the material that was to be learned, the learner, and strategies for teaching.

It was not until the late 1970s that, under ACTFL auspices, a program to *assess* performance (and thus to provide the new data validating practice) was initiated in response to an increasingly popular pedagogical emphasis on what Canale and Swain (1979) called "communicative competence." The resultant oral proficiency test represented the profession's first step since the audio-lingual period (with its NDEA institutes) toward establishing nationwide curricular objectives and standards for FL study, this time through an assessment program and by training raters who understood how to compare certain kinds of language performance. Proficiency

testing was developed as an outcome measure. Although it was not intended to act as a curricular framework, as an outcome measure it certainly had curricular implications (see, for example, Omaggio-Hadley 2000; Liskin-Gasparro 2003).

Adapted from procedures used by the Defense Language Institutes in Monterrey, California, and Washington, D. C., the proficiency movement ushered in alternatives to the behaviorist "accuracy" and "skills" model that had dominated assessment to that point. It did so by introducing the notion that learner objectives needed to shift in relation to communicative effectiveness—and implicitly that the curricula should construct stages in evolving discursive competencies that reflected ascending levels of their Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI). Sometimes grammaticality would shift as students improved on the OPI. In some subsequent studies, for instance, researchers found that, as speakers of a foreign language improved in conceptual and discursive range as rated by achieving higher OPI levels, they tended to make more surface language grammar errors than did students who rated lower on the proficiency scale (see, for example, Magnan 1988).

In other words, curricula began to be adapted to these assessment practices. FL textbooks began to assign exercises that structured communicative complexities in negotiating disagreements or expressing abstract ideas on their own merits (Kramsch and Crocker 1990). This new paradigm acknowledged the speaker's processing load, and thus how and why surface-language (grammatical, lexical) errors increased. By emphasizing the value of increasing articulatory ability, the oral proficiency test gave a FL learner's ability to express creative, context-appropriate ideas pride of place as an advance in language competency. With that step, the movement introduced what was considered a new framework for assessing learner progress in what seemed to be a more student-centered and communicative-based classroom. FL learning practice was beginning to encourage and reward adult literacy—knowing how to do things with words even when not "native-like" (Byrnes 1998a, b; Birdsong 2006).

In this way, the movement also contributed to groundwork for introducing more complex models of language and social behavior into models of language teaching and learning, introducing, for instance, discourse analysis (Allwright 1980; Bacon 1987; Lazaraton 2003; McCarthy and Carter 1994; Scott 2009), pragmatics (Kasper 1998), and notions of cultural literacy into the FL curriculum (Arens 2009; Firth and Wagner 1997; Lantolf 2006; Kramsch 2009). From the outset, the rigorous ACTFL training program to qualify as a proficiency rater stressed that ranking involved sensitivity to a variety of cultural contexts, and it provided clear links between learners and curricular practice that had been missing in earlier eclectic models for classroom teaching. Raters-in-training worked with models for each of the four levels of proficiency—novice, intermediate, advanced, and superior—that looked for increasingly literate expression (Byrnes and Canale 1987).

With the OPI focus on literacy in oral communication, sociolinguistic concerns entered the curriculum in new ways, changing the cognitive focus for learners from language formalisms to aspects of language use and performance. Although the ACTFL *Proficiency Guidelines* (2012 [1986]) had a section on each of the four skills, only the OPI existed as a testing technique. To achieve advanced or superior

competency ratings in speaking, for instance, speakers had to respond appropriately in different social settings and to different contexts: work, home, leisure, for example, and do so according to the norms of any recognized social community. At the highest levels, register (in the sense of prestige varieties of language) became important. At those levels speakers had to display cultural awareness about the existence of various specialized or domain-specific languages, not just a single normative language competency.

Research quite naturally followed on this new model of the cognitive demands placed on the learner, seeking to add data that confirmed proficiency criteria for assessing speaking levels (Magnan 1988). Subsequently taped, computerized formats for assessment interviews were also developed, yielding consistent and verifiable results (Liskin-Gasparro 1984). Yet the initial goal of the proficiency movement, expanding this individualized, multidimensional form of assessment to encompass reading, listening, and writing levels, has not yet materialized in equally developed forms.

More critically, the broader agenda of the movement—to assess all aspects of language acquisition—hit a snag. The initial criteria models that worked for establishing FL speakers' different levels of reading ability could not be verified in early research studies (see Allen et al. 1988; Lee and Musumeci 1988). Work in discourse and genre theory, especially that of SFL (Eggins 1994, 2004; Lee 2001; Martin and Rose 2008) suggests several reasons for this unanticipated problem that ACTFL encountered in establishing a performance sequence for reading, writing, and listening comprehension.

The issue was that reading, writing, and listening are not externally conditioned exchanges of language in the same way that oral interviews are—they all fall under the rubric of "language use," but not in the same way. In the oral proficiency situation, an interlocutor and the contextual constraints on any given exchange help fix ideas of communicative appropriateness and restrict choice. The reader, listener, or writer, on the other hand, engages in a particular, internally generated discourse that is not driven by an interlocutor-framed interaction or an assigned description, as is the oral proficiency test.

To develop viable descriptions of what it means to "read a text" or "write about culture" requires many more decisions about what success or failure in these tasks might require learners to do. Raters would want to know what individual background knowledge or cultural experiences informs a particular reader's performance (e.g. Johnson 1982). When listeners, readers, and writers confront an "other" in their heads rather than in a conversational interchange, they comprehend or generate language on *their* terms, affectively as well as cognitively, and hence may or may not address the comprehension or the language use sought by an evaluator.

In spoken proficiency, for instance, such sophistication is the hallmark of the very advanced or superior speaker, since speaking makes greater demands on rapid recall and automaticity than reading or listening do. Readers and writers in particular have options to reflect and reread or rewrite. Time is on their side, an advantage

speakers do not have.[12] But adult learners who can read and write in their native language are able to process FL texts applying some strategies they already possess, albeit in different ways than native speakers with equivalent background knowledge and reading goals might–perhaps recursively rather than simultaneously. More recent work with the 2012 version of the ACTFL proficiency guidelines have broadened beyond genre to focus on author purpose, text type, and specific reading, writing, and listening tasks, thus incorporating more kinds of literacies (e.g. Clifford and Cox 2013; Luecht 2003).

The Bloom committee's work on sequencing performance assessment provided an early reference for identifying factors that learners employ to manage (negotiate) situations. It was not until the 1980s, however, that one sees how the theoretical paradigms for research and teaching have begun to redefine the cognitive and affective domains of learning. Critical for FL instruction was the move to "authentic" language in assessing proficiency, and hence to a vision of communicative competence that recognized cultural differences. Increasingly, *language literacies* were becoming the focus of communication, supplanting the notion of language defined as an artificial standard of accuracy (Dörnyei and Ushioda 2011).

Yet the specter of native-like speech still raises questions about oral proficiency assessment. For instance, is proficiency testing sufficiently sensitive to discursive factors anchored in cultural differences (e.g. Kramsch 1987)? And what is the relation of "oral proficiency" to electronically mediated exchanges such as chats (e.g., Abrams 2003)?

By the 1990s, such concerns challenged definitions of "communicative competence" as a reference point for curricular development. Scholars in literature and cultural studies (the latter an important new wave in scholarship in FL departments commencing in the 1980s) would still point to the poverty of any model of language that does not reference more sophisticated performances of textuality in various genres, or "reading" other cultural artifacts. From their point of view, the cognitive domain related to language remained impoverished, no matter what teachers of FL asserted about learning language as learning culture. The "culture capsules" inherited from the four-skills and ALM textbook generation did not introduce content of any sophistication to engage learners' point of view, even at the moment when students were increasing their study abroad and ongoing media access to foreign venues on the internet.

Two external influences in the 1980s, globalization trends in transportation and communication, had also begun to contribute significantly to curricular change. Relatively inexpensive fuel, airline deregulation, and more advanced jet engine design, all made international travel more readily affordable for students. These factors led to a surge in study abroad, international tourism, and business travel that increased public interest in communicative approaches to language learning.

[12] See the revised proposals <http://actflproficiencyguidelines2012.org/> and the links at the bottom that show levels for the other modalities. The old concept of active versus passive (division of speaking/writing and listening/reading), long suspect but still not sorted out, is being replaced, possibly in situational terms along these lines.

7 Global Language Studies?

By the 1990s, the internet introduced a radical change in communication worldwide. With the advent of increasingly widespread public internet access, textual production and dissemination (text in the sense of multi-media) began to explode, and the resulting media ecology destabilized older definitions of authorship, authenticity, and reliable narrators. In the age of Google and Wikipedia, declarative knowledge, now readily accessible, became less relevant than procedural competences, thus creating a generation of students receptive to instruction that uses these media. Increasingly, the widely varying implications of media texts depended on their sources and their discursive as well as visual and acoustic styles. Multiliteracy became an online opportunity.

Classrooms gradually became fully networked, as well, allowing real-time access to a new range of authentic materials that facilitated study of contemporary culture. At the same time these options also presented problems in reading and interpretation (and their assessment) that FL research on teaching and assessment had not addressed. Oral proficiency testing, a validated measure of oral performance, had limitations in other domains.

In retrospect, the communicative competence and proficiency movements of the 1970s and 80s pointed the way toward a reframing of what FL teaching and learning needed to account for to retain its significance as an area of study and research next to literary/cultural studies and linguistics in the "FL department." And these tenuous indicators of progress were again put under pressure following the collapse of the USSR and commensurate political changes in Eastern and Western Europe in the 1990s, concomitantly with the rising costs of postsecondary education, the end of the Cold War, and demographic shifts in the student enrollments in FL study.

These changes affected shifting institutional infrastructures. Global competitiveness introduced new, pragmatic objectives to FL study. Formerly less commonly taught languages (LCTLs) gained status and students within the university. Generous financial support from the Japanese and, more recently, from the Chinese government has introduced Japanese and Mandarin teachers and created a market for learning materials into US curricula. At the same time, with increasing numbers of Spanish speakers within the United States, the economic and social value of that language created a surge of student numbers, especially in Southwestern states. The traditional institutional dominance of French and German in high schools and colleges shrank precipitously (see Goldberg and Welles 2001; Goldberg et al. 2004).

Given the reduced need for new French and German instructors at these levels, graduate programs were undergoing significant reductions, the underappreciated segment of the average PhD-producing department now emerged as controlling the purse-strings, and the general inability of many departments to identify and assess outcomes over a curriculum put whole departmental entities into question. Formerly independent FL departments were closed, amalgamated into departments of modern languages, or placed within an English or Humanities program. In professional journals, administrators and pedagogues alike proposed that supplanting traditional

language programs with studies in translation or cultural studies could complement or even supplant the need for FL learning in some institutions.

And with the present crisis of institutional mission versus models for FL teaching and learning, the profession has come full circle on its own turmoil. The half-century since Bloom's committee and its work have left aspects of the taxonomies behind, but FL teachers and scholars have not yet answered its overall challenge: how to describe the learning process in terms of the domains that the learner uses to learn (cognitive, psychomotor, and affective), and in terms of the outcomes of the learning process (a set of the challenges that define the kinds of tasks that an "educated" learner must answer to in order to be assessed as educated, as the proficiency movement outlined for oral proficiency). As I shall address in the conclusion to the present essay, another aspect of Bloom's taxonomies, the hierarchy of task difficulty that challenges the learning process, has been both lauded and critiqued but not extensively rethought in terms of possible relevance to a postsecondary FL curriculum.

In response to these challenges, a group of professionals interested in modeling language learning as a more comprehensive engagement with learning in general and with learning about other cultures in particular have offered a tool with a reach not unlike Bloom's taxonomies, but which models the best current thinking about the domains active in FL learning. The ACTFL *Standards* (2010 [1996]) provided a model designed to guide curricular development, assessment and research about the teaching and learning that is used in the gamut of FL programs and departments as a whole, not just its lower division courses, devoted putatively only to language-teaching. Unfortunately, while in theory having a K-16 scope, curricular implementation has been largely restricted to secondary schools and textbooks.

8 The ACTFL Standards as a Major Step Toward a New Comprehensive Model for Teaching and Learning

A critical proposal designed to model more comprehensive visions of language learning for a new generation of curricular development, the ACTFL *Standards* strive to integrate the results of theories about language offered by humanists as well as linguists. A not unimportant second goal was to offer a tool to educators at all levels to explain what kinds of learning are associated with "language teaching," and to set up frameworks for professional rewards, assessment, and research related to these new learning tasks.

This initiative was undertaken by a consortium of professional language organizations working with the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL). The resulting blueprint was laid out in ACTFL's 1996 publication, now known by its revised title and elaborated descriptions of tasks: *Standards for Foreign Language Learning: Preparing for the Twenty-First Century* (ACTFL 2010). Since 1996, the *Standards*' project has developed a support system for curriculum and professional development that integrates professional organizations and federal

agencies with state and district language supervisors in secondary schools (see Phillips and Abbott 2011). As anticipated by project developers, many individual states and professional organizations have modified components of this new ACTFL model as they took its framework to guide their own designs and implementations for curricula and teacher training. Various task forces have adapted the *Standards*' project's overall model for learning objectives and instructional tasks to set out frameworks for teaching and learning different languages.

To date, the primary impact of the *Standards* has been their federally mandated target audience: FL program developers in elementary and secondary schools who have used its framework to represent language teaching in their local curricula. June K. Phillip's and Marty Abbott's (2011) report, *A Decade of Foreign Language Standards: Impact, Influence, and Future Directions*, documents publications and participation efforts for extensive implementation of the *Standards*' pedagogical objectives in foreign language instruction K-12, but not in the colleges and universities as the original project also envisioned. K-12 teachers have begun to tag their own practical work with the kinds of labels that can be drawn from the *Standards*, but, ironically, theoretical presentations by postsecondary authors have dominated public discussion of the standards' use and implications for the curriculum in both secondary and postsecondary teaching of foreign languages.[13]

A recent publication documents responses of over 16,000 elementary and intermediate college students to a written questionnaire, including questions about whether and to what extent FL students share the goals of the *Standards*' five Cs—Communication, Culture, Comparisons, Connections, and Communities. Its results suggest that these standards do indeed reflect significant learning objectives for FL learners in colleges and universities, albeit with different emphases among languages and learning levels (Magnan et al. 2012, 2014). That is, the standards do have some claim at presenting and modeling the FL teaching and learning domains in postsecondary institutions, even if they have not been implemented overtly into their curricula.

Questionnaire respondents were not, however, asked about specific applications of the standards in college FL nor in classes taken prior to the ones they were taking in college.[14] Consequently, the results do not document statistically the extent to which those students' own expressed learning goals at the college level are attributable to explicit instruction in which the standards played a decisive role (Magnan et al. 2012). Given the absence of comprehensive organizational implementation

[13] Phillips and Abbott (2011) describe these articles as "a positive scholarly response" to the ACTFL initiative. Of the 591 references, 167 were identified has having principal focus on Standards, 143 substantial mention, 281 passing mention) supporting the premise that Standards have had a major impact on the profession through this number of publications. Of the 310 references classified as principal focus or substantial mention, 173 are in journals, 90 are book chapters, 16 are books, and 40 are dissertations.

[14] Respondents did, however, rank the priorities they would assign to the 5 standards as extremely or very high whereas educators ranked all but communication in the lowest percentiles (see Magnan et al. 2014, pp. 66–67).

of the *Standards* at the postsecondary level, information about the degree and their pedagogical presence in university FL programs remains largely anecdotal or inferentially based on syllabi and course descriptions from individual institutions. This seems true even for K-12 methods courses for FL teachers.[15]

That overt teaching of the *Standards* remains a negligible factor in postsecondary curricula is not surprising, given the degree to which current research and theoretical models for learning in the field of applied linguistics have been ignored in those contexts—sometimes even by FL methods instructors. The large study's questionnaire comparison of student goals and expectations of learners enrolled in both commonly and less commonly taught languages revealed that most of the *Standards* reflected their personal goals in FL study but that their goals and expectations "did not completely align" with those of foreign language educators (Lafford 2014, p. v). The underlying reasons for such discrepancies lie to some degree in the division between teaching and research specializations that have reified since the 1960s, as noted above. Yet several other curricular and pedagogical legacies of the last half-century persist even when their origins have been discredited or forgotten, and as a result they probably reinforce resistance to the paradigm the *Standards* represent.

First, for reasons discussed in foregoing pages, the FL profession has entrenched concepts about a wide gap existing between teaching language acquisition at elementary and intermediate levels and teaching the literacies that characterize upper-division work—continuity is rarely assumed between these levels. Consequently, the weave between language learning, learning processes, and content represented in task descriptions easily goes unnoticed, because all too many faculty members posit language learning as a sequence leading from language learning, rather than as a set of progressively more difficult negotiations among aspects of language managed by learners in the cognitive, affective, and psychomotor domains. The *Standards* stress that language and other contents, set in particular contexts that require active negotiation, are interrelated from the outset of instruction. They rest on the tenet that acquiring a foreign language requires a broader kind of engagement between learner, discourse contexts, and language than researchers and instructors trained in prior research and assessments (focusing so often on the formalisms and normativity of language) are wont to notice. The *Standards* narrate these interactions as subordinate standards that project cognitive, affective, and psychomotor demands into various tasks. While fulfilling these tasks, learners are encouraged to focus on managing sociocultural demands that determine linguistic usage. The staging and sequencing of task difficulties enables students to study the resources of an L2 culture (performing communication, making connections and comparisons, joining communities and learning about the culture of a target language).

[15] That assertion seems to hold for professors of method courses for K-12 teachers as well—often taught by non-language specialists. Phillips and Abbott found that district supervisors judged only 56% of new K-12 FL teachers to be familiar with the Standards (14). A subsequent assessment of 29 syllabi suggested that topics related to the Standards were addressed (teaching grammar in context, strategies for enabling comprehensible input for a variety of media) and about 50% incorporate standards-based resources (14). With the exception of Shrum and Glisan (2010), most methods textbooks are not built around the standards or direct sections toward postsecondary curricula.

The second and related issue counter to the adoption of the *Standards*' model for thinking about teaching and learning on the postsecondary level may be academic freedom based on research productivity. Teachers, not learners, are presumed to be in control of the classroom, even if what is taught may be unlearnable, in terms of common notions of cognitive development (Halford 1978). And when those teachers are scholars, the materials taught take center stage rather than the learners. Often they turn the classroom into a showplace for a particular theory (e.g. gender or ethnic identity politics) with little regard for students' possible inability to intake materials presented according to a program rather than a learning sequence.

What these specialists are *not* taught how to do is to use a preferred theoretical model to structure teaching or to structure a curriculum—to teach learners how to participate consciously in achieving a particular goal or set of goals by giving them systematic, developmental practice in negotiating the demands (Bloom's cognitive, psychomotor, and affective domains, or ACTFL's framing of culture represented in intersections of the 5 Cs [see Arens, this volume] that learning on the postsecondary level requires).

This lack, however, has not emerged as a conscious project needing correction in post-secondary education. To address it would involve a fairly radical shift in current curricular practices. Instead of the dominant pedagogy for designing today's content courses, structuring a learning sequence around the material to be learned, a more conscious pedagogy would construct that sequence around the growing capabilities of the learner. Instead of producing adult participants who tend cultural legacies as scholars within favored theoretical grids, that pedagogical paradigm would focus on offering practice in content-based situation management, which, over a sequence of practices, would produce assessable outcomes—a strategy that can articulate language learning into more general frameworks in U. S. colleges and universities (Swaffar 1981).

Some faculty members might perceive that shift as an invasion of their intellectual freedom. The postsecondary professorate has traditionally been privileged to decide independently what and how to teach. Arguably, however, when professors dismiss other parts of the curriculum as "not my specialty," they also abdicate responsibility for choosing overriding frameworks about the domains to be learned in their fields.

Without such shared frameworks for a FL program, especially a program in a large, diverse department, systematic staging of entry into those domains in ways that accommodate learners and known learning strategies becomes virtually impossible. With its legacy of specialization in separate fields of inquiry ("original research") that has characterized US higher education for decades, the expertise acquired by specialists brings with it prestige but also a degree of insularity that today threatens the status of FL programs in postsecondary institutions (Kramsch 1992, 1995; Swaffar and Arens 2005).

I have presented the pedagogical implications of the Bloom committee's taxonomies and the *Standards* project as attempts to outline coherent models for learning in ways that inform a multiliteracy curriculum, but it is critical to remember that they are very different documents. The core of Bloom's taxonomies in all three

dimensions is a map of the available strategies that can facilitate or impede learning in different frameworks (domains), or what we might call the learner's modes of learning or learning styles when confronting materials (cognitive, affective, psychomotor). That map acknowledges degrees of difficulty in the structure of these strategies within its domain. The *Standards'* central metaphor is a map on which a learner is to be situated, within the context of curriculum development and the staging of language acquisition: a diagram of interlocking rings, one for each domain of knowledge and pragmatic usage associated with language and social-semiotic expression within a cultural community.

What is not generally acknowledged is how these two models have been presented: in their conventional use, they are shown as trying to tie their respective domains to task hierarchies—to series of tasks reflecting increasingly complex negotiations of a learner with a body of information, forms of expression, and social roles that inhere to a field of knowledge, using strategies (culturally and cognitively) available to targeted learners. In other words, neither model has been appreciably applied as a framework for staging the acquisition, articulation, and assessment of new knowledge students glean from working with FL materials.[16]

Bloom's *Taxonomy* in the cognitive domain is taken all too often as a representation of learning strategies. Yet those strategies are based on a learner's task sequence leading from comprehension through production to critical thinking. To be sure, that sequence is by no means a one-way street. Learners frequently circle back through various stages, reiterating or reconsidering original reactions and assessments and augmenting their implications as they learn these strategies that are central to understanding and communication in the West.[17] And in Western culture the amalgam of taxonomies often function most overtly in the cognitive domain.

Western sociolinguistic models tend to privilege the patterns of thought that characterize an adult, independent learner in a particular society (and his or her developmental stages). One should not take this process as cognitively normative, however, because each discipline and its privileged cognitive and expressive norms are issues of context and history within a culture. And so the Bloom committee specified that labeling must come prior to working with patterns *in a system privileging formal logic* (usually, Western formal logic), and that original syntheses are the most difficult patterns in logic to teach and to learn.

In a different vein, the *Standards* project maps the domains of knowledge folded together in language learning, and then posits ever more complex negotiations that a learner must engage in to perform an identity within those domains of knowledge in the target culture. Here again, the model points to how learning can be tacitly staged as a task hierarchy, moving from simpler to more complex *negotiations*, defined in

[16] Here I would underscore that the *Standards* are not themselves a curricular framework. They are intended to act as a heuristic for curriculum developers, helping them to target the domains of language and linguistics knowledge that individuals and school districts choose to build into their curricula and assess. Presently, they are used to categorize specific activities that can be used in classrooms to target specific domains of language use, and to identify their degrees of difficulty.

[17] And beyond. Here, the strategies targeted in Bloom's *Taxonomy* are viewed only as particularly characteristic of the acculturation for knowledge production in the West.

terms of the expressions it prioritizes. Ideally, those expressions are integrated with a knowledge community, with the culturally specific forms in which such a community stores its knowledge and with the ability to critique those forms, or engaging work in hypotheticals and counterfactuals as well as description.

What such comprehensive models suggest in staging task hierarchies (no matter how constructed), then, is that the institutional and content divides that have predominated in FL departments over the period surveyed here cannot stand—teaching and learning need to be modeled with attention to how learners can best be given a map to learning particular contents, what outcomes are desired as critical strategic tools for integration into various communities of expression and knowledge, and how they can be assessed as part of a developmental series.

The proficiency movement offered a miniature of that requirement, focusing on oral exchanges and with relatively little reference to more than hypothetical sociocultural contents (e.g., conversations, asking and answering questions, managing discourse in social contexts). Viewed together, the Bloom committee's work and the *Standards* project shared an effort to ground curricular reform on the basis of a more comprehensive model of learning, realized by specifying task types, and assessed (respectively) as mental processing challenges or sociocultural negotiations understood and expressed in language or language-based behaviors. The difficulties posed by language and content could be addressed by means of appropriate tasks to the students' learning and motivational levels.

By implication, both proposals represent teaching premises that model learning sequences in the form of assessable outcomes, staged developmentally. They also represent a challenge to the curricular premises of most departments of foreign languages, because FL departments divided between lower- and upper divisions and across specialty content areas will not be able to capture the developmental stages in multiliteracy acquisition. The literacy in all three of Bloom's domains or all five of ACTFL's rings that is associated with FL teaching is a substantial area of cultural content (not just language use) and learning as a student-centered process.

The leading professional organizations representing postsecondary fields and their specialists—the MLA, the AAUSC, and ACTFL—have all introduced a number of efforts to change entrenched attitudes of FL department faculties about both curricular divides and the FL profession's intellectual roles in a changing university. In so doing, they have offered another comprehensive model for language learning and teaching, one that underscores the need to unify departments institutionally as both content- and language-driven. The MLA's recent statements underscore that the fate of the profession lies in the ability to overcome traditional divides between content areas in programs and departments, and to focus on the learners as well as on content areas to be covered.

The MLA *ad hoc* Committee on Foreign Languages (2007, 2008) issued its first recommendation for FL programs to establish "clear standards of achievement for undergraduate majors in speaking, reading, writing, and comprehension and to develop the programming necessary to meet these standards." Their report's emphasis on the teaching of culture led to subsequent conference sessions and written responses whose scope ranged from assessing its implications for given languages

(Costabile-Heming 2011) to criticism of the report for failing to define key terms such as "knowledge base" (Bernhardt 2010), the role of literature to cultural studies (see Forum 2007, 2008), and literacy (Arens 2012).

The MLA's restructured 2011 convention program ("The Academy in Hard Times" 2011), while addressing the wider impact of the 2008 recession and its aftermath, did so in conjunction with further addressing the problems that were alluded to in the *MLA Report* (MLA *ad hoc* Committee on Foreign Languages 2007, 2008). Overall, MLA convention planning has expanded to include greater numbers of sections dedicated to FL instruction at all levels (including the teaching of literature), as well as taking in sessions structured by the AAUSC, the professional organization devoted to issues in language coordination. More recently, as well, MLA presidents who are noted scholars in traditional FL study have also joined in voicing concerns proposing solutions to perceived disparities between lower- and upper-division learning objectives. Such moves signal the need for a comprehensive model for FL teaching and learning that can begin by mapping traditional areas of scholarship *as literacies*—as cultural knowledge of content and practices that empower individuals as part of groups.

But to change institutional practices underlying long-held convictions about how to teach foreign language assessed with respect to a hypothetical, linguistically defined native language literacy demands a united effort of all faculty members in a department to modify long-held attitudes about foreign language learning and its relation to learning in general and to the areas of learning and scholarship that have existed for a half-century in U.S. FL departments. As Heidi Byrnes has noted, the MLA's Advisory Committee for Foreign Languages and Literatures, inaugurated in 1990, was part of its effort to change professional attitudes, to "transcend the powerful native—non-native distinction" in the field and "examine the relation between foreign language study and native language literacy" (Byrnes 1998a, p. 3).

To change such attitudes and develop programs based on new insights about foreign language study and native language literacy also involves changing the current culture of language departments in North America. And as the field is increasingly aware, the location and mission of individual departments has tremendous impact on the foreign language literacy they choose to develop. One size will not fit all (Eigler and Kathöfer 2009; Hock 2009). Nor will any one model of literacy. But what has to happen is that the messages of Bloom's *Taxonomies* and the *Standards* be taken seriously. FL departments exist to teach extant learners in consistent, complex, and integrative language use to express meaning, and to sequence learning in terms of learner development, not just by traditional approaches to favored scholarly materials held apart from each other.

9 Acknowledging Problems and Fixing Them

Such a shift involves major commitments to changing practices and developing viable curricula in departments and programs at all levels. It will be critical to have senior faculty in those universities that train PhDs as scholars and teachers recognize

and alter the drastically self-marginalizing nature of a two-tiered language program (James 1989; MLA *ad hoc* Committee on Foreign Languages 2007, 2008).

To be sure, individual departments must undertake realistic steps that best suit their own academic environment (Bernhardt 2010; Hock 2009). I urge only that a department faculty needs to consider adoption of a model for learning that suits their own objectives and that allows for the sequencing of a task hierarchy that establishes what, in a particular framing, is learnable at what stages in student FL acquisition—and how the complexity of learning interlocked content and performance literacies can be acknowledged and fostered. Like Allen and Arens' chapters in this volume, I see the imperative for change in those institutions with graduate programs: research and comprehensive universities that create coherent, media-based and adult-level programs in language and culture.

Such a change will require faculty (re)education. Reframing a curriculum of a FL department in a research or comprehensive university involves familiarizing its faculty with the lower- and upper-division pedagogy, goals, and their realization in assessment practices (Byrnes and Kord 2002). The point in making this effort is to ensure that, regardless of the type of program developed, continuity of content, expectations, and pedagogies flow from lower division to upper-division courses—and to stress that the two ends of the program must both adapt to create common and assessable learning outcomes (Byrnes et al. 2010).

With that continuity, discussions about "bridge courses" between "lower" to "upper levels" become superfluous. For students only taking FL courses to fill a requirement, this shift of approach will weld even those courses into the kinds of literacy—content and task managements—expected of them in other college courses. For students continuing on to advanced courses, for instance, the bridge to using language for higher order thinking in the sense of Bloom's *Taxonomy* in the cognitive domain will have already been built. The kind of multidimensional negotiations modeled in the *Standards* will become commonplace as the start of active learning in lower-division courses that already have introduced such learning.

In most of today's FL sequences, language acquisition is staged before literacy, and so the learning gap between lower and upper levels is also a question of content and expectations about learning—cognitive and cultural readiness, not just language readiness. Beginning instruction focuses on everyday speech used in generic contexts and the reading for factual information about different topics. At advanced levels, on the other hand, learners are asked to read or view culturally unfamiliar texts to identify their points of view, implications, and contributions to subsequent events. Some experts maintain that, for students of Western languages, only thirty percent of what accounts for FL reading comprehension encompasses a FL's grammar and vocabulary, about twenty percent attributable to background knowledge (Bernhardt 2005). The case made in this essay is that programs anchored solely in the fundamentals of foreign language competencies fail to encourage students to use the other, still unidentified fifty percent of what can be taught and learned from texts, broadly defined in multiple media.

A department's claims to approach language learning as the learning of culture must address this disparity in their curriculum. The heuristics for making this peda-

gogical and curricular change can be found in comprehensive models for staging learning, such as Bloom's *Taxonomy* and the *Standards*, because both point out the need for learners to integrate language and knowledge acquisition through structural variation and recursions that sequence these challenges. In this sense, both documents support the claims the FL field must make to survive in today's post-secondary curriculum. They are roadmaps in preventing the self-marginalization of foreign languages in the academy because they reference ways to teach multiple literacies and language acquisition simultaneously.

To use these roadmaps, departments must first discover what they themselves do, from A to Z. The initial work in introducing curricular change involves careful self-assessment of the program. So the first stage in addressing changes will be to identify features in a departmental *status quo*: what it now does, what it values as learning outcomes. That assessment necessitates that all a departments' professors and instructors visit courses at all levels. Their goal will be to establish the pedagogies and outcomes that characterize the program as a coherent whole so that it may choose a model highlighting the kind of literacy it values most. That process involves talking constructively with each other and with their students about what language and what types of literacy different courses achieve.

At the same time, this process cannot only involve what is taught. To draw a comprehensive picture of what is possible, students' execution of assignments, quizzes, and departmental exams must also be examined: read as documents about what features cohere or build a stage in their students' developing language literacy. Such data provides a picture of what pedagogical practices, student assessment and realized expectations a department has at the present time. Only then can its faculty members undertake the second step: define or redefine the literacy they want their students to achieve and identify features in all levels of their program that offer consistent approaches to those expectations, both in terms of language competency and as content literacies—framed as *identifying what learners are asked to do at each level*.

Visitors to classes would note, for example, in what classes and in what ways student comprehension of language is linked to synthesizing or analyzing information, what activities are undertaken and what learning results (Hock 2007). Do students in an assigned essay get assessed for establishing both a point of view and idea development, and how? Do listening comprehension tasks ask learners to identify not only the facts of the exchange but its sociolinguistic implications as speech acts (why a polite or a brusque request)?

The case made here is not for a particular list of questions, but for an assessment of program learning to be conducted with a view to establishing what kind of learning a particular program fosters. That can be determined if reviewers collect data such as:

- the amount of time spent in specific classroom learning activities,
- the type of foreign language content dealt with,
- to what extent students engage in tasks that encourage thinking about subject matter,

- to what extent the subject matter relates to students' background and interests (their majors, their extracurricular activities or work),
- to what extent content and tasks are recycled across levels to reinforce learning and insure success at all levels, and
- to what extent the reward system balances students' literacy acquisition with whatever surface language accuracy a faculty views as characteristic of a learners' stages toward achieving maximally effective comprehension and communication of ideas and intentions.

The resulting compilation of current practices leads to a given faculty figuring out what it wants to continue and discontinue—to discard the unrealistic and discouraging for the plausible and rewarding. It may also provide the case for revising a departmental curriculum to more adequately serve the needs of its institution, its student body, and the department's existing resources.

Proposals for curricular change in FL programs include incorporating English language texts to facilitate reading by focusing on language comprehension in a program that uses contributions of a foreign language in its literary (Bernhardt and Berman 1999), cultural, or historical manifestations (Kramsch 1992, 1995). The Earlham College initiative of having faculty in other disciplines use foreign language texts in their courses across its curriculum (Jurasek 1988) or Rhode Islands' program of German for engineers (Grandin 1992) continue to serve as efforts for departmental enterprises anchored in content-based learning. Starting in an intensive three-year process in 1997, Georgetown's German Department collaborated to design "a curriculum that is content-oriented from the beginning of instruction and explicitly fosters learners' language acquisition until the end of the four-year undergraduate sequence."[18] In other words, the Georgetown program does not differentiate between so-called "language" courses and "content" courses and has integrated compatible learning strategies at all levels.

The vital component for such a program's development and subsequent success lies in its coherent pedagogy—like the Emory faculty described by Maxim in this volume, the Georgetown faculty re-approached their various contents and favorite learning outcomes, and restaged them as task hierarchies calibrated to institutionally appropriate learning outcomes. In such programs, the commonly heard complaint of upper-division teachers that they "have no time to teach grammar" must finally bow to the fundamental insight of systemic-functional linguistics that language function and language messages are inseparable, covalent, and must be acknowledged concurrently (Halliday and Mattiessen 2004).

Nelson and Kern (2012) view the challenges of multiliteracies as postlinguistic conditions due to the prevalence of multimodalities (48–49) that are moving language "…. from its former unchallenged role as *the* medium of communication, to

[18] A comprehensive description of the program is available at the departmental web site <http://www1.georgetown.edu/departments/german/programs/undergraduate/curriculum/summary/> (accessed 9 August 2013).

the role of *one* medium… albeit more rapidly in some areas than other" (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006, p. 34 [italics in original]), as Warner, Willis-Allen and Arens illustrate in this volume. Their chapters provide pedagogies in line with Nelson and Kern's assertion that, because language is increasingly technologically mediated, it is a semiotically dynamic resource. In that now-globalized framework, no successful program can teach language without teaching a literacy that encourages learners to "to combine with other semiotic resources to act in the world" (Nelson and Kern 2012, p. 49).

University administrations appreciate such integrative efforts and support them because they serve students as much as they serve scholars. Deans value concrete proposals about what they can do to expand a FL curriculum and its outreach to their institutions, whether in extracurricular activities, pre- and post-study abroad follow-up studies, or assessment (Roche 2011). They support such programs in spite of budgetary hard times precisely because departments that serve student audiences effectively are the lifeblood of an institution, and faculty who show students that "FL learning" adds value to their lives are teaching a new outreach: literacy for life.

This chapter has attempted to sketch the historical course of FL teaching since WW II in thumbnail to point to precisely such integrative solutions. "Skills" and methods tested only in assessments that separate outcomes by modality rather than as integrative processes fail to address psycholinguistic realities as they are understood today. Such assumptions from the past 70 years are currently questioned in both public and educational venues. Indeed, changes in student demography and the role of institutional structures have resulted in fundamentally different learning environments compared to those of as few as 20 or 30 years ago, and hence to different and increasing demands for accountability. In this same vein, the escalating costs of a college education give rise to questions about the usefulness of foreign language learning in an increasingly global, technological environment dominated by the English language (see Levine).

I have argued that, in consequence, the future of foreign language instruction in North America involves taking full account of our past, and moving from distinctions between "language teaching" and "scholarship" to a more comprehensive vision of *teaching FL literacies of culture and content at* all *levels of FL department curricula*. That goal, articulated as appropriate for individual institutional settings, must share the aim of guiding learners into knowledge acquisition through work with multiliteracies, defined as the abilities to read not only language, but also how language interacts with medial contexts, its outcomes recognized as relevant to those contexts and to the humanities in their institutional curricula.[19]

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The Discourse of Foreignness in U.S. Language Education

Glenn S. Levine

> *I believe that language pedagogy is a significant tool of political power. I believe that only where the tools of power are openly known, openly critiqued, and accessible to everyone can anything like a true democracy work.*
>
> (Scollon 2004, p. 275)

> *Regardless of what they are called, in U.S. schools languages other than English are in fact perceived, by both adults and students, as profoundly foreign.*
>
> (Reagan 2002, p. 23)

Abstract Levine's chapter presents and analyzes public discourses about the teaching and learning of languages other than English in the U.S. It proposes that several interrelated and often superficially opposing messages create a "discourse of foreignness" that may help inform our thinking about U.S. language education. The strands of this discourse are discussed in categories that embrace both its historical forms and more currently dominant ones. Individual acts of discourse in public venues, such as Congressional hearings, TV interviews, op-ed pieces, and political speeches, complementary arguments supporting "English only" movements as well as positive discourses that stress the utility and global need for an American citizenry that is bi- or multilingual are presented. Because the public discourse about language education lags behind current best practices recommended by current language research, it is suggested that educators need to engage in shifting such perceptions by entering into media discussions of why foreign language study remains significant both personally and in the national interest.

Keywords Public discourse · Foreign language education · Global competitiveness · Bilingual education · Culture

G. S. Levine (✉)
Department of European Languages and Studies, University of California, Irvine, CA, USA
e-mail: glevine@uci.edu

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1 Discourses as Political Power

In the following, public discourse about language teaching and learning will be presented in the senses outlined theoretically by Bourdieu (1977, 1991), de Swaan (2001), Fairclough (1995) and Searle (2002), all of whom stress the symbolic power of language use as conveying authority onto a speaker, an authority that can have ideological implications for language education. In this analysis, the term "discourse" will be used in line with these authorities' more functionalist and critical perspectives that stress language use in context as evidence of the issues of power and ideology implicated in public speech (Schiffrin 1994, p. 31; Fairclough 1995; van Dijk 2008). Merging multiple perspectives in recent scholarship, Schiffrin et al. (2001, p. 1) discourse broadly in ways that help to open out the practical implications of the examples presented here: "(1) anything beyond the sentence, (2) language use, and (3) a broader range of social practice that includes nonlinguistic and nonspecific instances of languages."[1]

Some other potentially troublesome terms also need clarification at the outset of this discussion because they emerge as problematic. The term "foreign" is used here in the dictionary sense of "being situated outside the United States" or characteristic of some place, values, behaviors or attitudes alien in character to, abnormal for, or unconnected with U.S. citizens (Foreign 2013). In the field of cultural studies, this term is often associated with perceptions of "the Other," a designation anchoring the term in the point of view of a given speaker or social entity (see Bhabha 1994; Kristeva 1991; Said 1978).

Using these parameters, I will examine particular ways that statements about language, culture and language learning index meanings beyond the sentences uttered, to the detriment of the project of foreign language teaching. My aim is to illustrate how specific language use vis-à-vis word and phrase choices, mirror assumptions (often negative or limiting ones) that also exist at the nexus of social practices surrounding beliefs about and approaches to foreign language education.

Views on language and the role of language learning are never created in a vacuum; such assertions are all part of larger sociocultural and sociopolitical discourses, each with its own historical arc (Gee 2005), discourses that may overlap or coincide, but which also can conflict. Like many other academic fields, language education has long grappled with multiple and often conflicting narratives, narratives that have both driven public support for the teaching of languages other than English, as well as eroded or even destroyed that support for certain languages or for language education overall at certain times (Kramsch 2005). But more than this institutional problem, conflicting discourses also intersect with similarly conflicting public perspectives about approaches to and purposes for language teaching and

[1] I am also guided in the examination of public statements about language learning and teaching by four of Blommaert's five principles for the analysis of discourse (2005, pp. 14–15). These include focusing on what language use means to its users, the ways language operates differently in different environments, the unit of analysis of actual and densely contextualized forms in which language occurs in society, and communication events that are influenced by the structure of the world system.

learning, where the pedagogy may or may not align either with parents or students' own beliefs or priorities, or with what empirical research on student performance has identified as advantageous ways to teach languages.

I would summarize popular conceptions of the multiple purposes of instructed foreign-language teaching and learning in the U.S. in these ways:

- A means to enhance cognitive abilities in the individual
- A means to connect with one's family heritage
- A resource for enhancing or improving career prospects
- A vehicle for cross-cultural or intercultural humanistic inquiry
- A tool for global competitiveness of multinational corporations
- A means of engaging in international diplomacy, protecting national security, supporting law enforcement, or enhancing military capabilities
- A luxury of the privileged, an elective add-on to core academic subjects

All of these suppositions are accompanied by particular recurring narratives among politicians and other public figures, school and university administrators, and faculty at all levels teaching in languages other than English. Some voices, such as those whose rhetoric resonates with the last item in the list, are openly antagonistic to the whole endeavor of offering language instruction. Most, however, support the teaching of FLs, but in ways that suggest ambivalence about or qualifications for its status as a core component of U.S. education. Indeed, historically, languages other than English were associated until the post-WWII era with an elitist education. This thread remains an undercurrent in contemporary discourses about the value of language learning, one that bears consideration here.

Let us now turn to the groups of statements currently at play in the discourses about foreign language teaching, pro and con, to uncover the assumptions on which they rest– the undercurrents that need to be directly addressed for the future of the practice.

2 The History of Foreign Language Learning as a Luxury

The marginalization of foreign language education in the U.S. can be seen from many perspectives, but it originates in a long and entrenched history of language learning as a luxury, peripheral to the life of a U.S. citizen and consequently not deemed a critical component of education for all but a select number of exceptionally well-educated individuals.

On the website of the advocacy group "Global Language Project" (2013), which aims to foster language instruction in schools, the section entitled "Why Language Learning" opens with the assertion that "[l]earning a second language is no longer a luxury; it is a necessary skill that students must have in order to compete in a global economy." This discursive strand stressing global competitiveness is front and center in the group's message (they also emphasize the many cognitive advantages of learning languages), but indeed it is the first part that is notable in initiating

a discussion of discourses about language learning, because it expresses a powerful and usually unacknowledged strand of the discussion that I suggest may undermine even many of the utilitarian or instrumental arguments in favor of language learning and teaching. The statement presupposes that language learning has been viewed as a "luxury" up to now.

While many view the teaching and learning of algebra, geometry and calculus in functional, utilitarian or instrumental terms (as key to the much-touted STEM disciplines—Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics—considered to be the core of practical teaching and learning), learning languages remains stigmatized as a curricular luxury (Reagan 2002). The reason is related to two realities of life in the U.S. up until around World War II. The first is that few Americans engaged in international travel before the mid-twentieth century. Such travel was regarded as fairly exotic, and up until the advent of air travel, and really into the 1960s, international travel indeed remained the luxury of the wealthy, with only a small a fraction of the population ever traveling abroad. With so few Americans actually venturing overseas, coupled with the assimilatory pressures on immigrant populations to shift entirely to English and the geographical isolation of the U.S. at that time, learning a foreign language was viewed as the pastime of the privileged.[2]

The demographics of education up until the same period, the early twentieth century, also support this robust view of foreign language learning as a luxury. With the waves of immigrants from Ireland and Eastern Europe as well as China and Japan entering the country in the second half of the nineteenth century, the educational emphasis was consistently on how to teach English to immigrants and their children and to have those children abandon their native languages as soon as possible (Fishman 1966; Pavlenko 2002, 2003). Until the turn of the twentieth century, in fact, there were few secondary schools in the United States (around 200,000 students in high school in 1890 and still only around 1,000,000 by 1910). When, states began building more high schools, their curricula were not primarily designed for college-bound students.

To be sure, in the 1920s and 1930s, schools began to introduce modern language instruction as a regular part of the curriculum, though almost never as a requirement (Pavlenko 2002). Up until that time, around 1910, high schools were intended primarily as college preparatory schools, thus focusing on Classical language learning or languages important as auxiliary tools to other disciplines. German became important in secondary schools toward the end of the nineteenth century for medicine and the sciences, and French after World War I as the language or the country's ally in WWI. Historically, then, the United States was not focusing on having its citizens learn languages other than English until the period during and after World War II.

[2] It would exceed the scope of this chapter, but a further dimension of the Luxury strand relates to gender identity. Some scholars have observed and analyzed the ways that foreign language learning has long been regarded as a particularly "feminine" undertaking, which may help explain why there is a disproportionate number of female students in language classes at all levels, and in the choice of particular languages (see Carr and Pauwels 2006; Chavez 2001; Pavlenko 2004; Schmenk 2004; Sunderland 2000).

The influence of this history echoes in recent comments by a former Harvard President about language learning not being "worthwhile," or when government officials state that the learning of Spanish, French, German and Italian stands at odds with the "real" world (Summers 2012; see also Berman 2010). Both of these assertions still index the roots of the language-as-luxury discourses of the turn of the century, unnecessary to meet the demands of the contemporary world or practical employment.

3 Foreign Languages' "Problematic" Subjects

Turning to examples of media voices that address failures in foreign language education, (foreign) culture, and bilingual abilities in the U.S., the statements that follow illustrate a major aspect of the problematic image of foreign language education that derives from the luxury discourse. Again, it behooves the foreign language profession to address the tacit over-entailments of these statements, because public images can and often do affect educational practices, not just reflect them, once they become entrenched, as happened with the luxury discourse.

What ties all of these expressions in this strand of discourse together is an emphasis on inadequacies or impossibilities: the overall expectation of failure made by different sectors of society, including language teaching professionals, that accompany the alignment of language learning with luxury, and hence the property of an upper or otherwise rarified class. Some proposals from educators even today assert that "most students, parents, teachers, and policy-makers do not seriously expect it to succeed" and that "[e]ven among the best educated persons in our society … competence in a second language is often seen as irrelevant …." (Reagan and Osborn 2002, pp. 6–7). Administrators' concerns about the relatively small student numbers that characterize traditional foreign language classes—and especially language learning achievement—use economic arguments to dispense with all but minimal language programs (see Berman 2010). The presumption appears to be that, from the outset, foreign language teaching is bound to fail and so that it cannot be part of an ordinary curriculum.

To this point in time, the negative view of language teaching in the U.S., as sketched by scholars like Reagan and Osborn (2002; see also Reagan 2002), does not necessarily reflect either prevalent public opinion or that of language professionals. On the other hand, its shortcomings are clear and emerging to the general public (and to students who "never learn" the language they have been taught, sometimes for years): U.S. language education by and large does not help the majority of its students to reach what Byrnes (2006) and others have described as "advanced language capacities," the very sorts of capacities that the public sector (i.e. members of the U.S. government) have called for. In fact, second-language (SLA) researchers as a whole seem to agree that language education in the U.S. has failed to bring the majority of the students learning in classroom settings either to a significant level of communicative competence (Hymes 1992), or, more recently, what the MLA (2007) has called translingual/transcultural competence—the abil-

ity of the bi- or multilingual person to use all the languages *at any learning level* to acquire knowledge and negotiate communicative exchanges (Canale and Swain 1980; Swain 1985).

To answer such calls, foreign language teachers would be charged with a new set of curricular goals: not just teaching a language, but somehow facilitating their students' critical awareness and appreciation of other peoples and cultures, a goal explicitly targeted in many secondary and postsecondary curricula (Byram 1997) and exemplified in the ACTFL Standards (ACTFL 2010). Crucially for the analysis offered here, the language professions have made this claim to facilitate such awareness in the face of an overall mistrust of "foreign" peoples and cultures that appears to be deeply rooted in U.S. mainstream media and which by no means has been alleviated or transformed, aggregated as it is with discussions about immigration.

Awareness of this link is not new. Dell Hymes (1996), one of the founders of sociolinguistics and ethnographic studies, has detailed what he identified as a cautionary list of "six core assumptions" about language that prevail in the U.S., which appear to be the pernicious subtexts of the nation's discourse of foreignness, discourses he saw as frequently represented in print, radio, and television presentations:

- Everyone in the United States speaks only English, or should.
- Bilingualism is inherently unstable, probably injurious, and possibly unnatural.
- Foreign literary languages can be respectively studied, but not foreign languages in their domestic varieties (it is one thing to study the French spoken in Paris, another to study the French spoken in Louisiana).
- Most everyone else in the world is learning English anyway, and that, together with American military and economic power, makes it unnecessary to worry about knowing the language of a country in which one has business, bases, or hostages.
- Differences in language are essentially of two kinds, right and wrong.
- Verbal fluency and noticeable style are suspicious, except as entertainment (it's what you mean that counts). (Hymes 1996, pp. 84–85)

Some might ask how U.S. language education could overcome the shortcomings detailed above when faced with the practical limitations of an educational system that includes a sorely restricted amount of instructional time devoted to language study. Moreover, these problems are acerbated by institutional articulation problems between primary, secondary and university-level instruction. As frequently decried in profession literature, a serious language/literature division exists in departments themselves that moves these inadequacies into post-secondary contexts, beyond their historical appearances in primary and secondary education (MLA 2007; Reagan 2002; Swaffar and Arens 2005). Such disparities contribute to the general "social expectation of failure" decried by Reagan and Osborn (2002, p. 6). Overall, this strand of discourse emphasizes failure without addressing the fact that foreign language teaching was in many ways (and often still is) set up to fail from the first—after all, luxuries *cannot* be conveyed to the general public.

This discourse of failure, coupled with the lack of attention to structural issues that perpetuate the actuality of failure within curriculum, is perhaps the most difficult legacy for foreign language professionals to counter. The work of reconciling counter-productive public perceptions and transforming public and professional discourses in order to change both disciplinary practices and public perceptions of the field necessarily involves a different mirror for the objectives and outcomes of language education.

Some remediations are in fact the thrust of other chapters in this volume. As they address, changing the present negative status of language learning in the U.S. begins with language teachers, their institutions, and their professional organizations—with adjustments to both structural and social understandings of its reality. As Ron Scollon states in the epigraph to this chapter, language pedagogy is a significant tool of political power. Transforming perceptions involves the commitment of language professionals themselves to help frame the parameters of the discourse (see also Byrnes this volume; Kramsch 2005; Swaffar 2003).

This situation is by no means only an artifact of the past and of U.S. history. The remainder of this chapter turns to equally damaging directions of current discourses of those inside and outside the field of foreign language education. Two major outsider discourses, commencing with language used by public figures as represented in the media, figure prominently in discourse strands growing increasingly prominent since the millennium. The first of these discourses is that foreign language knowledge can threaten national as well as citizen identity and makes the related case for "English only" as part of national identity and security—a threat rhetoric. The second, more positive discourse stresses the utility and global need for an American citizenry that is bi- or multilingual, defined as possessing the ability to use those abilities in acquiring new information and succeeding in a degree of communication that demonstrates awareness of culture difference and the need to work within that framework to achieve common goals.

4 Foreign Language Learning as a Threat to Upward Mobility and Assimilation

One insidious discourse about language education suggests that languages other than English threaten the position and presumed superiority not only of English as a language but also, of "American culture" and even perceptions of the American Dream. For example, the mother of a ninth grader in Georgia, Dina McDonald, talks on National Public Radio about excluding presumably Spanish-speaking, "low-achieving students who can't even speak basic English" from a grant funding the study of Mandarin in her child's high school in Georgia (Ragusea 2012). When she questions whether "low-achieving" children should learn how to say "Do you want fries with that?" in Mandarin, she indexes Hymes's (1996) caveats about English-only arguments, bilingual education debates, and threat narratives about "foreigners" in the U.S. who do not assimilate—in this case, school populations of Spanish

speakers who ostensibly need to adopt English and abandon their heritage language (see also Crawford 1992).

The fact that such views are controversial is illustrated by public responses to similar perspectives proposed by House Speaker Newt Gingrich, in a 2007 speech to National Federation of Republican Women. There he stated: "We should replace bilingual education with immersion in English so people learn the common language of the country and so they learn the language of prosperity, not the language of living in a ghetto" (NBC News 2007). Gingrich's equation of bilingual efforts to educate in learners' two languages with ghetto status sparked a vehement outcry from many, including Hispanic organizations and the public at large. He subsequently made a formal apology in Spanish.[3] The fact that these words did spark such a response suggests just how important issues of language and cultural identity are to the public at large. Yet together the Georgia parent quoted earlier and Mr. Gingrich's statements channel two central messages that have a long discursive history in the U.S. The first is the notion that the use of Spanish in schools is indeed "foreign." In other statements Gingrich has explicitly stated that the children in bilingual education programs should be immersed in English-only programs rather than encouraged to maintain or enhance the standing of Spanish in U.S. schools and communities. Pratt (2003) offers brief but poignant analyses of several "misconceptions" about bilingualism and bilingual education in the U.S., including the observation that the bilingual education debate has too long been one-sided, viewed primarily from the perspective of the English side, as exemplified by Mr. Gingrich's assertions.

The ghetto message, the association of Spanish as a foreign language in the U.S. as associated with poverty, is similar to the message of the Georgia mother quoted earlier who implied that Spanish speakers in her district are underachievers. Both assertions index a discourse of non-native, disenfranchised learners in an English-dominant U.S. society. That message reframes the prevailing argument for studying Spanish because it is a utilitarian choice given the number of speakers and the prominence and importance of Hispanic communities in North America. Instead, it contextualizes the Spanish language as indicative of second-class citizenship, foreign even within our borders.

Foreign languages also have been a scapegoat for impugning the probity and integrity of individuals using them. Republican candidate Mitt Romney was castigated in this way by Newt Gringrich in early 2012, who used a campaign ad with the following text:

> UNIDENTIFIED MAN: Mitt Romney. He'll say anything to win. Anything. And just like John Kerry…
> JOHN KERRY: Laissez les bon temps roulez.
> UNIDENTIFIED MAN: …he speaks French too.

[3] This retraction, despite his apology for his choice of words, had in fact gone on the record because Mr. Gingrich had expressed similar sentiments before. In his 1995 book, *To Renew America*, he wrote: "Without English as the common language, there is no (such) civilization" (Gingrich 1995, p. 162, cited in Lo Bianco 1999, p. 48).

MITT ROMNEY: Bonjour. Je m'appelle Mitt Romney.
NARRATOR: But he's still a Massachusetts moderate.
(SOUNDBITE OF LAUGHTER) (National Public Radio 2012)

The ad does not explicitly state why speaking French is laughable, nor is the connection between speaking French and being a "Massachusetts moderate" discussed. The two components are linked only by their juxtaposition in the same short TV spot. In this context, the discursive claim of moderation suggests that speaking French and English becomes a variant of the old saw "talking out of both sides of one's mouth," thereby equating anyone who speaks French as untrustworthy (or hopelessly elitist, which alludes to Romney's personal fortune). A further discursive implication: knowledge of *any* other language but English renders that U.S. citizen less trustworthy.

A similar discursive juxtaposition is exemplified in Michelle Bachmann's 2005 remarks made during a debate sponsored by the Taxpayers League as reported in the *Huffington Post*. In the course of the event, Bachmann makes several assertions about French culture in the context of rioting that occurred there following the shooting of two suburban teenagers. Attributing the riots to al Jazeera and jihadists, she deplores the threat to French culture by characterizing it as "diminishing," "going away," and being taken over by "a Muslim ethic." She casts the U.S. policies that embrace multi-cultural diversity in similar terms, as threatened by Arabic "tribalism." "Multi-cultural diversity says out of one many. And if we go with tribalism we will not long be one nation united under God."[4]

Ms. Bachman indexes here several discourses that at face value relate to "culture" without specific reference to language, yet implicit in her statements is an understanding of culture and language together as part of necessary "assimilation" and threatening multi-ethnic diversity. To be sure, Ms. Bachman's remarks about a "Muslim ethic" and the position of Arab culture relative to Western/French culture reflect her own particular slant. Yet, as was illustrated earlier in the controversy over bilingual instruction in Georgia, such remarks index discourses prevalent in the U.S. that often have very real consequences for foreign language programs.

Just an example of the real consequences that such negative public discourse can have on school programs is found in the debates over the announcement by of Mansfield Independent School District Superintendent Bob Morrison of a million dollar government grant to the community to be used for instruction in Arabic and Arab cultures. The cultural biases apparent in the ensuing controversy were, as is frequently the case, reflected in the style of reporting presented on local television news about the grant to the Dallas suburb.

[4] For the full transcript of Ms. Bachman's statement, see Appendix. It should be stressed that both the moderator's and Ms. Bachman's assessment of and assertions about the situation in France in 2005 were fairly inaccurate. According to the "The Uptake" section of the *Huffington Post*, "the unrest was no jihad, had nothing to do with religious faith or Muslim culture or al Jazeera. It was more akin to the riots in the U.S. for expanded civil rights in the 1960s or those that followed from the Rodney King police beating in Los Angeles in 1991. The European riots came after two suburban youth were killed in a police chase. The unrest centered on decades of discrimination that had manifested itself, for example, in school acceptances and hiring practices and police force racial profiling" (Michelle Bachman 2008).

The report described an uproar that soon garnered the interest of national media. The initial local news coverage of the events opened with news anchor stating that "the unknown can be scary, and for some parents at a school in Mansfield the unknown can be upsetting too." He went on to (inaccurately) report that mandatory Arabic would be taught in every class at one school. The TV news reporter, Chris Hawes, at the public meeting in question, opened her report with the following: "Parents and teachers packed a Mansfield ISD school cafeteria to hear learn more about why Arabic language and culture could soon be embedded in everything their children learn" (Hawes 2011). In the video, Ms. Hawes emphasized the words "embedded" and "everything." The piece then moved to the case of a student who had been adopted from Russia as a small child and whose exasperated mother spoke in an on-camera interview bemoaning that "[s]he had to learn Spanish when she was in elementary school, and now they want her to learn Arabic" (Hawes 2011).

While the story also interviews a Muslim parent, it makes clear that the mother's concerns stem from fear that Islam will be taught to their children, not just Arabic. Yet the reporter also includes a sort of rejoinder by the mother of the adopted Russian child, saying, "If it were up to me, it would just be Christian [religion taught], but my student can benefit from learning different religions." The district put the implementation of the grant on hold and later submitted a revised version to the Department of Education. The revision was rejected, and the grant was cancelled. In the fiscal year 2012 the funding for the Foreign Language Assistance Program was ended by Congress, with no plans to reinstate it.

The slanted framing of this TV news report is not unusual. Rather than opting to describe the grant initiative as an innovative languages-across-the-curriculum program integrating Arabic learning into parts of the children's school day, or rather than emphasizing the introduction the students would receive to the significant contributions of Arabic art, astronomy, science, medicine, and literature in a region with considerable connections to the world's history and cultures associated with the language, it styles the proposal as having "Arabic language and culture ... embedded in everything their children learn." The choice of the word "embedded," along with its prosodic emphasis by the speaker, suggests both an invasion of some sort, or an effort at integration. These connotations arise in part from current media references to American troops who are "embedded" with Afghani forces in a given region. Thus immediately after priming the TV viewer that "the unknown can be scary," the Arabic language and culture are semantically equated with the subsequent comments as a foreign enforcement for an intrusive element.

5 The Case for English Only

The popular assumptions that since "most everyone else in the world is learning English anyway," and that "together with American military and economic power, it is unnecessary to worry about knowing the language of a country in which one has business, bases, or hostages" (Hymes 1996, p. 85) still resonate today as the

flip face of the discourse strand just addressed. Certainly, the claim is bolstered by American hegemony in many parts of the world (often for military and economic reasons), and consequently, it is often used as a rationale for trimming or eliminating language instruction at schools and universities. Many prestigious voices make a case for the centrality of English as the most significant global language and link technological advances to the practicality of using English even in localities where it is not understood. Such a spokesperson, former Harvard President Lawrence Summers, sums up this position as follows:

> English's emergence as the global language, along with the rapid progress in machine translation and the fragmentation of languages spoken around the world, make it less clear that the substantial investment necessary to speak a foreign tongue is universally worthwhile. While there is no gainsaying the insights that come from mastering a language, it will over time become less essential in doing business in Asia, treating patients in Africa or helping resolve conflicts in the Middle East. (Summers 2012)

Despite his role as a university leader, Mr. Summers reduces multilingualism to the status of adjunct helpfulness for achieving "insights," at least for speakers of English. Implicit here is the message that the rest of the world will continue to learn English rather than the languages of emerging new economic and military powers in the twenty-first century, or rely on translation machines in order to do business, treat patients and help resolve conflicts.

Like the "Babel fish" in Douglas Adams's (1979) *Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy*, a device which ensures that no one need learn another's language because with the small animal, inserted into the ear, everyone can receive and send instantly translated dialogue. The caveat here is that Adams's narrator concludes that, like the biblical Tower, "by effectively removing all barriers to communication between different races and cultures, [the Babel fish] has caused more and bloodier wars than anything else in the history of creation" (Adams 1979, p. 61). As recent findings in sociolinguistics and discourse analysis have demonstrated, language isolated from background knowledge and appreciation of situational contexts denies communicators critical affective and cognitive information necessary to engage in a contextually anchored critical analysis of messages that is vital if speakers are to engage in productive communicative exchanges (Kern 2000).

While machine translation still lacks the power or convenience of the Babel fish, the discursive thread underlying Mr. Summers's statement indexes a discourse with a long and powerful history. As discussed earlier, the major contributing factors in the rise and spread of English was its role as the language of the global British Empire in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and its position was cemented after World War II with the rise of the U.S. as a global superpower Pavlenko (2002). Moreover, the decades since World War II have witnessed a massive expansion of transnational corporations, all of whom do a great deal of their business in English. And of course, since the advent of global telecommunications and the Internet, the benefits of knowing English in all sectors of society have increased.

All these developments have indeed created a global marketplace for the learning of English as a second language. On the surface, these realities go a long way toward supporting a widespread assumption that learning a foreign language is not

necessary in the U.S. (see Thomas 2012). As a result, the power, implicit or explicit, that goes with being a *native speaker* of English, buttresses a worldview in which especially being a monolingual native speaker enjoys a considerable prestige.[5] Reagan (2002) claims that "native speakers of languages of wider communication [in particular English] have a huge advantage over nonnative speakers in their communicative interactions, just as native speakers of more prestigious varieties of the languages of wider communication are disproportionately advantaged over speakers of non-prestigious varieties" (see also Tonkin 2001, pp. 3–4).

In short, English has come to occupy what Abram de Swaan (2001) calls a "supercentral" position in the constellation of languages in the world (see Chap. 1). He categorizes a number of other major languages that represent millions of speakers as significant, but with one important qualification. Languages such as Spanish, Mandarin, and Arabic he views as central to particular regions in the world whereas English dominates as the universal lingua franca. In this sense, a dichotomy exists between English and other languages, even the major ones representing world powers with global economic and military strength that could at some point eclipse the preeminent status of the U.S.

It is this dichotomy that President Summers indexes in his *New York Times* op-ed piece where he dismisses the value of foreign languages in a college or K-12 curriculum. The implications for foreign language education cannot be understated. This dismissal means that whereas learners of languages around the world can invoke straightforward utilitarian and pragmatic motivations for learning languages other than their home-country's languages, such utilitarian arguments are not feasible in U.S. contexts, in particular in educational settings where resources have been severely limited in recent years.

For foreign language educators, the most significant outcome of this strand of public discourse about language and language learning is that universities have come to see foreign language instruction as outside of their core mission. A recent decision, in fall 2010, to eliminate most of SUNY Albany's European language degree offerings reflects this trend. At that time, SUNY president George M. Philip announced the closure of theater and language programs for advanced students as a cost-saving measure, a list which included majors in French, Italian, Russian, and Classics (the degree program in German had already been eliminated; see Jaschik 2010).

A public outcry ensued in the mainstream media, including interviews with students bemoaning the loss of their programs (e.g. see Jaschik 2010), and numerous editorials lambasting President George M. Philip for the severity of the cuts. Some of these editorials appeared to convey the SUNY administration's belief that language learning was unimportant or at least less important than other academic subjects (see, for example, the scathing editorial critique by Petsko 2010). Nonetheless, many held up the university's own motto, "The World Within Reach," accusing President Philip of hypocrisy and of undermining of the university's mission (see Feal 2010).

For his part, in the FAQ section of his official website, the president pointed out that SUNY Albany still offered instruction in 13 languages although primarily only at the introductory and intermediate levels. To his critics, Philip answered that

[5] Moreover, U.S. English has profited from this shift; in earlier decades, British English was the standard for educated speech.

these cuts would be supplanted with a strategic plan for "further internationalizing our institution across the entire curriculum by incorporating, where appropriate, global perspectives in all our courses, by encouraging more participation in study abroad, and by creating a welcoming environment for international students here at UAlbany" (Philip 2010).

In this representation, English remains the primary vehicle for bringing "the world within reach" by incorporating "global perspectives" across the curriculum. Ignored or dismissed is extensive evidence to the contrary conducted for decades by researchers in sociolinguistics and discourse analysis. In these venues, very different premises about language study emerge, because cultural expectations and speaker or writer contexts are viewed as essential features of any language's messages. Theses pragmatic meaning signals are frequently the sources of significance not evident in translated statements (van Dijk 2008). In other words, language study involves more than learning a language. These pragmatic considerations have slowly gained credence in the increasingly dominant discourses about foreign language instruction in the U.S.: its role in the nation's global future. Unlike the rhetoric of English only, that discourse commences with the realization that global issues cannot all be addressed in English.

6 Utility and Global Competitiveness: A Corrective?

These statements about "English only" emerge as problematic almost immediately, even by those who espouse them. Despite English's current linguistic hegemony and despite the pervasive belief that all one really needs to do business, treat patients and resolve world conflicts in English, recent public discourses give a great deal of attention to arguing for the inherent utility of knowing languages other than English (see CLS 2012; Kramsch 2005; Scollon 2004). In many statements by public officials, from then U.S. Representative Paul Simon in his landmark book, *The tongue-tied American* (1980), to recent Senate hearings on issues of foreign language "capabilities" in the U.S. government (National Security Crisis 2012), to comments made by political candidates, a two-sided coin emerges: individual enrichment on the one hand versus global competitiveness on the other. Statements made in connection with a 1989 congressional initiative, entitled the "Foreign Language Competence for the Future Act of 1989" (1990), exemplify this rhetorical dichotomy. At a hearing on this proposal Senator Christopher Dodd observed that "[s]tudents who have the opportunity to learn a second language will improve their chances of getting into a competitive college or university, they will be more attractive job applicants, and they will be personally enriched by the literature written in the language they are studying" (Foreign Language Competence 1990, p. 29).

Here the message is about individual benefits: learning a foreign language will improve a person's chances of "getting into a competitive college or university" in addition to being "personally enriched" by the experience—a striking reversion to older, class-based arguments about culture and acculturation. The second related

message emerges almost immediately, however: he or she will be "more attractive" on the job market. It is this second message that is increasingly emphasized in recent political and governmental rhetoric about foreign language learning. Thus in a 2011 town hall meeting, President Obama represented the utility of foreign languages with observations such as the following:

> ... if you go to a company and they're doing business in France or Belgium or Switzerland or Europe somewhere, and they find out you've got that language skill, that's going to be important as well … (White House 2011)

Reagan (2002) presents the contrarian view to this popular pragmatic argument for language learning, asserting that "[t]he United States … is in fact a profoundly monolingual society ideologically if not empirically, and relatively few students … really believe that second language skills are necessary for the marketplace" (25). Such attitudes can change, however, given current technologically driven communication opportunities that abound worldwide. As increasing numbers of Americans travel and work abroad, the "all you need is English" argument becomes increasingly suspect—one hopes. Most tourists can recognize that a grasp of circumstances and a few polite inquiries in a foreign language can foster effective exchange of information even if one lacks fluency.

Such insights, however fragmentary, have begun to expand the complex of discourses related to the role of foreign language knowledge of the U.S. in comparison with other countries of the world. The new focus on pragmatic foreign language use has lent the "competitiveness" discourse greater impetus for affecting government policy, funding of research and curricular initiatives, and university administrators' decisions about how much to support language instruction. Pragmatics also have influenced decisions about which languages to teach (see Kramsch 2005; Ortega 1999).

The complementary discursive message persists that U.S. has "fallen behind" or needs to "catch up" to other nations in the area of language learning. Senator Dodd's assertions in 1989 that U.S. students should "exceed the performance of students from other industrialized nations" and that "the United States lags far behind other industrialized nations," and that "the Soviet Union … has more teachers of English in Leningrad alone than we have students of Russian in the whole of the United States" (Foreign Language Competence 1990, p. 29) index a discourse that began with Sputnik and the subsequent National Defense Education Act of 1958, which poured significant federal support into language education and continued through the Cold War decades.

Kramsch (2005) observes that this discourse underwent pendulum swings in its different iterations from the 1950s through the 2000s in the wake of the 9/11 attacks, oscillating between a greater concern for U.S. national security and the desire to understand other cultures and peoples. Nonetheless, at the core, the U.S. sees itself essentially in competition with other countries, politically, economically, and, increasingly, militarily as well. In the years after the September 2001 attacks the U.S. government supported several foreign language initiatives that focused on creating and improving advanced capacities in "critical" languages.[6]

[6] See Kramsch (2005) for a critique of the relationship between governmental responses in the public sector and the foreign language education community.

Examples of the "fallen behind" message in public discourse stem from advocates of foreign language education in government, as the remarks made in 2010 by Secretary of Education Arne Duncan (Department of Education 2010) and Representative Judy Chu suggest. Both speak of the need to compete successfully. As Chu points out:

> As a nation, we have fallen behind with regard to the number of people learning second languages. Twenty out of the 25 leading industrialized countries start teaching second languages from K to 5th grade; 21 of the 31 countries in the European Union require 9 years of another language. In order to catch up with these countries, we have to promote bilingual education or dual-language education in preschool, when students have the best chance to learn those languages and sustain it through later grades. It would be something that benefits them for the rest of their lives. (Po 2010)

Ironically, to have "fallen behind" presumes that we were at one point *ahead*. As Kramsch (2005) and Scollon (2004) point out, it is somehow nearly uniquely American to frame language learning in terms of a competition.[7] By comparison, the Council of Europe has most often framed the task of second-language learning in terms of cooperation, mutual cultural understanding and the fostering of European integration (Byram 2008; Council of Europe 2001; Trim 2012). Whether for national security purposes, or for economic competitiveness, those who index this discourse do so out of a conviction that the U.S. must assert itself as a global leader even on this front, the language learning front.

Indeed, while bilingual education on such a scope will probably continue to be challenged by local school boards (a problem many European countries do not have), such messages are now being heard more and more in a different context: that of the military as well as economic competition (Foreign Language Competence 1990; State of Foreign Language Capabilities 2001; National Security Crisis 2012). The disjunction between these strands of discourse are clear, but they remain unreconciled.

The Department of Defense and the Chairman of the House Committee on Armed Services frequently index discourses of global competitiveness in terms similar to those of Duncan and Chu. The opening the statement made by Representative Vic Snyder, Chairman of the House Committee on Armed Services, Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee, in a hearing on "Transforming the U.S. Military's Foreign Language, Cultural Awareness, and Regional Expertise Capabilities" summarizes these discourses in a typical way:

> To address today's strategic and operational environments, the Department [of Defense] is training and equipping our military force not only in conventional combat skills but also in the skills needed to conduct missions across the full spectrum of operations. Those missions include fighting terror, conducting counterinsurgency, building partnership capacity in foreign countries, carrying out stability operations and humanitarian relief, and building coalitions. All these missions highlight the need for greater foreign language proficiency, cultural awareness and regional expertise (Transforming 2008, p. 5)

An analysis regarding language as a type of military "capability," stresses here both the utilitarian discourse and that of transcultural knowledge, components often not

[7] Interestingly, the overall decline of U.S. global competitiveness may be due more to macroeconomic instability than to a lack of workforce skills and knowledge, according to a recent study by Mathis (2011).

fully articulated in current language programs. Suggestions for introducing program and training transformations designed to address the scope of desiderata indexed in the "competitiveness" discourses described here are suggested throughout this volume and particularly in the chapters by Maxim, Allen-Willis, and Arens.

One issue surfacing in the pragmatic strand of discourses raises the question of which languages should be taught. As suggested by the program cuts in the SUNY system, schools can offer more of those languages deemed more useful if less emphasis is put on traditionally more dominant languages such as French or German.

Throughout the recession that began in 2008, not just SUNY, but dozens of other universities and colleges across the country cut language programs and, sometimes, whole degree programs (see Berman 2011). The fiscally pragmatic emphasis of global competitiveness as a guiding discourse caused consternation at the annual American Council of Foreign Language Teachers (ACTFL) convention in 2010. There, Council on Foreign Relations president Richard Haass' delivered the keynote which, according to Russell Berman, countenanced "only a narrowly instrumental defense for foreign language learning, limited to two rationales: national security and global economy" (Berman 2010). In a subsequent interview, Haass elaborated on his position about the relative value of European and other languages as follows:

> "My argument wasn't so much against this or that language," Dr. Haass, a former State Department official, said in an interview. "But if we're going to remain economically competitive and provide the skill and manpower for government, I think we need more Americans to learn Chinese or Hindi or Farsi or Portuguese or Korean or Arabic. In an ideal world, that wouldn't mean fewer people would know Spanish, French, German and Italian. But in a real world, it might." (Foderaro 2010)

For Haass, as for many who assess the future of teaching languages that are not perceived to contribute significantly to U.S. national security, political standing, or economic competitiveness, the competition is not only abroad, but at home, in the form of a competition for dwindling resources at schools and universities.

In that sense the profession faces its own discourse of threat, in the form of Darwinian decision-making in which language learning, and ultimately language knowledge, is viewed primarily in terms of its utility for national interests and secondarily for its utility for the career of and value to the individual. On the local level, global competitiveness disappears as a viable narrative for self-justification.

7 Conclusion: Moving Beyond the Discourse of Foreignness

The thesis of this chapter has been that all of the narrative strands presented above reflect significant faces of a broad-based discourse about the role of foreignness in American culture. Most of the discourses of foreignness presented here have had direct or indirect influences on educational institutions, language departments, their programs, and individual language learners. Some aspects of several strands, notably the threat and competitiveness discourses, lend support for language education in the U.S., particularly when articulated by President Obama or witnesses before Congress

on the importance of language education for maintaining U.S. economic and military strength. Yet the underlying premises of many strands remain stuck with foreign language instruction as an "add on," just as it was in secondary education before WWI.

In some ways, the 2007 MLA *ad hoc* Committee Report that stressed the need to teach language and culture together still reinforces discourses of foreignness, opening as it does by framing language education in terms of a response to the 9/11 attacks. But the bulk of the report represents a plea for language professionals to begin to think in larger curricular and programmatic terms than they have to date—to find new strands of discourse based on more robust principles. The suggestion that postsecondary departments move beyond the two-tiered structure of most current curricula, for instance, connects that observation to the shift from a focus on teaching language *per se* to viewing language as a component of the larger complex implied by terms such as translingual and transcultural. Such assertions confront the foreignness discourses head-on by addressing instruction in foreign languages as keys to addressing what foreignness constitutes to a U.S. citizen and how to deal with it.

However, if all of the discourses uncovered here (1) reveal a widespread fear of the foreign Other, (2) assume the hegemonic and expanding role of English in the world, (3) reject the inherent utility and global competition motivation for foreign language learning, and (4) unpack the ways the 'luxury' perspective of language learning is no longer valid and should be rejected, then the profession confronts a formidable task. At the same time, such public discourses flow and change in complex, dynamic, and hence unexpected ways over long periods, as millions of separate actions and interactions take place, like the flock of birds described by Larsen-Freeman and Cameron as an example of a complex adaptive system (Larsen-Freeman and Cameron 2008). A viewer can recognize it as a flock and yet remain unable to predict the exact form of the flock at a given moment or its trajectory through the sky. Trends have emerged in recent years that may well be moving discourses about foreignness and foreign languages in new directions:

1. the evidence about the relation between foreign language use and maintaining mental acuity
2. the adaptations of technology to classroom use and resulting trends in hybrid and blended pedagogies (see Goertler 2009, 2014)
3. the reduced linguistic isolation of the U.S. through the Internet
4. the rise of interest in language learning outside the context of educational settings, such as through language learning social media sites (e.g., livemocha.com) and the popularity of autodidactic foreign-language learning programs such as Rosetta Stone,[8] indicating the U.S. population's increasing interest in learning languages other than English.

[8] According to a 2009 report in *Time*, Rosetta Stone "generated $209 million in revenue in 2008, compared to $25.4 million in 2004—that's a 723% increase." They point out that around 95% of Rosetta Stone's revenues came from the U.S. market (Gregory 2009). While their stock has since fallen considerably (see http://quotes.wsj.com/RST for the trends), the drop may in fact be due to the increase in competition from other sources prospective language learners find in the digital world.

5. the number of university students, both U.S. and foreign born, who come to the university as bilingual/multilingual language users
6. the increasing numbers among young people who grow up in the U.S. with languages other than English who are not abandoning their home languages in favor of English only (Brinton, Kagan and Bauckus 2008; Polinsky and Kagan 2007; Kondo-Brown 2003), and
7. the concomitant increase in heritage languages as an academic subject in colleges and universities.

These trends, taken together, suggest that the U.S. population is gradually increasing its interest in and reasons for learning and using languages other than English. These are addressed in terms of their institutional and pedagogical implications for the role of foreign language in postsecondary institutions in the chapters by Arens, Melin, Watzinger-Tharp, and Willis Allen in this volume.

This chapter has sought to highlight some of the ways historical and sociological forces manifest the way people talk and think about language, culture and language education. I have sought to illustrate the ways that discourses of foreignness are expressed by constituencies at all levels, from parents and students, to language professionals, administrators, the media, and even the U.S. government. It behooves the profession to vigorously address these discourses with transformed and transforming programs, trends, and research that points to new directions about learning and using languages other than English in the United States. Some of these challenges are taken up in subsequent chapters in this volume, which are unified by an important assumption: these discourses will not change until we fundamentally alter how we, as professionals, think about the ontology of foreign language teaching.

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This chapter is dedicated to the memory of Leo van Lier, whose work has taught me so much. He was one of the rare scholars who could convey through every page he wrote the profound importance of the study of language as a human phenomenon. His many contributions on language and the teaching and learning of languages will continue to serve countless scholars and teachers for a long time to come.

Appendix: Transcript of Michele Bachman during the Minnesota Republican 6th Congressional District Debate Sponsored by the Taxpayers League, November 2005 (Michelle Bachman 2008)

Moderator: Given the recent rioting in France that is the result of a sub-culture that has not assimilated, what would you do to make sure that a similar situation does not take place in America? […]

Michele Bachmann: I just want to say only in France, only in France could you have suburban youth rioting because the welfare benefits aren't generous enough. And that's… that's what they're telling us now is happening there. And only in France could that happen.

And what we're seeing is just the fruits of leftism. It's suburbanites, the kids, that are watching cable TV, did you know that? In a lot of these high rises where a lot of the suburban youth are doing rioting or doing they have cable TV in their apartments. They're listening to al Jazeera, and they're being encouraged and prompted to go ahead and start these riots all over France.

There is a movement afoot that's occurring and part of that is the whole philosophical idea of multi-cultural diversity, which on the face sounds wonderful. Let's appreciate and value everyone's cultures. But guess what? **Not all cultures are equal. Not all values are equal.**

And one thing that we're seeing is that in the midst of this violence that's being encouraged by al Jazeera and by the jihadists that's occurring, is that we are seeing that those who are coming into France—which had a beautiful culture—the French culture is actually diminished. It's going away. And just with the population of France they are losing Western Europeans and it's being taken over by muh… by a Muslim ethic. Not that Muslims are bad. But they are not assimilating.

And that's what I had mentioned in my previous response is that America is a great nation, with great values. We are equal opportunity for all. And it's because we all came here and we came together as one. Out of many one. Multi-cultural diversity says out of one many. And if we go with tribalism we will not long be one nation united under God.

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Part II
Insights: Making Curricular Transformation Work

Curricular Integration and Faculty Development: Teaching Language-Based Content Across the Foreign Language Curriculum

Hiram H. Maxim

Abstract Maxim's chapter reports on one foreign language (FL) department's ongoing efforts to overcome the division between so-called language courses at the lower levels and content courses at the upper levels, an issue that characterizes many FL departments. Central to this endeavor has been close collaboration between linguists and literary/cultural studies scholars within the department to (a) identify appropriate content-based speaking and writing tasks; (b) specify the linguistic features needed to realize these tasks; and (c) integrate the explicit instruction of these features into all courses in an articulated manner. The author illustrates ways that this undertaking affected not only the configuration of course offerings but also the degree of meta-level linguistic awareness among all faculty members, thereby equipping them theoretically and pedagogically to carry out curricular integration. The chapter concludes with a discussion of how other departments might undertake similar programs to implement language-based content instruction across the undergraduate curriculum.

Keywords Curricular reform · Genre · Teacher education · Systemic-functional linguistics · Advanced language learning · Content-based instruction · L2 writing

For more than two decades the collegiate foreign language (FL) profession has problematized the traditional division between so-called "language" courses at the lower levels of instruction and so-called "content" courses at the upper levels. James' (1996) pointed question in the *ADFL Bulletin*, "Who's minding the store?," ushered in one of the first national discussions about programmatic bifurcation, and there has been a steady lament about this departmental structure ever since (e.g., Byrnes 1998; Kern 2002; Maxim 2006; Swaffar and Arens 2005). The 2007 report by the Modern Language Association's (MLA) *ad hoc* Committee on Foreign Languages is perhaps the most recent major publication to raise awareness and to engender nationwide debate about this issue. Interestingly, the concerns raised 20 years ago are still very much the same today, namely, that departmental bifurcation (1) is detrimental to long-term, systematic, coherent language development; (2) creates a counter-productive hierarchical structure among the teaching personnel; and

H. H. Maxim (✉)
Department of German Studies, Emory University, Atlanta, GA, USA
e-mail: hmaxim@emory.edu

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(3) hinders effective professionalization of graduate student teachers. Moreover, because of the negative consequences of programmatic division, there was and continues to be strong consensus about the need to address it. In short, for over 20 years the profession has been in agreement about the problems of bifurcation and the need to correct it.

Ironically, little has been done in a concrete or substantive way to change the status quo. Levine et al. (2008) cited surveys published in 2001 by the MLA documenting changes in the way that foreign languages are taught at the post-secondary level. He notes, for example, that the predominant focus on speaking at the initial levels is gradually being moderated through greater emphasis on reading and writing that focuses on literature and culture. While such initiatives indicate a change in course content that includes a stronger literary and cultural component at the lower level, there is still little evidence of emerging systematic approaches to language development across all 4 years of undergraduate instruction. In other words, departmental and curricular bifurcation remains, with language and content divided across the curriculum.

The perpetuation of departments' divided structure is all the more surprising when, in principle, the action needed is relatively straightforward. To paraphrase Byrnes (2002a), overcoming curricular bifurcation to achieve curricular integration requires attending to content from the beginning and language until the end of the undergraduate program. As the MLA data cited by Levine et al. (2008) indicated, some steps have been taken to address the first part of this equation, namely, attending to content from the beginning of instruction, but attention to language development in a coherent and articulated fashion across the entire curriculum remains a significant obstacle for the profession. Part of the issue is a lack of clarity about what constitutes advancedness in collegiate FL education. While there have been some recent discoveries in the profession's understanding of advanced language abilities, particularly in the research on the integrated curriculum of the Georgetown University German Department (e.g., Byrnes 2009; Byrnes et al. 2010; Byrnes and Sinicrope 2008; Crane 2006; Ryshina-Pankova 2006, 2010), the profession is still far from a consensus in the field about what types of language use should be featured and targeted in upper-level instruction. Compounding this predicament is the limited experience that instructors at the upper levels have with explicit language-based content instruction. In other words, FL faculty have extensive experience in teaching specific content at the upper levels, but they have not been educated to think about the specific characteristics of the language that convey a particular content or that language learners are asked to use to discuss that content.

In the end, regardless of institutional setting, collegiate FL education is faced with a two-fold problem: first, selecting and sequencing content across a four-year curriculum so that language development is supported in a coherent and articulated fashion; and second, supporting faculty in better understanding what constitutes the language use targeted in upper-level instruction. Each institutional and departmental constellation will have its own content and language foci (e.g. a state institution with a strong STEM focus vs. a small liberal arts college), but the need to select and sequence institution-specific content in an articulated manner that supports long-

term language development would seem to apply to all educational settings. Criteria for a FL program to consider when identifying appropriate content include its faculty's strengths, its students' interests, and its institution's mission. As the other chapters in this volume attest, there are many different institutional contexts for studying languages, and each program needs to assess its local situation for the type of content and language that is most appropriate to emphasize.

This chapter addresses that problem by reporting on ongoing efforts in one collegiate FL department, the German Studies Department at Emory University, to determine both the language-based content goals of upper-level instruction and the appropriate pedagogy to facilitate attainment of those goals. Central to this endeavor was the close collaboration between linguists and literary/cultural studies scholars within the department to (a) identify appropriate content-based speaking and writing tasks for the upper levels; (b) specify the linguistic features needed to realize these tasks; and (c) integrate the explicit instruction of these features into upper-level courses in an articulated manner.

1 Educational Setting

The German Studies Department at Emory University is an undergraduate program that offers a major and minor in German Studies and currently graduates each year roughly 15 majors and minors combined. In the past 5 years, total enrollment in German classes has averaged around 200 students each semester. The department typically offers each semester five sections of first-year German, three sections of second-year German, and one section each of Level 3, 4, and 5. The overwhelming majority of German Studies majors combine their major with another field. In the past 4 years alone, German Studies majors have double majored in Sociology, Biology, Mathematics, Business, Music, Economics, Philosophy, Italian Studies, History, Psychology, Political Science, and Physics.

The department has five full-time faculty, four of whom teach German full-time and one of whom teaches Yiddish full-time. Three of the four German-language faculty are tenured, and one is a Senior Lecturer, the second of three tiers among lecture-track faculty at Emory. The Yiddish-language faculty member is tenure-track. In addition, there has been on average two part-time faculty on staff each academic year. Reflecting the interdisciplinary focus of the university and the department, all tenured and tenure-track faculty have an affiliation with at least one other department on campus (e.g., Linguistics, Jewish Studies, Film Studies) and frequently cross-list courses with these programs.

The current German-language curriculum is the result of an ongoing effort begun in the fall of 2007 to integrate the teaching of language and content all curricular levels (see Maxim et al. 2013). Already in the spring semester 2006 discussions had begun in the department about the stark bifurcation within the curriculum and the difficulties students faced when making the transition to upper-division classes. These same issues received attention in the department's self-study compiled in

preparation for an external review of the department in spring 2007. Responding to these concerns, the department requested and received permission to conduct a search for a tenure-track applied linguist with specialization in curriculum construction. By fall 2007, therefore, several essential pieces were in place for substantive curricular reform to commence: the initial departmental discussions about its curriculum; the hiring of an applied linguist who had spent the previous 6 years coordinating the successfully integrated undergraduate German curriculum at Georgetown University; and the final report from the external reviewers that pointed to the existing curricular bifurcation. In addition, 2007 also marked the publication of the report by the Modern Language Association's *ad hoc* Committee on Foreign Languages that highlighted the counter-productive effects of curricular bifurcation, thus providing the department with further justification for its attention to curricular matters.

2 Selecting and Sequencing Content in an Integrated Curriculum

While an integrated FL curriculum may not seem particularly complicated in principle, integrating the study of language and content from the very beginning of instruction and sustaining it in a systematic manner until the end of the program requires a substantive theoretical rethinking of how FL curricula are constructed and articulated.

As a foundational first step, the department borrowed from the work by the Georgetown University German Department and turned to the construct of *genre* to help them conceptualize the integration of form and content. Differing from the notion of genre within literary scholarship (i.e., prose, drama, lyric), genre for the purposes of curriculum construction encompasses a broader array of written and oral texts that includes any staged, goal-oriented, socially situated communicative event (e.g., book review, eulogy, letter of complaint). This approach to genre stems from the larger theoretical framework of Systemic-Functional Linguistics (SFL) that provides an approach for analyzing and explaining how language makes meaning. Developed by the linguist M. A. K. Halliday (Halliday and Matthiessen 2006), SFL conceptualizes language not as a system of rules but rather as a resource for meaning-making. As such, language presents a range of options to choose from for making meaning. In the case of genre, the language-based options are constrained by a range of variables, such as the larger cultural context, the specific situation, the communicative purpose, and the intended audience, to the point where genres become conventionalized in terms of their structure and language use. SFL-oriented genre analysts have demonstrated, for example, how the carrying out of a particular genre calls on specific lexico-grammatical items to realize its communicative purpose (e.g., Macken-Horarik 2002; Martin 2009; Rothery and Stenglin 1997). As a result, SFL researchers have explored genres for their pedagogical value in demonstrating to learners how successful textual comprehension and production

requires attention to textual purpose, register, structure, and language (e.g., Rothery 1996). The overt textuality of a genre-based approach also coincides nicely with the long tradition of textual engagement and analysis within collegiate foreign language studies.

Genre not only exemplifies the integration of language and content, but it also provides a principled way to select and sequence language and content across the curriculum. Traditionally, grammar has served as the sequencing principle in the first 2 years of collegiate instruction, and then in the latter years the focus has been on specific literary or cultural topics without much systematic attention to language features. Within an integrated curriculum, however, where grammar is not a sequencing principle but rather a resource for communicating meaningfully, grammar needs to be selected that allows learners to communicate about the content effectively, and the content, in turn, needs to be sequenced such that its textual manifestation reflects the language foci of its respective curricular level. Moreover, curricular sequencing needs to reflect a principled approach that supports learners' long-term language development across the 4 years of the curriculum.

To conceive of such systematic curricular trajectory, the German Studies faculty benefited from recent SFL-based scholarship on genre-based continua for curricular sequencing (Coffin 2006; Christie and Derewianka 2008). During the spring semester 2008, the department's applied linguist led the German Studies faculty through a series of workshops and departmental meetings that focused heavily on Coffin's work (2006) for its helpful delineation of three major macro-genres found in secondary school history curricula: recording, explaining, and arguing genres. As a result, the faculty agreed to adopt a similar curricular trajectory for its own curriculum that would begin with a focus on *narration* at the lower level, shift to *explanation* by the end of the second year of instruction, and conclude with *argumentation* at the upper-most level. Table 1 specifies this generic trajectory in terms of targeted macro-genres and discursive foci.

This curricular progression also introduces a systematic trajectory for language development. As Coffin (2006) outlines in her extensive discussion of the three macro-genres, the language focus within the narrative or recording discursive frame begins with first-person recreating and recounting of chronological events involving specific participants, shifts to third-person recounting of events involving more generic participants, and concludes with third-person accounting for the reasons why events happen in a particular sequence. During the next discursive stage of the curricular trajectory, explanation, Coffin (2006) points to the following specific language features: lexis associated with causes or consequences, numeratives and connectives for ordering causes, dense nominal groups often consisting of nominalization, and the decreased reliance on chronology as the main organizational framework. In the final discursive stage, argumentation, within which the focus is on presenting or countering one or more points of view, students are called upon to use non-human and abstract participants, specialized lexis referring to the topic being argued, direct or indirect discourse for quoting or reporting points of view, and fewer modalized propositions.[1]

[1] An analogous language trajectory has also been presented in Chap. 6 of Swaffar et al. (1991).

Table 1 Discursive trajectory, Levels 1–5. (The table draws on work by Coffin (2006) as well as the curricular sequencing principles of the Georgetown University German Department see Byrnes et al. 2010)

Level	Macro-genre	Discursive and generic focus
1	Recreating, Recounting, Narrating	Describing immediate, personal events with specific participants in chronological fashion
2	Recounting, Narrating, Accounting	Situating and narrating personal events in time and place. Comparing, contrasting, and explaining events, beliefs, actions
3	Narrating, Expounding, Explaining	Narration takes a back seat to explanation, and multiple factors are drawn upon to explain a particular event or outcome or the consequences of a specific historical event. Less personal reporting and narrating of concrete events and instead engaging more abstract public and institutional issues, values, and beliefs in comparative, contrastive, and issue-oriented ways
4	Explaining, Exploring, Reviewing	
5	Arguing, Editorializing, Discussing, Analyzing	Addressing whether previously given explanations of a particular event or outcome are in fact likely to be valid by quoting, reporting, evaluating, countering, and weakening alternative positions. Academic, public, professional, and institutional settings that feature general and abstract participants

With a curricular trajectory in place that reflected the discursive progression from narration to explanation to argumentation, the department had to next map appropriate content onto this trajectory that modeled the targeted discursive focus of the curricular level. To do so, the faculty formed over the next couple of years sub-committees that focused on each of the curricular levels. Each committee consisted of faculty members who had taught either at that level, the preceding, or the following level.[2]

In their deliberations, the sub-committees considered content areas for their respective levels according to two main criteria: (a) content that was culturally significant, as defined by the sub-committee, and of interest to both students and instructors; and (b) content whose predominant textual manifestation reflected the discursive emphasis for that level. For example, the sub-committee for Level 1 (i.e., first-year German), consisting of a tenured applied linguist and a Senior Lecturer, elected to structure the course around specific roles or group affiliations that have an impact on one's self-identity (e.g., student, consumer, traveler, family member) not only for its cultural significance but also because its primary textual manifestation reflected the discursive focus of that level, namely, narration. In comparison, the sub-committee for Level 2, consisting of a tenured applied linguist, a Senior Lecturer, and a tenured literary scholar with a research focus on contemporary German literature and film, chose to focus the second-year course on factors that play a role in one's coming of age (e.g., family, nature, school) because it allowed for

[2] Faculty who worked on the curriculum reform did not receive any additional compensation directly, but their contribution was acknowledged in their annual review that served as the basis for merit-based pay raises.

continued attention to narration while also providing opportunities to transition to the next major discursive focus, namely, explanation (e.g., producing a text that not only tells a story about what one does at school but that also explains how and why schooling played a role in on one's coming of age).[3]

Such a curricular framework has implications for instructional materials as well. For instance, whereas the previous curriculum relied on commercial textbooks for the first 2 years of instruction, the faculty chose for the newly integrated curriculum to drop all commercial textbooks except the reference grammar for Level 2 and to implement an unorthodox approach to the textbook in Level 1 in that the content focus for the level determined the order in which topics in the textbook were addressed in class. As an example, subordinating conjunctions, a grammar topic that does not appear until the eighth chapter of the textbook, is introduced already in the second unit in German 101 because students need that grammatical resource to communicate effectively about why and when they participate in different activities as part of the unit's discussion of one's hobbies. This covalent approach in which the textbook serves the language *and* the content needs of the curriculum continues throughout the program. In fact, beginning with Level 2, the only commercial textbooks used are reference grammars. The content is delivered exclusively in the form of printed and visual texts selected by level-specific sub-committees. In this way the curriculum is readjusted to present the language use needed to help a learner comprehend and discuss a given content area.

Once content areas at each level had been mapped onto a set of discursive focuses, the next step in the implementation phase of the curricular reform was to specify the linguistic realization of each content area to identify the targeted language features for each curricular level. In other words, the language used to convey the meaning of a particular content area had to become the language targeted in instructional units. To guide this process, faculty selected for each content area certain textual genres that not only delivered the content at each level but also exemplified the discursive focus for each. For example, at Level 1 with its focus on narrating one's own identity, one genre that the faculty selected to deliver the content was the personal recount. At Level 2 the fairy tale was one of the genres chosen for both modeling narrative strategies and examining the theme of coming of age. With each targeted genre, students read more than one example and focus not only on the genre's relevance for the level's thematic focus but also on the genre's organizational framework and linguistic realization. In the case of the fairy tale in Level 2, students read three different examples of fairy tales, and with each text they become increasingly familiar with the genre's schematic structure and its prominent language features. These textual elements are then summarized for the student in the description of the writing assignment that elicits reproduction of the targeted genre (Appendix A). Students are reminded of the obligatory textual stages as well as important lexico-grammatical and rhetorical features to include.

With particular genres selected for emphasis at each curricular level (see chart, Appendix C), faculty turned their attention to identifying specific linguistic features

[3] See Maxim et al. (2013) for an overview of the content foci for all curricular levels.

Table 2 Overview of language foci for two genres

Level	Genre	Word- and sentence-level foci	Discourse-level structural and rhetorical foci
1	Personal recount	Present and past tense;	Three-staged structure of orientation, recount of events, reorientation;
		Nominative, accusative, dative case;	Foregrounded temporal phrases for chronological structuring;
		Locative, temporal, instrumental, and directional prepositions;	
		Inverted word order;	
		Coordinating and temporal subordinating conjunctions;	
		Vocabulary for daily activities	
2	Fairy tale	Narrative past tense;	Five-staged structure of orientation, initiating event, conflict, resolution, conclusion/moral;
		Temporal and causal subordinating conjunctions;	Foregrounded temporal phrases for chronological structuring;
		Inverted word order;	Foregrounded contrastive and causal phrases;
		Locative, temporal, instrumental, and directional prepositions;	Repetition, yet intensification, of action;
		Adjective endings;	
		Infinitive clauses;	
		Lexicon for good, evil, magical	

of each genre to focus on in instruction. In general, the features were divided into two categories: lexico-grammatical phenomena at the word- and sentence-level, and discourse-level structural and rhetorical characteristics. Table 2 provides an overview of the major language features targeted for instruction during the pedagogical treatment of personal recounts in Level 1 and fairy tales in Level 2.

The personal recount has a linear, chronological structure, and thus expressing temporality, either through prepositions, adverbial phrases, or subordinate clauses, receives particular pedagogical attention in Level 1. Temporality is also a central feature of fairy tales, the next genre chosen. Because fairy tales are narrated in the past tense, learners gain experience in making cohesive connections between different time periods within a story ("after Snow White had bitten into the poisoned apple …"), thus revisiting how the passage of time is conveyed and expanding their repertoire for expressing temporality through temporal subordinating conjunctions and adverbial phrases for temporal concepts like "before" and "after." Moreover, as Table 2 highlights, the focus on fairy tales allows for introduction of causality as learners begin to practice explaining the factors and consequences of particular actions in the tales.

The specification of genre-based language features to be emphasized in instruction laid the groundwork for the final step of the curriculum implementation process, namely, the development of genre-based writing and speaking tasks for the

learners. Following the work outlined by Byrnes (2002b), the level-specific faculty sub-committees selected certain genres taught at each level to target for reproduction and then specified elements of those genres as the assessment criteria for the genre-based tasks.

As the assignment sheet for one genre-based writing task in Appendix A indicates, a typical task description for such an assignment consists of three parts. First, learners are reminded of the genre's schematic structure, the intended audience, and its mode of delivery (e.g., written or spoken). Second, learners are given suggestions for how to engage the content of the task through a series of question prompts. Third, the specific language features that are necessary for the linguistic realization of the genre's content are listed. The specificity of each part of the task description provides clear guidance to the learners and the instructors on what is required for successful completion of the task. About fifteen minutes of class is needed to introduce and explain each assignment sheet.

3 Collaborative and Integrative Faculty Development Amidst Curricular Integration

While the process for selecting and sequencing content within an integrated curriculum as presented above was a transparent approach that enjoyed unanimous support among the faculty, the actual implementation of this process was not without challenges. Overwhelmingly, the most serious obstacle to integrating language and content at all levels of the curriculum was the difficulty in identifying the specific language features of a targeted genre. Interestingly, the central issue was that faculty members were not used to approaching content and texts from a language-based perspective and consequently were challenged when asked to specify how a particular text was realized linguistically.

Conceptually, the faculty understood the discursive trajectory of the curriculum from narration to explanation to argumentation. They also were not challenged when asked to select genres that exemplified each of these discursive foci. Furthermore, all colleagues concurred with the latest scholarship that had been presented to them. Convincing for many was a Georgetown study of its new 4-year program that investigated standard measures of syntactic complexity in student written production (e.g., mean length of T-unit, mean length of clause, and clauses per T-unit). That research revealed that as students in the Georgetown curriculum moved along such a genre-based trajectory, their writing performances were marked by a preference for subordination over coordination as a way of organizing information (Byrnes et al. 2010). Coinciding with this rise in subordination was an increase in lexical density (content-carrying words per clause) and a decrease in grammatical intricacy (clauses per sentence). In other words, inter-clausal connections were made increasingly through subordination, but there was also a move toward increased *intra*-clausal meaning making through lexically denser clauses and fewer clauses per sentence.

Byrnes et al. (2010) suggest that this phenomenon can be explained by an increase in phrasal elaboration rather than subordination (e.g., "After the meal" vs. "After we ate"). Other second language researchers have made similar observations about students' progress in writing (e.g., Byrnes 2009; Cooper 1976; Flahive and Snow 1980; Ryshina-Pankova 2010). These studies all document the increased use of the linguistic resource grammatical metaphor by advanced writers as a way to condense and restructure information. The following sentence from an advanced learner exemplifies the increased incidence of grammatical metaphor in the form of nominalizations (e.g., "difficulty," "representation"): *Eine große Schwierigkeit jeder Verfassung ist das Problem der gleichen Vertretung der großen und kleinen Staaten* (A big difficulty with every constitution is the problem of equal representation of the large and small states). The quality "difficult" is nominalized into the grammatical metaphor "difficulty" and the process "to represent" is nominalized into the grammatical metaphor "representation," resulting in just one clause with high lexical density. Maxim and Petersen's (2008) analysis of the transitivity system among writers in the Georgetown curriculum produced analogous findings by documenting, for example, the increased use of abstract, relational, rather than material, processes (i.e., verbs of "being" vs. "doing"), a phenomenon that typically occurs in more public language use and that accompanies the increased use of grammatical metaphor as a more sophisticated meaning-maker (Note the use of the relational process "is" in the learner example above). In sum, this research on genre-based writing development provided the faculty with a clear and sophisticated portrayal of the predominant linguistic resources that learners use as they move up the curriculum.

While this research on characteristics of progress in written performance provided a helpful overview of the general trends in language use among learners in a genre-based curriculum, the faculty was not always able to translate that trajectory into specific pedagogical foci within a particular level of instruction. The problem remained that faculty were challenged to identify the essential meaning-making resources within a particular model text. In many ways, this predicament reflects the current state of the collegiate FL profession and the division between linguistic and literary study. Although language use implicitly underlies much literary analysis, literary scholarship since the days of New Criticism has not focused on fine-grained examinations of the linguistics resources and choices employed in texts (see Arens, this volume). Moreover, discourse analysis has developed as a subfield of linguistics and cultural studies but not of literary interpretation.

To some extent, this separation of textual analysis from linguistic analysis helps to explain why upper-level FL instruction has been deficient in exemplifying stipulations for the type of language that advanced learners need to learn and use. The traditional advanced grammar course in many FL departments is an attempt to address this situation, but in most cases the instructional focus has been on sentence-level grammar rather than on a discourse- or text-level grammar and the grammar use appropriate to discuss different contexts, genres, and media. Moreover, after such a transitional grammar course, students in their subsequent advanced FL classes rarely find writing assignments that provide detail about the specific language

features to use. Students are left to infer how to express what they have read about (appropriate referential or summative language) or what they view the broader implications to be of a reading or viewing.

Such was the case in the early stages of the curricular revision of Level 3 at Emory. Level 3 is the last of the three levels with prescribed content (Levels 4 and 5 consist of electives with content foci that change each semester). With the gradual decline over the past several years in the number of students entering Emory with prior exposure to German, most of the students at Level 3 come up through the Emory German Studies curriculum and have already completed the one-year language requirement at Emory. As a result, most of the students enrolled in Level 3 (roughly 20 per semester) do not take the course to fulfill a graduation requirement and many will complete a minor or major in German Studies. In addition, in contrast with its instantiation before the curricular reform, Level 3 is no longer considered a "bridge" course that serves to introduce students to German Studies; rather, it continues the integrated approach to language learning begun in the first semester albeit with a different content and discursive focus.

As Table 2 indicated above, the discursive focus on explanation had been established for Level 3 and the corresponding content focus chosen to elicit such a discourse was a reverse chronological examination of the tensions and dichotomies inherent in the portrayal of love at different points in German-language cultural production. Students were thus expected to examine a particular text's depiction of love and then explain the factors and/or consequences of particular scenes, events, or characters. The expectation for students entering Level 3 was that they had developed their narrative abilities in the previous two levels and were now ready to shift their discursive attention to explanation. It should be added, however, it is not as if students had not had to explain factors or consequences prior to enrolling in Level 3. Particularly in the second half of Level 2, students frequently were asked to explain the reasons for a particular character's coming of age and thus were called upon to express causality to a greater degree. Nevertheless, the first writing assignment in Level 3, a plot summary, was selected because it served as a hybrid genre situated between narration and explanation that required the writer to both narrate the major events of the plot as well as explain the connections between the events. However, the first iteration of the writing assignment did little to guide the learner in how to construct an effective summary. Consisting of four short sentences, learners were instructed as follows:

> Write a summary of X in your own words. Keep your summary clear and focus on the main events with concrete examples from the text. Don't copy words or passages from the text unless you are using a quotation to explain a scene or event. Be sure to proofread your work to catch careless errors.

Not unexpectedly, the results varied greatly and were deemed largely unsatisfactory by the instructor. In response, the instructor, a literary scholar working together with an applied linguist in the department, developed a writing assignment designed to specify what learners were expected to produce. The first step was to identify the summaries that were considered successful and effective. For this initial assess-

ment, no criteria were established to delineate what determined success or effectiveness; rather, the instructor read each student summary and selected 4–5 that reflected her notion of a successful summary.

Next, the linguist and the instructor worked together to identify specific language-based examples in the performance that contributed to the effective plot summary, particularly choices made at the lexico-grammatical and the textual level. After codifying and categorizing successful learners' language-based choices, a second iteration of the task description (Appendix B) then included (a) a brief description of the genre's purpose; (b) an overview of the general structure of the genre; and (c) a list of rhetorical devices for conveying the content of the summary. In other words, the new task description began to include what genre-based pedagogues (e.g., Rothery 1996; Martin 2009) emphasize in their approach to genre-based writing, namely, the context of culture (i.e., the social purpose of the genre), the context of situation (i.e., the register), the schematic structure (i.e., the plot sequence), and the language features characteristic of the first three factors.

Upon closer inspection, however, the two colleagues realized that the task description needed additional refinement. In particular, the specification of language features remained relatively general and did not necessarily correspond to the different stages of the summary. As genre theorists have pointed out, each genre stage carries with it a specific communicative purpose and linguistic realization (Martin 2009)—the different language representative of each different stage. Thus the two colleagues expanded the task description to include a third category that focused exclusively on language:

Language

- Present tense
- Indirect discourse when quoting a character
- Passive voice (in the introduction)
- Action and sensing verbs in the main section
- Sentences in the main section that begin with …
  - Temporal phrases to establish the chronology
  - Summative nouns and nominalizations to capture/summarize elements (e.g., these conditions …/because of her decision …)
  - Adverbs that portray the physical or mental state of characters or scenes (e.g., Despairingly, s/he goes home/Hunted by the villagers, s/he …)
- Rhetorical and discursive devices for a summary (see Appendix B)

Not only did this addition to the task description bring it in line with the already established tri-partite structure of task descriptions for Levels 1 and 2, it also gave the learner more guidance on how to make meaning at each stage of the summary. The first two bullet points refer to language that is prevalent in all three stages of the summary, but then the subsequent bullet points refer to the specific linguistic realization of each stage. The final bullet point refers to the expanded categorization of different rhetorical and discursive devices used in summary writing, e.g., to introduce a work; to introduce a character; to arrange/organize events; to comment on the work's effect on the reader. Where the second iteration of the task description

distinguished solely between "introduction" and "content," the third iteration categorized the rhetorical devices according to the stages (Appendix B). For example, learners were instructed that in their conclusion they should discuss the effect of the work on the reader, and one of the categories listing appropriate rhetorical devices addressed precisely that communicative purpose.

A clear by-product of this iterative process of developing comprehensive and guided task descriptions is that the assessment of student performances becomes more precise. As the so-called "feedback form" in Appendix D indicates, the different features of the task outlined on the assignment sheet (Appendix B) become the criteria for assessing the degree to which the student completed the task effectively. The next step will be to move from the feedback form to a rubric.[4]

The consequences of this collaborative effort for the learners, the department, and the curriculum were noteworthy. To begin with, the positive interaction between colleagues contributed to an openness and collaborative spirit that had begun with the advent of the curricular reform, especially in creating a symmetrical relationship between the two colleagues. In other words, both the linguist and the literary scholar made important contributions to the effort without one feeling subordinate to the other. The literary scholar brought expertise on summaries of literary works while the linguist provided knowledge on genre and discourse analysis. Together, they pooled their findings and produced a task description that would not have been possible if just one of them had worked on it.

Second, the focus on identifying language features in exemplary summaries instilled a renewed appreciation among the faculty for the centrality of language in our discipline. One of the often-cited casualties of departmental bifurcation is the absence of any systematic attention to language development in upper-level instruction and to advanced language use. In many ways, the type of unsystematic approach to language can be said to be a product of interdisciplinarity in the profession (see Maxim 2009; Pfeiffer 2008). While this shift has expanded course offerings and established closer ties with other disciplines, it has also resulted in a greater role for English in FL departments (e.g., Donahue and Kagel 2012). Language-based interactions with content and tasks, such as outlined above, however, can return the discipline to what would seem to be its core mission, which Swaffar (1999) so eloquently expressed as an examination of "how individuals and groups use words and other signs in context to intend, negotiate, and create meanings" (7).

Third, equipped now with a clearer idea of what students need to succeed linguistically, instructors can be much more focused and systematic in their course and lesson preparation. As a case in point, prior to the specification of the language demands for Level 3's summary writing, the "language" component of the course consisted of a standard review of German grammar as presented in a reference grammar textbook, rather than the task-based, contextually anchored grammar problem the new assignments presented.

[4] The rubrics developed by Hammer and Swaffar (2012) for assessing cultural competency (MACC) serve as models for what the German Studies Department is working toward.

Fourth, awareness among instructors and learners about discourse-level and genre-based textual features increased with this task-based grammar. As the curriculum reform moves forward, the tri-partite structure outlined will be used in each speaking and writing assignment to include both the targeted genre of the task and its schematic structure. Although it is still too early to gather substantive data on how such structures influence learners' awareness and thinking, its objective is to prompt learners to think more about the type of text they are producing, the audience they are addressing, and the organization of their text.

Last, this collaborative approach to task development has become a model within the department at all levels. Faculty work together to specify the structure, content, and language of each task and are willing to revise and enhance the descriptions based on student feedback and task completion. Even more interestingly, because all genres have not been described linguistically and structurally as we do here, the faculty has had to conduct its own genre analysis, exposing uncharted territory that has proven to be challenging but ultimately rewarding for faculty.

In many ways, this genre-based analysis exemplifies the integrative approach to foreign language education that many, including the authors of the MLA Report (2007), have proposed for the past three decades, linking language to content and form at more advanced levels. In addition, since genre analyses have taken place collaboratively, faculty has begun to be better informed about the tasks, texts, and curriculum as a whole. Similar to what Byrnes (2001) described as the publicly shared knowledge and commonly held practices that resulted from the curricular reform in the German Department at Georgetown University, the curricular project in the German Studies Department at Emory University has integrated the expertise of the faculty to produce a common foundation from which to build their language program.

4 Conclusion

The different calls for curricular reform in the profession share refrains about needing to integrate the study of language and content at all curricular levels. This chapter has illustrated two specific challenges that arise when such integration is attempted.

First, FL professionals need a principled way to select and organize content that adheres to their preferred articulated, coherent, and systematic approach to language development. In this case, the genre-based continuum from narration to explanation to argumentation has provided a helpful map for appropriate content along a language-learning pathway.

Second, all faculty involved in a curricular reform need to become familiar with language-based approaches to content, if they are to target them for explicit instruction. Whether a language department's colleagues are linguistic, literary, or cultural scholars, they are all used to working with texts, but often do not make the kinds of explicit links suggested here, even if, invariably, most colleagues are more than

willing to discuss textual engagement and analysis. Indeed, in many ways, those types of text-based discussions are what have motivated and excited all our scholarship since we entered the profession.

On another level, however, we have not always approached our textually oriented analyses from a language-based pedagogical perspective. In other words, we have not thought about how the texts we engage could be models for our students' language development or how language functions to make content meaningful—we have been socialized to divide these language acquisition imperatives, not to teach them holistically. Thus, for example, FL graduate student teacher education typically perpetuates the bifurcation found in undergraduate FL programs by separating graduate students' pedagogical development from their coursework in literary and cultural areas (see Reeser 2013 and Ryshina-Pankova 2013, for counter examples).

The key to collaboration in a curricular reform therefore must be based on a shared understanding about the role of texts in language development. That is, the choices behind text, content, and course selection all have to take into account the language-learning trajectory of the projected learners. Without such linguistically oriented textual thinking, curricular integration will remain elusive in collegiate FL education.

Appendix A: Assignment Sheet for Genre-Based Writing Task Märchen: "Eine Reise"

Genre: Märchen Dieses Semester haben Sie drei Märchen gelesen, die sich mit den Themen Familie, Natur und Reisen beschäftigen. Nun schreiben Sie Ihr eigenes Märchen zum Thema „Reisen" und konzentrieren Sie sich dabei auf den Einfluss der Reise auf das Erwachsenwerden der Hauptfigur(en). Wie wir im Unterricht besprochen haben, enthält ein Märchen folgende Teile:

- Titel
- Einleitung/Orientierung
- Anlass/Auslösung zum Reisen
- Problem/Aufgabe/Kampf
- Lösung/Sieg
- Schluss/Moral

Ein Märchen wird normalerweise in der 3. Person geschrieben. Schreiben Sie ca. 3 Seiten.

Inhalt Besprechen Sie die folgenden Themen in diesem Märchen:

- Einleitung: Wo beginnt das Märchen? Welche Figuren kommen vor? Was für Menschen sind diese Figuren? Wie verstehen sich die verschiedenen Figuren? Welche positiven Eigenschaften hat der Protagonist? Haben die anderen Figuren besondere magische Eigenschaften? In welcher Jahreszeit spielt das Märchen?;

- Auslösung: Warum unternimmt die Hauptfigur eine Reise? Was muss gemacht werden? Wohin fährt er/sie? Kommen andere Figuren/Tiere vor?
- Problem: Was passiert während der Reise? Was muss die Hauptfigur machen/bekämpfen/überwinden? Kommen neue Figuren vor? Warum? Wie ist der Ort jetzt anders? Wiederholt sich und/oder steigert sich die Handlung?
- Lösung: Wie wird das Problem gelöst? Muss der Protagonist gerettet werden? Wer rettet den Protagonisten und aus welchem Grund? Findet ein Wunder statt? Wodurch zeigt die Hauptfigur ihr Erwachsenwerden?
- Schluss: Wie kommt das Märchen zu Ende? Was für einen guten Ausgang hat das Märchen?

Sprachliche Schwerpunkte

- Wortstellung
- Verbform: Konjugation, Vergangenheitsformen (Präteritum, Perfekt)
- Temporalphrasen
- Genus und Kasus (besonders nach Präpositionen)
- Adjektivendungen
- Infinitivsätze
- Rechtschreibung, Kommasetzung
- Hilfreiches Vokabular aus den Texten
- Stilistische Merkmale eines Märchens: *Es war einmal*, Wiederholung, Steigerung der Herausforderung, Kontraste (gut/böse), ein Wunder, magische Figur

Benotungskriterien Die Kategorien Aufgabe, Inhalt und sprachlicher Fokus werden äquivalent gewertet. Die Gesamtnote ergibt sich aus den Teilnoten. In der revidierten Version können Sie Ihre Note um maximal 2 “Stufen” verbessern (sehr gute Korrektur: Verbesserung um 2 Stufen; gute Korrektur: 1 Stufe, mittelmäßige bis schwache Korrektur: keine Verbesserung der Note). **Abgabetermin**: *Erste Version am Montag, den 10. Dezember fällig.*

Appendix B—Second and Final Iterations of Task Description for Summary Assignment

Version 2 A summary describes in one’s own words what happens in a text in terms of both the events as well as the perspectives, thoughts, and emotions of the main characters. It is thus important to identify the argumentative structure of the text. A summary is not only about what the narrator says but also how s/he describes a situation and why s/he says what s/he says in that situation.

Write in the present tense except for references to previous events

Structure

- Introduction
  - Author, title, time, and place of the plot
  - Text genre (drama, lyric, prose)
  - Main characters, perspective
  - General thrust and focus of the piece
- Main section
  - Synopsis of main events or sections
  - Accurate chronology of events
  - Connection between events
  - Thoughts and emotions of characters
  - Important passages with textual examples

Concrete textual passages are welcome but should include a page reference and an explanation.

Avoid repetition and focus on one theme or event per paragraph

- Conclusion
  - Unanswered questions
  - Effect on the reader
  - Brief evaluation of the work

Helpful Vocabulary and Transitions

Introduction
(title) is a novel by (author)
(title) was written by (author)
The story is about (topic)
(title) tells the story of (hero) who …
(title) by (author) places the reader in (time/place)
(title) takes place in the time of (event)
Content
At the beginning of the story …
During …/When …
Because …
Precisely at that moment …
After …/Before …
Not long/shortly thereafter …
One day/evening …
On the next day …/Some time later …
Hours/months/years later …
Until the morning/next day when …
In the meantime …/However …

Once again …
At that point …
To his surprise …
What makes the situation worse is that …
Finally …

Version 3: Genre: Summary

A summary describes in one's own words what happens in a text in terms of both the events as well as the perspectives, thoughts, and emotions of the main characters. It is thus important to identify the argumentative structure of the text. A summary is not only about what the narrator says but also how s/he describes a situation and why s/he says what s/he says in that situation. A summary consists of the following three sections: Introduction, Main section, and Conclusion.

Content

- Introduction
  - Author, title, time, and place of the plot
  - Text genre (drama, lyric, prose)
  - Main characters, perspective
  - General thrust and focus of the piece
- Main section
  - Synopsis of main events or sections
  - Accurate chronology of events
  - Connection between events
  - Thoughts and emotions of characters
  - Important passages with textual examples
- Concrete textual passages are welcome but should include a page reference and an explanation.
- Avoid repetition and focus on one theme or event per paragraph
- Conclusion
  - Unanswered questions
  - Effect on the reader
  - Brief evaluation of the work

Language

- Rhetorical and discursive devices for a summary (see attached sheet)
- Present tense
- Indirect discourse when quoting a character

- Passive voice (in the introduction)
- Action and sensing verbs in the main section
- Sentences in the main section that begin with …
  - Temporal phrases to establish the chronology
  - Summative nouns and nominalizations to capture/summarize elements (e.g., these conditions …/because of her decision …)
  - Adverbs that portray the physical or mental state of characters or scenes (e.g., Despairingly, s/he goes home/Hunted by the villagers, s/he …)

Rhetorical Devices for a Summary

To introduce a work
(title) is a novel by (author)
(title) was written by (author)
The story is about (topic)
(title) tells the story of (hero) who …
(title) by (author) places the reader in (time/place)
(title) takes place in the time of (event)
To introduce characters
In the center of the story is …
Additional characters are …
The main characters are …
To arrange/order events
At the beginning of the story …
First … After that … Finally.
During …/As soon as …
When …/After …/Before …
Precisely at that moment …
Not long/shortly thereafter …
One day/evening …
On the next day …/Some time later …
Hours/months/years later …
Until the morning/next day when …
In the meantime …/At that point …
To elaborate about a text passage
In addition/furthermore/moreover
In the process
At the same time
To make matters worse
To indicate causality
Therefore/thus/thereby
As a result/for this reason
Because …/because of …

To contrast/compare characters
In contrast/On the contrary/nevertheless/however
In comparison with …
In contrast with …
To discuss the effect on the reader
The novel shows …
The story has a disturbing/distancing effect on the reader
Through this character the author shows

Appendix C—Targeted Genres for Each Curricular Level

Level	Macro-genre	Writing tasks	Speaking tasks
1	Recreating,	Personal letter (4)	Conversation (2)
	Recounting,	Fairy tale	Interview (2)
	Narrating	Autobiographical recount	
2	Recreating,	Personal narrative (4)	Talk show (5)
	Recounting,	Fairy tale	Personal narrative (1)
	Narrating,	Autobiographical recount	
	Accounting	Summary	*Referat*
3	Summarizing,	Character analysis	
	Expounding,	Comparison	
	Explaining		
4	Explaining,	Description	*Referat*
	Analyzing,	Comparison	Discussion
	Contextualizing	Analysis	
5	Editorializing,	Discussion	
	Arguing,	Interpretation	Presentation
	Discussing,	Analysis	Debate
	Analyzing	Editorial	

Appendix D—Feedback form for Summary Writing Assignment

Task Appropriateness (33 %)
A summary consists of the following stages:
Introduction
Main section
Conclusion
3rd Person
Length (2–2.5 pages)

Content (33 %):
Introduction
- Author, title, time, and place of the plot
- Text genre (drama, lyric, prose)
- Main characters, perspective
- General thrust and focus of the piece

Main section
- Synopsis of main events or sections
- Accurate chronology of events
- Connection between events
- Thoughts and emotions of characters
- Important passages with textual examples

Concrete textual passages are welcome but should include a page reference and an explanation.
Avoid repetition and focus on one theme or event per paragraph
Conclusion
- Unanswered questions
- Effect on the reade
- Brief evaluation of the work

Language Focus (33 %):
- Rhetorical and discursive devices for a summary (see attached sheet)
- Present tense
- Indirect discourse when quoting a character
- Passive voice (in the introduction)
- Action and sensing verbs in the main section
- Sentences in the main section that begin with …
- Temporal phrases to establish the chronology
- Summative nouns and nominalizations to capture/summarize elements (e.g., these conditions …/because of her decision …)

Adverbs that portray the physical or mental state of characters or scenes (e.g., Despairingly

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Program Sustainability Through Interdisciplinary Networking: On Connecting Foreign Language Programs with Sustainability Studies and Other Fields

Charlotte Melin

Abstract Interdisciplinarity poses fundamental challenges to the ways in which even the most progressive departments conceive of their educational mission with respect to integrated language and culture learning. This essay outlines the structure for redesigning the undergraduate major as a "tools-based" curriculum that concentrates work in three core areas: skill in language and literacy, knowledge of context and media, and development of critical literacy and global understanding. It advocates a complex approach to fostering translingual and transcultural competence and describes the development of course offerings in the environmental humanities as an example. By recognizing the emerging mosaic structure of undergraduate education and embracing opportunities to collaborate with other disciplines, foreign language departments can engage in productive curriculum reform.

Keywords Curriculum design · Literacy · Interdisciplinarity · Sustainability · Global perspectives · Media · Textual analysis · Study abroad · Humanities · Transnational studies

The journey toward strategic planning and curriculum revision is always an arduous path for departments. "What are our students learning from us," we ask and set off with initially high spirits into the woods of curricular reform, passing along the way the ACTFL *Proficiency Guidelines* (2012), the *National Standards* (2010), and a myriad of *de rigueur* institutional benchmarks. Often even before reaching the stage of thinking about the "major," faculty colleagues become overwhelmed by the realization that there is no end to this work. Inevitably, too, they begin to question top-down curricular policies that seem to impinge on academic freedom.

We inhabit a frustratingly dynamic and only partially manageable system. Yet higher education is desperately in need of a paradigm shift over which the faculty should ultimately exercise control—a fact made obvious by the ubiquitous appeals for reform, ranging from the wholesale critique of the U.S. educational system delivered in 2011 by *Academically Adrift* (Arum and Roska 2011) to the

C. Melin (✉)
Department of German, Scandinavian, and Dutch, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities, MN, USA
e-mail: Melin005@umn.edu

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re-conceptualizations of foreign language (FL) studies charted through the terrain of putative "post"-Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) opened up by the 2007 Modern Language Association report, "Foreign Languages and Higher Education: New Structures for a Changed World" (MLA 2007).

What I want to bring into focus are some of the key dilemmas FL departments face when advocating for this much-needed change. Those challenges are abundantly evident at research universities where faculty experts pursue complex intellectual agendas and undergraduates navigate a vast curriculum that is increasingly structured as a "mosaic," rather than a tightly sequenced series of requirements (cf. Braunbeck 2011). That perspective, of course, represents a specific institutional context in which faculty straddle multiple units and in deeply existential ways see themselves as working on a cutting edge of their fields.

The fragmentation of the curriculum and inherited departmental structures that becomes so very apparent at this site, however, point to the larger predicament interdisciplinarity poses for language and culture programs, namely its idiosyncratic nature as an amalgam of different fields. Interdisciplinary initiatives are most certainly providing our future colleagues (graduate students) formative experience that they will in turn use to shape the wider academy long after they have completed their degree programs. In privileging interdisciplinarity, research universities today thus establish a structure that has far-reaching implications for FL programs at all institutions in the future, for this juggling of autonomy and interdisciplinarity poses challenges that are only beginning to be addressed. This chapter looks at some initial stages in program restructuring and course development that respond to those challenges.

My interest is in thinking about how we create a robust yet nimble educational system for FL departments that will function in the current financially challenging contexts. Although they are not my primary concern, fiscal issues cannot be entirely separated from approaches to teaching, or course offerings, or efforts to articulate the curriculum. And while it is not the intention of the present essay to define what interdisciplinarity means more broadly, starting with some examples of interdisciplinary models that seek to offer foreign language students related background from other fields helps us notice the current disciplinary contours and rifts that impede bolder collaboration. Here I turn to my own field of German studies as exemplary of the current situation of Humanities disciplines.

Two recent surveys, *German Studies in the United States: A Historical Handbook* (Hohendahl 2003) and *The Meaning of Culture: German Studies in the Twenty-first Century* (Kagel and Kagel 2009), present German studies as remarkably inclusive and welcoming to approaches ranging from post-colonial theory and feminism to media studies. Like *Globalization and the Future of German* (Gardt and Hüppauf 2004) and many other publications, both register concern about the progressive marginalization of the German language—a concern surely shared by all FL programs, with the possible exception of Spanish. Agreeing with the compelling case made earlier by Katherine Arens (2007) for the promotion of *cultural literacies* rather than the exclusive study of literature, Martin Kagel in a broad assessment of the field observes that, "[w]hile it has not developed its own theory, German studies

has produced a distinct bias against the study of literature, particularly… its philological tradition" (2009, p. 25).

Such "presentism," bolstered by a cultural studies orientation that legitimizes non-literary "texts" as object of inquiry (cf. Simpson 2009, p. 193), is for many reasons a growing trend in German studies today and marks one of its many disciplinary boundaries. With the term presentism I want to indicate a general tendency to foreground the recent or contemporary at the expense of other elements, for example by replacing literature before 1900 or Middle High German offerings with courses on popular film and pop music. I am wholeheartedly in favor of curricular updating and evolution, and indeed of new courses in these areas. But my interest lies in recognizing patterns in the voiding of content that have important consequences for departments because they inevitably involve faculty lines and choices about the future use of resources. Cultural studies orientation and presentism, moreover, are not the only ways in which interdisciplinary thinking is being shaped, for beneath the surface of German studies inclusivity lie deeper questions of epistemology. As Arens trenchantly cautions, "If U.S. *Germanistik* is claiming a forward impetus in being 'interdisciplinary,' it is only by ignoring the claims of other disciplines to the authority of science and the history of our own discipline, and by overlooking the requirements of theorizing paradigms" (Arens 2009, p. 61).

The possible solution that has been advanced by the authors of *The Meaning of Culture* and others is transnational European studies, a vision furthermore heralded in *The Chronicle of Higher Education* by William Donahue and Kagel (2012) as a means to save German studies. Nonetheless, this approach, as Stephen Brockmann (2012) rightly points out, runs the risk of ignoring the fact that the teaching of German language and literature, as well as culture, remains intrinsic to the vitality of the field. I suspect that in this debate a number of colleagues would quickly find other problems lurking behind both sides of the argument. More fundamentally, what the debate about the transnational studies model reveals is the relative ease of envisioning interdisciplinarity in terms of alliances with what we have long considered to be sympathetic disciplines like history, the arts, or cultural studies and comparative literature, and the much greater difficulty in going farther afield.

What, after all, do we imagine we hold in common with colleagues in agronomy, landscape architecture, and urban planning? For our students, on the other hand, skepticism about crossing over from and into widely disparate disciplines may be neither relevant nor constructive, given an endless menu of curricular options, double majors, and free-time possibilities available to them (cf. Levine et al. 2008), to say nothing of related scholarship and apprenticeship opportunities abroad. Indeed, the educational world they inhabit has all the hallmarks the environment described by Diane Larsen-Freeman and Lynne Cameron in *Complex Systems and Applied Linguistics*: dynamic heterogeneity, non-linearity, and adaptation (2008, p. 36). The dilemma for FL programs is, thus, how to embrace the possibilities afforded by this openness, while recognizing that FL learning depends in very important ways on structure, sequence, and articulation. With these issues in mind, I want to unfold the present paper in three parts that propose ways foreign language departments can capitalize on new dimensions in interdisciplinarity.

The first section describes a curricular framework that is intended to encourage connections across disciplines while strengthening the coherence of the undergraduate program. This redesigned major unifies previously separate tracks in the department (German, Scandinavian, and Germanic Medieval Studies, with further subdivisions for minors) to create a curriculum that better serves all students. As will be seen, it conceives of the undergraduate foreign language major in terms of fundamental intellectual tools—language skill and textual analysis, understanding of context and media, and critical literacy.

This conceptual structure grew out of extensive discussions with departmental faculty and builds on ecological models of language and literacy learning that follows the seminal work of Claire Kramsch (2002) and other curricular discussions in the past decade, such as the framework articulated by Ingeborg Walther (2007).[1] One of the objectives of this tools-based approach is the development of an open structure for the curriculum that will allow for more flexibility in student choice. That structure, by the same token, is meant to encourage innovative course types.

The second part of my essay, thus, turns to discussion of one such effort—an initiative I have undertaken to align part of what we are doing in German studies with sustainability studies education. In part three, the paper concludes with further observations about the broader challenges of interdisciplinarity that point to what lies ahead for FL programs.

1 Evolution of the Tools-Based Approach

The Department of German, Scandinavian and Dutch at the University of Minnesota began work on a plan to reform the undergraduate major curriculum in response to collegiate strategic planning discussions (known as "CLA 2015") with its program in many ways already in good shape (cf. Eagan 2010). Already in the 1980s, the University of Minnesota played a leadership role in the U.S. in FL education, with the College of Liberal Arts as a whole embracing language proficiency (rather than seat time) as its FL graduate requirement and pursuing efforts to bolster partnerships with regional high schools (cf. Barnes et al. 1991; Chalhoub-Deville 1997; Melin and Van Dyke 2001).

Throughout the 1990s and in the first decade of the twenty-first century, enrollments were healthy, articulation with secondary and other post-secondary institutions continued to be enhanced, and a culture of teaching excellence was intentionally cultivated on many levels, including through the professional development of graduate

[1] The proposal documents for the new major were in 2011–2012 prepared and shepherded through departmental and collegiate committees by the author of this paper, building on work done by a specially appointed departmental faculty and staff sub-committee that met in 2010–2011 to develop the concept for the major. As a full participant in all these discussions and originator of draft materials for the sub-committee's preliminary recommendations, I would like to acknowledge the richly collaborative nature of that effort and what I have learned from colleagues. The present account of the program reflects my perspectives on that process and I take full responsibility for its representation here.

student teaching assistants (TAs). These efforts received broad support, including from the Center for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition (founded in 1993) and European Studies Consortium (founded in 1999), which helped enhance the intellectual mission and FL education agenda at the University of Minnesota with support from U.S. federal Title VI funding that strengthen curricular offerings, and other units.[2] The foreign language requirement itself, though modified somewhat in 2004 to allow completion either through the Language Proficiency Examination or course work, enjoyed strong support from the College of Liberal Arts.[3] Thus, despite perennial debates across the U.S. about the value of FL courses (including student initiatives for and against the FL requirement), a complete overhaul of the curriculum when the University of Minnesota converted from a quarter to semester system, and multiple task force reports examining various aspects of FL education, the context for these discussions was in many ways hospitable to the foreign languages, relative to the situation at other institutions.

Like all of higher education, however, the University of Minnesota still faces sobering financial challenges that arose in the wake of the 2008 economic crisis. Though programmatic "best practices" have remained in effect (especially with regard to rigorous curriculum management), FL and other departments were asked to make difficult choices about course offerings to cut, even to the point of closing sections that were well subscribed, a measure that inevitably impacts student access to courses if the system is otherwise left unchanged. As the consolidation of resources progressed, it became clear that it would be all the more imperative to think in terms of how every aspect of the department as a whole functioned together, rather than continuing the conceptualization of separate subprograms in German, multiple Scandinavian languages and cultures, and Dutch.

It has been anecdotally observed throughout the U.S. that the strategy of encouraging double (and even triple) majors, which had for a least a decade been cultivated with success by FL departments, is not functioning had it had in the past, and thus a second imperative emerged to rethink the paths that led students to our courses. Multiple majors were under pressure in "the new normal" situation. Now students who in increasing numbers enrolled in requirement-intensive, pre-professional majors (often associated by the public with the promise of greater post-degree marketability) found that they had less time for "extras" like foreign languages. In the spirit of "never let a crisis go to waste," the department positioned itself to make fundamental changes.

While the national agenda for curriculum reform was in important ways mapped out in the 1990s (cf. Kramsch 1993; Byrnes 1998; Swaffar et al. 1991), orientation for work in the following decade strengthened around notions of multiple literacies (Kern 2000, 2002; Maxim 2006; Hock 2007), genre-based approaches

[2] For information, see the websites for CARLA (http://www.carla.umn.edu/), the European Studies Consortium (http://esc.umn.edu/about/), and, additionally, the Center for German and European Studies (CGES, founded 1998; http://cges.umn.edu/) and the Center for Austrian Studies (CAS; http://cas.umn.edu/) (all accessed July 23, 2013).

[3] For a brief account of this change, see CLA Assembly (2004).

(Byrnes and Sprang 2004; Byrnes et al. 2010), and outcomes-oriented holistic design (Swaffar and Arens 2005; Arens 2008). Thus, in an essay that comprehensively reviews scholarship related to reconceptualization of the curriculum, Kate Paesani and Heather Willis Allen (2012) document the wealth of resources related to the teaching of literature and culture ranging from conceptual position papers to SLA research that can be profitably consulted by FL departments. Still mindful of the persistence of curricular bifurcation and structural obstacles, they conclude with an emphatic call for further investigation to "realize the pedagogical practices and holistic curricula required to bridge the language-content divide and increase the intellectual relevance of collegiate FL programs" (Paesani and Allen 2012, p. S71).

Added to the difficulty of translating curricular objectives into effective classroom pedagogical practice that Paesani and Allen elucidate, the complication introduced through the emergence of complex FL departments, as described above, presents daunting challenges. The intellectual matrix for such units may impede easy agreement about such fundamental matters as "texts," learning outcomes, and instructional approaches. Moreover, the interdisciplinary fostered through the configurations may promise the intrinsic connectedness of everything, yet presents the conundrum that its profile is ever evolving, as Larson-Freeman and Cameron (2008) point out in their discussion of self-organization in complex systems (34–36). The thinking behind my department's turn to what I refer to as the "tools-based" approach was stimulated by our desire to come to terms with positive solutions to these dilemmas.

In effect, this approach remaps the curriculum to connect courses more accountably with coherent educational outcomes for student accomplishment (cf. Swaffar and Arens 2005), acknowledging that although German studies is a text-based discipline, our courses now (if they ever were) are no longer exclusively organized around canonical texts. It refocuses attention on competencies (i.e., intellectual tools) that faculty as a community have agreed are fundamental to the teaching we do. At the same time, its external structure creates a curricular framework to serve as a heuristic device for clarifying the ways in which individual courses taken by students internally and collectively in relationship to one another contribute to their learning. To pose a hypothetical example, a specialized film course taught in another department, even with substantial German content, might be regarded in a traditional curricular structure as an optional interdisciplinary elective, possibly even as an instance of competition for student enrollments and faculty time. Indeed, there might be little incentive to connect such courses taken in isolation with larger educational goals. The tools-based approach takes a view different from this piecemeal arrangement, recognizing the important contribution such an interdisciplinary (and appropriately cross-listed) course can make to students' learning, particularly in relation to historical context and understanding of mediality. It insists on intellectual community that reaches across courses and departments, and on clear connection to educational outcomes. Ultimately, these competencies will be reflected in teaching methods, assignments given, and expectations conveyed to students, hence the curriculum will better respond to calls for accountability in postsecondary education (cf. Arum and Roksa 2011).

Table 1 Curricular framework

Competencies	Paths to accomplishment
Language and textual analysis	Courses in this series help students develop advanced language competency, critically evaluate texts, and the ability to communicate effectively in their language of choice. They emphasize the relationship between language and meaning, as well as study of the relationship between the aesthetic qualities of good writing and the ideas that texts communicate
Context and media	Courses in this series give students opportunities to explore how historical dimensions, intellectual context, and expressive media shape knowledge within GSD disciplines. In these courses, students will become aware of changing cultural and social practices in relation to various forms of media, from oral and manuscript traditions to book culture, film, and hypermedia
Critical literacy in global perspective	Courses in this series encourage students to engage in exploratory or experiential learning, to participate in innovative learning opportunities, and to deepen disciplinary knowledge through advanced coursework and major project or capstone seminar offerings. The values of the liberal arts education are foregrounded

The tools-based approach is intended to position students to develop is a set of skills that we envision them using in the world long after they have completed their undergraduate education. All departments, of course, share this aspiration, but in many situations these long-term objectives are not readily apparent in a curriculum's design. The tools-based model ensures that students understand that they have choices to make about how they pursue the major, thus giving them greater voice in the educational paths that they choose, while at the same time it retains a pivotal set of common courses designed to develop intellectual abilities essential for mastery of the knowledge and modes of inquiry fundamental to the Humanities. The plan (to be implemented in academic year 2012–2013), which my colleagues and I hope will be more effective than the current major in situating German studies in a global context, requires students to complete work in three areas outlined below (see Table 1).[4]

The first area, focusing on skill in language and textual analysis, finds its conceptual basis in the work of Kern, Swaffar and Arens, and Maxim in particular and draws attention to the centrality of the semiotic dimensions of language (literacy, textual thinking, and close reading) to FL learning (cf. Kern 2000; Swaffar and Arens 2005; Maxim 2006). Rather than assuming that competence follows from a

[4] Since this model is currently in development, no overview of how individual courses fit into this framework is as yet publicly available. Generic course descriptions in the university catalogue may be accessed at http://onestop2.umn.edu/courses/designators.jsp?campus=UMNTC under the departmental course designator (GSD), Scandinavian (SCAN), and individual language designators for German (GER), Dutch (DTCH), Finnish (FIN), Norwegian (NOR), and Swedish (SWED). More specific and elaborated course guides are available for the current academic year through http://www.onestop.umn.edu/ (accessed July 23, 2013).

grammar-intensive paradigm where accuracy is the sole measure of achievement, this category opens itself to a wide variety of courses that explore the complex relationship between language and culture. A growing body of SLA research on the teaching of literature and genre can inform such reconceptualization of traditional literature courses (cf. discussion in Paesani and Allen 2012), especially when coupled with effective models for assessing cultural learning (cf. Hammer and Swaffar 2012) and FL writing (cf. Vyatkina 2011).[5] Courses in this category (taught in the target language or TL) are meant to help students develop advanced language competency (e.g., syntactic complexity, vocabulary richness, and cohesion), critically evaluate texts (e.g., in terms of nuance, genre, point of view, and structure), and communicate effectively in their language of choice (e.g., in writing, speaking, or other presentational forms). Bringing semantic, syntactic, and pragmatic aspects of language to the fore, they emphasize the relationship between language and meaning, as well as the aesthetic qualities of good writing and the ideas that texts communicate.

In many respects, this group of courses resembles the traditional purview of FL programs, since the content is strongly attached to a commitment to "text" as the object of study. What distinguishes the category from such a conception, however, is the acknowledgement that students no longer elect courses in a predictable linear progression. Rather than requiring an extensive set of preparatory courses and bemoaning the seeming unpreparedness of students, the single prerequisite for this series is a 5th-semester conversation and composition class. In trade-off for this open structure, each course in the category needs to incorporate level-appropriate, contextualized study of language, and it is anticipated that students will experience a reinforcement of language skills through recursive work on course assignments.[6]

While courses on historical literary periods remain an option under this plan, since the category is defined as a "tool" rather than in terms of coverage, it can more comfortably accommodate variable topics courses that open up possibilities for FL study related to comparative and transnational perspectives. Recent offerings in the department that are compatible with this structure include, for example, courses organized around concepts of literature as performance, environmental perspectives, adoption studies, the worker in German thought, women's writing, and crime fiction.[7]

[5] This research demonstrates the importance of assessment for the purposes of validating instructional practices. While it goes beyond the scope of the present paper to explore assessment issues, any curriculum revision undertaken in high education today must ultimately take demonstrable results, and hence assessment practices, into account.

[6] FL departments continue to wrestle with the problem of how to push students to more advanced levels. Data-based studies of student achievement have consistently found that students after 2 years of college-level study reliably only reach Intermediate proficiency; see, for example, Tschirner (1996). Proven approaches that enhance achievement are well-designed study abroad and the Flagship Program model. For a critique of proficiency-based programs, see Pfeiffer (2008).

[7] The topics mentioned include recent offerings drawn from Scandinavian and Dutch courses, as well as German, for the purpose of illustrating thematic range.

The second category, Context and Media, pertains to the understanding of these terms that stretch thinking beyond presentism. These courses are intended to help students explore how historical dimensions, intellectual context, and expressive media shape knowledge production. Here one of the guiding considerations was how best to draw on multiple strengths represented in the department and through collaboration with other collegiate units—Medieval Studies at one end of the historical continuum and Moving Images Studies at the other.[8] The category accordingly investigates matters that attend paradigmatic change and span the breadth of cultural history—the shift from pre-print orality to print culture literacy, the unfolding of conceptual revolutions, and the emergence of various media forms (books, film, and now digital communication).

Acknowledging that students need grounding in both cultural/intellectual history (not just contemporary culture) and the study of mediality as a foundation for other work in German studies and the Humanities more generally, this category accommodates several successful, large enrollment offerings and will provide a platform for new course development, including co-taught, interdisciplinary courses. It is expected that courses will be designed to foreground changing cultural and social practices in global context and in relation to the evolution of various forms of media, from oral and manuscript traditions to evolving book culture, film, and hypermedia.

Study in these areas is necessarily transnational. Since these courses are conceived to attract a wider university audience, they are taught in English and instructors are asked to design a differentiated syllabus that includes assignments for majors and minors that make use of the target language (such as available readings in the original, journaling, research projects, and TL discussion groups).

The third category, Critical Literacy in the Global Perspective, focuses on the development of critical literacy and the appreciation of the values of liberal education in global perspective. Of the three categories, this is the one whose contours are the most under scrutiny. The phrase *critical literacy*, of course, invokes the ambitious project developed by Henry Giroux since the 1980s, which boldly includes "redefining literacy as cultural politics and pedagogical practice central to deepening and extending the possibilities of radical democracy" (Giroux 1992, p. 1). This notion affirms the centrality of philosophical and theoretical dimensions of educational thinking, as articulated, for example, by Alastair Pennycook (1990). While the paths to accomplishment of critical literacy skills described here are modestly depicted, the category descriptor reminds us that FL education must ultimately embrace larger aspirations. More importantly, it signals that after the new framework was initially put into place, existing courses needed to become the starting point for further development of the curriculum toward broader liberal education objectives.

The term *global perspective*, on the other hand, references an important trend experienced on many campuses. Global Studies is a booming major at the University of Minnesota and elsewhere, and consequently it is often seen as a concentration in competition with departments of European languages. One institutionally specific

[8] Medieval Studies is described at http://cmedst.umn.edu/; Moving Images Studies can be found at http://movingimage.umn.edu/ (accessed July 23, 2013).

explanation for this paradox is the fact that at the University of Minnesota "global perspectives," which became a core liberal education requirement, were defined in a way that made it has been very difficult for language departments to obtain such certification.[9]

A redefinition of that term by the committee that approves courses now makes it more likely that courses will qualify for future certification if they examine transnational issues within and beyond Europe, such as migration, human rights, tolerance, and the effects of international scarcity and abundance of resources. Within the department, the course menu for this category will be understood to have an internal definition that will allow its use to promote study abroad options, experiential learning, and participation in innovative learning/performance experiences that involve a co-curricular component (such as the "German Play," which is offered on an every-other-year basis). Finally, the category encompasses seminars taken by majors in conjunction with completion of capstone projects, for which students complete a research paper (written in English, approximately 20–25 pages in length, with requirements for the citation and analysis of primary and secondary sources in the TL) on a topic of their own choosing.

In sum, the "tools" students master in their coursework for this major are conceived in relation to actual research and teaching commitments of faculty members, and the intent is to gradually redesign courses to engage student interests more profoundly. Through consultation with faculty advisors, students will have the ability to define their individual program with greater flexibility than in the past. The structure recognizes that at least a minimal sequencing of learning must occur (e.g. as reflected in the timing of the 5th-semester prerequisite language course and major capstone project), while the options for courses can be more broadly distributed throughout the undergraduate program. Courses taught in English, for example, are available on a regular basis to pre-major students who do not yet have TL skills to support enrollment in advanced language offerings. In this way, students' background knowledge can be enhanced before they take courses taught in the TL that deal with related content.

Recognizing that the larger purpose of the FL major is to position students to use their communication skills in settings where both TL and English expressive and analytical abilities are important, the program framework conceptualizes this relationship as a dynamic interaction between intellectual tools and knowledge. While the specifics of pedagogical implementation will need to evolve as implementation progresses and further coordination of teaching must occur, this aspirational open structure establishes a basis for these discussions that goes beyond the merely transactional scheduling of courses.

[9] The expectation was that course material would span multiple continents and countries; for this reason, courses concerned primarily with one country (even though non-U.S.) or even the EU itself were not on a regular basis approved for the Global Perspectives designation.

2 The Green German Project

Although unmentioned in the description of the tools-based major in the previous section, the considerations that led to its design were rooted in theory in a myriad of ways. Implicit to the structure are ways of conceiving of the semiotic capacities of language across all three tools categories that resonate with Michel Foucault's discussion of discursive practices in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972) as fundamental to constituting knowledge on both the microscopic and macroscopic scale (4). The major's scope also takes seriously new ways of conceiving of knowledge, such as the initiatives identified by Michael W. Jennings as advancing the study of media culture, systems theory, and poetics of knowledge (Jennings 2009, p. 40). Finally, the unified major embraces the deep theoretical conceptualization of language and culture implied by the notion of "translingual and transcultural competence" advocated by the MLA Report (2007).

Nonetheless, in seeking to provide a capacious structure that accommodates existing courses in the department we might ask whether or not that framework will succeed in actually advancing such competence, since it does not rely on what the academy usually thinks of as articulation. Comprehensive articulation, as many Second Language Acquisition scholars have demonstrated, is a powerful instrument for transforming the undergraduate curriculum (cf. the pioneering work of Byrnes 1998; Swaffar and Arens 2005; Byrnes et al. 2010). The tools-based model does not (in fact, cannot under university policies that discourage "second-tier requirements") depend on the sequential courses. Instead, systematic transformation of the curriculum must proceed on a course-by-course basis in interaction with collegiate and university-level policies that require the submission of syllabi, explicit attention to student learning outcomes (SLOs) statements, and adherence to standards for liberal education (LE) and or writing intensive (WI) certification.

What I believe is paradigm shifting about this tools-based approach is the possibilities for the foregrounding of holistic values of the liberal arts education in ways that address the imperative for interdisciplinarity–by linking knowledge to language acquisition. This perspective changes the nature of the educational project by opening space for new types of courses, a matter I wish to turn now in describing what we have been calling the "Green German Project" (Melin et al. 2011).[10] In doing so, I do not want to suggest that every department will decide to choose to address the challenge of interdiscplinarity via sustainability studies,[11] but rather that, as a major driver for curricular renewal, all FL departments need to look to content of important concern to the linguistic, social, or cultural life of communities represented in the areas they teach. A faculty-wide focus on content will push

[10] The project website is at http://gsd.umn.edu/language/greenproject/ (accessed July 24, 2013).

[11] Institutional culture and material support is always a determinant of what initiatives can be taken. While environmental issues are arguably one of the most pressing challenges of the twenty-first century, not every department, college or university will place this matter at the center of its educational mission. Likewise, structural or financial impediments to cross-disciplinary connections put a damper on such projects, creating incentives to pursue other trajectories in content renewal.

us beyond course offerings that fit comfortably into conceptions of the curriculum as traditional language, literature, and culture courses, and provide direction for changes beneficial in a department's institutional context.

Several years ago I determined that it would be rewarding to embark on a new teaching and research trajectory that would result in the creation of new courses combining German and with environmental/sustainability studies. Mindful of the success the University of Rhode Island dual degree programs in engineering and foreign languages,[12] and given the fact that a significant number of undergraduate German majors and minors at the University of Minnesota pursue parallel studies in sciences fields, global studies, and journalism, I felt a compelling case can be made for creating courses and paths of study targeted to this area. The long history of environmental awareness in German-speaking countries argues as well for inclusion of these topics as well.

On campus, several developments occurred that were also favorable to this initiative. An interdisciplinary faculty seminar on developing sustainability curricula offered through the Institute for Advanced Studies in spring 2011 brought me into contact with faculty colleagues across the university-wide system who were encouraging to these efforts.[13] These contacts were important because unlike the situation at many similar institutions, the University of Minnesota's College of Liberal Arts does not include the sciences, thus collegiate boundaries normally posed certain structural obstacles to such networking and collaboration. In addition, a small grant award through CARLA (Title VI funding) was secured for the creation of the "Green German Project" website, supporting graduate student work to develop a flexible set of resource materials for use in intermediate-advanced language instruction.

A comparison of the two courses I have thus far designed along these lines illustrates the potential relationship between traditional literature offerings and courses conceived with interdisciplinary connections in mind. The first (Table 2) was a redesigned version of a general twentieth-century literature course, framed by the title "German Literature about the Environment."[14] The texts assigned spanned an extended century, stretching from the late nineteenth-century *Pfisters Mühle* (1884) by Wilhelm Raabe and Thomas Mann's *Tristan* (1903) to Hans Magnus Enzensberger's *Der Untergang der Titanic* (1978), Gertrud Leutenegger's *Kontinent* (1985), and Gerhard Falkner's novella *Bruno* (2009). Rather than sequencing texts in strict historical chronology, they were grouped loosely to emphasize thematic and structural similarities. The course also intentionally began with *Mein Leben im Schrebergarten* (2007) by Wladimir Kaminer, an accessible and humorous work that gave students confidence in their linguistic abilities and encouraged them to read with greater speed and fluency.

[12] See Grandin (1992) and "The International Engineering Program" at http://www.uri.edu/iep/ (accessed July 23, 2013).

[13] A description of this seminar is located at http://ias.umn.edu/2010/08/31/new-curricula-for-sustainability-studies/ (accessed July 23, 2013).

[14] An account of this course may be found in Melin (2011).

Table 2 German literature about the environment

Readings	Key assignments
Enzensberger, *Der Untergang der Titanic*	Creative writing essay: fictional interview with author
Kaminer, *Mein Leben im Schrebergarten*	Comparison and contrast essay
Leutenegger, *Kontinent*	Individual presentation on background information (optional Power Point)
Mann (1950), *Tristan*	Multi-media project: interpretive presentation (e.g., montage of quotation and images or short film in I-Movie narrating key plot elements)
Raabe (1980), *Pfisters Mühle*	
Wolf (2009), *Störfall: Nachrichten eines Tages*	
Poetry, excerpts from Georg Simmel, "Die Alpen," secondary works, multi-media materials	

Though enrollment for the course was untypically small and by chance comprised exclusively of German majors with previous study abroad experience, class size and student background facilitated intense work on close readings of the texts that were structured through a combination of guiding content questions assigned as advanced homework that allowed students to compare their understandings of the text, précis worksheets (cf. Swaffar and Arens 2005), and open-ended discussion questions. Most class sessions began with a short video (from You Tube) chosen to activate background knowledge and build working vocabulary.[15] Power Point slides were also used to deliver periodic mini-lectures about the works read and to introduce visual materials related to unfamiliar content and language.

For many works such background information was essential to clarify historical context, but it also facilitated important comparisons with the present that made the readings more meaningful for the students (cf., for example, Goodbody 2007; Lekan 2004; Dickinson 2010). Most poignant in terms of comparisons with the present was our discussion of Christa Wolf's *Störfall: Nachrichten eines Tages* (1987), just weeks after the Japan earthquake precipitated the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear disaster (cf. Melin 2011). This coincidence sharpened students' eagerness to understand every detail of the text and prompted intense reflection about the promise and limitations of modern technology.

The second redesigned course (Table 3) revived a dormant upper division offering under the generic designation "Contemporary Germany," incorporating environmental perspectives by means of a subtitle, "Food, Energy, Politics." Among the approximately a dozen students, the minority were German majors and five different collegiate units were represented. The obvious differences in linguistic preparation that could be predicted with this configuration were somewhat offset by higher level than expected speaking skills, since many of the students had spent previous time abroad.

[15] Concerning techniques for working with multi-media materials, see Swaffar and Vlatten (1997).

Table 3 Contemporary Germany: food, energy politics

Readings	Key assignments
Duve, *Anständig essen*	Expository essay in the style of Quaschning
Quaschning, *Mülltrenner, Müsliesser und Klimaschützer*	"Common ground" summative essay presenting different perspectives of an environmental debate and identifying areas of consensus
Radkau, *Die Ära der Ökologie*	I-Pod assignments (listening, note-taking, discussion)
Multi-media materials (interviews, journalistic reporting, short films), topical poetry, informational and other texts	Multi-media group project (research and report on environmental topic)

Here the main text was Volker Quaschning's *Mülltrenner, Müsliesser und Klimaschützer: Wir Deutschen und unsere Umwelt* (2010). Quaschning, a scientist specializing in renewable energy, writes for a general audience in this work, beginning each chapter with a satirical real life narrative, moving to a discussion of scientific evidence and the viewpoints exercised in debate of the issue at hand, and concluding with an information box that points to additional information (Internet resources). In the spirit of the two primary Cultures and Languages Across the Curriculum (CLAC) models—the one based in reading/research in the FL, the other in discussion in the FL)—in-class work typically incorporated comparison of Quaschning's text with related sources and/or discussion of the issues raised by the readings.[16] Nearly every session began with the introduction of one or more short on-line videos. Instructor-guided discussions (employing materials organized in Power Point, especially visual advanced organizers) focused on understanding of key technical vocabulary, exploration of the rhetorical structure of assigned texts, and open-ended reactions that prompted comparisons between Europe and the U.S.

The emphasis placed on the modalities of listening and speaking was further reinforced through the iPod activities and other assignments. An iPod was checked out to each student at the start of the semester for students to use in listening to self-chosen podcasts, for which they logged notes. Approximately every 2 weeks part of the class period was devoted to small group work sharing this information with peers, followed by a plenary discussion of overarching themes. In addition, students were required to prepare digital media projects that in effect called for a translation of receptive work with podcasts into productive skills of presentation.[17]

As a scholar trained in literary studies, I recognized from the outset that teaching such a course would also be a learning process for me that would draw on my experience in textual analysis, familiarity with journalistic writing about the environment, and general knowledge of contemporary politics and social issues in German-speaking countries. In the interest of deepening discussion of content, I invited

[16] For information about CLAC consortium work, see http://clacconsortium.org/ (accessed July 23, 2013).

[17] An announcement of this event, with details about project requirements, is located at http://www.susteducation.umn.edu/2012/04/06/bridging-science-and-the-humanities-language-environment-media-2012/ (accessed July 23, 2013).

several colleagues from departments across campus as guest speakers. These invitations resulted in discussions in German with faculty members from Ecology and Media Studies, a bilingual session with two colleagues from the School of Architecture (one a German native speaker, the other presenting in English), and a class facilitated by a doctoral student who is a member of the Austrian Green Party.

Beyond Quaschning's book and materials located at the Green German Project website, additional reading excerpts were assigned from writer Karen Duve's *Anständig essen: Ein Selbstversuch* (2011), historian Joachim Radkau's *Die Ära der Ökologie* (2011), and other sources.[18] Incorporation of these sources led to discussion of the relationship between style and meaning, the role of aesthetic and affective dimensions in our perception of environmental issues, attention to historical perspective, and appreciation of differing viewpoints. Thus a constellation of non-fiction, literary, and multi-media texts became the vehicle for exploration of environmental and sustainability questions.

As becomes clear in this account of the "Contemporary Germany" course, such curricular initiatives pose fresh pedagogical challenges and opportunities. Faculty undertaking similar courses need to be prepared to invest significant energy in the development of instructional materials tailored to the context, and to engage in more than the usual pedagogical risk-taking when a new course is piloted.

Because shifts occur rapidly in debates about environmental and contemporary issues, materials for these courses need constant updating, a process greatly facilitated by the tools offered through web-based course delivery systems, yet one that requires willingness on the part of faculty to invest time in learning how to teach with technology (cf. ter Horst and Pearce 2010). Finally, as teachers we need to be open to having different and even non-expert roles in the classroom, since our students by virtue of their studies may have wider content exposure to scientific matters than we do. No longer the sole content authority, teachers in these situations may find alternative pedagogies to be effective—open discussion with students about the "experimental" nature of the project, invitation to them to share their knowledge, and reconceptualization of our roles to be facilitating collaborators who guide learners in critical thinking and dynamic linguistic interaction.

3 The Challenges of Interdisciplinarity

If we hope to succeed in the project of making FL programs sustainable through interdisciplinary networking along the lines described in this chapter, faculty and departments will need to engage with new pedagogies, reaffirm the values of the Humanities, and conceive of higher education as having broader purpose. That mandate raises the stakes in terms of what we aspire to accomplish, a matter likely

[18] For further examples, see the Green German Project (Melin et al. 2011), which includes a link to a Diigo website that was set up to collect and tag useful links. For poetry texts, see http://www.lyrikline.org/ (accessed July 23, 2013).

to provoke considerable debate. While it is beyond the scope of the present paper to engage in extensive analysis of these issues, I would like to conclude with brief remarks indicating where these discussions might lead.

One consideration that emerges with the development of the tools-based curriculum is the "how" of balancing the teaching of language and content. That balance will inevitably vary, depending on the individual preferences of instructors, student audiences, and institutional resources. A growing body of SLA research can inform us about the design of courses similar to those described above, and yet significant questions about the relation of theory to praxis remain. In developing and teaching these two new "green" courses, I approached the project keeping in mind the compelling recommendation of Arens made that the "5C's" be taken as a heuristic and used to map out learning objectives in ways more specific to the type of teaching we do (Arens 2008). Other compatible models for such curriculum design also exist. Immersion, content-based and task-based models, like the "counterbalanced approach" advocated by Rod Lyster (2007) or the "content and language integrated" model of Do Coyle et al. (2010) offer ways to think about the nexus of language and meaning, though to a certain extent a repurposing of the activities for the postsecondary context would need to occur. In addition, and in light of the relationship between learning about language and the environment (Küchler 2010, 2011), interest is emerging in the disciplines of intercultural studies and the teaching of English as a Foreign Language (EFL). Short term, the approach of "repurposing" instructional materials from other fields, which is widely practiced in immersion education, offers a means for entry into new content areas, though this tactic means that educational objectives will still need to be defined for the postsecondary, liberal arts context.

Beyond general attitudes about education that can be most immediately identified as similar to FL instruction, the field of sustainability studies is a source for innovative teaching practices. A rich body of scholarly literature offers ideas about effective course, program, and institutional models (cf. Orr 2004; Uhl 2004; Christensen et al. 2008; Farrell 2010; Reynolds et al. 2010). Often this work recommends that students engage in reflective writing, research about cultural artifacts, and project learning—practices highly compatible with the teaching done in foreign language courses. Growing attention to the Environmental Humanities from the broad MLA membership will likely increase the availability of resources as well (Heise 2006; Christensen et al. 2008; Theories and Methodologies 2012).[19]

Looking outside the conventional scope of FL programs to the contribution the Humanities make to education and society in general also helps reframe conversations about the role of our departments. In an eloquent reflection about values, Daniel Philippon connects the problems addressed by sustainability studies with the kinds of critical and creative tools the Humanities bring to problem solving (Philippon 2012, p. 164). Through such disciplines as history, literature, language, philosophy, religion, and the arts we gain the capacity to conceptualize, analyze,

[19] Cf. also Stanford University's Environmental Humanities Project http://ehp.stanford.edu/, and Washington University's Transatlantic Network in Environmental Humanities http://environmental-humanities-network.org/ (both accessed July 23, 2013).

and create synthesis. Humanists, he explains, are greatly concerned with the culturally constructed meaning of such fundamental terms as *nature, environment, and wilderness*. They create imaginative projects, tell stories, relish specifics, and view problems through the lens of historical perspective and context (Philippon 2012, pp. 164–166). Thus, despite disciplinary differences between the sciences and Humanities, he finds much common ground within the educational enterprise.[20] From experience it is my sense that many colleagues working in the area of sustainability studies would agree. But Philippon adds this important caveat: "If we take 'sustainability' as simply another opportunity to replicate existing disciplinary practices of writing, publishing, speaking, and teaching, we have missed the point. We need to bring sustainability into our courses and disciplines as much as we need to bring the tools of our disciplines to solving the challenges of sustainability" (169).

The message that we cannot shift the educational paradigm simply by repackaging what has been done all along goes to the heart of the problem we face in the foreign languages. Substantial revisioning must occur for interdisciplinarity to achieve its promise in higher education. It is often said that the complex issues that we confront today cannot be solved from a single disciplinary perspective, and yet how are we to engage in reciprocal dialogue that does not elide disciplinary knowledge?[21] Colleagues working in sustainability studies often talk about reshaping the curriculum around "challenge questions" that organize "problem-focused" programs of study, a conceptual framework that also resonates with Humanities perspectives on liberal arts education.[22] Though science, business, and planning specialists do not necessarily have deep exposure to the teaching of languages or the perspectives we can bring to the table (any more than we have more than layman's knowledge of their fields), they are in my experience surprisingly open to thinking about how the larger educational project can be advanced through cross-disciplinary collaboration.

The combination of sustainability studies as a content area complementing foreign language study represents one emerging paradigm in the landscape of higher education—a very compelling one, I believe. Such interdisciplinarity, however, poses fundamental challenges to the ways in which even the most progressive departments conceive of their educational mission with respect to integrated language and culture learning. That bold challenge asks us to go beyond conceiving of ourselves as responsible for the teaching of language and in-house versions of its sociocultural dimensions, to look at the full impact what we are doing in dialogue with disciplines across our institutions that speak both to the interests of our students and to those of our foreign language's social and cultural worlds. Clearly, then, when we embrace interdisciplinarity in these terms, we open ourselves to the possibility of synergy at this best and the mutually advantageous sharing of resources with

[20] Cf. also C. P. Snow (1998).

[21] It should be noted that the United Nations has stressed the imperative of global sustainability education initiatives in the Rio+20 document located at http://www.uncsd2012.org/index.php?page=view&nr=341&type=12&menu=35 (accessed July 23, 2013).

[22] For a comparable framework in the Humanities, see NEH Enduring Questions grants at http://www.neh.gov/grants/education/enduring-questions (accessed July 23, 2013).

other disciplines with whom we can join in striving toward the common purpose of improving higher education as a whole.

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Are Global, International, and Foreign Language Studies Connected?

Johanna Watzinger-Tharp

Abstract Many U.S. universities tout internationalization as central to their educational mission and often invest heavily in international education not only at home, but also abroad. One would expect foreign language study to play a central role in the internationalization of today's students' higher education experience. Yet, paradoxically, the rise of international education at U.S. universities and colleges has coincided with reductions or even eliminations of secondary and post-secondary language programs. This chapter argues that discontinuous discourses and practices in foreign language departments have helped marginalize them at the very moment when they should operate front and center, and have separated them from natural allies: international and global studies. The analysis concludes with proposals for curricular collaborations and innovations that can reposition language departments as an indispensible partner in higher education internationalization.

Keywords Curriculum · Collaboration · Global studies · International studies · Foreign language · Proficiency · Study abroad

Internationalization of U.S. colleges and universities encompasses a wide range of individual and institutional activities, including student and faculty exchanges, study and work abroad, internationally focused graduation requirements, and internationally focused degrees in area and global studies. A number of universities have also built partnerships with institutions abroad to offer dual or joint degrees, or, in some cases, established branch campuses abroad, for example Carnegie Mellon University in Australia, Georgia Institute of Technology in France, and Texas A&M University at Qatar (ACE 2008). Yet despite the considerable scope of academic and fiscal investment in internationalization, one component is often strikingly absent from international initiatives: foreign language capacity as a core feature of international education.

Many would of course maintain that foreign language proficiency is foundational to global competence and global citizenship, two constructs that are central to internationalization discourse. However, the role of foreign language study

J. Watzinger-Tharp (✉)
Department of Languages & Literature/Department of Linguistics,
University of Utah, Salt Lake City, UT, USA
e-mail: j.tharp@utah.edu

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embodies the paradoxical nature of internationalization discourse and practices, as has been pointed out by a number of scholars (Byrnes 2009; Kubota 2009; Warner 2011). The demands of business and government leaders for educating a global workforce with professional language proficiency coincide with recent moves to eliminate foreign language requirements, or even entire foreign language programs, at the secondary and post-secondary levels. Concomitantly, many universities have established global studies degrees with little involvement of language department faculty. Moreover, universities which tout American students' global competence often fail to capitalize on their most immediate resource at hand: international students from around the world who populate their classrooms as representative global citizens across their host university's curriculum.

This chapter first provides a brief overview of international education in institutions of higher learning and then addresses the role of language departments in internationalization. The section that follows assesses the extent to which international and global studies degrees,[1] often considered a hallmark of internationalized campuses, interact with language departments and address foreign language study in their programs.[2] I will argue that foreign language programs' discourse and practices conspire to marginalize language departments in internationalization, an arena in which they should play a central role. After a brief study of parallel discourses, I will examine the discontinuous discourses of foreign language study and study abroad, which, along with common policies and practices, result in a separation of international degrees and language departments. The article will conclude with proposals for curricular collaborations between the two.

1 International Education and Global Studies

In recent years, U.S. colleges and universities have increasingly established global education of their students as a core mission. International degrees and programs are, however, not new to U.S. higher education. International relations, typically affiliated with political science departments, originally focused on the interaction between nation states, but have evolved to include international and transnational issues such as immigration, health, and the environment. Since the 1960s, a number of universities have received federal Title VI funding to establish National Resource, and National Language Resource Centers (NRC's and NLRC's) that promote the study of regions and their languages, for example Pan or East Asia, Europe, the Middle East, and Latin America. As Peter Stearns points out in *Educat-*

[1] Area studies programs focus on a particular region such as Asia or Latin America. International or global studies typically encompass a variety of regions of the world, although courses of study are often organized thematically rather than geographically. For the sake of brevity, I will use the term "global" when referring to programs that are designated as international or global studies.

[2] I am using *language department* to refer to academic departments that offer degrees in a single foreign language, or in many.

ing Global Citizens in Colleges and Universities (2009), both types of programs, international relations and area studies, have traditionally taken the nation state, and inter-state relations in a region, as their starting point (14). In contrast, more recently established international degrees are emphatically global, and more likely to focus on global themes and issues. Although students may select one region to explore in greater depth, global studies are decidedly interdisciplinary, drawing on a wide range of academic units within and across colleges and schools.

Such broadly interdisciplinary curricula inherently grant students greater flexibility in selecting their coursework, which, in turn, facilitates combining an international or global studies degree with another undergraduate major. In 2005, about one quarter of all graduating students, most commonly in humanities and social sciences, completed their studies with two majors (Del Rossi and Hersch 2008, p. 375). As students' desire for double majors continues to increase, institutions are responding to this trend with degrees that are explicitly marketed as complementary to another major. For example, both the Global Studies certificate and the Bachelor of Philosophy in international and area studies at the University of Pittsburgh are explicitly designed to complement disciplinary majors (Brustein 2012, p. 385).

It is abundantly clear that global studies degrees greatly appeal to students. The 2012 edition of *Mapping Internationalization on US Campuses* reports that 64 % of the 1041 institutions that responded to the 2011 survey offer some type of undergraduate global degree, track, or certificate. Many institutions, including my own, the University of Utah, which graduates about 120–140 international studies majors each year, attract large numbers of students. The popularity of these programs has prompted concerns about their threat to more conventional department-based majors and some skepticism about their (disciplinary) rigor in light of their enormous popularity. More importantly, and counter to a frequent assumption, language departments don't necessarily benefit from internationalization of their institution, or from global studies degrees. Even though area and global studies degrees typically require foreign language coursework, those requirements often operate as pro forma rather than vital components of the degree program. If foreign language capacity is not essential to their degree, students will be less inclined to continue beyond a few required courses or to pursue a foreign language major. Under such unfavorable circumstances, language departments not only fail to gain from global studies degrees, but they may well draw a direct line between the rise of global studies and their own decline of language majors.

When students are voting with their feet in favor of broadly interdisciplinary degrees, language departments wonder how to attract students to their discipline-based, and typically much less flexible majors. In *ADFL Bulletin*, Jane Hacking (2013) advises language faculty who might feel besieged by the popularity of non-disciplinary degrees to present an articulated and goal-oriented course of study as an attractive alternative to an array of choices that can overwhelm students (3). She also suggests that language faculty capitalize on research that connects foreign language study and the pedagogical practices associated with it to enhanced analytical reasoning and critical thinking skills (4). Similarly, Chantelle Warner affirms

foreign language studies as "legitimate areas of academic inquiry" (2011, p 2) that engage and hone students' intellectual skills.

This volume precisely addresses the need for language departments to face critical curricular issues and to address the image of language departments within and without their institutions. In addition, concerns of stakeholders, particular those outside the institution, extend beyond curriculum design and in-house perceptions to the actual impact of what students learn. For a two-year foreign language requirement to matter it has to be properly coordinated with the subject matter and regional emphasis of the global studies degree courses. Such an integrated approach would encourage double majors in a language program that expands on the themes and practices introduced in the first 2 years, because the motivational and empowerment tools have been established as coordinates of their interdisciplinary global studies coursework.

As the director of a popular International Studies major, and also a member of a languages and literature department, I appreciate the strengths and (real or perceived) weaknesses of both, an interdisciplinary degree with a broad menu of course choices, possibly at the expense of focus and cohesion; and a disciplinary degree with a prescribed sequence, possibly discouraging students who seek some latitude to chart their own course of study. However, nimble global studies degrees that respond to institutional and societal needs also accentuate the stagnant nature of the foreign language major. Many language departments continue to be mired in the tradition of a bifurcated "first language, then content" curriculum even though they experiment at the margins with culture as represented in certain themes or genres. Acknowledging global studies as a curricular partner and as an ideal segue on which to map a reconfiguration that reflects current learning theories, including pragmatic uses of foreign languages and theme-based courses that rely on multiple genres, and the judicious use of English to aid comprehension in FL classes, might chart a course toward fundamental transformation. In short, while asserting (or redefining) their disciplinary legitimacy and promoting benefits of a foreign language degree, language departments must also overcome their skepticism about global studies degrees. They must recognize that these relatively new degrees present an opportunity for reflection on the purpose and value of the foreign language major in an age of interdisciplinarity; on the value of long-standing, but perhaps counterproductive practices such as seat-time foreign language requirements; and on the competencies that both global studies and foreign language degrees claim to develop. Put differently, global studies programs can provide the impetus for language departments to reconfigure their role in an academy, a role that increasingly focuses on interdisciplinarity and internationalization.

2 Internationalization and the Role of Language Departments

Ironically, at a time when internationalization figures prominently in the mission statements of many U.S. institutions of higher education, language departments have experienced an unprecedented decline in their status in the academy. Their

marginalization has been manifested in the elimination of language requirements, languages and programs within departments, and even entire language departments. The elimination of specific languages has also contributed to the perception of a zero-sum game—a struggle that pits languages against one another and undermines a vision of promoting many voices and many languages. The resulting narrative views the exponential growth of Chinese at the secondary and postsecondary levels, stimulated in part by substantial funding from the Chinese government, as responsible for decline or stagnation of student numbers in languages with a long academic tradition such as German and French. And, in fact, the addition of strategic languages to the curriculum, perhaps welcomed under different, less budget-driven circumstances, can come at the expense of more established languages, because established languages are less likely to attract funding than those now considered critical to U. S. economic growth and national security.

Unfortunately, even merely perceived threats tend to produce a defensive stance that may diminish participation in university-wide initiatives. The marginalization of language departments in the project of internationalization may be partially self-inflicted when they turn inward—protective of the status quo and without willingness to reconceive their role within their institutions. A resulting effort to withstand potential program cuts and reductions, while understandable, is counterproductive. The insistence on preserving stand-alone language majors in spite of compelling evidence that students prefer to integrate their language study with other areas is likely to push departments further to the periphery of curricular developments in many postsecondary schools. Ample evidence suggests that embracing broader curricular visions can expand enrollments. The results speak for themselves.

Language departments that have successfully forged linkages—for example, the double degree at Rhode Island in International Engineering and Chinese, French, German or Spanish—boast robust enrollment and major numbers. A similar response has been experienced by the School of Modern Languages at Georgia Tech University after offering joint and applied language degrees such as International Affairs or Global Economics and Modern Languages. Featuring Georgia Tech's international plan, NAFSA reports in its 2007 *Internationalizing the Campus* publication that language study at Georgia Tech doubled between 2002 and 2007, in the absence of not only a stand-alone language major, but also a university language requirement (2007, p 37). These examples are, regrettably, the exception rather than the rule. Despite the recognition of professional organizations regarding the central role that culture and transcultural components need to have in the FL curriculum (Maxim in the present volume; MLA 2007), language departments as a whole have failed to respond to such calls by exploring ways to work together with international and global studies programs in their institutions. Thus, in her introduction to the *Modern Language Journal's* Perspectives issue on "The Role of Foreign Language Departments in Internationalizing the Curriculum," Byrnes asserts a lack of certainty about the contributions that foreign language departments make to the "project of internationalization" (2009, p. 607). The title deliberately leaves open "whether FL departments already *have* a firmly established role or must first *assert* such a role" (608), or, one might add, whether they even desire one.

For whatever reasons, the tenor of the contributions to Byrnes' Perspectives column signals that language departments seldom function as key participants in internationalization efforts at their institutions, and often are not even seated at the internationalization table. James Gelhar (2009) proposes various ways in which members of language departments can and should insert themselves into efforts that are directly connected to internationalization, but also activities that expand their reach across the University more generally. He suggests that to support internationalization, foreign language faculty should devise courses for non-language majors such in Business and Engineering (Gelhar 2009, p. 617). Accessing academic content in and through second languages is of course the premise of the Cultures and Languages Across the Curriculum (or CLAC) model, which originated in the 1980's as Foreign Languages Across the Curriculum (FLAC), and then became LAC (Languages Across the Curriculum) in the 90's. With the increasing emphasis on culture, LAC evolved to CLAC, which is the designation most commonly used today. Original implementers of the LAC model such as Binghamton University, St. Olaf's College and the University of Rhode Island still have strong programs today, and are also part of a national consortium of universities and colleges with successful CLAC programs.[3]

Gelhar also encourages language faculty to connect with University administrators to explore opportunities for contributing to internationalization and, once plugged in and engaged to join institution-wide committees and task forces that are working toward curricular internationalization (2009, p. 618). He concludes with the warning that language departments which ignore the opportunity to contribute, in particular to internationalizing curricula across departments, do so "at their own peril" (2009, p. 618).

Ironically, some of the most vocal advocates for the study of foreign languages are not scholars who are affiliated with language departments. In *Journal of Studies in International Education*, William Brustein takes a critical look at international degrees, claiming that students "too often complete these programs without any competency in a foreign language" (2012, p. 383). Similarly, Allan Goodman places foreign language study front and center in internationalization, highlighting opportunities for U.S. students to achieve high levels of proficiency, in particular in languages of strategic importance. Goodman cites federally funded programs such as the Boren scholarships, which provide funding for intensive language study abroad, and the Language Flagship, which aims at students achieving superior language proficiency through the integration of foreign language into their academic major and a year of study and work abroad (2009, p. 611). Models for curricular adaptations to global studies already exist. Unfortunately, they illustrate the history of the failure of FL departments to embrace fundamental changes in their curriculum. The in-house difficulties in implementing recommended changes are rarely appreciated by advocates for change who reside outside language departments. As scholars from other disciplines, they often underestimate the departmentally internal challenges connected with creating linkages and cross-disciplinary connections.

[3] See http://clacconsortium.org/about/more-on-clac/ (accessed July 24, 2013).

As noted above, a case in point is the Cultures and Languages Across the Curriculum (CLAC) model, which is often cited as making language study more meaningful and practical for students who pursue professional majors such as Business, Engineering and Health.

Even though language departments and institutions-at-large acknowledge the value of integrating foreign language into professional degrees, the CLAC model has been notoriously difficult to sustain over time once outside funding ceases. Many Languages Across the Curriculum (LAC) programs that were implemented in the 1990s had to reduce their offerings or were eliminated altogether (Klee 2009, p. 618). In the wake of internationalization, Klee points to a renewed interest in LAC, or CLAC, both within and outside the modern language discipline, but also identifies a high bar for CLAC programs to succeed. They require ongoing training and professional development for instructors and faculty, a suitable intellectual and administrative home such as a Title VI Center, and program requirements that match students' language proficiency (Klee 2009, p. 620).

Beyond institutional and budgetary constraints it is often philosophical differences that bog down language departments internalization efforts. Faculty who identify with certain values related to the study of foreign languages, literatures, and cultures frequently find themselves apprehensive about signing on to a project that has decidedly political, perhaps even jingoistic overtones. Internationalization, especially if connected to the study of strategic languages, emphasizes national security. Understanding such languages and cultures is critical to the nation's ability to anticipate and respond to threats from other countries. In this light, critical language funding at the federal level, for example from the Department of Defense and the National Security Agency, can be viewed as a challenge to intellectual autonomy and ethical principles.

Faculty who interact with international students might also question the sincerity of internationalization when international students on their campus often do not receive the institutional support that they need. Although according to the 2012 edition of *Mapping Internationalization* services to such students have increased, the same report cautions that institutions should examine whether they provide "appropriate support structures in place to help international students transition and succeed on U.S. campuses" (ACE 2012, p. 19). Academic support most significantly includes ESL programs, which even after an increase in recent years are still lower at 4-year and graduate degree-granting institutions than at community colleges. According to Kubota, the insufficient attention to English language support stems from the false assumption that international students possess the proficiency necessary to study at an American university (2009, p. 614), typically measured with a language test such as the TOEFL. However, even students who were admitted with a required minimum score need on-going language support to advance their English skills within an academic discipline. Kubota points out the paradox of emphasizing on-going content-based language development for American students to achieve high levels of competence, while failing to provide the same kind of support to international students, who urgently need it to succeed in their academic study. When high-level foreign language skills of American students are considered a distinguishing feature

of internationalized institutions, but the achievement of academic levels of English by international students is not, cynical faculty might conclude that the recruitment of international students has more to do with the resources they bring than a genuine interest in international education.

As universities contend with conflicting agendas in the internationalization arena, they are well advised to consult with and listen to the critical voices of their faculty. If they don't, they run the risk of excluding those who can most profoundly engage students in internationalization both at home and abroad. The recent, and very public controversy surrounding New York University's global campus in Abu Dhabi illustrates the failure of administrators to secure faculty buy-in into a predictably contentious international venture. Its justification must go beyond the importance of an institution's global footprint and enhanced international profile, and the promise of new revenue streams. To convince faculty, global enterprises of this sort must align with intellectual values and an institution's core educational mission. It seems particularly important to do so when the global campus in question resides in a country with tremendous capital and resources, but also a different understanding of academic freedom and discourse.

Such reflections are not made to suggest an institution should abandon global activities and initiatives that prompt skepticism. Rather, they point out the need for University leadership to recognize and respond to ethical concerns with thoughtful dialog. In turn, faculty, in particular members in language departments, must approach their concerns about specific aspects of their institutions' proposals for internationalization as truly active and equal partners in all its programs' ramifications. The expertise and input of language faculty are vital to internationalization efforts if language and culture study is to play a central role. Moreover, unless language faculty engage in conversations across units about the purpose and goals of learning languages, they will be unable to transform their own departments and their curricula in ways that serve internationalization objectives.

It is to these conversations, or discourses of global and foreign language studies, to which I now turn. I will briefly analyze four interrelated areas, which are embedded in similar ways in both global studies and foreign language study in order to argue for the need to change currently discontinuous discourses related to foreign language study and study abroad.

3 Parallel Discourses

Current discourses around global and foreign language studies share four interconnected areas or constructs: competence, study abroad, real-world relevance, and interdisciplinarity. International education in general, and global studies programs in particular, commonly depict global competence as a desired outcome of the degree. Though not necessarily well defined or operationalized, the construct of global competency represents a shift away from mere participation in international activities to linking global citizenship to measurable learning outcomes.

Another disjuncture in current discourses is attributable to the evolving discourses about the objectives of FL instruction. A major focus in textbooks and classrooms in the past 40 years has been on communicative competence, a concept that originated as a native speaker construct in the early 1970s (Hymes 1972). Expanding on the FL research of Canale and Swain (1980), theoretical and pedagogical applications of communicative emphases in the L2 classroom continue to serve as the central paradigm for defining goal and objectives of foreign language study. In both global and foreign language studies, these frequently invoked concepts have sparked critical inquiry and the exploration of alternate terminology: such notions as intercultural communicative, transcultural and translingual, and symbolic competence to move beyond *communicative competence* (Byram 1997; Byrnes 2006; Kramsch 2006); and, similarly, international competence, multicompetence, and cross-cultural and intercultural competence to be used alternatively, or concurrently with *global competence* (Bennett 1993; Deardorff 2006).

These discourses align in their scrutiny of essential constructs and their implementations. In statements proposing a shift in emphasis, FL theorists have begun to critique communicative curricula as too narrowly focused on oral, self-referential and transactional activities (Byrnes 2006, p. 244). Their pedagogies, according to Swaffar, focus on beginning and intermediate learners using language in generic and isolated contexts (Swaffar 2006, p. 248). Ironically, a similar critique of insularity has arisen with regard to international studies. Global competence is often defined with a limited set of activities and experiences such as study and work abroad, and focused on the content of coursework rather than comprehensive assessment of knowledge, understanding, skills and dispositions in broader international contexts.

Nonetheless, both fields share underlying premises. Both global and foreign language studies point to a study abroad experience as vital for students who seek these degrees. Global studies programs promote study and work abroad as the most effective means for gaining cultural and linguistic competence in another language; more generally, they advocate experiences abroad as a path toward cultural understanding and sensitivity as key features of global citizenship, often a stated goal of a global studies degree. Foreign language programs encourage students' participation in an immersion experience abroad to increase their prospects of reaching advanced levels of proficiency, seldom achieved through a classroom experience in high school or at the university alone. Immersion experiences have been shown to lead to greater fluency (Dubiner et al. 2006) and increased use of pragmatically appropriate features (Magnan and Back 2006), both considered crucial to moving beyond intermediate proficiency levels.

These mutual advantages for students in global and FL studies are augmented with pragmatic benefits. Real-world applications increasingly serve to validate degree programs, including foreign language and global studies. Global studies programs equip students with the awareness, knowledge and skills necessary to succeed in an interconnected world. In addition to emphasizing the importance of understanding and navigating different cultures as well as one's own, foreign language programs foster development of critical thinking and analytic skills through the comparative study of other languages. The demand for increased capacity in

critical languages such as Arabic, Chinese, Korean and Persian has also afforded the opportunity to connect academic programs to real-world needs in business, economics and national security.

The very premise of global studies, as discussed earlier, is interdisciplinarity precisely because it grants students a flexible degree plan that draws on multiple disciplines. Foreign language studies, though representing a single academic discipline at the university, are adopting components of interdisciplinarity, manifested in curricular models such as Content-Based Instruction and Cultures and Languages Across the Curriculum, and, more recently, the National Standards for Foreign Language Learning, which include Connections as one of the 5 C's. The connections standard promotes interdisciplinarity through the study of academic subject matter *in* and *through* another language, which is, of course, the foundation of immersion and content-based education.

In sum, despite institutional barriers between global studies degrees on the one hand and language departments that grant foreign language degrees on the other, both disciplines share important discursive features in the areas of competence, study abroad, real-world relevance and interdisciplinarity. On the other hand, both fields also have discourses in two areas that are marked by glaring discontinuities.

4 Discourse Discontinuities: Foreign Language Study and Global Studies

Most global studies degrees combine a menu of course choices within a theme or a geographical area with a set of required core courses and some level of foreign language study. In addition, many degrees strongly recommend or require experience abroad. Not merely foreign language *study*, but the achievement and demonstration of competence have been part and parcel of the internationalization discourse. For example, the Commission on International Education of the American Council on Education (1995) proposes that universities encourage understanding of at least one other culture and that they require competence in at least one foreign language for all graduates. Yet despite requirements and recommendations, a status report on the internationalization of U.S. higher education 5 years later (ACE 2000) assesses foreign language competence of such programs' university students as largely inadequate. Not only had many never enrolled in any foreign languages at all, but the report also found that "the highest level of instruction for more than 40% of those who took courses in foreign languages was the elementary level" (11).

The report also alludes to the even greater challenge of assessing students' language competence by means other than seat time. It is precisely this issue that foreign language departments have, by and large, failed to address. No foreign language model or movement, whether proficiency guidelines, national standards, or CLAC, nor the MLA 2007 report, has managed to shift the dominant paradigm of completing coursework toward establishing and assessing proficiency or competency goals. At secondary levels, students typically complete a sequence of courses

to fulfill a language requirement, and then add another set of courses for advanced or college preparatory work toward a major. In postsecondary institutions the same criteria apply: passing courses or placement tests are the sole qualification to continue on to complete a major. Even the 2007 MLA report, *Foreign Language and Higher Education: New Structures for a Changed World*, seems reluctant to establish competence as the unequivocal goal of foreign language study. The section on *Strengthening the Demand for Language Competence within the University* proposes to "establish language requirements (or *levels of competence*) for undergraduate students" (8) across all academic disciplines and professional degrees. This particular recommendation, and others in this section fail to specify, however, what kinds of requirements or levels of competence should be established. Moreover, the parenthetical reference to levels of competence implies equivalence with language requirements, which are typically measured by seat-time rather than proficiency. It is hard to escape the irony of retreat to a language requirement in a document that places competence, more specifically translingual/transcultural competence, at the forefront of its recommendations for "new structures for a changed world."

The reluctance to replace seat time with proficiency or competency targets presents a vexing problem across all levels of foreign language instruction in the U.S. On the surface, the assortment of language requirements, for high school graduation and University entry, and for BA, Master's and PhD degrees, appear to highlight foreign language study at the secondary and post-secondary levels at least to some degree. However, a limited seat-time requirement is likely to suggest to students that its fulfillment is *all* that is expected in a particular area, which may keep them from even contemplating language study beyond the requirement and as an academic major. More importantly, given the common practice of not including lower division courses in the major, students may not be able to complete the required coursework for a foreign language major unless they decide on it relatively early in their undergraduate career. Significantly, the common FL department practice of excluding lower level courses from the major or, put differently, the division of lower level language and upper level literature and culture courses, reinforces the widely discussed bifurcation of language departments and degree programs.[4]

The relatively small demand for foreign language study beyond the required elementary level can severely impact the health of language departments, especially at a time when enrollments and degrees awarded determine budget allocations. Even language programs with robust lower division enrollment, as well as those with a well-articulated course of study typically experience severe attrition above the required language sequence.

Non-language majors, and in particular global studies degrees, duplicate the seat-time requirement set by the University and by language departments. An examination of a dozen well-established global studies programs revealed a nearly identical pattern of their foreign language requirements. Rather than assessing com-

[4] The lower and upper level division is not true across all types of higher education institutions, as pointed out by various responses to the 2007 MLA report (Hock 2009; Levine et al.2008; Melin 2009).

petence or proficiency, most global studies degrees settle for the completion of two upper-division courses in addition to a lower division requirement, or just the lower division course sequence with four semesters of a foreign language.[5]

The majority of global studies program present the fulfillment of a course, or seat-time based foreign language requirement as equal to demonstration of proficiency or competency. For example, the International Relations and Global Studies Major at the University of Texas at Austin, established in 2009, validates its 6-hour upper division foreign language requirement: "competency in a foreign language is a critical foundation for understanding global issues beyond one's own perspective." At the University of Oregon, global studies majors must achieve proficiency in a second language at a level *associated with 3 full years of study* to fulfill the language requirement.

Yet confounding the completion of coursework and competency not only perpetuates a fundamental misunderstanding of language proficiency as more than mastery of a discrete body of evidence, but also raises the expectations about students' abilities to unrealistic levels among those who comment on global studies as mainstays of higher education internationalization. Stearns, in his preview of the UT Austin global studies degree, asserts that a two-course requirement equips students with the ability, or *competence*, to conduct research or to complete an internship using the foreign language (Stearns 2009, p. 55). Foreign language specialists of course know that students with just two third-year courses under their belt will hardly be able to write research papers or work as interns. It is in fact widely documented that language majors who complete significantly more than two upper division courses may only reach intermediate levels of proficiency, especially in critical languages such as Arabic, Chinese and Russian (Carroll 1967; Magnan and Back 1986; Rifkin 2005). Moreover, even if the courses are structured to somehow guarantee an advanced intermediate goal gauged in terms of language proficiency, there is no guarantee that the pragmatics of interpersonal relationships or the disciplinary or nation-specific research skills necessary to succeed in an internship have been assessed at all (if, in fact, they were ever taught explicitly as part of achieving cultural competencies to go along with linguistics ones).

The foreign language requirement thus exposes a rather stark discontinuity in global studies programs between discourse centered on students' linguistic and cultural competencies on the one hand, and the practice of requiring seat-time to demonstrate them on the other. However, rather than being a unique feature arising in these more recently created programs, such discontinuities mirror the long-familiar division between lower and upper division in language departments, and the separation of an institutional one- or two-year requirement from a departmental major. The persistence of older problems in new forms is hardly surprising. Persistent institutional structures and practices are unlikely to change without some kind of compelling or urgent impetus, often in a crisis situation that encourages patching

[5] For example, the global studies major at the University of Minnesota requires the same number of courses as the Liberal Arts second language requirement. The global studies program does not reference the language proficiency exam, even though it can satisfy the second language requirement in the College of Liberal Arts.

rather than rebuilding foundations of requirements. Moreover, stakeholders with the greatest investment in a certain structure are more likely to resist change than those who are farther removed—verbal agreement that "changes are needed" does not guarantee participation by the entire program staff.

5 Discontinuities: Study Abroad

The final issue connecting foreign language study to institutional configurations that I wish to comment on here is study abroad itself, presumed to be critical in fostering cultural literacy for the U.S. student body. These assumptions are so pervasive that, in addition to students' foreign language capacity, institutions measure the success of their internationalization efforts by student mobility, and in particular by the extent to which students participate in experiences abroad. Institutions that make study abroad a centerpiece of their educational mission, and especially smaller private colleges, achieve impressive participation rates. For example, 90% of the 2011 graduating class at Kalamazoo College studied abroad for 11 weeks or more (Palmer 2012).

Study abroad participation nationally, tallied by institutions as a whole and individual college students, however, paints a different picture. The Open Doors report, issued annually by the Institute of International Education (IIE), identifies only modest 1.3% growth in 2012 over the year before, with the total number of U.S. students participating in study abroad at roughly 273,000, or about 1.4% of the student population in the higher education system (IIE 2012). More significantly, 42% of U.S. colleges and universities that responded to a 2011 survey had no study abroad activity among students who graduated in 2011 (ACE 2012, p. 42). The vision to "send one million students to study abroad in one decade," articulated as "well within the nation's reach" by the Commission on the Abraham Lincoln Study Abroad Fellowship Program in 2005 thus no longer seems viable (Commission 2005, p. v). It is not only improbable that study abroad participation will grow to the extent anticipated by the Lincoln Commission. More importantly, the nature of today's study abroad also makes the gains that students and other stakeholders typically expect equally unlikely.

Here again, old assumptions prevail about what study abroad is intended to do for learners. Much of the study abroad discourse centers around enhancing students' sensitivity to other cultures, which may be defined as intercultural competence (Deardorff 2006, p. 86), and in particular, around how time abroad advances language proficiency to levels that are unattainable through classroom learning alone (Goodman 2009). The Lincoln Commission characterizes study abroad as the "major means of producing foreign language speakers and enhancing foreign language learning" (Commission 2005, p. vi), supported by research that shows regular use of another language by students who went abroad. Similarly, Goodman points to federally financed study abroad programs as the key strategy for achieving advanced levels of proficiency, especially in languages of strategic importance to the U.S. (2009, p. 611).

The discourse of language fluency and proficiency conflicts with the realities of contemporary study abroad. Financial constraints and the changing profiles of today's University students have transformed the traditional junior year abroad into a menu of short-term study abroad experiences that are unlikely to advance students' competencies significantly. Students who work and who seek multiple major and minor degrees are much less inclined to spend a year or even a semester abroad. 60% of the students going abroad during 2010/2011 took part in summer programs that lasted eight weeks or less (IIE 2012), which can also include programs as short as one week over Spring break or in "winter sessions."

In addition to the insufficient length of exposure to the target culture, the structure of study abroad programs often undermines students' engagement with the target culture or immersion in the second language. It is not unusual for American students abroad to be housed and taught together as a cohort, and separate from the local culture, in particular in geographic locations where security may be of concern. As Warner points out, cultural and linguistic immersion is less likely a goal for students whose primary motivation is not the acquisition of another language (2011, p. 5). Her observations align with data that show foreign language study in 6th place among about a dozen fields of study abroad—it is not foreign language students who use these study abroad programs, it is students in other majors. While Social Sciences and Business are represented with around 20% each of the total participants in study abroad, only 5.5% of students abroad claimed foreign language as their discipline (IIE 2012). Students in other fields may of course be formally or informally learning another language while abroad. However, that so few students appear to make language study the focus of their experiences abroad can at least partially account for the preponderance of short-term stays, which have been found to be insufficient especially for the acquisition of more abstract linguistic features that mark advanced levels of proficiency (Isabelli 2004). More importantly, as Warner reports, research indicates that study abroad is unlikely to enhance students' intercultural awareness or competence unless they formulate and act on deliberate strategies for making gains in this area (2011, p. 5).

In institutional calculations, therefore, "internationalization" and "foreign language study" remain conflated in ways that occlude what educational experiences are actually being offered. Few would argue against the fundamental value of a study or work experience abroad, especially if institutions can offer such opportunities to students who have traditionally not participated in study abroad, or who would otherwise not be able to spend time abroad. However, we must also face the reality that study abroad will not remedy the lack of foreign language capacity in the U.S. Foreign language professionals must shift the discourse from study abroad as the panacea for foreign language deficits to stress instead what research has identified as the most successful, if not only, route to high levels of competence in another language: articulated language study across all levels of education that starts with immersion at the elementary level, continues throughout formal education and is understood as life-long learning.[6]

[6] A number of states, including California, Delaware, Georgia and Utah have implemented dual language immersion, beginning in elementary school, and promote it as the most effective type

6 Conclusion: The Need for Collaboration

The examination of discourses that surround global studies degrees, foreign language competencies and study abroad within many U.S. educational contexts, along with common institutional practices such as foreign language requirements, points to an urgent need for dialog and collaboration between internationally focused area- and global-studies degrees, and language departments. Equally invested in students' cultural and linguistic competencies, they must join forces to address the discontinuities and paradoxes discussed in this article within their units and departments, and beyond, and to try to specify what learning outcomes might be achievable or fostered within their respective environment. Not only global studies and area studies programs, but also universities as a whole, which now routinely align themselves with a global education agenda, must question foreign language seat-time requirements that operate in lieu of assessing students' foreign language capacities and proficiency. In addition, institutions must closely examine the claims they make about the benefits of study abroad for advancing cultural and intercultural competencies of their students more generally, and language proficiency more specifically.

Such typical institutional parallel discourses on communicative, intercultural, and global competencies have so far exposed an equally parallel inability of programs, departments, and major curricula to operationalize these constructs for the classroom and for assessment. Faculty in language departments possess the expertise to specify vague claims into specific forms of student achievement that are attainable and assessable, and they must also accept the responsibility to initiate meaningful conversations about the goals of global education, typically anchored in notions of global citizenship and global competencies, rather than in terms of language acquisition alone. Only through such collaboration can the perspectives of language faculty become vital to internationalization discourse that often relies on lofty terminology rather than critical analysis of constructs, goals and premises. Insisting that global and international studies programs adopt the kinds of outcomes expected (but rarely achieved) for foreign language majors rather than taking a more comprehensive view of language- and culture-based pragmatics as the object of study will only hurt the credibility of language study, not preserve it.

Such realignments of interest are indeed possible. At my own institution, we have begun collaborative efforts to assess the foreign language competencies of area and international studies majors, whose "language proficiency" requirements, much like they do across the country, translate into the completion of coursework. Asian and Latin American Studies, in collaboration with language department faculty, recently piloted proficiency assessments of their majors in Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Russian, Spanish and Portuguese, which will be expanded to Middle East and International Studies. Concurrently, the language department has been defining learning outcomes for its majors that will combine proficiency assessments with

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of instruction to lead to high levels of bilingualism and biculturalism. In Utah, legislative funding supported the creation of dual language immersion in 2008, with the number of schools with an immersion program reaching over 100 in 2013.

measures of cultural and literary competencies specifying pragmatic and higher-order management skills that need to be added to traditional ideas about correctness and fluency. These assessment projects have initiated a dialog that will mutually benefit, and ultimately deepen, the relationship between degrees with different orientations and structures, but a common foundation in the study of languages and cultures.

Study abroad programs have long afforded an opportunity to bring together global studies and foreign language students, who, as we have seen, are most likely experiencing international education in different ways. Students in global or international studies programs examine issues through multi-disciplinary lenses, but predominantly in their own language, while language students access, process and navigate information in and through another language. For the past two years, the University of Utah has offered a joint study abroad program for international/European studies majors and students of German that consciously exploits these different groups' goals to enhance learning. In advance of the program, the program director discusses the rationale and desired outcomes of the joint program to the two groups of participants, emphasizing the benefits of different sets of knowledge and skills that they bring to their international experiences. Once on-site, the international studies participants take part in a "Survival German" course in addition to their international studies coursework, but, more importantly, they also directly benefit from the German students' ability to communicate in the target language. In turn, the German students appreciate the international studies majors' deeper knowledge of current German and European politics as the two groups together analyze and discuss the political and societal structures of Germany and the European Union, and the role of international organizations in Europe in comparison with the U.S.

During field trips and excursions, for example, the two groups rely on each other's expertise to complete worksheets that require interviewing Germans in the street as well as content knowledge in history and political science. In another scenario, which also requires collaboration between the two groups, the Survival German class meets up with the German students to complete tasks around the city that require comprehension of plaques, signs, inscriptions and the like. Their shared experiences in a study abroad setting encourage students in each group to think about the value and goals of their degree and their ability to engage meaningfully with another culture. Each group not only draws on its particular strengths, but, more importantly, students share their knowledge and skills to complement and support each other as they face the challenge of navigating another culture.

Another effort to align international and language studies, this time with a focus on curriculum design, involves the CLAC model, and draws on the expertise of language department faculty for the creation of target language courses for both area and global studies, and for disciplinary degrees. Supported by a grant from the Department of Education,[7] our Latin American Studies program has invited fac-

[7] The grant was awarded through the Undergraduate International Studies and Foreign Language Program (UISFL) in 2012: https://www.ed.gov/news/press-releases/us-department-education-awards-more-15-million-strengthen-and-improve-undergradu)

ulty from a range of departments, including language, to workshops on designing courses in their areas of expertise to be taught in Spanish and Portuguese. In the workshop setting and beyond, language and non-language faculty have engaged in fruitful dialogs about scaffolding historical, literary, and scientific texts for students who are learning disciplinary content in and through the second language. Over the next two years, we will establish courses in art & art history, business, history, political science and sociology with trailers in a second language, as well as some non-language department courses that will be taught entirely in the target language.

These collaborative interventions have inspired, or perhaps uncovered deep interest in language and culture study across a wide variety of academic units and disciplines. More importantly, they have the potential to lead to mutually agreed upon, data-based adjustments to courses and to curricula that will improve learning outcomes for students across all degrees that involve language study. The proficiency data, which show students' abilities after two and three years of language study, will help us ascertain to what extent required courses are designed to advance students' linguistic competencies, and the implications of proficiency-based assessment for measures along the lines of trans- or intercultural competences on the other. Similarly, the CLAC project has served as the impetus for a dialog about the role of language study in non-language disciplines and ways in which double majors might be promoted and facilitated. The joint study abroad program represents a microcosm of cooperation between students whose degrees situate them differently in international education perhaps exemplifies the possibilities of dialog and collaboration across units such as global studies and language departments in the enterprise of higher education internationalization. This kind of collaboration, I believe, will help foreign language study to join the mainstream in setting learning agendas and assessment norms for the institution as a whole—as an integral and integrative partner, instead of an entity unto itself.

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Integrating Business and Foreign Languages: The Lauder Institute and Advanced Language Education

Kenric Tsethlikai

Abstract This chapter describes the Wharton School's Lauder Program with its double concentration in MBA and foreign languages, one of its kind in the United States. It compares that program with the current practice of teaching business courses within the collegiate foreign language curriculum. He suggests that that business language courses can complement and expand the traditional foreign language curriculum if that program integrates business-related components into the language curriculum as a whole. Like other authors in this volume, he frames his suggestions within the calls for change that are articulated in the MLA *ad hoc* report and other voices asking for reform in language education. Using the example of the Lauder Institute's language and culture program, the author describes the unique features of that program, notably its emphasis on advanced language competency and business-related content and suggests some ways language departments might integrate several of these components. The chapter concludes with descriptions of ways the Wharton School brings language and business educators together with industrial expertise in order to prepare proficient students able to assume managerial and global positions in foreign countries.

Keywords Dual degrees · Business and foreign languages · Language for special purposes · Language immersion programs · Advanced language education · Business language curriculum · MBA degrees · International studies · Study abroad

In the initial discussions for the founding of The Joseph H. Lauder Institute as an Institute for International Studies in 1983, the push for *international* business education was based on different premises than characterized other such efforts at that time and subsequently: the Institute's primary objective was to enable its students to function in executive management positions in foreign countries and contexts (Joseph H. Lauder Institute 2013). By no means the first international business program in the United States, the Institute's approach to the integration of language education, humanities, and social sciences as a complementary degree program to the Masters in Business Administration (MBA) gave language acquisition a uniquely significant role. Created as collaborative, joint academic programs, foreign culture

K. Tsethlikai (✉)
Lauder Institute at the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA, USA
e-mail: kenric@wharton.upenn.edu

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and foreign language use were on par with and essential for success in obtaining this degree. By implication, transcultural and trans-lingual abilities were deemed essential for the future business practices of its graduates.

In this era of accountability and curricular change, the integration of business content and language proficiency represents an opportunity to transform curricula, reconsider programs for specific student needs and groups, and to reinforce the relevance of foreign language education, expertise and teaching know-how.

This chapter will, therefore, first consider the state of business language courses when, as is frequently the case, they function only as single courses or minors, often as adjuncts to departmental programs at both the lower- and upper division levels. After discussing the problems inherent in such an approach, I will present the alternatives offered by the Lauder Institute of International Management and International Studies by first describing the interdisciplinary framework and institutional setting that enabled its integrated approach to business content and foreign language education.

I will then briefly address possible applications of the Lauder program to other institutions interested in business degrees with a global studies emphasis that would encompass studies of foreign languages and their cultures. Although other institutions may set different priorities, in light of current interest in closer alignment between language departments and business programs reflecting the increasingly vital importance of businesses on an international scale, features of the Lauder Program that could be adapted to other colleges and universities will hopefully prove instructive. Therefore this chapter concludes with reflections about what my experience as Director of Lauder's Language and Culture program suggests could be considered or adapted by other institutions seeking to prepare their business students for positions abroad.

1 Business and Languages: A History of Struggle for Integration into the Foreign Language Curriculum

The history of business students who undertake coursework in business language study is that they have been restricted to classes that teach them primarily the content and culture of business practices: writing letters, reading contracts or information about production of various products. They have not engaged in the traditional role of foreign languages' association with humanist studies and instruction. Foreign language study focused on business-related use and topics has, in most postsecondary institutions in the U. S., been treated as a special topic or often subsumed under the category of languages for specific purposes such as training in conjunction with a particular vocation in the health professions or engineering. Often, there is only one course of this sort in departmental course offerings; these courses thus lack any cohesive connection to the foreign language department's curriculum. In the context of a humanist orientation, the marriage of that curriculum with courses that stress language and cultural understanding for use in real-world professional scenarios has been an uncomfortable fit.

> As Bruce T. Fryer observes,
> […] there is no doubt that despite the recent reports from the Modern Language Association (MLA 2007) calling for institutional reform in higher education to be more responsive to the needs of students seeking employment in a new global society, faculty at traditional major research institutions, driven by the academic graduates of traditional MA and PhD programs in those same institutions, have been reluctant to embrace such change, and some have been willfully obstructionist toward curricular reform. (2012, p. 127)

The reasons for that reluctance can be attributed to the frequent outsider status of faculty who teach applied language courses coupled with a FL department's perception about the relevance and academic value of these courses within a humanities curriculum. Interdisciplinary programs that attempt to integrate language study into traditional disciplines are likelier to meet with greater acceptance, in part because they generally find advocates among tenured faculty members from within the language departments as Melin describes in this volume.

In "Business Language Studies in the United States: On Nomenclature, Context, Theory and Method" (2012), Michael Scott Doyle analyzes some of the challenges in establishing the intellectual foundations of business language studies as a field of inquiry, research and publication within a FL department (107). Like Fryer's, Doyle's article in *The Modern Language Journal*'s 2012 Monograph/Supplement Focus Issue appears in the company of authors who provide historical overviews about the teaching of Languages for Special Purposes (LSP).[1] Several articles in the monograph look at foreign language programs that integrate business-related content more fully than is usually the case. Those discussed include the American Institute of Foreign Trade as well as the Language flagships (2013) Programs, the Monterey Institute (now a part of the Middlebury Language Programs), and the Lauder Institute.

Along with other authors in the monograph who assess the status of business and language education in U.S. colleges and universities, Fryer emphasizes that the call for a pragmatic approach to a merger of programs has come from professional associations and governmental agencies rather than from faculty in foreign language departments. The authors point to the important role that federal funding has played in sustaining programs with a business-oriented approach, notably through the Title VI Centers for International Business Education and Research Grants. The issue also emphasizes that professional organizations such as the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese (AATSP), American Association of Teachers in French (AATF) and American Association of Teachers of German (AATG) have played important roles in supporting discussion of curricula and praxis of business-related language instruction. Government and professional organizations, in their support of advanced applied language programs, continue to emphasize the need for advanced-level speakers in all sectors of professional activity, while academic departments typically emphasize the literary text or humanistic disciplines as the objective of study.

[1] In this Issue, editor Barbara Langford revisits and reprints the 1991 article by Grosse and Voght, "The evolution of languages for special purposes in the United States."

Recognition by their respective professional organizations, however, has not resulted in significant increases in language department support. Several authors in the supplement issue pinpoint lack of recognition at several levels: recognition of the field itself, recognition of faculty who teach such courses, and recognition of the level of expertise required to develop curricula in business-related fields. The editor of the monograph, Barbara Lafford, sees such recognition as stemming from a lack of an expanded research agenda: "… for LSP to gain respect and recognition as a viable field of inquiry, more theoretically grounded empirical research in LSP contexts needs to be undertaken" (Lafford 2012, p. 20).

To achieve that goal, academic departments and their institutions need to support research by faculty consortia and doctoral candidates specializing in applied language use in various contexts. Lafford points out that this same proposal was made by Grosse and Voght in their 1991 article, "The Evolution of Languages for Specific Purposes in the United States," underscoring the point that little has changed within the span of 20 years. Moreover, the fact that many of faculty members who develop and teach such courses are adjunct professors, lecturers, or untenured reinforces the marginal status of their programs because of their marginal status in relation to standing faculty.

In most foreign language departments that have attempted to develop such programs, business and foreign languages are typically conjoined in a single intermediate or advanced-level course housed in departments devoted to literary, linguistic, and cultural studies. That business course is usually not integrated into the larger departmental curriculum, and often does not count towards the foreign language major, so that even a student who wishes to become more proficient in a given foreign language has an extra workload to accommodate. There is little opportunity for a learner whose interests may lie beyond literary or cultural studies to continue to develop his or her linguistic abilities in other disciplinary areas.

Other administrative issues confound the business/foreign language combination on both sides of the interdisciplinary divide. In most business school programs, like the MBA, tight sequences in that major render scheduling a language course taught only at one particular time virtually impossible. Moreover, in most FL departments, such courses are peripheral offerings. Release time or training for novice or experienced language teachers in the planning of these courses is rare. Their instructors are often chosen because they have professional experience in sectors beyond the university setting. This expertise, however, is seldom augmented with a language teaching background or training. At the other end of the spectrum, an instructor or an adjunct is hired to develop a business-language course without any formal guidance or a framework.

2 The Impact of Globalization

Increasingly, the significant priority postsecondary schools now give to global initiatives and perspectives creates an optimal environment for making changes in the foreign language curriculum. North American universities and colleges recognize

the importance of "being global" and developing a "global mindset." As a result, in many disciplines, the increase in the number of international modular courses on specific topics has created a need for language instruction largely independent of traditional foreign language department unsure of emphases on literary and linguistic studies. Without citing the need to reinforce the relevance of the applied nature of language for business, the Institute of International Education documented that approximately 14% of all U. S. undergraduates study abroad during their time as students and only 5.8% of those assessed were foreign language majors (see Allen and Dupuy 2012, p. 471).

Though the growth of international studies and study abroad suggests a renewed role for foreign language instruction, as Watzinger-Tharp notes in her chapter, foreign language departments are not readily visible in institutional initiatives designed to develop global citizens and leaders. Yet these departments are in a position to become vital players in creating new liaisons and curricula to accommodate the ever-larger audience of students who would profit from language study that integrated their academic and language learning objectives. The Modern Language Association proposed just such changes in advocating "deep trans-lingual and transcultural competence" for foreign language curricula in its 2007 *ad hoc* Committee Report. I will now turn to ways in which The Lauder Institute has evolved to achieve these goals.

3 The Lauder Program

The Lauder Institute incorporates the synergies between language education, business school and industry by providing framework for the integration of advanced language education within the International Studies curriculum in business. Historically, the need for such an institute was recognized and supported by industry.

From its outset in 1983, the charge of the Lauder Institute was to develop business leaders capable of conducting business in markets such as China, Brazil, Russia, Germany and France, and the later emergence of the BRIC-country concept, an acronym that proposes that the rapidly growing the economies of Brazil, Russia, India and China constitute a core that will challenge or possibly supplant the dominance of countries in Europe in conjunction with the United States, a group often referred to as the G7 (Halpin 2009). Increasingly today, African and Asian nations are being added to the BRIC projection.

This historical context underscores the foresight and basis for the commitment of Leonard and Ronald Lauder, and the University of Pennsylvania to create the Lauder Institute. By the early 1980s, the economies of Russia, Germany and Brazil, had already emerged as significant to international business and sustainability challenges At that time, when the Estee Lauder Companies were expanding into markets in Brazil, Russia and China, company leaders confronted a serious shortage of executives capable of conducting business in these countries' respective languages and possessing a broad understanding of these countries and markets, namely in a period before two of these regions were opened politically. With such factors in

mind, the Lauder family endowed the Institute to address negotiation of problems facing North American businesses with branches or affiliates abroad.

International dimensions and opportunities in management became the Institute's focus, thus strengthening the development of a joint-degree Master's program sponsored between the Wharton School of Business and the School of Arts and Sciences at the University of Pennsylvania. This collaboration involved using academic resources and expertise from both entities. The International Studies curriculum included introductory lectures in anthropology, economics and history. The final requirement of the Master's Program was a traditional master's thesis. Under the leadership of the faculty director, Prof. Mauro Guillén, the International Studies curriculum came to embrace more explicitly the introduction to analytical frameworks stemming from the social sciences and humanities. This change in mapping the program's curriculum served as complement to the quantitatively-oriented MBA Program at the Wharton School of Business. With the support of the Graduate Group in International Studies, comprised of faculty from several Schools at the University of Pennsylvania, the traditional master's thesis requirement evolved into team and individual research projects known as Global Knowledge Lab (GKL) projects. GKL projects allow students, under the supervision of Penn faculty, to further develop their language abilities through the study of an issue that required the collection, synthesis and analysis of data in their region/language of study.

Structurally, the Institute is housed in the Wharton School of Business, while the teaching faculty have appointments in the School of Arts and Sciences and Penn Law at the University of Pennsylvania. The Program confers an M.A. degree in International Studies. Courses in language and culture constitute roughly half of the requirements for the degree. The Language and Culture Program is a five-semester sequenced curriculum that integrates business and economic content with high-level language proficiency including, but also extending beyond the purviews of business, economics and management.

Candidates applying to the Lauder Program must meet admissions requirements of a highly competitive MBA Program as well as a minimum of Advanced-Low language proficiency based on an externally administered and ranked Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI). Students thus apply for a program of regional (Arabic, Japanese and French, for example) or global concentration, and must fulfill the Lauder Core Requirements as well as the required five-course sequence in the respective program of concentration.

Most candidates enter with ratings of Advanced Mid or Advanced High, and have lived in the target country for periods ranging from several months to several years. Characteristically, students who are accepted enter the program with an average of 4 to 5 years of work experience. Once admitted, candidates are expected to work toward the exit requirement of a Superior rating on the externally administered OPIs in their respective program of concentration. The use of externally administered OPIs helps to ensure that students can address content areas in language and also provides a program-external measure to track the improvement in their oral proficiency.

Beyond its influence on content, the institutional setting of the Lauder Program also benefits the Language and Culture Program. Consistently ranked among the top business schools in the world, the Wharton School is widely recognized in global businesses and organizations. Its position as a global institution—a business school for the world—means that the School actively cultivates its reach and impact in ways that aren't characteristic of humanities' programs. Its distinctive pace, structure, and expectations affect participants' work with Language and Culture Program courses in ways with which language departments, where courses' content focus is on literary and cultural studies, cannot. Students in the Lauder Program know that, on graduation, they will find immediate applications of their language and cultural knowledge in their careers in global companies and markets.

The career motivations and aspirations of Lauder's student body play an important role in stimulating improvement of the Language and Culture Program. That stimulus is augmented by regular contact with alumni who are doing business in our students' respective global markets. In both correspondence and return visits to the School, alumni share their experiences in managing businesses abroad and provide useful input regarding the significance of culturally appropriate language use and practices to faculty members and students. This feedback loop about changes in global economics from a particular business perspective provides the program with evolving data about working in different contexts and how to negotiate within new socioeconomic contexts.

As already noted, in its approach to advanced language education, the Lauder Program's institutional setting makes extensive use of externally administered and validated OPIs as one measure of oral proficiency. Yet it moves further: the Lauder Language and Culture Program itself focuses on communication, not in a transactional iteration (languages for special purposes) or a situational (business) perspective, but as a commitment to developing *multiliteracies*—the interpretation and construction of meaning within different social, political, and economic settings.

In this regard, the Lauder Program responds to its broad priorities of developing global perspectives and global citizenship, rather than being restrained by a practice-oriented, or situation-oriented, approach to language use, e.g. Spanish for Marketing, Japanese for Finance, etc. The International Studies program views discourses on literacy and global business needs as complementary. However, understanding the precise nature of global workforce needs is often elusive to the department and faculty that is focused on literary and humanistic study. In their assessment of MBA programs, Datar, Garvin and Cullen, authors of *Rethinking the MBA*, define global perspectives in the following way: "gaining a global perspective means identifying, analyzing and practicing how to best manage when faced with economic, institutional and cultural differences across countries" (2010, p. 8).[2] Leaders in industry as well as governmental and non-governmental organizations alike, cite this need to develop global perspectives as a top priority for business school programs. The call for critical and analytic language capabilities reflects a central objective of any

[2] For *Rethinking the MBA*, the authors surveyed and interviewed industry leaders and deans, professors at top-tier business schools including those at INSEAD, Harvard, Yale, University of Chicago and Stanford.

business program, let alone one whose objective is to have its graduates interact in a *foreign language* on site: the ability to negotiate based on a comprehensive grasp of the cultural and linguistic complexities of that language.

In direct and indirect ways, management and leadership challenges in the global economy suggest opportunities to assert the relevance of language and culture studies. Working for and starting companies in global markets are increasingly complex endeavors. Beyond their political and environmental challenges, managers in global companies must contend with the challenges of working with colleagues from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds. In global companies, cross-functional teams must collaborate effectively to produce results. For the global manager, such collaboration can mean managing IT personnel in Hyderabad, a brand manager in San Francisco, a supply-chain manager in Shanghai, or a distribution center manager in Raleigh, North Carolina. The ability to manage this diversity and the understanding of human behavior, attitudes, values and motivations within such different contexts is integral to effective strategy and successful implementation.

However, as the authors of *Rethinking the MBA* point out, voices from industry frequently lament the gap between work-world needs and the actual abilities of new hires to confront these challenges. Industry leaders point out that students learn analysis but not action. According to the authors, "students develop skills in attacking problems, but learn little about implementing solutions. They become knowledgeable about business, but remain untutored in the art and craft of management" (Datar et al. 2010, p. 79). As a pragmatic call for action, this need to train students to use their cultural and linguistic knowledge to facilitate change is arguably a distinct driver in the adaptation of curricula in an international business school as compared to a humanities department.

Other ways in which the international goals of the business school have shaped the curriculum have to do with the increasingly interdependent nature of global markets. The noticeable increase in interest in entrepreneurship, alongside traditional career paths in finance and consulting, has reinforced the need for in-depth knowledge of political, social and linguistic understanding. Ever-changing technological advances, for example, create conditions for which future graduates can't be trained, but ones that they must anticipate.

Another area where business schools have sought to prepare leaders is in the understanding of role of government regulation on business practices and endeavors. In global markets, the regulatory environment of financial institutions and the ethical questions raised by business practices that lead to financial crises require complex understanding of the factors that influence human and organizational behavior. Coping with business practices and political demands of a host country can create conflicts or jeopardize both the capital and future of any venture. Solutions require a broad perspective and interdisciplinary approaches which the Lauder Program strives to leverage through a joint-school curriculum.

For educators and scholars in the field of foreign language education, the relevance of foreign language and culture studies for developing culturally and linguistically savvy leaders seems self-evident. Individuals and companies regularly engage in critical ways to collaborate in situations that involve high and low risks. For the Lauder Program, this need must be met with an international program that engages

in extensive cross-border and cross linguistic collaborations and interaction. One way to foster such interactions is accomplished, for example, by having students in the Japanese Program included in activities sponsored by the Portuguese Program, just as students of Mandarin Chinese are included in programs sponsored by Asiatic or African language programs.

Like other business schools, Wharton has also integrated experiential learning into distinct types of "study abroad" that introduce students to the complexities of business environments in global settings—a group of courses and workshops taught in a foreign country. The increase in such on-site programs at Wharton reflects the value of education in and prioritization of regional familiarity and expertise. The focus of these courses ranges from topics such as Global Supply Chains in Japan to Finance in the Middle East in Abu Dhabi. Internships, in conjunction with global modular courses provide field-work opportunities with on-site interventions designed to encourage broader perspectives challenge students to consider on-the-ground realities that affect business practices and endeavors. With such experience students can more readily avoid the pitfalls of programs that do not provide such interface training, since, as the authors of *Rethinking the MBA* emphasize, "recent graduates often take a highly rational view of implementation of action, while failing to recognize that organizations are fundamentally political entities" (Datar et al. 2010, p. 92).

The authors elaborate by noting that "… newly minted MBAs frequently underestimate the power of hidden agendas, unwritten rules, long-term loyalties, behind-the-scenes coalitions, and other political forces. They lack execution skills to get things done because they fail to fully understand basic organizational processes, how priorities are set, decisions are made and tasks are accomplished" (Datar et al. 2010, p. 92). To avoid these potential pitfalls, Wharton's global modular courses coupled work and visits abroad allow students to examine large-scale business problems in settings where these problems play themselves out. These endeavors were implemented in response to international business leaders who had urged Wharton's deans and faculty to provide students with more direct engagement with work place realities and challenges. To create these options, faculty members now work with business and political contacts abroad to obtain direct feedback and perspectives for curricular topics.

As already noted, another way in which the institutional setting influences the Lauder Language and Culture Program is through engagement with alumni. Beyond the potential for development and fundraising efforts, alumni are a critical source of information about changing priorities and realities in the global marketplace. They are direct sources for learning opportunities in the immersion programs designed by the Lauder Institute.

Over the years, the Lauder Institute has contended with the challenge of balancing the in-depth study of foreign regions and languages with a more cross-regional perspective in conjunction with near- or native-like performance that reflects not only familiarity with a singular culture but also the ability to operate within its multiple cultural settings. The interconnectedness of economic, political and technological systems has made it imperative to seek ways to integrate these dimensions into the International Studies curriculum. The work that students undertake in the

language and culture program does complements individual and group research projects that culminates in a master's research requirement. In all of these projects, students must use their advanced language proficiency for data collection and cultural analysis.

4 What the Lauder Model Can Offer Other Institutions

The success of the Lauder Institute's approach to amalgamating cultural and language learning suggests that FL departments in the humanities may do well to consider revising their curricula in the direction of integration with other fields. To do so, such efforts would encourage academic appointments for language education that account for close collaboration across disciplines; teaching staff need institutional framework and support to work with faculty not only from the humanities department but also from the business school or other fields in the sciences and in disciplines whose curricula incorporate aspects of global studies. Like Wharton, and in the same way that architectural and law schools hire practitioners, humanities departments need to embrace practitioners' input into the development of their course sequences. As noted in the previous chapters (Melin, Watzinger-Tharp), this effort requires a high level of engagement to initiate and maintain the collaboration between language faculty and business faculty or those in other disciplines.

In the case of the Lauder Program, involvement of departmental chairs proved essential at all stages of program development. Chairs or their fully authorized representatives need to participate in critical initial phases—the planning and the rationale of the program's content, assessment, faculty positions and the hiring processes—as well as in the later stages, which include assessment and developing relevant learning experiences related to and prepared for in the new curriculum. Having strong support in the leadership of a FL department also ensures that these efforts do not become minimized. A more ambitious incorporation of business-related content in all elementary and intermediate coursework would be essential to support advanced-level students who can by the second semester, engage in group presentations that emphasize contextualized communication such as business communication and contracts. Such an integration of content, culture, and language offers an opportunity to explore genre, semantic and rhetorical dimensions of communication, and thus embraces broad multiliteracy goals for business and non-business students alike.

Finally, FL Departments would be well advised to interface with alumni from their own programs and from former language students with majors in other programs who are working in target countries or using their multilingual capabilities on the Internet or other communication formats. The Modern Language Association has already called for greater accuracy and representation of career options for graduates of humanities programs. *The Chronicle of Higher Education* and MLA notices and reports regularly address the fact that alternative career tracks are rapidly gaining in importance for graduate as well as undergraduate students

in FL departments. Given the increasing interest in studying and working abroad, in future foreign language programs may find increasing validation of their enterprise from graduates from other disciplines. With respect to business school graduates, such outreach provides a unique opportunity to understand current needs and trends in global business, their markets, and governmental transactions. The extent to which foreign language departments develop collaborative measures with business schools, as in the case of the Lauder Program, can serve as one example of how language departments can maintain the integrity of humanistic principles and disciplines and, concomitantly, expand their programs and reach new audiences in the twenty-first century.

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Part III
Outlook: Strategies Facilitating a Curricular Transformation for Multiliteracies

Mapping New Classrooms in Literacy-Oriented Foreign Language Teaching and Learning: The Role of the Reading Experience

Chantelle Warner

Abstract While multiliteracy frameworks grounded in social semiotics and genre theory have provided language teachers and users with valuable theoretical maps for understanding the linguistic design of texts, the social and affective experience of foreign language reading has received less attention in fields of foreign and second language pedagogy. Especially in the social, institutional context of the classroom, literacy involves an awareness of periodically precarious symbolic terrains. Readers situate themselves and their textual responses vis-à-vis authors, narrators, or characters, and their own predispositions to a text's subject matter. This chapter draws on examples from in and outside of the classroom in order to raise some of the issues related to experientiality and reading that theories of literacy and language teaching might address.

Keywords Multiliteracies · Experientiality · Reader response · Reader position · Symbolic awareness · Systemic-functional linguistics

In one of the seminal works on multiliteracies approaches to foreign language teaching in higher education, *Remapping the Foreign Language Curriculum: An Approach through Multiple Literacies* (2005), Janet Swaffar and Katherine Arens offer a plan, and also a plea, for the development of foreign language curricula that are culturally-embedded and genre-based. Addressing what they, and presumably many other contributors to this volume, view as an unproductive bifurcation in many programs between basic language courses and content-based courses at the upper division, which tend to focus on the analysis of literary and in more recent years filmic works, Swaffar and Arens urge language educators and program designers to create curricula that integrate cross-cultural literacy at all levels through text-based language pedagogies.

The metaphor of the map, or more specifically re-mapping, points to the fact that existing curricula often do not present a clear progression from the typically communicative-oriented courses in the first 2 years and the final 2 years of study in which language is suddenly usurped as an object of analysis and students are called upon to perform literary and cultural analysis. Instead, as numerous scholars who

C. Warner (✉)
Department of Germanic Studies, The University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ, USA
e-mail: warnerc@email.arizona.edu

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are concerned with second language teaching in collegiate contexts argue (Allen 2009; Allen and Paesani 2010; Byrnes 2006; Kern 2000; Maxim 2006), curricula ought to create sequences that introduce students to texts with progressively greater linguistic and cultural complexity.

What I wish to do in this chapter is to contribute to their discussions by pointing attention to an aspect of literacy practices that is often ignored or downplayed in current discussions of literacy-oriented curriculum development that seek to establish connections between linguistic form and meaning, namely the experience of the language users who learn within these curricula. I am using the word *experience* here to refer to something that is distinct from (even when closely connected to) the cognitive and linguistic difficulties in interpretation and expression that genre-based approaches to literacy instruction address so well. Whereas *interpretation* describes a language user's ability to critically apprehend and produce complex utterances in the social and cultural contexts of their production, *experience* accounts for the pragmatic, affective, often even visceral responses of learners as they do so, while at the same time trying to find their footing as emergent users of the language. Interpretation accounts for our understanding of utterances, while experience accounts for our sense of the world and our place in it as we do so. Although the experience of a language may not be the priority or the purpose of a language program and, in fact, to suggest that it is might be to fall prey to the kinds of impractical reveries for which the humanistic fields are often criticized, it is nevertheless central to learners' processes of and even motivations for (or for not) continuing to pursue foreign language study. For this reason, as I argue in this chapter, the reading experience and the particular positionings and affective stances that foreign language users take on should be integral to a pedagogy of multiliteracies and their curricular considerations.

In the sections that follow, I will look first at a curricular example of the most widely studied families of genre—the story—in order to illustrate how approaches based in systemic- functional linguistics illustrate ways to help learners become aware of the connections between types of stories, that narrative's social roles, and its linguistic realizations (see Rose and Martin 2008, p. 49). Then, I turn to other examples from the same course, in order to offer some examples of pedagogical practices that might enable students to also navigate the more experiential maps of reader responses and their corresponding positions by augmenting textual maps with maps of pragmatic response and experience.

1 Pedagogical Maps

In 1971, in an essay titled "Curriculum and Consciousness," Maxine Greene cautioned educators against conflating the work of the curriculum developer with the situation of the learner. Through cartographical metaphors, Greene argues that such curricula call upon learners to recapitulate the complex model of the town, which is the map: The map may represent a fairly complete charting of the town; and it may

ultimately be extremely useful for the individual to be able to take a cartographer's perspective. When that individual first arrives, however, his peculiar plight ought not to be overlooked: his "background awareness" of being alive in an unstable world; his reasons for consulting the map; the interests he is pursuing as he attempts to orient himself when he can no longer proceed by rule of thumb. (260)

Although Greene is speaking to the experience of a student who arrives into an analytic curriculum of any sort, her observations are equally rich when understood in the context of second language learning, where *cartography* may include (1) grammars, (2) generic norms, (3) interpretive orthodoxies (both *native* and *academic*), and (4) literary and cultural historiographies. Within discussions of multiliteracies in particular, insights from systemic-functional linguistics have provided valuable maps for charting the dialogic designs of texts, thus also expanding students' repertoires of meaning-making resources.[1]

One of the predominant maps used in multiliteracies approached to foreign language education is the genre. Genre approaches informed by systemic-functional linguistics have proven invaluable as a paradigm for mapping the various dimensions of texts' designs because they look at how genre maps "differentiated perspectives ideational, interpersonal, and textual meaning" (Martin and Rose 16). However, as Martin (1995) has underscored, even within an L1 educational setting, readers adopt a diversity of positions vis-à-vis a given text—many of which do not correspond to those that were anticipated by their producers or those most valued by teachers. Nevertheless, many curricular programs continue to discuss interpretation and comprehension as if the cognitive apprehension could be separated from the pragmatic acts of responding affectively and socially to discourse.

The examples that I cite in subsequent sections of this chapter demonstrate that such a multiliteracies approach to teaching requires theoretical frameworks that can help practitioners to analytically describe the reading experiences of foreign language learners, so that instructors can more systematically incorporate them into more holistic and ecological understandings of language use. With this approach we can orient students in the social and symbolic spaces in which new literacy practices in the foreign language circulate, while also helping students to learn more about geographies of their own, so that they can ultimately take up stances of their own design. Walking around with a map is one viable way to maneuver a city, but it is one that is markedly foreign; the question at hand here is how teachers can not only map the texts that students encounter in the language classroom onto the culture, within which they were produced, but what guidance can help students to map the field of reading positions they might occupy as not only learners of but also participants in these literacy practices.

In order to begin to account for the differential distributions of reading positions that arise in textual encounters that traverse unfamiliar cultural contexts and semi-

[1] This is similar to Alfred Schütz' distinction between the sociologist and the "stranger." While the former is necessarily a disinterested, scientific onlooker, the latter encounters new cultural models in a "network of plans, means-and-ends relations, motives and chances, hopes and fears" (1944, p. 500).

otic landscapes, my colleague David Gramling and I have developed the concept of *Contact Pragmatics* (see Gramling and Warner 2011; Warner and Gramling 2013). Contact Pragmatics is a reminder that the effects and uses of a given speech act are always in excess of those anticipated by their design. In contact zones, such as the foreign language classroom, sometimes the most appropriate response is one that positions the reader as an interloper in someone else's symbolic territory. For this reason, learners' unique points of entry into a new culture and their reasons for deciding not to participate or to take an oppositional position in particular discourses and practices are as much a part of the design of texts as the more anticipated, ratified responses that tend to be privileged in foreign language, literature, and culture curricula.

2 Mapping Texts: The Mechanisms of Meaning Making

Story genres are the starting point of a thematic unit titled "Geschichten aus der deutschen Geschichte" ("Stories from German History"), which is one of five modules designed for fifth-semester majors and minors at the University of Arizona (UA). As is the case in many similar programs in the US, the first 2 years of German language program are comprised of multi-section courses taught by graduate student instructors. Because the majority of departments and programs at UA have a two-year language requirement, the curriculum of the six-credit unit intermediate/advanced language course was created in order to foster what Hiram Maxim (2006) has described as textual thinking—focused engagement with extended discourse, including the negotiation and articulation of alternate or abstract realities, complex and ambiguous meanings, and supersentential, discourse-level processing.

Within the unit on story genres, students work with a number of narrative texts related to key topics and events from post-war German history (all of which are reproduced in *Mitlesen, Mitteilen* [Sharing Reading and Communication), the staple textbook for the course). These readings and the key features emphasized in our lessons are presented in the following table:

The road map implied in these brief explications of each story's schematic structures suggest ways to help students encode its messages. Once they know, for example, "Rote Korallen" presents its sequence of events in a before and after relationships they can look for words that key one category or the other. Proceeding with a cognitive grasp of how narratives work in these stories prepares students to adapt such writing techniques in presenting experiences in their lives, as illustrated in the example below.

At the end of this unit, students watch the 2001 film *Was tun wenn's brennt* (What to Do When on Fire), which follows a group of radical punk activists from the 1980s, who 20 years later have grown up and grown apart, as they are forced to come back together when a bomb that they had planted at a villa unexpectedly detonates, placing them once again at the focus of a police investigation. After watching this film, students are asked to recount the story using the model proposed by

Primary Readings	Key features
Rotkäppchen (Little Red Ridinghood) 65, Anneliese Meinert	This text parodies fairy tales genres, which are the focus of the previous semester's course. The focus is on the use past tenses and speech representation (direct speech)
Der Verkäufer und der Elch (The Seller and the Stag), Franz Hohler	This story is told as a parable, a familiar text type for many students. The focus is on the commentary stage in a narrative exemplum such as this (compare Rose and Martin 2008, p. 62–65) and speech representation (direct speech)
Die Küchenuhr (The Kitchen Clock), Wolfgang Borchert	The focus is on indirect speech and thought representation and on temporal and causal adverbs
Rote Korallen (Red Corals), Judith Hermann	The focus is on *Erzählfunktionen*, such as flash-forwards and flashbacks, and temporal and causal constructions

Byrnes and Sprang (2004). The act of re-telling the story constructed through the film requires that students draw from a number of linguistic resources that they have become increasingly aware of through their interactions with the written narrative texts, including the past tenses, direct and indirect speech, temporal and causal adverbs, and the active and passive voices (compare Byrnes and Sprang 2004, p. 59).

The pinnacle assignment for this unit on story genres is the composition of a personal narrative. Students were given rhetorical suggestions in German to begin with the situation and the conflict it represented and then introduce a series of resulting complications and the ultimate resolution of that conflict (For instructions, see Appendix A). This narrative is written in three drafts. Following the first of these versions, students exchange essays in-class and attempt to identify the stages in one another's essays and give feedback related to building tension within a complication, for example, by adding intensifying, affective reactions—such as attitudinal attributes ("I was terrified") or intensified processes ("we ran screaming down the hill") (compare Martin and Rose 2008, p. 87). Only in the final draft are students asked to narrow their attention to more discrete matters of grammatical accuracy.

The models based in systemic-functional linguistics from Martin and Rose (2008) and Byrnes and Sprang (2004) as well Labov (1972) suggest schema for natural narrative to aid both instructors and students in mapping story genres affectively as well as cognitively, their phases, and their relations to one another. In this way, the design activities of cartographers and curriculum makers are typically oriented around an object of study, whether it be town or text (or more accurately perhaps the system of texts that constitutes a given a genre) and the connections between their constitutive parts. But the feelings of separateness and strangeness, curiosity and captivation surrounding learner's encounters within new literacy practices and the social worlds that they inhabit are not captured in the genre maps that I have described above, because even the best maps are necessarily tidied up versions of the life worlds that they represent.

The kinds of maps that might guide learners in the early stages through the texts and genre systems in which they make meaning are necessarily instances of what Deborah Cameron (1995) describes as "verbal hygiene," stressing standard and legitimized ways of meaning-meaning and interpretation, closed, normative speech genres, and the appropriateness of interactional principles. When translated into the design practices of language curriculum developers, Cameron's critique of verbal hygiene practices suggests that unless they are cartographers, most people don't travel to foreign places to follow maps, and with the exception of linguists, most people don't learn a new language in order to be able to recapitulate their lexicogrammatical structures.

The assignment referred to above, in which students author a personal narrative, moves the curriculum onto a different map, one based on the assumption that explorations of personal expression have to be given their due, before students are ready to focus on accuracy. However, what might get glossed over in the curricular maps described above are learners' experiential responses to the texts that are read as more than illustrations of social-semiotic functions. For example, some of the students' expressed frustration with Hermann's narrator in "Rote Korallen" (Red Corals) because the same voice that has been praised in the German feuilletons for its "angespannte Ruhe" ("tensed calm" [ador 2002, p. 25]) seemed for them borderline psychotic (an observation that they supported with textual references to the narrator's therapist).

It would seem that when teachers conflate their students' identification of orientation points with their experience of meaning-making, they risk relegating language learners to a role comparable to that of a tourist who rushes through a city to sight all of the most touted landmarks, only to miss much of what makes that city dynamic and vital. Like the visitor in this metaphor, students are then left with little sense of what it might mean to inhabit these symbolic spaces and no time to explore the positions that *they* might take up there. In turning our pedagogical attention solely to navigation—to moves and phases and stages—FL curricula too often neglect to make space in our syllabi for the thrill of getting lost when engaging with literary and filmic works and the maybe even going off the beaten path or for rejecting a style or discourse either on aesthetic or ideological grounds. As emergent participant users, students are not only developing their abilities to comprehend and emulate the literacy practices that they encounter, but also to expanding their sense of what it might mean to take up a position in the systems of human activity in which they often participate. In the section that follows, I illustrate some of the experiential aspects of meaning-making that frequently get left out of pedagogical cartography.

3 Mapping Experiences: The Geographies of Cultural Contact

In order to better address the feelings that language learners face when traversing uncharted territories and new literacy practices, it helps to first remember one of the aspects of their represented worlds that many maps obscure, namely the traffic. In his essay "English as a Language Always in Translation," Alastair Pennycook uses the metaphor of traffic to describe the experience of translating. When translating, he writes, one enters into a traffic, "And this traffic, this constant coming and going of people, bicycles, rickshaws, cars, trucks, ferries, tuk-tuks, ships, aeroplanes, trains, is a traffic in meaning, a passing to and fro of ideas, concepts, symbols, discourses" (2008, p. 33).

The metaphor of traffic emphasizes on one hand the diversity of meanings and the necessity for negotiation that language teaching and learning entails, but it also highlights the fact that translation always occurs on uneven grounds, where understanding the signs is only one obstacle to be overcome. In order to navigate actual life worlds—be they social or geographical requires an awareness of the relative precariousness of some positions in relation to others.[2] Because foreign language learners often already exhibit this tendency to *give way* to native and expert speakers and their interpretations, they miss out on forming their own legitimate experience of the text. To avoid denying them the acknowledgement and articulation of what textual features, ways of speaking, and perspectives *they* find inexplicable, questionable, inhospitable, or appealing, it is all the more important that the symbolic power of authority, the questions of how various interpretations are differentially evaluated within a given society. If such questions remain obscured behind questions of form and meaning in the classroom environment, students are disallowed one of the few spaces where their positions as learners take the fore over other communicative and transactional goals.

My institutional context as an American professor in a German Studies Department in the southwestern US, offers an illustrative example of the precarious position-takings, which color our experiences of speaking in multiple languages. Within the office spaces of my department, students and colleagues share two and in many cases three languages, and our ability to be mutually comprehensible in multiple symbolic systems has sometimes led to pragmatic disorientation, especially on the part of graduate students who have recently arrived from Germany and find themselves being addressed as the familiar *Du* by professors who have not yet offered a shift to the informal, and consequently, whom the students address using the formal *Sie,* as they would in Germany. Although these same students readily adapt to the tendency of professors in US American institutions of higher education to call their students by their first names, while desiring to be addressed with the title of Professor (e.g., Professor Warner), the hybrid form that emerges, when American professors seem to transpose this pragmatic system into the use of *Du*/*Sie*. Address-

[2] I am grateful to Malena Samaniego for pointing me towards this metaphor.

ing students as *Du*, rather than *Sie* is completely comprehensible to these junior scholars from Germany, but uncomfortable because in German cultural practice the use of "Du" positions them as children or adolescents rather than adults.

While my focus will be on the positions that learners take up while reading and responding to written texts, this example illustrates that the implications are not restricted to literacy practices alone. Traversing new or social spaces often entails disorientations and reorientations that can be as tortuous as they are exhilarating.

In her recent work on multilingualism and subjectivity, Claire Kramsch (2009) has analyzed a comparable sense of discomfort experienced by multilingual speakers when they manage to successfully adopt words or styles, which they do not feel the requisite authority or legitimacy to speak. Thus, when the Polish autobiographical narrator of Eva Hoffman's (1989) *Lost in Translation*, as a student at Harvard, struggles over what kind of American she wants to speak in response to an anecdote told by her Texan boyfriend Tom, a "Texas drawl crosses a New England clip" and "a groovy half-sentence competes with an elegantly satirical comment" (219; quoted in Kramsch 2012, p. 111). When she utters the sentence, "Gee, what a trip, in every sense of the word," the very ease that she gives off in producing this response overwhelms her with a feeling of hysteria.

This discomfort and unease experienced by Hoffman's narrator and described by my German graduate students seems to arise from a situation in which two or more disparate spaces of semiotic potential converge or collide in the process of meaning making. The effect is what we might describe as an unsteadiness of footing, in Erving Goffman's interactional sense of an "alignment, or set, or stance, or posture, or projected self" (1981, p. 128). The multiplicity of semiotic codes, linguistic and otherwise, allows for a layering of cultural and historical contexts in which the matter of which fields of practice and which contexts of use any given symbolic choice is operating in becomes complicated.

Such experiences of being lost on maps are not issues for students alone, because national maps are increasingly subject to redrawings by reference to global networks. Both abroad and increasingly in German-speaking countries, German is a language of translingual use (compare Canagarajah 2010; Kramsch 2009; Pennycook 2010). Business, legal, and social exchanges are increasingly marked by switches from German to English involving insertions of English expressions or whole segments of a discussion using largely English sentences. Both the ubiquity of the Internet and the realities of the global marketplace have rendered translingual usage a characteristic of communication worldwide. As applied linguists such as Henry Widdowson and Ben Rampton have stated repeatedly,[3] the classroom has always been a translingual space. In discussions of literacy-based curricula that emphasize the cognitive but not affective dimensions of textual experience, the realities of pragmatic dis- and reorientations based on different meaning markers for both discursive and social practices risk being neglected both intellectually and practically. The question that remains is then, how to incorporate these experiences of *unfooting* into our pedagogical and curricular models of textual thinking and

[3] See especially Widdowson (1994) and Ben Rampton (1995).

semiotic design, so that maps in collision can be negotiated affectively and experientially as well as cognitively.

One of the hallmarks of literacy-oriented language pedagogies has been a predilection for written texts, with recorded text in multiple media added as relatively stable, transposable, de- and recontextualizable, and stable opportunities for the study of discourse, centered on the reader/speaker/learner.[4] Classroom activities in such contexts often call upon students to leverage their expectations and developing awareness of the organization and message systems of texts in order to make sense of what the author likely intended to convey, thus activating reader background to enhance potential comprehension of textual meaning. The logic of the learning process is clearly scripted: presumably well-crafted texts of native speakers provide models by which students supposedly map out their own designs, for example in the examples cited above where intermediate level German students worked with multiple narrative texts before authoring their own personal narratives.

Missing from this paradigm are pedagogical practices that legitimize the reader's experience of a text as potentially *irreconcilable* with the author's design—an important moment of *unfooting* that is critical to readers' ability to move toward critical cultural literacy. Mary Louise Pratt, in her work on contact zones, cautions about limitations about describing linguistic (or textual) interactions "in terms of orderliness, games, moves, or scripts, usually only legitimate moves are actually named as part of the system, where legitimacy is defined from the point of view of the party in authority—regardless of what other parties might see themselves as doing" (p. 38). Speaker-oriented linguistic frameworks are ideally suited for comprehension and *locating* that comprehension on the reader's mental maps of the target culture. What they fail to deal with are aspects of the reading experience that are tied to positioning effects like defamiliarization, recognition, artifice, and authenticity.[5]

Such positioning is all the more important since one of predominant types of texts found in the upper-level of German Departments are literary works, for which the creation of these kinds of aesthetic effects is arguably definitive. At the advanced level, text choices are more often made according to the map of a target culture or discipline, rather than with respect to what might be more comfortably located on a map lying closer to the learner's own space of identity and experience.

It is thus critical, I believe, to incorporate into curricular planning the kind of disorientation that language learners as multicompetent, multilingual social actors might experience when interacting with literary texts. Such planning would, by design, enable readers to traffic in meanings across contexts and codes with which they profess varying degrees of ease. By building text-based pedagogical practices that make room for identifying disorientation and positions beyond or adjacent to those in the cultural fields within which the text was produced, we could enable students to become aware of more complex maps of experience and response. What

[4] Kern's "reading as design" (2000) and Kramsch and Nolden's (1994) notion of reading as oppositional practice are notable exceptions to this.

[5] An excellent introduction to the scholarly study of these kinds of effects is Peter Stockwell's book *Texture* (2012).

I offer here are initial suggestions based on my interactions with the students in my classes, but I hope that they might also serve to index the curricular spaces that the FL profession has, thus far, largely failed to map systematically into a curriculum that would acknowledge as critical to cultural literacy the learner's more overt awareness of textual response and pragmatic stance.

4 Decentering Reading Positions: Remapping the Experience of Cultural Contact

The tools to place texts and media onto a more complex map of learning as managing cognition and experience have been outlined by the profession. For example, multiliteracies pedagogies have been found useful in diverse educational contexts and for work with a multitude of literacy practices (e.g. Lemke 1998; Schleppegrell et al. 2004). Yet the pervasive use of literary texts in upper division courses still often offer students difficult, off-putting experiences of a foreign culture.[6] Matters of vocabulary recognition and syntactic complexity aside, one reason for FL students' off-putting experiences with literary texts is that such publications often arbitrate and safeguard select readerships—they operate in very specific regions of the overall map of the foreign culture, and not always in the spaces that the students recognize or in which they would voluntarily choose or be invited to participate. Texts regarded as literary often owe that aesthetic and symbolic power to an implicit exclusivity of address to communities that the learners have not yet learned to find on their map of the target culture.[7]

Consider, for example, the experience of one of the students in a graduate seminar on autobiographical and testimonial genres in German literature that I taught in

[6] In spite of this acknowledged problem, literary texts have maintained their somewhat privileged position within literacy-oriented approaches to language teaching. This is almost certainly in part due to the particular institutional trajectory of foreign language departments in North American collegiate contexts, which have evolved out of philological traditions and only in their most recent history have devoted attention to language acquisition and teaching as free-standing fields of academic inquiry. Nevertheless, a number of convincing reasons have been cited in the scholarship for why literary texts continue to be so prominently features in foreign language curricula. Of relevance to multiliteracies approaches are the assertions literary texts often foreground uses of language through what Halliday described as *linguistic highlighting*, "whereby some features of the language of a text stand out in some way" (1973, p. 113; see also Widdowson 1994), and further that literary texts are themselves examples of *language as culture*, in that they participate in, ventriloquize, support, and question culture discourses (see Carroli 2008; Kern and Schulz 2005; Kramsch and Byram 2008).

[7] Exceptions may be so-called *Trivialliteratur* and those works that are deliberately democratized, cosmopolitan, and intercultural (for example, the writings of Yoko Tawada). Pierre Bourdieu has written on this phenomenon in his essay "The Field of Cultural Production" (1993). Bourdieu is primarily concerned with what he describes as the "interest in [economic] disinterestedness" (40) of the cultural field, wherein the exclusionary effects of a work contribute to its symbolic power as art; however, his discussion of the production of value and the evaluation of various positions holds potential implications for the situation of L2 readers.

Spring 2011, when reading Verena Stefan's 1975 feminist confessional, *Häutungen* (Shedding). The student, the only male in the class, confided in his reading journal that he felt forced into an uncomfortably voyeuristic position while reading the text, a possible effect of the particular selection of ideational meanings related by the text combined with the lack of attitudinal lexis. When combined with regular proclamations such as "Sexismus geht tiefer als rassismus als klassenkampf" (sexism goes deeper than racism, than class struggle [Stefan 34]), the text leaves readers in the position of either experiencing solidarity with the speaker or to adopting a resistant reading stance, as it specifically tries to map its readers onto a space of feminist consciousness that had not had adequate public exposure before it was written.

In order to draw students' attention to key features of the confessional genre as it was adopted and adapted by feminist writers during the 1970s, the class and I examined how the text was designed towards empathetic responses endemic to the collective cultures of solidarity within which these forms of women's writing emerged. In particular, we looked at the use of deictic expressions as a potential means of initiating deictic shifts, i.e. readers' projections of their cognitive stance into that of a figure or figural narrator, an ability which may produce heightened feelings of involvement or empathy.[8] While this kind of textual analysis seemed effective and appropriate for heightening students' awareness of the social semiotics of a work like *Häutungen* in its cultural-historical moment, on some level it felt very unsatisfying to the only male student in the class, an individual who felt that he was not only excluded by design, but consequently also an illegitimate reader of the book.

This classroom anecdote is a fortuitous example in two respects. On one hand, the students' feeling that he was an unratified interloper in an exclusive symbolic field is arguably the point of a feminist confessional like Stefan's, in which the author explicitly works to invent an exclusive "female language" through which she can express unique "female experiences" in the context of a set of new spaces of literary production such as women's writing groups and publishers (see Stefan 1977[1975], *Vorwort* [Preface] and *Nachwort* [Afterword]).

At the same time, when we transpose this example to the situation of foreign language learner's reading texts that are potentially exclusive by design in comparable ways, teachers and curriculum designers must consider the potential implications of asking their students to engage with texts that naturalize reading positions that do not accommodate them (comp. Martin 1995). Whether it was socially productive in this particular case or not, the feeling of symbolic decentering experienced by my male graduate student (his feeling that he was disempowered as a reader) was appropriate in terms of the cultural literacy appropriate to graduate education. As part of their teacher preparation, graduate students must learn to negotiate a text that works to subvert the established terms of authority along lines of gender or other potentially exclusionary categories, which the author was critiquing. But if one of our primary objectives as educators of language and literacy is to enable our students to become participant users of the languages that they have chosen to

[8] For an extended discussion of the potential effects of deictic shifting in Verena Stefan's novel, see my 2009 article from *Language and Literature* (Warner 2009).

learn, then we must also allow them access to legitimate subject positions as readers while at the same time expanding their familiarity with texts that are ideationally and attitudinally foreign to them. Concomitantly, however, it is critical for graduate education to give students tools that help them to describe *how* and *why* these experiences are critical to a particular cultural moment as represented in a particular text—enabling that male student to recognize that correlating his own discomfort to a particular literary act is simply not enough, not adequate for the more nuanced, socio-culturally and historically revealing maps that he as a teacher of literature would want his own students to begin to construct.

Turning to another classroom example, students in the intermediate/advanced German course which I discussed in the previous section moved from the unit "Geschichten aus der deutschen Geschichte" [Stories from German History] into a module titled "Die Berliner Mauer und Ostalgie" [The Berlin Wall and Nostalgia for the East] in which students explore a few key texts dealing with life in a divided Germany. One of the initial texts in this unit is Sarah Kirsch's poem "Naturschutzgebiet" (first published in 1982). The "nature preserve" in the title is the so-called "Todesstreifen" (literally: "death strips") the stretch of land alongside the Berlin Wall upon which herds of rabbits hopped and groves of weeds pushed through the old *S-Bahn* tracks, as described in the first and final lines of the poem.

Students first read the poem as homework in a digital form that included text, image, audio and video annotations. They were asked to verbalize their thoughts in English or German as they read and to record this process using the Audio Dropboxes available from the Center of Language Education and Research (CLEAR) at Michigan State University. The audio dropboxes and a number of other rich Internet applications developed by CLEAR are available at their password-protected web site, http://clear.msu.edu/clear/index.php. The annotated texts are created through the use of a program called TIARA, which was developed with the support of the Center for Educational Resources in Culture, Language, and Literacy (CERCLL), a National Language Resource Center at the University of Arizona, and in collaboration with the Arclite team at Brigham Young University. The program allows instructors to upload a text and to annotate words and phrases in the form of texts, images, video, and audio files http://cercll.arizona.edu/projects/hypermedia.

In their initial responses, many of the students commented that they were not good at poems and found this one difficult to read, despite the fact that they were familiar with the idea of the fall of the Berlin Wall. A few of the students also began to interpret potential symbols in the text cognitively, showing their particular background knowledge. For example, one questioned whether *die weltstädtischen Kaninchen* (the cosmopolitan bunny) might be some kind of metaphor for the Berlin Wall, and another noted that the word *Mauersegler* (lit.: "wall sailors") might be a metaphor for people who tried to get past the wall. Yet the experiential dimension was also present in their reactions, and not just as "difficulty" in the classic sense: one student very poignantly described the text as excluding him from a history that he would like to learn more about and on these grounds declared the poem "Scheisse" (crap).

If these students reading experiences are compared with that of the male graduate student reading *Häutungen*, and, in spite of the different readerly positions as intermediate-level undergraduate students on the one hand and a graduate student on the other, both shared feelings of exclusion that arose from the familiarity assumed by the text and to which the readers did not feel privy. My claim here is that the *footing* taken up by each of these students (the location of their understanding taken up as the foundation for their reading) as they complained that the work excluded them is not necessarily or at least primarily a symptom of any inability to comprehend the texts that they were reading. Instead, they signaled an experience also available to native speaker readers, as well as to readers outside that cultural group: a completely appropriate response based on their experience of the texts and the symbolic capital available to them in a pragmatic field in which they were already positioned as interlopers.

For the remainder of the unit, which began with "Naturschutzgebiet," the students worked with texts, mainly fictional and autobiographical memoirs of childhood in the former German Democratic Republic, associated with the cultural phenomenon dubbed *Ostalgie*, a portmanteau word used to splice *nostalgia* with the east (*Ost*). *Ostalgie*, both as a literary and broader cultural phenomenon, has been identified as a kind of "archivization of the everyday" (see Baßler 2002). By staging experiences from the "lost" part of Germany, however, these texts also perform their own acts of symbolic decentering (using a plethora of cultural references from this lost culture), they push back at what some authors perceive as the West's monopolization of the public spheres in reunified German society. For example, in Claudia Rusch's autobiography *Meine freie deutsche Jugend* (My Free German Youth), the frequent references to aspects of daily life in the GDR position a reader with an equally intimate knowledge of life in East Germany during the 1970s. What for certain readers might create a sense of shared history, for German learners in the US these references produce a reinforced sense that they are trespassing on someone else's discourse spaces.

With the reading positions assumed with texts such as Rusch's in mind, I have begun to develop an alternate means of staging how undergraduate and graduate students alike interact with these literary works through the use of hypermedia cultural annotations, as shown in the illustration above. After reading excerpts from Thomas Brussig's GDR *Schelmenroman*, *Helden wie wir* (the Picaresque novel *Heroes Like Us*) out of the textbook *Mitlesen, Mitteilen* (Morewedge 2008), the undergraduates students read the previously mentioned poem, "Naturschutzgebiet," and two chapters from Claudia Rusch's, "Die Stasi hinter der Küchenspüle" and "Prager Frühling" using the annotated reader TIARA. By providing students with a selected web of intertextual references that all existed on the map of this lost GDR space of experience, they can explore how cultural allusions and exophoric references—those outside the actual discourses of the text—constitute a historical-cultural space of experience that was available in that lost spot on the map. Again, this experience can be tied to the more technical work of understanding how language structures such experience (just as the story grammar did in the example above)—for example, the minimalization of attitudinal lexis in many *Ostalgie* autobiographies, which

is often associated with a laconic effect—as long it is often acknowledges that the relationship is not deterministic, e.g., the common characterization of *Ostalgie* literature in the feuilletons as a naïve trivialization of the SED dictatorship.

The varied responses to *Ostalgie* autobiographies provides a useful illustration of the differential fields of response emphasized in Contact Pragmatics. To read a work of *Ostalgie* as a "trivialization" is to both experience the linguistically shaped effects, attributable to particular forms and styles, and to orient one's response in such a way that it stakes out ground in a space of interpretation which is necessarily also a space of contestation (compare Bourdieu [1993]). This example is useful for seeing what is at stake for learners when an instructor stages reading as a cognitive, affective, and social act of taking up space in a cultural world. To return to the metaphor of the map, this can be seen as a difference in pedagogies which treat maps as a means of getting to a preconceived destination and those which aim to help learners to map out different territories, what kinds of people hang out in those spaces, and what people tend to do when they are there.

Contact Pragmatics is thus not primarily concerned with whether a translingual reader will come to a properly contextualized understanding of a given text (that is a hermeneutic concern for expert readers of that cultural space, beyond the map of its basic spaces). Instead, it allows us to augment comprehension-oriented pedagogies with a consideration of the ways in which a given reading resonates for foreign language learners—in Peter Stockwell's (2002) sense of creating a lasting sense of significance—while they are often also incommensurable with the ways in which the text resonate for others and consequently with the very readings that have made the text is potentially *important* as a waypoint on that culture's map.

In the case of the readings from the module *Die Berliner Mauer und Ostalgie*, what seemed to most attract the attention of the intermediate level learners, at least at first, were the texts' cultural references and the lasting sense of impenetrable foreignness that they experienced, despite their own prior experiences of "German" culture. This experience, and the work they do in showing how a text functions to create it, is in all likelihood compatible with many foreign language learner's expectations.

Too frequently their expectations relegate learners to the disinterested position of amateur social scientists, rather than enabling them to position themselves as social actors within the social world. According to Schütz (1944), "the actor within the social world […] experiences it primarily as a field of his actual and possible acts and only secondarily as an object of his thinking. In so far as he is interested in knowledge of his social world, he organizes this knowledge not in terms of a scientific system but in terms of relevance to his actions" (1944, p. 500). In this sense, learners are not only reading for meaning, but reading to act and their systems of relevance will not—and moreover should not—be identical to those of dominant, sanctioned readings against which we tend to measure comprehension. In contrast to the volumes of scholarship that have lead most practitioners in the field of second language reading to view comprehension as an active, engaged process of *learning* in a cognitive sense, many learners expect the text to reveal something to them, a

perception that only strengthens and is strengthened by the voyeuristic reading positions they are often encouraged to take up in language classrooms.

This difference is critical. A pedagogy that sets comprehension as the primary objective might ask us to provide the most effective means of helping students to overcome feelings of disorientation, for example by mapping native or appropriate reactions to a literary text. In contrast, I am arguing that we might use this as a pedagogical opportunity. When students work with the annotated texts that I describe above, the complexity of the cultural contexts indexed by references from the primary reading is not simplified but is rather amplified, because the annotations do not provide explanations but instead serve as access points into a web of texts, cultural references, and subject positions, an expansive, but nevertheless carefully selected discourse field.

The pedagogical objective is twofold: on one hand, students hopefully undergo what Greene borrowing from Merleau-Ponty described as a "lived de-centering" (see also Merleau-Ponty 1964, p. 110), a repositioning which allows the learner "to intervene in his own reality with attentiveness, with awareness—to act upon his situation and make sense" (Greene 1971, p. 264). In this case, the students' reality is the situation of being an outsider looking in on the childhood of an authorial narrator with whom they have very little shared history. This can be explored in the classroom through experiential pedagogical interventions, such as those that ask students to note which aspects of the text they found most striking, including any so-called *Stolpersteine* (see Fialho et al. 2011).

The repositioning—the remapping of their available subject positions—occurs during in-class discussion, when through their negotiations with other classmates they discover that they have all generally had individually different reading experiences based on which annotations they accessed and to what dimensions of the discursive context they are thus privy. This realization in turn expands the repertoire of reading positions available to readers as they begin to take ownership over some of the references, which also allows the text to resonate for them in new ways. The composite of these readings reveals the insider-status that a text dense with cultural allusions presupposes. The pedagogical goal is not that their newfound cultural knowledge might help them to overcome the sense of exclusivity that they experience reading such a text nor that they put themselves in the position of someone who grew up in East Germany during the 1970s. Rather, the reorientation that they undergo between their first and second readings of the text in tandem with their newly won awareness that the references are all signposts in the cultural map of a social world that no longer exists can be channeled into an even richer discussion of *Ostalgie* literature.

Thus, by allowing their reading positions and the experience of being excluded by the text to serve as analytical and intellectual points of departure rather than obstacles to comprehension in need of correction, we might avoid programmatically reinscribing learners as illegitimate readers of the literary texts that we introduce them to in our language classes, while also nurturing students' awareness of their own responses and the ways in which the language appeals to or imposes on them (Warner and Gramling, 2013 forthcoming). In this vein, the students' experiences

with the hypermedia texts create new opportunities for denaturalizing the reading positions designed by the text. We speculate, for example, on what effects the high frequency of unelaborated cultural references might have for other readers and what kinds of readers they seem to imply. In addition to legitimizing the students' feelings of disorientation, by making clear that the text is to some extent exclusionary by design, this also allows teachers and students to consider together the more fully the symbolic work of an *Ostalgie* autobiography like Rusch's as an act of semiotic decentering and remapping of the culture's historical consciousness within the context of reunified Germany.

5 Final Remarks

With their focus on meanings in actual literacy practices, multiliteracies-oriented curricula provide an ideal foundation for integrating the experiential dimensions of language use into precisely the kind of sequential curricula described by Swaffar and Arens in *Remapping the Foreign Language Curriculum* (2005). I suspect that many skillful teachers have already developed ways to bring their students' experiences of the texts that they assign into their in- and out-of-class activities. However, by granting attention to textual experience as something distinct from comprehension or interpretation, we as a field of language educators might begin to consider how to more pointedly incorporate learners' feelings of discomfort, pleasure, rightful discombobulation, resonance, etc. into our professional understandings of what language does, so that we can better address it in curriculum-building and teacher development. The brief examples that I have provided should serve as illustrations, but of course they offer only a starting point.

In this chapter I have tried to emphasize that the problem FL readers face, as I see it, has less with their language registers and cultural maps and more with the lack of space in many curricula dedicated to taking stock of the *experience* of reading, and for that matter writing or speaking about those experiences in a foreign language. Reading is a cognitive phenomenon but it is also a social act, a way of taking up space in a new social world. For foreign language learners who have often been naturalized into positions as "non-native" impostors or interlopers, curriculum designers and educators have a responsibility not only for acquainting learners with tools for apprehending the linguistic designs of texts, but also for enabling them access to new positions as readers, so that even as they maybe be excluded by textual designs, they are not symbolically excluded by our pedagogical practices.

At the same time, we must make space in our classes and curricula for positions that that are not naturalized but are nevertheless provoked by the texts that we read. In this way curricula might work towards the ultimate objectives of a multiliteracies objectives: the design of social futures. In other words, consciously accounting for a broader map of what is to be learned prepares students to find their own way through new symbolic terrains. Bringing the experience of being a foreign language learner into their developing awareness of designs can be seen as their first step in

reorienting or repositioning themselves in these new cultural fields–namely, taking stock of where they stand before exploring the implications of the positions implicated in foreign language texts.

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Appendix A

Narrative Writing Assignment

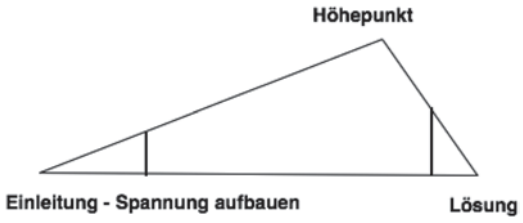
In Ihrem zweiten Aufsatz sollen Sie eine Erzählung schreiben, also eine persönliche Geschichte, die ein Ereignis oder eine für Sie wichtige Begebenheit in der Vergangenheit erzählt. Sprache und Wirkung:

Erzählungen sollen dem Leser einen Einblick in das Leben des Protagonisten gewähren, d.h. die Sprache sollte anschaulich und lebendig sein. Wenn Sie sich also ein Ereignis aus Ihrer Vergangenheit auswählen, konzentrieren Sie sich darauf zu erzählen, warum dieses Ereignis für Sie wichtig ist und warum die Leser das erfahren sollten: die Umstände sind wichtiger als die Fakten.

Aufbau:

Eine gute Erzählung baut eine Spannung auf.

1. Zuerst wird die Situation eingeführt und der Konflikt oder das Ereignis vorgestellt.
2. Die Erzählung läuft auf einen Höhepunkt zu.
3. Die Handlung kommt zu einem Abschluss/zu einer Lösung.



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Foreign Language Teaching Assistant Professional Development: Challenges and Strategies in Meeting the 2007 MLA Report's Calls for Change

Heather Willis Allen

Abstract This chapter critiques the 2007 Modern Language Association Report for failing to address the consequences of integrating the teaching of language, literature, and culture for the socialization and professionalization of foreign language graduate students. In light of these omissions, the author purposes three steps necessary to meet the Report's calls for change in collegiate foreign language education: (1) focusing on the immediate and long-term needs of graduate students to prepare them as teachers of language, literature and culture, (2) rethinking how theory-practice connections are made to maximize teacher learning, (3) developing coherent concepts of teaching and learning as the core of the graduate student curriculum.

Keywords Frontloading model · Practices · Conceptual development · Literacy · Transmission model

Though momentum for change in U.S. collegiate foreign language (FL) programs dates back to the 1990s, a defining moment came in 2007, when the Modern Language Association *Report* proposed overarching changes in curricular content and departmental governance practices. The report criticized the "two-tiered language/literature structure" as having "outlived its usefulness" and called for "sustained collaboration among all members of the teaching corps" to reorient FL study toward the goal of translingual and transcultural competence and integration of language, culture and literature across the undergraduate curriculum (MLA 2007, p. 3, 6). In little time, the report's recommendations reverberated through the profession, as evidenced in publications and conference panels and within meeting rooms of individual institutions wherein means of pursuing the proposed changes were debated. The central question discussed in these varied contexts was captured in one related publication's succinct title: "Can we get there from here?" (Porter 2009).

In reality, how collegiate FL departments can get "there" (i.e., to the point of actively carrying out the report's recommendations) from "here" (i.e., current curricular and governance norms) was not a question for which the report provided

H. W. Allen (✉)
Department of French and Italian, University of Wisconsin-Madison,
Madison, WI, USA
e-mail: hwallen@wisc.edu

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many concrete responses. Put differently, the report provided goals without a road map for how to reach them: in Byrnes, Maxim and Norris' words, the report represented a "call for action rather than a blueprint for action" (2010, p. 21). In essence, it remained largely silent as to what future FL professors need to know and be capable of doing to teach effectively in a radically transformed curricular landscape. As Allen and Maxim (2013) pointed out, despite a substantial increase in attention to measurement and evaluation by the U.S. educational community, no codified standards for FL graduate students' professional development as teachers exist. Moreover, the 2007 MLA *Report* makes no mention of the need to transform professional development practices or to set new standards for FL graduate education. Its contents include just two mentions of graduate student professional development: (1) that graduate studies should "provide substantive training in language teaching and the use of new technologies" (MLA 2007, p. 7); and (2) that graduate students should learn "to use technology in language instruction and learning" (9).

Several scholars (Allen and Negueruela 2010; Pfeiffer 2008; Schechtman and Koser 2008) have criticized the report's recommendations for FL graduate students' professional development as teachers on the grounds that they lack the forcefulness and specificity of its calls for change related to departmental governance and the undergraduate curriculum. As Pfeiffer (2008) explained:

> Any rethinking of undergraduate curricula will therefore have an immediate effect on the education and professional training of graduate students. Moreover, such a change would result in *a fundamental reconfiguration of* the governance and *the educational practices of graduate departments*. (296–297, my emphases)

Pfeiffer's strong statement regarding the need for fundamental changes in what and how FL graduate students are educated echoes an earlier, equally forceful assertion by Byrnes (2005), who wrote:

> [T]he changes required in TA education are so pervasive as to be beyond one person's professional reach … they must address deep cultural shifts in society, in education as an academic field and as a practice, as well as in FL education … it will not suffice to leave untouched the marginal position of TA education within the intellectual-academic work of graduate programs … an appropriate response requires programs to acknowledge that the changed social, cultural and political contexts outside the walled gardens of the academy can only be adequately addressed with changes in the socialization patterns and cultural contexts that departments create internally as they prepare teachers for those contexts. (136)

Pfeiffer and Byrnes both urge fundamental programmatic changes in FL graduate student professional development, a recommendation at odds with the curiously narrow mentions of it in the 2007 MLA *Report* that reference "language teaching" (7) and "language instruction" (9) despite the imperative found elsewhere in the report to integrate the teaching of language, culture, and literature.

On the one hand, the report's focus on language instruction could be attributed to the fact that historically, graduate students have primarily served as teaching assistants (TAs) in lower-division FL courses, which account for 80% of their teaching assignments (Steward 2006). According to MLA figures, graduate students staff more than 57% of first-year language courses in departments with Ph.D. programs (Laurence 2001). On the other hand, couching recommendations for FL graduate

student professional development solely in terms of "language teaching" may point to a more insidious problem described by Bernhardt (2001) more than a decade ago:

> [I]f the only teacher preparation available is language teacher preparation a clear message is sent that language gets taught, but the corollary collocation for literature remains awkward. A further part of the message communicated within the structure of the traditional methods course is that language and literature are clearly separable units. As long as this message is sent from the outset of the graduate student socialization process, the 'lang-lit split' will remain entrenched in graduate departments. (199)

The stance of this chapter is that the 2007 MLA *Report*'s failure to articulate the consequences of integrating the teaching of language, literature, and culture for the socialization and professionalization of FL graduate students is troubling given that today's graduate students will become tomorrow's professoriate. As such, it will fall on them as much or more than their predecessors to realize (or not) the aims of the report. The remainder of this article is dedicated to a discussion of challenges and strategies in meeting the report's calls for change in terms of the "when," the "how," and the "what" of FL graduate student professional development as teachers.

1 Challenge One: The When—Frontloading and the Limited Scope of FL Graduate Student Professional Development

Taking into consideration MLA data reported above regarding the critical role of graduate students in staffing lower-division collegiate FL courses, it is unsurprising that their preparation as teachers has been an ongoing preoccupation of SLA and applied linguistics scholars, particularly since the 1990s, when the training of graduate student teachers began to fall more often in the hands of applied linguists or FL pedagogy specialists rather than junior faculty members in literature as had previously been the case (Schulz 2000). In addition to increasingly grounding training components such as the FL teaching methodologies course in knowledge from the fields of education, linguistics, and psychology, these subject experts also began arguing against the longstanding norms of TA *training*, i.e., inculcating specific teaching behaviors relevant to immediate instructional contexts, in lieu of TA *education* or *professional development* that addresses both the immediate and the long-term needs of graduate students as teacher-scholars (Arens 1994; Azevedo 1990; Byrnes 2001; Guthrie 2001). Yet despite an explosion in the publication of related position papers, description reports, and empirical studies in the 1990s and early 2000s recommending an expansion of the scope of graduate students' professional development as teachers, substantive changes did not occur (see Allen and Negueruela 2010 for a comprehensive analysis).

An implicit assumption underlying the training model of FL graduate student professional development is *frontloading*, or the notion that a teacher can be equipped in advance for all he or she needs to know and be able to do throughout his or her

career (Freeman 1993). Historically, the dominant model of required professional development activities for FL graduate students has entailed pre-service orientation workshops (typically a mix of pragmatic and pedagogic matters) and a pre-service or early in-service one-semester introduction to FL teaching methodologies a.k.a., "the methods course." Ongoing professional development components tend to be far less systematic, such as pedagogy workshops, teaching observations, and opportunities for mentored or co-teaching. Based on survey data from language program directors in 24 FL Ph.D. programs, Allen and Negueruela (2010) confirmed the ongoing prevalence of this frontloading model, which was found in over 90% of cases. Only two programs required formal professional development (e.g., a second graduate pedagogy or applied linguistic seminar) beyond the initial methods course.

Given the role of the methods course as the primary form of formal professional development for FL graduate students as teachers over the course of their PhD years, the questions of what content is taught in such courses and whether that content meets both immediate and long-term needs of future FL professors are essential ones. Although few published empirical investigations of methods courses exist, those that do cast doubt on whether their content is in line with the aims of the 2007 MLA *Report* to reorient FL teaching toward the integration of language, culture, and literature across the undergraduate curriculum. For example, according to Wilbur's (2007) analysis of 31 methods course syllabi, the topic of teaching reading was absent from one third of the courses, teaching language through literature was present in just two courses, and the teaching of culture appeared as a sideline experience in most courses. A second study by Byrd (2007), which looked specifically at the role played by the teaching of culture in 20 methods course syllabi, found that culture was covered implicitly and that his data "d[o] not support the idea that the readings are engaging students to develop ideas [on teaching culture] explicitly" (141).

Several investigations of FL TAs' own perceptions also put into question whether today's graduate students are being prepared to teach language, literature, and culture in an integrated fashion given the constraints of the dominant professional development model. Mills and Allen (2008) found that, for 12 TAs of French, despite moderately high self- efficacy for teaching language, their comments related to teaching literature were less positive. Mills' (2011) follow-up study revealed that just 2 of 10 TAs of French thought that techniques for teaching language would be useful in teaching literature. She concluded that although the participants possessed valuable pedagogical knowledge for teaching language and content knowledge about literature, they did not know how to integrate the two domains. In addition, a third study by Levine and Crane (2012) of 170 TAs of seven different FLs highlighted differing perceptions by their participants in relation to how prepared they felt to teach first- and second-year versus advanced FL courses; they claimed to be moderately well prepared to teach the former (mean score: 3.4 out of 5.0) but moderately unprepared to teach the latter (mean score 2.4). This finding stood in contrast to the fact that 81% of participants either agreed or strongly agreed with the assertion that it is important for FL graduate students to teach a full range of courses in their department's curriculum. Taken together, these studies demonstrate why the frontloading model is particularly problematic in the specific context of FL

graduate students: Their initial experiences as teachers of language are perceived as distinctly different from what their future experiences as teachers of literary-cultural content might entail, and they do not believe that their professional development prepares them for both types of teaching.

What strategies might be envisioned to counteract the limited nature of the prevalent model of graduate student professional development versus the imperative to prepare future FL graduate students for teaching language, literature and culture across the curriculum? Admittedly, among the three challenges discussed in this chapter, this one is perhaps the most difficult to confront. The seemingly obvious solution of expanding the scope of required professional development has, historically, not proven to be easy to realize, as it requires consensus among departmental constituencies and embracing new directions in how FL graduate education is defined. Therefore, the first imperative is to consider existing professional development practices, for example, the content and tasks of the methods course, and then to determine how to balance emphasis on the immediate (typically first-year language) teaching context with strategies for teaching more advanced FL courses. In addition, other professional development components that tend to be less systematic, such as observations of teaching and discussions of student evaluations of teaching, can be planned more methodically to maximize TAs' reflection and continued development and further to encourage an ongoing dialogue between the faculty member (or members) responsible for TA professional development and individual TAs. For example, online tools can be used to create individual teaching portfolios as a means of collecting artifacts related to instruction and the evaluation of teaching and of documenting the development of TAs' reflections and expertise related to FL teaching.

Beyond maximizing existing professional development practices, another step in addressing the limited scope of FL graduate students' professional development might involve proposing an optional pedagogy seminar (see proposals by Allen 2009; Barnes-Karol 2003, and Barnett and Cook 1992 for examples) several semesters after the methods course that focuses on expanding graduate students' existing teaching practices beyond those used in lower-division language courses. Studies by Allen (2011), Allen and Dupuy (2013), and Dupuy and Allen (2012) have shown that participation in such a course is valuable for graduate students to make connections between theoretical underpinnings and classroom teaching methods and techniques and to begin sensitizing themselves to ways of weaving together linguistic and literary-cultural content in their teaching. A further step could entail proposing a doctoral minor or certificate to complement FL graduate students' primary concentration in literary-cultural studies. Such a concentration, consisting of three to four additional graduate seminars in FL pedagogy, SLA, or linguistics, can provide not only more extensive preparation in FL teaching but also a concrete means of adding value to one's PhD transcript in a time when future FL professors face an extremely challenging job market. Given the current constraints faced by U.S. collegiate FL departments, such courses ideally draw interested graduate students from varied units across campus (e.g., education, linguistics, SLA and multiple FL departments), making the possibility of offering them a more viable possibility for any one FL program.

2 Challenge Two: The How—Reliance on a Transmission Model of Teacher Learning

Dating back at least two decades, the focus of educational research on the cognition and development of L2 and FL teachers began to evolve. Accordingly, a previous preoccupation on "inculcat[ing] idealized, discipline-specific teaching behaviors" (Guthrie 2001, p. 21) or prescribing "what to do and how to do it" (Dhawan 2001, p. 89) was replaced by researchers' growing interest in teachers' beliefs and identities and their role in shaping decision-making in the classroom. Most recently, situated, social, and distributed perspectives on teacher cognition have come to the forefront (Johnson 2009).

Yet what has been slower to evolve is a concomitant change in FL teachers' professional development. This gap between research and practice has been a long-standing one, and Schulz (2000) described progress to narrow it as "disappointingly small … FL teacher preparation is still long on rhetoric, opinions, and traditional dogma" (516–517). Of the dominant model for how FL teachers learn to teach, Johnson wrote:

> Historically, the education of teachers has been predicated on the notion that knowledge about teaching and learning can be transmitted to teachers by others, usually in the form of theoretical readings, university-based lectures, and/or professional development workshops which often take place outside the walls of the classroom. (2009, p. 8)

Professional development practices predicated on this transmission model are inconsistent with current situated, social, and distributed perspectives on how FL teacher learning develops. In other words, the notion that teachers can read research or observe someone else explain or demonstrate a new teaching technique as an effective means for translating that knowledge into their own classroom practice stands in marked contrast with a view of teacher learning as a long-term, complex developmental process that is both individual and social (Johnson 2009).

Several empirical studies suggest that reliance on such practices consistent with the transmission model persist in FL graduate student professional development and highlight the challenges associated with this model. For example, in the methods course, instructors typically rely on TAs reading the research as a primary means of exposing them to new concepts and ideas about teaching, whereas, in reality, many students in their first semesters of a graduate program may be unable to understand such material or to incorporate it into their classroom teaching practice. Brandl (2000), who conducted a survey of 56 TAs from five different FL departments, reported that informal discussions with peers, student evaluations, and informal discussions with supervisors were rated as more valuable than the methods course for their subsequent teaching performance. One of his conclusions from the study was the following:

> [N]ot all TAs initially consider formal training in the form of a methods class beneficial to them. Such courses often provide too much information at once, making it difficult to process, apply, and synthesize information, which in turn often leads to a feeling of being

> overwhelmed … many novice TAs struggle with any kind of theory and fail initially to see its value … what seems to be most helpful to them are practical applications and concrete examples of teaching activities. (Brandl 2000, p. 366)

The theoretical overload reported by participants in Brandl's investigation was echoed in findings from Dupuy and Allen's (2012) study of learning outcomes during and after a methods course for two novice TAs of Spanish. In their study, one participant explained that reading an article about a new model for teaching reading "is nice but it provides a lot of information so you get confused," whereas sample teaching materials and classroom-based lesson study were perceived as more valuable for helping her understand how the model worked with students (290). Another investigation (Rankin and Becker 2006) of how one TA of German translated theoretical knowledge about corrective feedback and oral production into instructional practices during his first semester of teaching provided further insights into the outcomes of the transmission model of teacher learning. Whereas the authors found that reading the research played a significant role in the participant's pedagogical growth, they also determined that *how* he read the research, selected ideas to incorporate into teaching, and implemented those ideas were influenced by his own conceptual and cultural filters. Based on these findings, Rankin and Becker stated that "[A] model of teacher growth based on knowledge transmission is profoundly inadequate … knowledge embedded in published research—is not simply accumulated and then put into action" (Rankin and Becker 2006, p. 366).

Rankin and Becker's study in particular highlights one particularly troubling aspect of the transmission model: It takes little account of those mediating elements between the "input" of new theoretical ideas and the "output" of teaching behaviors that relate to individual teachers. This claim is supported by other research that has revealed factors external to professional development experiences that influence FL TAs' decision-making and teaching behaviors such as beliefs (Burnett 1998; Dupuy and Allen 2012; Fox 1993; Morris 1999), perceptions about students (Potowski 2002), and non-native versus native-speaker status (Kraemer 2006; Liaw 2004). Why do these factors merit consideration? Because in practice, little attention is given to the role of the TA as a unique individual as those responsible for their professional development more often focus on the "cohort"—even if that cohort is comprised of individuals with wildly divergent histories, identities, and instructional priorities. In spite of this, research summarized above puts into question the validity of a one-size-fits-all model of professional development.

What would an alternative to the transmission model of teacher learning look like and what consequences would such an alternative model entail for articulating FL graduate student professional development? One possibility consistent with recent situated, social, and distributed perspectives on human cognition is Vygotskian cultural historical psychology, also known as sociocultural theory (SCT) in SLA research (Lantolf and Thorne 2006; Vygotsky 1987). Johnson (2009) elaborated the following tenets of FL teacher learning from an SCT perspective: 1. Teachers are considered learners of teaching rather than performers of teaching; 2. Teacher learning is understood as both internal and collective activity that shapes not only teachers' own actions and thoughts but also student engagement in language

learning and their learning outcomes; 3. Learning to teach is viewed as a dynamic process of social interaction wherein teachers appropriate, reconstruct, and transform existing social practices of teaching based on individual and local needs; 4. Professional development is seen as a conceptual process, wherein teachers' own everyday concepts (their personal notions about what language is, how languages are learned, and how they should be taught based on their own language-learning experiences) encounter scientific concepts (i.e., research and theory encountered in academic coursework and professional settings) about language, learning, and teaching, creating the potential for reorganization of experiential knowledge and formation of new knowledge.

An SCT-based perspective of how teachers understand and use new conceptual and pedagogical tools (theoretical frameworks/principles and instructional strategies/resources) is quite different from that of the transmission model. Rather than a straightforward transfer-of-information view, a process of appropriation by degrees is posited: lack of appropriation (due to incomprehension, resistance, or rejection of the tool); appropriating a tool's label but not its features; appropriating surface features of a tool yet not understanding how the features contribute to a conceptual whole; appropriating conceptual underpinnings and being able to use the tool in new settings; and achieving mastery in the tool's use (Grossman et al. 1999). Thus, understanding knowledge from professional development experiences and applying it effectively to teaching is seen as a long-term process or, as Vygotsky (1987) called it, a "twisting path" (156). It is the task of professional development to support this gradual process by "present[ing] relevant scientific concepts to teachers … in ways that bring these concepts to bear on concrete practical activity, connecting them to their everyday knowledge and the goal-directed activities of teaching" (Johnson and Golombek 2011, p. 2). In practical terms, this entails more than reading and discussing research on FL teaching; instead, it requires multiple, sustained opportunities for dialogic mediation, scaffolded learning, and assisted performance (Johnson 2009).

One professional development activity consistent with an SCT perspective on FL teacher learning that can be incorporated into the methods course or undertaken as part of continuing professional development (e.g., a workshop series) is lesson study. Lesson study (Lewis 2002) is a cyclical activity in which teachers study new content relevant to teaching, collaboratively design a "research lesson" reflecting a specific element of what has been studied, select one team member to teach the lesson to their students while the others observe it, and lastly use the data from the research lesson taught and observed to reflect on what was learned and how they might revise the lesson in the future (in writing and/or an oral presentation). Unlike the more traditional (and still prevalent according to Wilbur 2007) professional development activity of microteaching, which usually requires individual TAs to replicate teaching techniques that they have read about for an audience of their instructor and peers, lesson study is both an individual and collective activity that is not removed from the actual context of teaching. It also unfolds in several stages, allowing numerous opportunities for TAs to receive ideas and feedback from their instructor or supervisor on the lesson designed and related teaching artifacts, the written analysis of the lesson studied, and the presentation and revision of the

lesson studied. Lastly, in lesson study, TAs are not expected to replicate methods and techniques that they have read about in professional development wholesale but to consider the needs of their students and their own instructional priorities, making adjustments as they deem appropriate.

In addition to lesson study, other professional development activities that have been proposed as means of moving beyond the transmission model of FL teacher professional development are action research projects (Dhawan 2001; Rankin and Becker 2006), exploratory practice (Bourns and Melin in press; Crane et al. 2013), and lesson planning group projects (Paesani 2013). Common to these varied activities are collaboration among TAs as well as between TAs and an instructor or supervisor, the possibility of implementation with TAs at varying stages from novices to experienced teachers, and a focus on developing agentic and reflective FL teachers.

3 Challenge Three: The What—Conceptual Eclecticism in a Post-Methods Era

That FL graduate student professional development suffers at present from conceptual confusion is not altogether surprising given the larger state of FL education in the U.S. today. As Omaggio (2000, as quoted in Wilbur 2007) explained, "Current classroom teachers may have learned via the audiolingual or grammar-translation method, experienced the natural approach, seen the birth of the four-skills paradigm, and entered into newer communicative approaches in the late 20th century" (79). In addition, the FL profession in which these teachers now find themselves has been characterized as a "post method" (Kumaravadivelu 2003) and "post CLT era" (Bourns and Melin in press). No single approach has yet supplanted CLT, although literacy- and genre-based, content-based, and task-based approaches are now gaining momentum.

How does this state of affairs impact FL graduate student professional development? First, those responsible for FL graduate students' preparation as teachers may possess notions of FL learning and teaching based on an amalgam of language-learning and teaching experiences characterized by disparate pedagogical approaches and theoretical concepts. Moreover, they have experienced a recent past and present dominated by CLT, an approach typically understood over the last two decades to mean "little more than a set of very general principles that can be applied and interpreted in a variety of ways" rather than one based on a clear-cut set of theoretically grounded concepts (Richards and Rodgers 2001, p. 244). Based on these factors, they may subscribe to the idea of "principled eclecticism" (Kumaravadivelu 2003), or having teachers adapt a varied range of methods and techniques to best suit their purposes and context, rather than focusing on a specific approach or method in designing professional development experiences such as the methods course. This possibility was confirmed by Wilbur (2007), who analyzed the content of 31 methods course syllabi and concluded, "The profession is obviously still struggling with the identification of best practices, confounded by the plethora

of methodologies that have been devised and promoted as responses to the profession's quest to identify effective instructional practices as determined by SLA research" (87).

The outcomes associated with introducing new FL teachers to an eclectic variety of theoretical concepts, approaches, methods, and techniques have been questioned by SLA researchers, not only on the basis of the contents of methods courses (e.g., Byrd 2007; Wilbur 2007) but also in relation to teachers' perceptions of their own learning. For example, Allen (2011) traced the conceptual development over three years for two TAs of Spanish. Based on exposure in course readings and discussions to several approaches to FL teaching (CLT, literacy-based, and task-based) during the methods course, one participant appropriated basic yet conceptually grounded understandings of the approaches whereas the other became overwhelmed, stating that she felt "confused with so many theories going on at the same time" (96). The author concluded that the ability to think through theoretical concepts and apply them to teaching practice did not emerge during the initial semesters in the classroom for either participant but required multiple years of teaching and an advanced FL pedagogy course to coalesce.

A second study by Allen and Dupuy (2013) focused on the conceptual development of five TAs of French and Spanish enrolled in an advanced FL pedagogy course. The authors found that at the course's start, the participants possessed differing understandings of theoretical concepts related to communicative and literacy-based approaches and claimed to anchor their teaching in various approaches (eclectic, CLT, and CLT/literacy-based) despite common professional development experiences and similar teaching trajectories in their Ph.D. program. One participant, who had previous experience with CLT at the M.A. level, explained her difficulty retaining concepts of literacy after the methods course as follows: "It just disappeared among the rest … I was familiarized with [CLT] before so if there is one or a couple of articles dealing with something different, it's fine to discover, but then it's lost among so many other readings" (Allen and Dupuy 2013, p. 181). The study also revealed that despite the advanced pedagogy course's value for helping participants to develop more systematic understanding of literacy, paths of conceptual development continued to vary among participants during and after it, and some remained unable to consistently explain or demonstrate how to instantiate concepts of literacy in concrete ways.

The second way in which FL graduate students' preparation as teachers is influenced by today's post-methods/post-CLT era relates to the type of materials used in formative professional development experiences like the methods course. Whereas the larger collegiate FL profession may view itself moving beyond the CLT era and toward a more integrated approach to teaching language and cultural-literary content, the textbooks most often used in the methods course are still firmly rooted in CLT, and thus may focus primarily on skill development and oral transactional language use (Bourns & Melin in press; Wilbur 2007). As Bourns and Melin (in press) wrote,

> Though most applied linguists agree that it is the moment to reexamine CLT, consider its limitations, and adapt it to focus on current goals and pressing needs, it will take time to

> address the entrenched frameworks (in textbooks, materials and habituated practices), and considerable savvy on the part of methods instructors to foster teaching that better adheres to the findings of recent research in the field.

In the meantime, a gap exists between the current and future needs of FL graduate students as teachers in an evolving professional landscape and the textbooks most likely being used in their methods course. Even when those responsible for FL graduate students' preparation as teachers embrace post-CLT approaches, it is probable that they are constrained in their choices of materials for structuring professional development. Whether the solution to this dilemma is avoiding altogether the use of a textbook out of line with one's ideology on pedagogical approaches in favor of a collection of articles or chapters or using what one deems the "least worst" available textbook despite its lack of goodness of fit, the end result may be the same—a lack of conceptual coherence that impacts novice FL TAs' formative experiences as teachers.

How might the conceptual eclecticism associated with today's post-methods, post-CLT era be countered in FL graduate student professional development? Three interrelated strategies are needed. First, in line with an SCT perspective on teacher learning, concept development should be prioritized as a critical element at the core of professional development. As Johnson (2009) explained:

> [I]t is the emergence of true concepts (fully formed higher-level psychological tools) that enables teachers to make substantive and significant changes in the ways in which they engage in the activities associated with teaching and learning. And for true concepts to emerge, teachers must have multiple and sustained opportunities for dialogic mediation, scaffolded learning, and assisted performance as they participate in and learn about relevant aspects of their professional worlds. (4–5)

Thus, an activity such as reading research on a particular theory or approach might focus on the identification of key concepts, analysis of those concepts, and reflection on how they mesh or clash in relation to TAs' beliefs about and experiences of FL teaching and learning. Reading could be turned into a dialogic activity by adding a component such as a blog among TAs or between individual TAs and their instructor wherein reactions to readings are shared. Activities that aim to integrate theory and practice (e.g., lesson study) can serve a further means of concept development as TAs are led to concretize their understandings of specific concepts through lesson planning, classroom teaching, analysis of lesson outcomes, and revision of lesson materials. The notion of conceptual development as a gradual process can be overtly explained to TAs along with the steps of appropriation to reinforce the long-term nature of teacher learning and to reduce novices' frustration at the difficulties that inevitably arise when attempting to put new concepts into practice.

Secondly, as Lantolf and Johnson (2007) as well as Smagorinsky et al. (2003) have proposed, professional development should foreground one overarching concept to unify curricula and provide teachers with coherent notions of teaching and learning. This critical ingredient of professional development is of particular significance for FL graduate students given the curricular realities of collegiate FL education and the 2007 MLA report's call for integrating the study of language, literature, and culture. Whether the overarching concept be translingual and transcultural competence,

literacy, symbolic competence or another educational goal, the importance is that it be explicit in professional development activities and that TAs have multiple opportunities to read about it, reflect on it, discuss it, and take part in hands-on activities that demonstrate its relationship to classroom teaching and learning.

Finally, in line with the SCT-based distinction between conceptual tools (theoretical frameworks/principles) and pedagogical tools (instructional strategies/resources), professional development experiences should seek alignment between the two. In other words, connections should be continually sought between abstract claims or notions and how those are instantiated concretely in teaching and learning. By focusing on this alignment, TAs can be led to identify paths toward realizing instructional priorities in coherent ways rather than relying on an eclectic "bag of tricks" to use in the classroom. One example of how teachers might be asked to reflect on aligning conceptual and pedagogical tools is by creating a concept map to graphically organize their notions of instructional goals and objectives and strategies to address those goals and objectives. Such an artifact can serve as a starting point for dialogue with an instructor or supervisor and can be revisited and revised over time. Other professional development activities that might target this conceptual-pedagogical tool alignment are the writing of a statement of teaching philosophy, discussions about observations of teaching, or feedback on lesson study analysis or materials.

4 Conclusion

In the preceding pages, three weaknesses were discussed related to the professionalization of FL graduate students in light of the 2007 MLA *Report*'s calls for curricular change: frontloading, the transmission model of teacher learning, and conceptual eclecticism. Though treated separately in this chapter, in reality, these three elements are interconnected, each imparting a specific limitation as to when, how, or what FL graduate students learn to teach, yet jointly representing an overall model of professional development that is deeply flawed. Given this discouraging reality and in light of current economic and structural constraints in U.S. higher education, it may be tempting to conclude that we cannot get "there" (i.e., implement a new professional development model) from "here" and to simply accept the longstanding model as intractable. Indeed, making fundamental changes as to how FL graduate student professional development is carried out within a given institution may seem an unlikely or impossible goal for many, so most of the suggestions offered in this chapter to counter the three challenges are micro-strategies that can be carried out with little "cost" other than intellectual investment and a willingness to innovate on the part of those responsible for professional development.

It is my belief that redefining FL graduate student professional development begins from the inside out, that is to say, by a gradual process of re-realigning activities that comprise professional development to address three goals: focusing on both the immediate and long-term needs of today's graduate students to truly

prepare them as teachers of language, literature and culture; rethinking how theory-practice connections are made to maximize teacher learning; and promoting the development of conceptually coherent notions of teaching and learning. In pursuing each of these goals today, we aim to transform the nature of teaching in tomorrow's collegiate FL departments.

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Discipline, Institution, and Assessment: The Graduate Curriculum, Credibility, and Accountability

Katherine Arens

Abstract This chapter outlines a core problem for foreign language (FL) departments at the graduate level: how the training of graduate students needs to answer not only to new curricular and institutional demands, but also to the demands imposed by both traditional and current ideas about disciplinarity and scholarship, as well. It offers a heuristic for understanding how research, teaching, and professional communication need to be integrated systematically into graduate curricula, and how the graduate curriculum in any institution needs to be rethought as based on professional integration, not content.

Keywords Graduate curriculum · Interdisciplinarity · Assessment · Standards for Foreign Language Teaching and Learning · Professional communication · Professional accountability

This chapter outlines a core problem for foreign language (FL) departments at the graduate level: how the training of graduate students needs to answer not only to new curricular and institutional demands, but also to the demands imposed by both traditional and current ideas about disciplinarity and scholarship, as well.

Other chapters in this volume have suggested ways in which the curriculum needs to be modified at all levels, and there have been references to teaching new PhDs how to deal with the new curricular demands that they will encounter in their careers. For example, Watzinger-Tharp and Willis-Allen considered certain changes in the graduate curriculum as critical for (self-) authorization—changes that need to be made so that graduate students are prepared for implementing the kinds of curricular revisions that they will be faced with as teachers. Especially critical will be the assessment practices necessary to make their programs accountable to a college or university environment looking to cut "marginal" contributions to education. Unfortunately, "marginal" is rapidly coming to mean "any program that cannot tell the administration what, exactly, it teaches students and how they know they are succeeding."[1]

[1] See the hallmark document calling for greater accountability from the Association of American Colleges and Universities (2002): *Greater expectations: A new vision for learning as a nation*

K. Arens (✉)
Department of Germanic Studies, University of Texas at Austin, Austin, TX, USA
e-mail: arens@austin.utexas.edu

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This chapter will argue a different case: that the graduate curriculum itself needs to be rethought in terms of a broader vision of these new professional demands, a vision that subjects both scholarship and teaching to appropriate professional assessments. Most particularly, that vision must connect teaching, learning, and practice/application within and outside the course of studies at all levels.

This demand has become critical: a half-century of scholarly work about texts, languages, and cultures in all the graduate sub-fields of FL departments has not been integrated or brought together as part of a comprehensive training scheme for graduate students; older, more systematic (and more limited) schemes of training are rapidly being lost from the classroom. Thus, for example, traditional comprehensive examinations have been pulled off the table in many departments (often in favor of a more subjective assessment like "submitting two papers for qualification for the PhD, to be read by a department committee"); "reading lists" of canonical texts have been relegated to the dustbin; and the older linguistics/literature split, familiar from departments through the 1980s, now has given way to a dizzying set of fractures between graduate specializations.

And so the typical PhD today will not have the cross-specialization resources that older generation scholars had, when asked to innovate curricula: today's theorists resist historical scholarship; linguists resist literature; literary scholars eschew any systematic analysis of texts (linguistic, discourse, or as genres).

To make this case, and to point the way forward, this chapter will propose a heuristic for thinking about graduate student education, using a more comprehensive but not necessarily a more complicated or extensive framework. This heuristic will not be a how-to, but rather it is intended to function more like the *Standards* projects: it can serve as a framework to delimit the objects of teaching and learning in our departments/disciplines, and to point towards a new range of assessments that must be built into any curriculum that claims credibility as representing a scholarly discipline. That is, it will outline how institutions, disciplines, and assessments can be seen as three cornerstones that define the next generation careers for today's graduate students.

My point of departure will be a scholarly relic, René Wellek and Austin Warren's 1942 edition of *Theory of Literature*, which offers a strikingly modern assessment of the problems and needs of scholarly disciplines, aimed at making these disciplines' work appear as credible. After that brief exposition, I will show how the three *Introduction to Scholarship* volumes put out by the Modern Language Association (Gibaldi 1981, 1992; Nicholls 2007) provide a map to our discipline that addresses Wellek and Warren's critique, expanded to include professional and institutional criteria as well as disciplinary ones. These volumes remind us of the map for the disciplinary specialties associated with FL departments, a complement to the history of FL education offered by Janet Swaffar earlier in this volume that allows us to outline some major trajectories for our disciplines. Thereafter, I will suggest ways in which implementation of this framework in FL graduate programs can alleviate pervasive divides between teaching and scholarship, divisions endemic not only to language studies but

goes to college. An interesting contemporary parallel is found in Europe: Terrón-López and García-García (2013), "Assessing transferable generic skills in language degrees."

for the humanities disciplines in college and university curricula overall. Addressing the history of disciplines through the lens of the heuristic I propose opens up a new set of frameworks for construing what a graduate student needs to learn, and designing assessments of best practices that argue for the continuation of degrees in key fields of traditional and modern FL research rather than as "studies" alone, which tend to merge with the social sciences (see also Arens 2012).

Renè Wellek and Austin Warren provided a key insight into the effect of disciplines' separatist approaches as excluding interdisciplinary communication:

> The shocking inability of one scholar to communicate, at any respectable level of abstraction, with another scholar; the inability of a specialist to state either to himself, or to a specialist in another discipline, the assumptions and sanctions of his researches: these are recognized symptoms of a culture's disruption. Though the world will not be put together again by semiotics or even philosophy, a modest degree of intellectual communication between scientists, social scientists, and humanists can do much to hold together what remains. (296).

With this castigation, Wellek and Warren characterize academic disciplines as existing in a disrupted culture, contributing to an era of divides between specialization rather than attention to overriding paradigms. As I shall argue below, only attention to the foundations of disciplinarity and to institutional needs opens the door to the accountability that can lead beyond such disruptions. The first step in establishing that accountability in the FL disciplines is to define what it could mean to have a FL PhD rather than a cultural studies or area studies one. To discuss just how that goal can be achieved is critical to assimilating 50 years of theory and scholarship back into a set of curricular reference points that can be recognizable to scholars in the disciplines represented in FL graduate programs while at the same time allowing for a new (self-) authorization of those programs within the modern university.

1 The Disappearing Graduate Curriculum

Today's "crisis in the humanities" is anything but new. A diagnosis can be pulled from Wellek and Warren's epochal *Theory of Literature* (1st ed, 1942; here quoted from the 1948 printing). That original text has a mystery chapter (Chap. 20, "The Study of Literature in the Graduate School") that disappears from subsequent editions of the book sometime in the 1960s. This chapter offers a good benchmark, a missing link, for what the challenges offered in this volume mean for the graduate curriculum, even though Wellek and Warren address literary studies in what seem like very traditional ways.

Clearly outlining the crisis of an earlier era, that disappearing chapter concludes as follows:

> The education of the recent past was conspicuous for its provincial reduction of all serious values to the scientific and its consequent reduction of the humanities to the status of pseudosciences or irresponsible eclecticisms […]. we professors of literature must not hope to persist in our old, easy ways, our personal compoundings of pedantry and dilettantism. Literary study within our universities—our teaching and our writing—must become

> purposively literary. It must turn away from the delightful details of "research" and direct itself toward the large, unsolved problems of literary history and literary theory. It must receive stimulation and direction from modern criticism and contemporary literature—from participation in literature as a living institution. (298)

Wellek and Warren are here describing how to make the study of literature relevant. That study must have a set of projects, a method, and a way to respond systematically to current needs of its students and scholars, as well as to the changing shape of interest in our fields. They see in the then-current practice of literary studies several problems that still persist, even though their forms have altered somewhat. Their "pseudosciences" have disappeared with the kind of formalist analyses typical of New Criticism, which they critique as trying to reduce textual analysis to an exact, data-driven science alone. More relevant is their reference to "pedantry and dilettantism," which for them refers to scholarship that asserts its significance by insisting there is such a single way to read texts, or that critics have the right and freedom to read their texts however they wish, without recourse to historical textual data. Today, we might specify politicization as an additional possible "pedantry and dilettantism," one which all too often insists on particular political readings of texts, while sometimes ignoring what those texts mean in other, arguably more authentic contexts.[2]

Despite its dated rhetoric, the second half of the passage remains relevant. A responsible curriculum developer today would, of course, require in that passage the inclusion of "texts" where "literature" stands, but the demands that Wellek and Warren make in 1942 still remain unmet.[3] What is taught in a literature PhD needs to deal not only with its subject matter, but also with larger problems of its own practice, in light of the best in modern criticism and "participation in literature as a living institution." Thus *digital literacy*, for example, cannot be seen as something for another department to deal with, but as something that (among other impacts) is changing the nature of literature itself, its study, and the way it participates in culture. Studying such living evolutions of our traditional project expands our paradigms and allows us to contribute to the greater scope of the postsecondary curriculum, when we teach and learn in the ways that only the new digital archives and text editing make possible.

From today's point of view, Wellek and Warren's assertions point to two sets of problems deeply engrained in the teaching of language and literature in the US, problems that will have to be addressed by current PhDs in FL studies if they are to create viable postsecondary identifies for themselves and for their discipline.

First, the authors propose a paradigm of research that cannot be dismissed, in their words, as "irresponsible eclecticisms." Their concern is that scholarly work

[2] An example of this "dilettantism" with a political focus would be the now-past tendency of some feminist scholars to critique representations of women's roles from the distant past because they do not correspond with today's norms for behavior –a blatant historical inaccuracy that renders such judgments essayistic rather than scholarly.

[3] To say nothing of their further demand for interdisciplinarity: "The professor of literature must be conversant with the relations between literary theory, philosophy, psychology. He must be able to give some reasoned account, to representatives of other disciplines, of the nature and value of literature" (Wellek and Warren 1948, p. 290).

does not live up to the standards of best practices in textual and historical knowledge production, which means that they require whatever analyses are done to be reproducible—that working with literature produces knowledge that can be shared and replicated. At the same time, the "originality" of such work must not be equated with novelty, nor analysis with willful, essayistic readings reflecting only the judgments of an individual's taste. In their era, Wellek and Warren were still fighting a battle between the "historical method" and "dilettantism"—between nineteenth-century methods of literary history and text philology, and eighteenth-century notions that recommended reading literature to develop individual taste. The former could easily ossify into bone-dry "scientific" expositions; the latter, into essays where an individual scholar "appreciates" or reacts to the text as an individual, offering an "original" reading calculated at showing the reader's taste rather than what the text means (285).

Instead, Wellek and Warren's chapter called for a more general approach to literary study, moving away from the historical scholarship that had predominated since the nineteenth century and into a new form of scholarship based on text critique, "to reconstitute literary scholarship on more critical lines: to give merely antiquarian learning its proper subsidiary position, to break down nationalistic and linguistic provincialisms, to bring scholarship into active relations with contemporary literature, to give scholarship theoretical and critical awareness" (288). In their world, the Modern Language Association had been founded a half-century earlier to take literary study beyond literary history and biography, but the so-called "strong readers" of New Criticism were often still reading out of their own tastes and values, rather than with respect to how those readings affect our analyses of how texts work.[4] The New Critics had declared poetry the highest of all literary art and read texts of all genres as representatives of the big moral and aesthetic issues in the abstract—modernizations of "truth, goodness, and beauty" in the form of humanity, mortality, or alienation, for example. Yet Wellek and Warren's insistence on the connection of texts to the situations in which they exist is a clear foreshadowing of the issues of power and cultural hegemony implied in the analyses of Pierre Bourdieu (1984, 1988) or Michel Foucault (1975a, b), and of the uses and reception of texts (see Hans-Robert Jauss 1982 and Stuart Hall 1977, 1997).

Wellek and Warren also point at a problem that has an accessible corrective in today's digitally available data: knowing how to access that information. Taking what is researched and understanding what and how that research predicates what is taught is the ideal ground-plan for a graduate curriculum. We have, since the era of Wellek and Warren, not only lived through a "linguistic turn" in literary studies, but also through profound changes in linguistics, severing it decisively from philology, and introducing applied linguistics and the psycholinguistic study of language

[4] To make that differentiation in any detail is beyond the scope of the present chapter, but I allude here to the differences between I. A. Richards' *Practical Criticism* (1929) as a systematic approach to reading) and Cleanth Brooks' *The Well-Wrought Urn* (1947), with its final chapter "The Heresy of Paraphrase," which stresses the poem as a unity of experience that cannot be paraphrased without destroying it (a clear nod to Romantic notions of the artwork as a particular kind of revelation).

acquisition in department structures. Moreover, in the traditions of Kintsch and Van Dijk (1978, 1983) and Kintsch (1988, 1998), two generations have traced *texts* as valid units of understanding, beyond the sentence. This work, like that of M. A. K. Halliday on the linguistics of experience (see especially Halliday and Matthiessen 2006) and Anna Wierzbika (2010) on semantics, pragmatics, and cross-cultural linguistics expanded the domains of textual analysis. Some of these projects are taught in graduate curricula, but they have not been used to help us *structure* new curricula.

Investigating what disciplinary shifts bring to research is critical to such moves. Where philologists paid attention to textuality and context, contemporary linguistics attends more to formal language structures, thus sacrificing knowledge about language use in pragmatic contexts and about textual contexts commensurate with ideas like genre that are historically relative constructs of meaning.[5] Yet literary theory of the current generation found its origin in de Saussure's theory of the sign, but reads little or no subsequent linguistics theory, thus surrendering the urgent call to investigate how a central set of tools about how language and cognitive structures work together in expressions (as a context making meaning, or within the experiential framework of

[5] It can be argued that contemporary scholars like Halliday do indeed deal with language use beyond formal structure (e.g. Martin and Rose [2003]), genres, and pragmatic contexts. Yet I would point to a significant difference between Halliday's understanding of language as a cognitive phenomenon and a user- and context-centered pragmatic approach, no matter how much the two are mutually informing. Halliday and Matthiessen (2006) subtitle their exploration of experience *A language-based approach to cognition*. This work thus falls in the tradition of cognitivist approaches to language and psychology popular at least since the Second World War. These approaches look for the logics and patterns in mental processing as the determining factor in meaning-making, and, as such, provide excellent scientific models for how mind functions in processing language—much in the tradition of Heidegger's philosophy, which took up Husserl's (1999) notion of *intentionality* (how concepts are virtually *a priori* linked in the acts of consciousness that produced meaning—if you say "front," you *intend* the existence of the concept "back," for example). This strain of scholarly investigation ends up by modeling the formal structures of language, cognition, and experience as sets of laws or as patterns whose parts interact in ways that are the subject of much of their publications (for a literary version of this kind of scholarship, see Ingarden 1973).

Yet Wittgenstein's *Blue and Brown Books* (1958) show that the cognitive frame need not be considered as existing *prior to* a use context—that a single mental concept can correspond with multiple frames of mental action ("Brick!!!!" can mean "Hand me a brick, I need one," or "Duck!!! Incoming missile!"), what (again in a literary framework) Hans-Robert Jauss (1982) would explore as a "horizon of expectation" heavily conditioned by habit, tradition, and history, as well as by the limits of individual minds and the materials worlds they live in. Thus *local* and *community* patterns of meaning-making, analyzed from the user's point of view and correlated with affect and identity, are much more important than the intentional structures of philosophical-phenomenological objects. Thus when Jauss discusses genres, he sees them as historical-conventional objects that condition individuals' knowing because they are habituated into understanding through the filters of these patterns. In contrast, when Halliday discusses genres, he works more like Ingarden, speaking of the *a priori* ground for what make the genres meaningful and offering an inventory of the ways in which the genre structures may convey meaning in use. Jauss' version is based in a vision of cognition as shared habits in a particular historical and social context, as well as the patterns of mind—a historical epistemology of experience; Halliday's is based in the need to investigate possible patterns of cognition implicated in genres as longer-formal acts of language and information—*potential* experience.

the uses and their identity politics), especially in specialized use context like genres or specific language use communities. Again drawing on Wellek and Warren:

> Language study within our universities… must become purposefully addressed to the phenomenon of language in texts and other forms of use. It must turn away from the delightful details of "research" and direct itself toward the large, unsolved problems of language use and language acquisition within different specialized communities. It must receive stimulation and direction from modern analyses of language and contemporary understandings of language use situations, including all forms of texts in all media—from new considerations of participation in language use through living cultural institutions. (298)

I would underscore here that "language use" has to include all forms of texts, not just the interpersonal forms of language (dialogues, letters) that often are the focus of today's language investigations.

And the "delights of research" in this passage point to Wellek and Warren's distaste for research being considered a *l'art pour l'art* end in itself rather than as something to be applied to practical situations for teaching and curriculum development in the universities, anchored in an awareness that all texts are connected to language use "within different specialized communities," including "all forms of texts in all media." That is, they are not defending the "canon of literature," as today's scholars often charge them with doing, but rather demanding the demise of the nineteenth century's study of "national" (canonical) literatures, together with the eighteenth century's equation of the study of literature with the development of taste (and hence with acculturation). The literature curriculum must be transformed into something else entirely; literary scholarship cannot be divorced from either the study of language (philology, linguistics in all its forms, including sociolinguistics and text linguistics) or from the study of what today is called mediality—how the material forms of communication, its conventional genres, and its users conditions what texts do in pragmatic situations.

This broader knowledge of language in all its pragmatic functions in culture *as those functions shift over time in response to new social needs* is what Wellek and Warren talk about when they suggest reforming the PhD "in the direction of making its holder not a specialist in a period but a professional man of letters, a man who, in addition to English and American literature, knows literary theory, the modes of scholarship and criticism, who, without recourse to impressionism and 'appreciation,' can analyze and discuss books with his classes" (Wellek and Warren 1948, pp. 292−293). The passage's then- *de rigueur* sexist noun reference aside, it stresses *analysis* of texts as the core of teaching, and the source of those analytic strategies lying in "the modes of scholarship and criticism," the former being aimed at systematics of understanding the text in its own context, and the latter on its uses (which could include today's insistence on critique of hegemonic representations and identity politics).

There is ample documentation of how little resonance Wellek and Warren's proposals have had. In 1981 and each decade thereafter, the Modern Language Association published and updated three editions of *Introduction to Scholarship* volumes (Gibaldi 1981, 1992; Nicholls 2007), each of which was intended to map the current state of research in the FL disciplines and in literary-cultural studies, as they were

represented in the universities—in "language departments," including English—and professional organizations. To discuss in any detail the shifts in the disciplines between the editions they represent is beyond the scope of the present discussion. What is important here is that the chapters in each volume inventory the scholarly pursuits most common in its respective era's language departments.

The list of chapters in each edition is reproduced below, in the order presented in each, and, in the case of the second and third editions, grouped into sections as in the originals. Several things are striking. Perhaps the most important is how many continuities there are between the editions (reading across the columns), and the second is the persistence of the volumes' organizing principles, with "the disciplines" as seen by scholars (divided into particular fields or specializations) remaining conceptual reference points for thinking about what we do.

1st edition (1981)	2nd edition (1992)	3rd edition (2007)
Linguistics	**Language and Composition** • Linguistics • Language, Culture, and Society • Language Acquisition and Language Learning • Rhetoric and Composition	**Understanding Language** • Language, Culture, and Society • Linguistics • Language Acquisition and Language Learning **Forming Texts** • Rhetoric • Composition • Poetics
Textual Scholarship **Historical Scholarship** **Literary Criticism** **Literary Theory**	**Literary Studies: Text, Interpretation, History, Theory** • Textual Scholarship • Canonicity and Textuality • Literary interpretation • Historical Scholarship • Literary Theory	**Reading Literature and Culture** • Textual Scholarship • Interpretation • Historical Scholarship • Comparative Literature
	Cross-Disciplinary and Cultural Studies • Interdisciplinary Studies • Feminist and Gender Studies • "Ethnic and Minority" Studies • "Border" Studies: the Intersection of Gender and Color • Cultural Studies	**Cultural Studies** • Feminisms, Genders, Sexualities • Race and Ethnicity • Migrations, Diasporas, and Borders • Translation Studies
The Scholar in Society	**The Scholar in Society**	**The Scholar in Society**

Wellek and Warren's reference to how texts work in pragmatic language situations has been relegated to the margins of these discussions, alluded to in the adoption of "cultural studies" and in the oddly named, persistent chapters on "The Scholar in Society" that generally discuss the ethics of the scholar's and scholarship in terms of social justice.

The 1981 list would be recognizable to Wellek and Warren, as it summarizes the areas of scholarship that they have addressed in their critique, enumerated above. The 1992 version is more reflective of the whole scope of the MLA's activities that we recognize today, including its partner societies: the American Council for the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL, formed 1966, concerned with the teaching of languages, classroom pragmatics, and professional standards and articulation), and the Council on College Composition and Communication (CCCC, formed in 1949 as an organization within the National Council of Teachers of English, but involved in projects with the MLA concerning composition studies, rhetoric, and the history of rhetoric).

Yet within these volumes' chapters, each discipline is described principally as an area of scholarly research, not as a scholarly response to special social or institutional needs or by as conditioned by shifts in cultural production, as Wellek and Warren might have included. Note, too, the emergence of the rubric of "Cross-Disciplinary Studies and Cultural Studies"—an odd mix of "other" forms of scholarship, clearly documenting the emergence of identity politics and cultural politics (especially poststructuralism) as areas of interest to the academy, but not describing how they produce knowledge (only why). The former was already addressed by Wellek and Warren; the latter seems in its description to accommodate contemporary studies with historical studies. Neither is integrated with linguistics or textual studies, nor given much methodological descriptions (the actual chapters discuss the types of projects adopted, not their structure as scholarship).

Along with documenting shifts in terminology, the 2007 volume makes several significant conceptual shifts that document a narrowing of the disciplinary bases for the FL professions. From the point of view of the MLA, "linguistics" remains a single category, a fact reflecting the growing professional distance between the MLA and the Linguistics Society of America, which until the 1990/91 winter break had held their meetings together in the same city. The split, with the LSA's move to a January meeting, was justified on the basis of the joint conference being impossibly large. The MLA's *Introduction* volume points to another result: formalist and cognitive linguistics have gradually vacated the MLA, leaving behind philology, various kinds of text linguistics, and (to a limited but increasing degree) the teaching of languages.

In the same 2007 volume, the questions of "Canonicity and Texuality" have been removed, demoted as major categories; "Interdisciplinary Studies" has disappeared and has its found its place under a new category rubric, "Cultural Studies" which accommodates the new subcategory "Translation Studies," as well. This suggests (as do the chapters discussing this topic) that Wellek and Warren's call to understand neighboring disciplines is receding behind a growing interest in "culture" as a relatively unreflected social-historical category.

In short, these lists are not all of the same type, conflating objects of knowledge, disciplinary practices, and areas of scholarly interest. Some are acknowledged disciplines (linguistics) or methods (textual scholarship), while others are problems (border studies) whose social-political appeals are undeniable, but which remain largely undefined in terms of research and analytic approaches. The appeals

that Wellek and Warren made regarding evolutions of scholarship in the modern languages and literatures, hoping to foster a focus on the pragmatics of language situations as reflected in texts and on how texts refer to contexts may have been addressed nominally in the newer MLA volumes. However, any evolutions do not include frameworks encompassing the curriculum, teaching, or the purpose of the institution in helping to understand the contemporary evolutions of the languages, language communities, texts, media, and cultural processes which are understood to be the purview of our disciplines.

At this point, I propose to enter into an experiment that might begin to accommodate the desiderata outlined by Wellek and Warren, taken in light of the most recent of the MLA volumes' delineations of "scholarship" as a current disciplinary blueprint. To do so, it will be read as categorizing what the 2007 edition identifies as the kinds of work to be undertaken by FL scholars. As a professional organization's handbooks, this series as a whole does document the core activities of most language and literature departments and their curricula. The handbooks do also map the kinds of professional contexts addressed within departments.[6] They thus also authorize areas present in most language/literature departments, as well known professional activities—professional organizations, meeting, and journals associated with them.

Yet these areas of scholarship ought not to be considered simply the subfields of the disciplines present in departments, because such "disciplines" are at best historical artifacts, lines drawn between what scholars do as they form communities. A more profitable perspective is to consider each area of scholarship part of larger, more general areas of strategic competence that can be divided among what today may be several (sub)disciplines or field and which each may reflect several different scholarly approaches or methods to producing knowledge through systematic analysis. These more general areas of competence are straightforwardly summarized, if one moves behind "schools" or "movements" that scholars embrace as their identities. Let me summarize these general areas briefly.

1. Analysis of Language

From beginning language courses up through theoretical linguistics, two major strategies for linguistic analysis have historically been of interest, often split under the rubrics of "synchronic" and "diachronic" linguistics which are now (rightly) falling out of use:

- Formal/cognitive analyses of language and language-like structures (e.g. nonverbal communication, ritual), stressing the formal patterns of language and the transformations these patterns undergo as language is used to communicate and shape language, including forms of discourse analysis (e.g. the work by Halliday 1973, 1975) and critical discourse analysis (e.g. the work by Fairclough 1995, 2001; Van Dijk 1993, 1997, 1998, 2008, or Wodak 2001). These analyses would include various forms of formal linguistics (including cognitive linguistics, generative linguistics, semantics, and phrase-structure linguistics).

[6] As a side note, it is significant that the Bernheimer and Saussy Reports assessing the state of Comparative Literature as a scholarly discipline follow much the same logics (Bernheimer 1995; Saussy 2006).

- Analyses tied to specific groups of language users, to determinate sites of language use, either historically in the tradition of philology, or ahistorically as comparative usages, or to specific types of language, and to the changes in all of these under various kinds of pressure, such as history, culture, group interests, or ideologies. These analyses would be represented in fields that include philology, historical linguistics, sociolinguistics, historical linguistics, critical discourse analysis, and semiotics.

2. Textual Analysis

These analyses focus on larger linguistic- or rhetorically-structured units—on texts, as analyzed from various perspectives, among them:

- Formal or linguistic analysis of texts, often in intertextual contexts, including genre studies, conversation analysis, and other types of corpus work.
- Cultural analyses, stressing the understanding of texts within particular sites (groups, communities, regions, religious groups, etc.).
- Intertextual analyses, related to uses and transmission of text at or between specific site(s), separated by time, space, social boundaries, etc.
- Super-sentential analyses, focused on how various forms of textuality evolve their specific messages and meanings, using analytic tools such as discourse analyses, rhetorical analyses, and analyses of specialized textual discourses as understood in FL contexts (letters, films, signs, advertising).

Note that using the rubric "text" hides a real problem of hidden disciplinarity that will be taken up below. "Texts" in the humanities are usually written artifacts (including inscriptions or epigraphs), but in current practice, they include films, public displays (museums, performances), rituals, and various forms of non-verbal communication, including artworks and photographs. This variety of texts create problems for scholarly understanding when the special materialities and representation conventions of each text genre are not understood as part of a different disciplinary practice (usually well documented on the other side of a disciplinary divide, but hence often unfamiliar to many scholars situated in FL disciplines).

3. Historical Analysis

Such analyses stress reading language and texts in historical/social/instrumental contexts, including frameworks like:

- cultural history
- the history of the book and printing
- the history of media production and distribution
- reception theory
- historical forms and conventions of language use (language in history (historical linguistics, grammars, reference books)
- demographic/social science figurations (correlating representations of people and groups with real referents)
- educational norms
- the "habitus" (Bourdieu's word) = conventions of behavior and social organizations.

Note that "historical" analyses now points particularly to sites and types of evidence, not to assumptions about historical eras conditioned by earlier philosophical approaches to the topic.

4. Analyses of the production and transmission of power, ideologies, and status

These analyses, emerging principally since the 1980s, focus on texts/language forms as transmitters of values and instruments for imposing power and consciousness on their uses, most frequently in the tradition of Foucault. Such analyses concentrate on how texts/language mediate control and ideologies to users, and how these uses are influenced by the kinds of oppression or entitlement inherent in the texts they consume. In practical terms, these analyses investigate the power structures in which texts are implicated, such as:

- dominant hegemonies (governments, censors)
- publishers, editors, and translators (through anthologies, text choices, editing, etc.)
- museums and other public representations
- official standards or other social norms (e.g. language standards that minimize dialects; language laws, censorship standards, group-based communication norms such as "the academy painting" or "the ode" as regulated by academies or status organizations, etc.)
- educational and behavioral norms (conduct books, textbooks and classroom practice,[7] etc.

5. Analyses of particular materials and strategies for knowledge production in terms of theories of teaching and learning

In language departments, these analyses are today usually encountered in discussions about teaching language and composition. They are viewed as creating didactic implementations that help students learn how to handle basic language forms and standard genres in speech and writing. I submit that they should apply to all areas of research above and that they need to do so in acknowledgment of teaching and learning contexts, so that content-based language instruction and language-based content instruction (L1 and L2) are clearly differentiated.[8] That is, scholarship on

[7] These are of particular interest in the history of rhetoric and social histories—another hidden interdiscinpliarity within literary studies).

[8] Thanks to Per Urlaub for this distinction. What passes for "content-based instruction" these days is usually language for special purposes, focused on primary language acquisition at fundamental levels, backed up with a limited address to content knowledge (usually aimed at other majors who are presumed ot know the content, leaving this instruction to teach differences between the language, institutional, and interactional patterns in the L1 and L2 cultures). It is critical to differentiate this "content-based language instruction" from a true language-based content instruction: a learning context based first on the structures of the content addressed, within institutional/group/professional norms, then on how these content norms are transacted orally and in textual forms in any media (in *either* the L1 and L2—see National Standards in Foreign Language Education Project [2006] for the comparisons and communities standards), and then finally into specific forms of language performance that can be sequenced in any variety of language hierarchies in the L1 and L2. For examples of how that curricular development may be planned and implemented, see Swaffar and Arens (2000) and Arens (2005, 2007, 2008, 2010).

teaching needs to accommodate teaching a discipline's content areas and its intellectual strategies as part of curricula, staged in their institutions' curricula in reference both their students' primary language of instruction in their post-secondary institutions, and in the targeted FL, because these two contexts present different scholarly problems in research and different problems for learners.

6. Analyses of applicable knowledge bases and necessary research and communication skills

These analyses are strategic: they require both scholars and learners to address how to situate projects within the existing scholarly apparatuses, to find materials supporting the use of chosen data (bibliographies, reference books), and to communicate within professional contexts. They include knowledge and experience in handling:

- Research (finding aids, archives, tools like statistics, bibliographies)
- Manuscript form and styles sheets, as forms of professional communication
- Reference books (including historical norms for the discipline)
- Textbooks
- Dictionaries, grammars, encyclopedia (and the ability to assess their inherent biases as part of critical literacy)
- Professional communication: forms of oral and written presentation, bibliographic standards, journals, and conferences

These strategic competencies go beyond those addressed in the *Introduction to Scholarship* volumes, but they do correspond to the assessment made in Wellek and Warren of the graduate/professional curriculum—that it must accommodate viable images of both scholarship and teaching commensurate with scholarly norms and with accessible critique.

Too often, Wellek and Warren imply, scholars seem to forget that texts can be read legitimately in various ways and for various objectives. Behind that statement lies an additional assumption: that scholarship must both *inform* teaching (especially scholarship on teaching and learning) and *be linked with* teaching (class design should accommodate professional practice and inculcate its norms for professional communication, research, and assessment of both. These criteria call for clear lines between scholarship conceived as knowledge production and the desiderata accommodated under the rubric of "The Scholar in Society," including witnessing contemporary situations through the lens of scholarly competencies, personal development, and identity politics—all crucial reference points in all facets of professional identities today and considered significant touchstones for responsible classroom practice. Wellek and Warren concur that the scholars and their scholarship must implicate the classroom, as well: "It is the older, the existing, program which is "unrealistic," since it lacks integration with contemporary life and literature, and does not prepare for the teaching in the college classroom which the literary doctor is to undertake" (Wellek and Warren 1948, pp. 297−298). The *how* of scholarship, not just the *what* or *why*, must thus be taken up in classrooms at every level.

In their era, Wellek and Warren suggested that the classroom position on canonicity represents a critical dynamic in the literary doctor's scholarly preparation as a

graduate student and as a professor. That preparation has to choose one of two formative positions on canonicity and its place in both research and teaching: either the "great books" need to be taken as legitimate cultural references points with transcultural educational value, or they are presented as artifacts of a dominant culture, integrated into a learning hegemony that suppresses the identities of any students and hence which precludes the idea of student-centered or culturally relevant learning.

In either case, we would add today that canonicity must be discussed as a historical phenomenon: the establishment and management of sets of "spokes-texts" for dominant ideologies, supported by some type of institution or interest community (hegemonic, counterhegemonic, popular, or other). Yet Wellek and Warren do also propose that the classroom has also to bear witness to current assessments of how knowledge is produced within the culture at large, in professional communities and with respect to the niche markets of disciplines—that any discussions of scholarship need to be self-reflexively critical, as well. That means particularly that the FL (especially the literature/culture) degree must also distinguish itself from what is done in other degrees, and that "learning a foreign language" is not simply learning a group of "skills" as prerequisites before one can learn about listening and reading textual messages and identifying clues to the sources and the power of their social, political, economic, or ideological implications. Nor can "learning about texts" or "learning about language" be based simply on a classroom practice that leaves unquestioned the scholars' definitions of what texts and language are. Scholarship can reify ideologies and become an instrument for dividing students from their own instincts and experience; it can just as easily turn into a hegemonic presence in an institution that claims priority while foreclosing discussions of alternates.

And with this shift in perspective, the core problem of the current graduate curriculum and how it might be structured and assessed emerges as completely commensurate with the issues addressed throughout this volume for all levels of language instruction, both in North America and in any scholarly and educational climate that emulates its institutional framework.

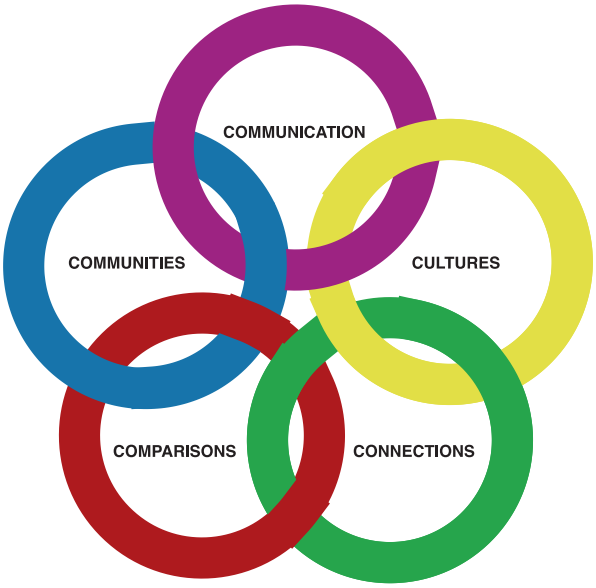
2 From Philosophical Demands to Today's Practice

What I propose here is to model how we might break the mindsets that are still in use to understand what it means to get a PhD in the disciplines represented in FL programs at all levels, and what professional competencies (both pragmatic and scholarly) are implied in that PhD (defined as a preparation for independent scholarship as well as teaching), as well as in the curricula through those PhDs are gained and in which those PhDs will teach.

That model is critical today to define the PhD not as a set of knowledge items that must be "banked" in order to "earn" a certain degree. Instead, it will define the PhD as a set of *competencies* that must be acquired by future professionals to ground what can and must be researched, assessed, and taught—what PhD candidates, pragmatically, must be able to *do* or be aware of as *doable*, and what they are and will continue to be responsible for as scholars, teachers, and members of various communities.

The model proposal here intends neither to be comprehensive nor authoritative, even as it encompasses areas in the disciplines most often represented in the familiar FL departments' curricula (although almost never comprehensively). The scope of that enterprise would simply be too large for any program, if by "scope," one were to inventory these areas defined as items of knowledge that need to be "covered." However, as regions of *practice*, they can be conceived as the core skills defining a graduate curriculum gauged at creating a PhD engaged in a life-long, developing process of learning and scholarly communication in all contexts (professional, public, educational). This model for a curriculum suggests that what the PhD needs to learn is the map of *what scholars do*, in general terms, as well as entering into cognitive apprenticeships in which they learn not just about the contents in style in their contemporary scholarship, but also about the professional acts and standards that have defined, disseminated, and evaluated these contents in various contexts.

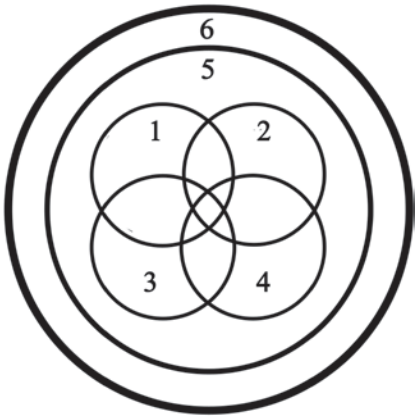
I am proposing here for the graduate curriculum the kind of conceptual map of interlocking objectives offered by the *National Standards for Foreign Language Education*[9] for the undergraduate curriculum—one compatible with the regions of practice at the graduate level, but expanded in order to support the intellectual preparation needed for teachers if their students are to acquire the knowledge suggested in this conceptual map:



[9] See the National Standards in Foreign Language Education Project (2006) for the publication on the project and the general information online at <http://www.actfl.org/publications/all/national-standards-foreign-language-education> for project information. For an example of how it is intended to be used to plan and assess curricula, see Allen and Dupuy (2012).

The ACTFL graphic reproduced here illustrates what kinds of knowledge define what it means to *learn* a foreign language as a field that leads to studies of cultures and contents. It encompasses five individual rings, representing five aspects differentiating the various facets of the knowledge and activities involved in defining "language" and "language learning." Together, the rings represent a comprehensive definition of "language," a broader definition than that represented in linguistics alone.

I propose here that we need an equivalent map to situate a new configuration of what is conventionally done in departments of language and literature (English or FL), with the six rings labeled in ways commensurate with the six categories of practice defining FL scholarship, as listed in the last section. We study and analyze.



1. Language(s) for comprehension and production
2. Texts and Textuality
3. Text(s) and Language(s) as Cultural Artifacts in Historical Context(s)
4. The Production and Transmission of Power, Ideologies, and Status in and Through Cultural Artifacts
5. Theories of Teaching and Learning Applied to Text(s) and Language(s) and to the Production of Knowledge and Understanding
6. Knowledge, Research, and Communication Norms for the Disciplines

This graphic defines what we do as necessarily always grounded in two circles of practice (professional communication [6] and teaching [5]), and then more specialized as four interlocking spheres of interest, each stressing a region of data requiring specific strategic competencies to understand them. These regions of data and the accompanying strategic competencies that frame them can help define our disciplines, and set them apart from other disciplines whose strategies for knowledge production overlap with our own. Social anthropology, for example, deals with language-based behaviors and cultural artifacts, but less with texuality or artifacts, *per se*. History is less interested in texts and how they produce ideologies than it is in ideologies documented in phenomena such as patterns of human behavior and law-giving represented in other times and places.

This inventory runs counter to prevailing strategies for establishing FL graduate programs, which today generally define themselves as teaching elements of the individual circles of that diagram: linguistics, literature, and a limited variety of film/media studies, not infrequently under or in relation to the nebulous appellation of "cultural studies," "interdisciplinary studies," or "area studies." Such lists tend to give the impression of a program or department that is contemporary and cutting edge, even though it is actually comprised of disjunctive sets of disciplinary contents, out of which one might infer a list of methodologies or approaches (unspecified). The graphic and its circles, I reemphasize here, point not to the disciplines as represented in scholarly organizations, but rather the study objects and strategies necessary to understand disciplines in relation to each other and as scholarly and social practice. The disciplines are never separate; they must be seen as overlapping and mutually reinforcing in language/literature departments, their curricula at all levels, and their scholarship.

The integration suggested by the graphic is, I believe, the key to new graduate curricula, because it points beyond courses defined by schools or authors ("Naturalism"), epochs ("the long nineteenth century"), text forms ("poetry," "literature and film"), particular user groups ("the sociolinguistics of X," "dialects," or "youth culture"), or problems ("protest literature," "postcolonial literatures," "temporalities," "identities," "queer theory"). Instead, what it requires is that such courses be framed by and composed with a more concentrated address on *professional practice*, conceived as an integrated set of strategic competencies for producing and transmitting knowledge of our objects of study. Let me clarify what that means.

3 Professional Norms and the New Graduate Curriculum

The most straightforward integration of learning, teaching, and scholarship can be recovered is addressing point 6: Knowledge, Research and Communication Norms for the Discipline, the ground for all professional practice. These competencies would need to be included in the form of explicit instruction in research strategies, the structure and ideological power of textbooks and reference materials, and the professional configuration of the chosen topic of any specific course: which databases need to be used for genre courses (MLA International Bibliography, plus ABELL for English Studies and/or FRANCES for European literatures, for example), for courses dealing with historical epochs (Historical Abstracts), or for formal linguistics (LLBA and MLA International Bibliography); which monographic bibliographies exist, which conferences or MLA divisions cover the topic, and what bibliographic style manual the field requires (literature uses MLA style, while cultural and media studies often use the Chicago Manual of Style, and Linguistics uses APA).

This summary may seem commonplace and pedestrian for many teachers of graduate courses (aren't they, after all, self-evident?), but my own experience led me to ask colleagues involved as editors or manuscript evaluators for major journal or presses in the last two decades whether *their* experience suggests that these

fundamentals are taught and assessed in graduate programs. Their answers indicate that such fundamentals have not likely been taught as central to the production of disciplinary knowledge—or perhaps, if "taught," they were not assessed as elements of communication that must be upheld as part of valid production of professional knowledge. My colleagues and I infer that grades in many graduate programs have *not* been lowered for inadequate or otherwise bad bibliographic style, as still recommended in at least some undergraduate programs and that, as a result, responsible bibliographic searches (ones that acknowledge sources and do not allow the writer to recreate wheels) and presentation seem to be taken as add-ons rather than central to professionalism.

The second issue suggested by point 6, seen as the grounding for all professional practice, is the problem of acknowledging scholarly knowledge itself as belonging to a disciplinary community with a responsibility to and for what each community of scholars produces (as an entity controlling a kind of cultural power). At the graduate level, *all* work should be situated within the professional discipline, not just in a particular (and potentially idiosyncratic) classroom. The impact of adopting an identifiable field of professional practice at the graduate level would provide a framework for the PhD to learn, at the very least, which "camps" particular strategies of interpretation or project design represent, and perhaps also the historical origin of certain classic problems. With systematic training in using such research analyses graduate students would learn to conduct and present scholarly work *in the ways appropriate to each field within their disciplines*.

In this framing, assessment hinges on definitions of professional best practices. For example, a paper on a medieval topic citing scholarly work done only in the last decade is by definition fatally flawed, unless that temporal exclusion is *explicitly accounted for in the paper's research design*. Why? In many fields of medieval studies, for instance, foundational interpretations of certain textual, language, and reference/material cultural problems were offered two hundred years ago, and even if proved wrong in the last decade, pervade much of the setting of scholarly literature on the topic, as an influential "traditional reading." Similarly, a PhD student presenting projects using only the digital library and archive would then need to be assessed as potentially wanting: projects *not* using digital libraries and archives need *also* to be accounted for, with the impact of these two corpora and approaches to them compared. And if these comparisons are not made as part of discussions of professional power, then *both* scholarly projects, if not addressed as implicating significant differences in scholarly norms, need to be addressed as running the danger of violating adequate models for scholarship.

The issue addressed here is not content *per se*, nor is it an individual scholar's preference for one approach over another. Instead, what emerges here is that professional consensus about teaching practices in a graduate curriculum needs to include indices for the assessable production of scholarly and teaching outcomes, and accounts of what alternatives mean. I am here not suggesting that every paper in every graduate class need be held to a single professional standard, or that all graduate instructors need value the same thing in writing. What needs to be done is requiring conscious attention to the value and limits of alternatives. For instance, more

journalistic, reactive or simple evaluative essays (especially "reaction papers") and practice pieces are important to learning the diction of a field and to practice the rudiments of citation, manuscript preparation and argumentation. Yet when such pieces are assigned, it should be made clear to the novice that they are *not* scholarly research—they might be accepted in *The Chronicle of Higher Education* or *Professions* as scholarly op-ed pieces, but not in journals focusing on disciplinary scholarship like the *PMLA* or any other journal sponsored by professional organizations.

This is not pedantry, but pragmatic reality for career preparation. Essayistic pieces are likely to be rejected by journals using blind peer review (the coin of the realm for promotion and tenure in research institutions); they may well be accepted in proceedings volumes or anthologies. One must teach the fact that the rules for acceptance differ in different sub-fields, but that the majority of edited volumes outside linguistics are not peer-reviewed in the classical sense—which explains why "articles in collections" do not in some fields have much status in the tenure case in a Research Intensive University, according to the Carnegie-Mellon Classifications which reflect what kinds of work the faculty of particular institutions are expected to engaged in (research, teaching, and service).[10] In contrast, liberal arts colleges are often satisfied with "published work" in their promotion criteria—and here, essays with clear voices in prestige venues for that kind of work are highly valued.

Consequently, if not in every course in a degree program, at least across the sequence of required courses, issues of professional communication need to be included in *every* graduate curriculum. Editing "the writing" as an individual instructor is a good start but not enough. All too often, the "end of semester paper" that students submit runs to thirty or forty pages, which professionally is a mistake—most journals want articles in the vicinity of 25 pages, no longer. Thus page limits are necessary to assessment, not just content and "writing." Standard writing genres must be practiced and evaluated as they would be professionally: book reviews (often 500–750 words, addressed to particular audiences in particular journals), abstracts (250–300 words, for responding to Calls for Papers and for the introduction to a grant proposal), grant proposals, and conference papers (7–8 pages for the standard 20-minute slot), for example, need to be assigned, practiced, and assessed not just for their content and general writing, but also in terms of their specific functions within appropriate professional contexts. Oral communication must be treated similarly—a Q&A, a conference paper, a paper response, and an interview for a job are all examples of such communication, some of which may be addressed outside coursework by the program. Job interviews often fall into this latter category.

These issues simply need to be part of the assessment of every class in appropriate ways and part of the assessment for the degree program as a whole, because they represents the span of expertises present in our disciplines. A clever paper is an essay, which documents a graduate student's ability to hit the right diction

[10] See "The Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education" (2010), online at <http://classifications.carnegiefoundation.org/descriptions/>, which should be part of the professional education of every PhD, not as an inflexible norm, but rather as the fundamental grid determining all careers as researchers and teachers in post-secondary contexts.

and to read and extrapolate from a discipline's published scholarship with a certain amount of correctness and enthusiasm; this is valuable as an index for a future teacher or writer, and it is a skill valorized in the kinds of publishing valued outside of Research Intensive Universities (and to some degree, within them). It is not the same structure of work nor assessable content expected of a scholarly essay. Both are valuable; both need to be written well; but what leads into them, structures their argumentation, and is required in their presentation are very different.

Our students need to understand such differences, in order to understand the "ropes" of the professional identity they choose and the cost/benefits of available ones. They must learn that specializing in certain subfields simply requires more specialized knowledge. A European medievalist needs to know how to read Latin with a degree of fluency dependent on the subfield (vernacular poetry generally only alludes to Latin sources or to a very limited corpus, whereas law is often written in Latin). Students with PhDs in poetry need to know how to understand historical-critical editions and when they must be used (when "the text" of the poem is simply not adequate to the questions asked in technical interrogations of poetic form). PhDs in linguistics need to know that both synchronic and diachronic linguistics work on problems of "language change," but in different ways. Such issues emerge in the strategic research and analysis of research proposed here, for individual students and careers. However, the assessments of our programs for our graduate curricula in institutions that train language professors will need to address such differences with regard to the profile of the students they train and send out into the world.

Some readers may object that the foregoing are "professional development" issues that can be "taken care of" in workshops. I disagree, because such distinctions, along with their rationales, need to be clarified for the graduate student, not in an adjunct framework, but as they learn what kind of work they do best, like to do, or cannot do. These "standards" of professional communication, research, and disciplinary identity, are conventions. They may be historical and often arbitrary in origin, but they do represent the institutional frameworks for higher education in the US. Increasingly, these identities apply in Europe, as well, in the wake of the Bologna Process and the Common European Framework. Yet such fundamental changes in curricula cannot be changed unilaterally, or by stealth; such fundamental norms cannot be changed by simply failing to comply with them. Those of us in the profession must learn how to advocate openly for change and be aware of what control/power factors currently hold our curricula and scholarly norms in place as the criteria according to which institutions are assessed in the US. Departments must calibrate their assessments in light of the pressures now being put on institutions, and if they choose a different route due to the student bodies they serve, they must justify that choice overtly– they must propose how to assess what they teach, as well as teaching it. Doing so overtly prepares their PhDs not only to survive tenure processes, but also to function in roles that need to iterate between program leadership and classroom teaching—a dire need in an era of changing institutional fiats and funding priorities. Important in this era of concern with outcomes of a program for employment after graduation, the changes advocated here enable students to figure

out how their academic interests and skills could lead to careers in adjacent disciplines (as members of interdisciplinary program) or in related work (fundraising, foundation, library, editorial, or museum work, grant-writing and the like).

In this sense, then, placement in academic jobs or related employment may not be a sufficient quality indicator for assessing a PhD program, as it all too often is. The program must also assess *any activity that uses one or more of the skills trained and assessed throughout the curriculum*—research, writing, professional communication, manuscript editing and preparation, among many options. And such options should not be taken as merely ancillary proof of the program's quality: if such skills are assessed throughout a graduate program, then the PhD will have the materials for various types of profiles, and the wit and experience to describe that learning and those skills consciously, as transferable and applicable to many realms of professional practice, not only traditional teaching and scholarship.

4 Traditional and Innovative Scholarly Practice in the Graduate Curriculum

Returning to the context of my proposals as a map for our disciplines, the first four categories (p. 16, this Chapter) also prescribe very particular amplifications to courses and curricula, albeit of more familiar kinds. Critical here is to recognize that virtually all scholarly work is in some way "interdisciplinary," requiring competence in more than one kind of work. To deny this is to erect walls between specializations that render the discipline even more disjoint (remember Wellek and Warren's assessment) than it presently is.

Let me briefly illustrate where such boundaries have made our field of inquiry seem disjunctive rather than functioning as coherent parts of a single map of language and literary studies. For example: for the last two or three decades, the subject matter for the vast majority of dissertations in literature has been contemporary literature. Largely unattended in this process is the sliding line as to when "the contemporary" becomes "history." At what moment must an analyst have recourse to history proper, to divide the "present" from the "past" and address that past as needing research rather than simply the deployment of present conventions in attempts to understand past texts? And when does a scholarly understanding itself need to be reconsidered, not as "right" or "wrong," but rather as determined by historical forces that need to be disambiguated from the impulses contained in the scholarship itself?[11] These are two kinds of boundaries that can be profoundly unproductive if not attended to consciously—"rightness" as a set of ethical/logical assessments, and "history" as the emergence of a whole other set of concerns, associated and

[11] An older generation will remember when the answer to the question of whether Kafka is an expressionist or a modernist was an issue of professional survival in graduate school. More important for today's scholars is *why* and *how* such distinctions arose and can be used (or not), and what cultural assumptions (and hence power relations) they represent.

investigated intensely by an entire other discipline. When such borders become intransigent reflexes that declare certain approaches "wrong," or "dated," or "politically unsophisticated," it is all too easy for them to block the emergence of new best practices for many aspects of the profession.[12]

In the heuristic above, our traditional scholarly focuses in PhD programs are reframed as being languages, texts and texuality, cultural artifacts in historical contexts, and power/ideology transmitted in cultural artifacts—not disciplines, but regions of cultural practice. All too often, when these focuses have been reduced to the purview of specific disciplines, such division have formed the kinds of walls that resist the integration appropriate to the next generation of PhD programs. Disciplinary specializations must be understood as mutually informing as an *interdisciplinarity* lying at the core of the "field" of studying languages, literatures, and cultures.

Linguistics, for example, has always been thought of as informing pragmatic and teaching grammars. Yet today's work on identity politics, including not only pragmatics and sociolinguistics, but also post-structuralist investigations of power and prestige adhering to semiotics, performativity, and sub-cultures, have *not* been integrated into pragmatic grammars. Since the work of the Birmingham School, at least, it has been known that groups define themselves as subcultures by means of language behaviors (see, for example, Hall and Jefferson 1977 and Hall 1997); what else happens to language in these contexts? Critical discourse analysis (associated with Teun van Dijk, Ruth Wodak, and Norman Fairclough) fills the lacuna between linguistics and a more encompassing view of language in society and as implication society's ideologies– but while their projects have begun to be acknowledged as a legitimate field of linguistics, they have *not* generally been used to restructure language teaching textbooks at any level. Nor have they penetrated the conferences of the Linguistics Society of America. The great exceptions may be found in the field of Systemic-Functional Linguistics, which is at pains to highlight precisely such pragmatic use-contexts.[13]

Textual analysis and intertextuality have also been put behind their own walls, isolated from linguistics, as analytic strategies associated with hegemonic aestheticism

[12] Not to be overlooked, but not to be discussed here, is the alignment with such judgments of "rightness" with professional success, visibility and rewards rather than with scholarly debates and mutual assessment, as well as the tendency of trends and popular approaches to dominate in choices of dissertations, rather than treating the dissertation as an apprentice price, not just producing new scholarship, but also learning what those practices imply for the structure of work and professional communication. That "trends"—or trendiness—dominate the professional landscapes today is undeniable, if one looks at programs for the large annual meetings of national professional associations in any of the disciplines.

[13] See *Information on Systemic Functional Linguistics* (n. d.), online at <http://www.isfla.org/Systemics/definition.html>for an introduction of this discipline's self-presentation, and Eggins (1994) for a concise introduction to its processes. One might also point to the projects undertaken in Europe under the Bologna Process as another framework in which theory informs textbooks and assessment. See European Ministers of Education (1999), *The Bologna declaration*, and the Council of Europe (2001), the *Common European framework of reference for languages: Learning, teaching, assessment*. For research on that framework, see particularly Cañado (2013a, b).

and canonicity—or with a break between "high" and "popular" culture, where only the former is still subjected to the scrutiny of this kind of close readings. Yet newer strategies of linguistic analysis, like corpus linguistics or conversation analysis, could open up such close readings to ideological analyses of the hegemonies supporting and contesting texts, or to analyses of ideological and power relations in texts. Pierre Bourdieu's *The State Nobility* (1988) performs this kind of textual analysis in the service of sociology: he takes up the very specialized genre of "the French philosophy essay in state exams" to explain how exam outcomes are profoundly marked by a particular class structure, expressed in very particular markers for vocabulary and argumentation.

Additionally, a case can be made that, within the study of literature itself, historical analysis is being suppressed. The once-familiar exercise of getting a blind passage from a different time and place and asking the learner to situate it, historically and aesthetically, on the basis of language, historical fact, genre and rhetorical features, and content presentation is now out of fashion. Translation studies have identified ways to use internal evidence to uncover transcultural ideologies of literary transmission. Yet precisely these approaches would complement present studies of text-based identity politics, particularly those which purportedly resist the hegemony by "telling the story" from a different perspective (the key to Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar's *Madwoman in the Attic* (1979), or Georg Büchner's rereading of a pastor's diary entries in "Lenz," for example). Another wall of increasing significance in the age of technically driven globalization, texts are also all too often discussed as if they *exist*, and less often as they are marketed, published, or adapted. Older academic subspecialties such as the history of the book and printing have largely disappeared from courses in FL and literature, even though they are windows into the relation of cultural artifacts and hegemonies of power.

If PhD prgrams do not point out such links as options in research design and critical contributions of our discipline to more general contexts of the production knowledge, the walls between the four areas common to today's PhD programs have ossified to the point of impoverishing research and teaching alike. Ignoring such moments of interdisciplinarity results in underserving teaching responsibilities. A program which omits teaching about interdisciplinary links between subfields of a discipline as vital options in research design and critical contributions of our discipline impoverishes its claims to significance within more general contexts of the production knowledge.

5 Strategic Competency and Assessment as Keys to the Credible PhD

At this point, the stakes posed by accepting my assessment of the current professional issues that need to be addressed in a transformed curriculum will involve not only consistent attention to professional communication and content- and language-pedagogy, but also a resituating of research within the context of FL graduate

programs. Such changes will manifest themselves first in scholars' need to enforce a more encompassing picture of research. The current changes hitting PhD-producing institutions have created problems for assessment of research as valuable, salient, or relevant outside of disciplines' or departments' walls. Here again, a justification for walls built need to emerge: historians, for instance, are addressing many of the same cultural phenomena as are scholars of "literature" (such as museum exhibits or world fairs)—but the *differences* in those analyses need to be highlighted in an analysis made by one field rather than another. Professional status means having fuller command of the implications of a discipline's scholarly approaches, and what they imply. *And* the hierarchies of difficulty and quality markers for various kinds of professional practice need to be clarified.

In consequence, the PhD in a FL program must not only be assessed for the ability to do research that replicates existing scholarly strategies, but also for the ability to plan research in ways that satisfy this kind of interdisciplinarity and acknowledge possible overlaps in fields and the information value of the tools used. Why? It is difficult for a university to assess an area of research as credible when representatives of such overlapping fields call the product naïve or not up to professional standards.[14]

Some of this learning about standards and assessment will happen naturally in the supervision process, but the programs themselves need to exercise oversight. Some dissertations cannot be done credibly *without* the help of an expert in another field—SLA dissertations have long relied on statisticians for analyzing empirical data, and linguists understand that being an "expert" in one of their fields involves separate qualifications in the language and cultures under analysis, and the methods and results of the field and its overlapping neighbors.

Here it is necessary to distinguish between the traditional idea of "preparation" and the more contemporary notion of "strategic competency." It is difficult, if not impossible, to be "prepared" for interdisciplinary work "properly," from the point of view of an area specialist—the interdisciplinary scholar will not be as adept with the rhetoric of the field, and the discipline specialist will quite naturally have a broader or more fluent command of the "facts" involved, for example.

In such situations, the PhD student must be assessed for the awareness of differences between her project and that of the specialist, and why hers must *also* be considered valid; she must also be assessed for the strategic competency of knowing how and when to negotiate such boundaries, overtly and proactively, in the research design, writing, and use of outside sources or resource persons. A literature student working on film must know how a film scholar works, and be able to justify differences; a linguist must understand that, when working on longer strings of discourse and full texts, that there are other models for the cognitive value of

[14] Such charges are often leveled at today's interdisciplinary work, where a FL scholar borrows a methodological perspective from another field and then applies it to a problem in her own. All too often, that borrowed methodology has been critiqued or improved in its own context, and so an interdisciplinarily credible use of that method would have to either adopt the improvements (and thus function in ways intelligible to the other discipline) or account for the use of the older version (and thus question the "discrediting" or "improvements" by the other discipline, on specific and overt grounds, as a challenge to method). When this is not done, the work is open to charges of naïveté.

textuality, and deep-ranging discussions about textual effects, in the literary scholarship of the 1970s and 1980s. The scholar of cultural artifacts must know that there are government documents defining social classes in period context, and how to use them (e.g. census surveys; lists of immigrants and analyses of their points of origin in particular cities or counties, not just "countries"). That PhD student need not be *expert*, but rather must understand how to negotiate with such outside expertise for their own ends.

That interdisciplinary strategic competence must be evaluated *along side of disciplinary competence* at every level of a degree program. One example of how to do that is a change implemented at the Department of Germanic Studies at the University of Texas at Austin, moving the exam that admits students to PhD work away from a traditional comprehensive, data-driven exam based on reading lists imposed from the outside. Instead, students must propose and execute a review of the literature in a field that may lead to a dissertation or that will be a necessary precursor to a dissertation and that is a common area of teaching. Their mission is not to produce a *complete* review of the prior work, but rather to *outline and assess* the history of their chosen field in terms of methodology, data (texts, corpora) addressed, and ideology of the scholarly engagement, as well as what resources are available to work in that area or are *sine qua non* in that area, according to present norms of research planning (e.g. needing to consult census data, even for a literary analysis, to judge "the audience" in real terms). And the issues of professional communication noted above also come into play: does the project need to be vetted at a conference in another discipline, or can it stay at the fringes of its own? What conferences and style sheets are valued? Does the field do poster presentations, or only conventional conference talks?.

There are many other ways to assess such competency, and a potentially infinite number of intersections between disciplines, data sets, and methodologies that can either foster integration into scholarly communities beyond a single discipline or relegate work in FL scholarship to an increasingly small backwater. Whichever are deemed most important by a particular area of scholarship, a program's assessment must implicate its willingness to critique (positively or negatively) research design and the strategic professional competencies associated with disciplines and their borders. Without such attention to professional communication in this extended sense, a program producing PhDs with claims to original scholarship cannot claim credibility.

6 Second Language Acquisition and the New Graduate Curriculum

And at this juncture, the fifth point in my model, the inner of the two circles in the diagram of a FL graduate program's strategic competencies, becomes critical: Theories of Teaching and Learning Applied to Text(s), Language(s), and the Production of Knowledge and Understanding. Not only the interdisciplinarity of the specialties of literary and linguistics studies are critical (the areas where the four

inner circles intersect with each other), but also the interdisciplinarity at the heart of second language acquisition. I emphasize that the term "applied linguistics" is not sufficient for the framing suggested here: that term applies most properly to the linguistics of learning, teaching, and textbooks for language teaching (mainly L2), along with research on language acquisition from the point of view of cognition and language processing. In contrast, "second language acquisition" is a more encompassing framework, one commensurate with the *Standards for Foreign Language Learning* in stressing multiple domains of language in use that have to be accounted for, including various kinds of knowledge and problems of learning in multiple intelligences, not just language structures.

In the link of professional competence, scholarship, and assessment that I have been pursuing here, the role of second language acquisition in the graduate program needs to be both highlighted and seriously rethought, in conjunction with the additions of the kinds of courses proposed by Heather Willis-Allen above in this volume. The first extension of that role has to do with the institutional engagements of SLA specialists themselves. As Wellek and Warren put it a half-century ago: "A professor of literature should be able, with proper ad hoc preparation, to teach and to write on any author or period within his linguistic compass […]" (291). By extension, a professor of languages (and by this I am throwing an umbrella over linguists and applied linguists), should be able to teach and write about language as used in all the domains of his linguistics compass—a professional whose pedagogy reflects an awareness of all domains of language study, from linguistics, through discourse analysis, into more socially oriented critical discourse analysis, semiotics, semantic oriented work like post-structuralism, and the extension of psycholinguistics into identity politics, register, and performativity through language-based utterances. That is, the new PhD in languages needs to be someone who "without recourse to the dogmatism of 'correct usage' and 'self-expression', can analyze and discuss language use and language behaviors with his or her classes" (Wellek and Warren 1948, pp. 297−298). Such competency may seem idealized, but the objection is again old and has been answered:

> It is the older, the existing, program which is "unrealistic," since it lacks integration with contemporary life and literature, and does not prepare for the teaching in the college classroom which the literary doctor is to undertake. (Wellek and Warren 297−298)

The same must be true of the "linguist doctor" or the "SLA/applied linguist doctor," to extend Wellek's dated prose to make a point. That integration of scholarly specializations and teaching is precisely the challenge that the new generation of PhDs is going to have to meet in understanding what it means to have a major in FLs and a PhD given by a FL department. Again, this does not mean that there exists any particular list of schools of or approaches to linguistic analysis that must be taught (the "coverage" metaphor for curriculum design must here fail as dismally as it does in talking about literary periods). Yet it does mean that the "linguist doctor" must be able to work with specialists in other paradigms to extend research and teaching design, to build bridges instead of walls among professions.

In one incarnation, the SLA specialist on the linguistic side of the paradigm has a place in the FL program's graduate curriculum that complements that of the formal linguist: not a specialist in one kind of linguistic analysis, as applied linguistics is beginning to be. In another incarnation, that SLA specialist will be a specialist in learning theory, not only for language learning, but also for content-based instruction—what it means to teach and learn specific disciplinary contents and intellectual strategies, especially as learning hierarchies (as Swaffar makes the case at the start of the volume). A third incarnation of the SLA specialist would be less research- and more policy- and assessment-oriented: a specialist in how learning and sequences of learning can be planned and assessed, and what that planning implicates in institutional and state resources. These three incarnations are, however, never to be isolated from each other: together, they represent the extended profile for the SLA scholar within the new FL department's programs at all levels.

Most importantly, like the more traditional program specializations in language and literature noted in the prior section of this discussion, the scope of what an SLA specialist needs to be familiar with has to encompass at least of basic awareness of all these initiatives, beyond the scholarly specialization. Assessment strategies make only little sense unless projected into institutional and policy frameworks; linguistic-based research in classroom language acquisition acquires its salience only in the context of its learners, and how they learn, including cognitive styles, learning hierarchies, and performative measures; policy only makes sense in light of existing student bodies (their profiles as learners) and in terms of what teaching and teaching materials are available (including material costs in redesigning the materials and retraining the teachers, as well as sustaining these innovations). Narrow specializations do *not* contribute sufficiently to the graduate program, except in providing well-honed tools that can seem all-encompassing; they may well contribute to specific teaching missions that a program has designated as necessary for all its levels, but defining a professor's job as filling a particular slot to teach specific courses is a luxury of only the largest FL departments.

There is another major elephant in this particular room: the traditional lower/upper division split in FL departments that is presumed to be inevitable. That inevitability must instead be seen as the product of a very specific situation: where the *learning* framework on which a program at any level is based does not integrate knowledge about *both* language learning and content learning.

In other words, there is a dereliction on both sides of the current upper and lower division divide if the SLA specialist cannot address language learning within the specialized contexts of disciplinary discourses outside of SLA, or in the framework of more developed textual forms and extended discourses (literary/cultural frameworks), and if the area or content specialist does not address how to teach a subject area (especially in terms of learner cognitive styles and hierarchies of difficulty, in ways parallel to what Bloom's Taxonomy does for basic logical tasks in the cognitive domain—*identification* is simpler than *description*, for example). And then, in addition, both sides of the equation must collaborate on building longer learning sequences and on developing assessment strategies—not old-style tests focusing on items of knowledge or specialized details, but measures that help us to document

what are students are learning and to improve how class sequences within majors interlock to reinforce learning.[15] The area specialists on both sides of that divide need to know not only the structure of their own disciplines as professionals, but how (and ideally, why) that structure evolves as a particular way to produce knowledge—how data units are defined, manipulated, analyzed, and communicated, and in what hierarchy of difficulty—the evolution and pragmatics of the discipline, not just its contents.

SLA and content specialists from language and literary studies, in other words, must work together to *make major sequences learning and communication sequences*, not just aggregations of materials in particular specializations to be "mastered" by students. And PhDs in any scholarly specializations *must* learn what it means to teach their disciplines, not just to work within them as specialists; they must do so not in light of their own courses, but also with respect to the goals of the unit and the institution, the profile of their students as learners and as individuals with career goals, and their own abilities and professional goals.

With this objective, SLA becomes central to graduate programs, not ancillary—but only if SLA specialists insist on a more comprehensive professional profile for their discipline as a whole. Neither AAAL nor ACTFL is a sufficient venue, if LSA or an educational theory and policy-working group or a conference on a content area is not added to the mix as an equal voice. That voice must represent the interdisciplinary work not presently attributed to the SLA specialist as defined as the person taking care of the lower division.

What can the SLA specialist do as part of the construction and assessment of a FL graduate program? First and foremost: help both colleagues and graduate students to bridge the gap between their specializations and the teaching climate. To be sure, there is almost no scholarly work extant on the teaching of literature in a FL framework, but there are analogues in how to teach history (see the work of the National Center for History (1996) and the *National Standards for History*[16]), which can help move from the general cognitive difficulty of Bloom's Taxonomy to discipline-specific learning hierarchies. For example, the *History Standards* are actually two sets of standards, one that outlines contents (epochs of world culture that have proved of particular significance for the globe) and another that speaks of literacies in studying history, including issues like "thinking chronologically"

[15] Old-style "objective tests" involving basic explanatory essays, definitions, and sometime multiple choice or true/false items test content mastery. Passing them requires good memories and often a lot of reading, but they do not necessary document other kinds of learning, like the ability to critique, to analyze, or to persuade, or the ability to work with original text materials to *create* categories of knowledge. Testing for an interlocking or articulated curriculum is likely to assess knowledge by setting as test items a series of tasks of ever-increasing difficulty, as is outlined in *Bloom's Taxonomy*, starting with recognition, labeling and grouping ("which item does not belong with the others"), to definitions and explanations, standard analytic patterns used to apply to the chosen materials ("Discuss how depressions and stock market crashes like 1929 tend to affect the middle classes more than any other"), and up to crafting original models.

[16] Note that the history *Standards* have two parts: *Historical Thinking Standards* and *Content Standards* for US and World History; see <http://www.nchs.ucla.edu/Standards/> (accessed 5 July 2013).

and reading maps. We need such taxonomies of cognitive learning problems and strategies for the teaching of literature, linguistics, or culture. How *do* we teach what class divides mean, or communication in different genres, or intertextualities?

Critically, this undertaking means that the SLA professional (and any program claiming to produce SLA PhDs) must also understand that alternatives for such planning and assessment exist, and that they often come from other disciplines. SLA without learning theory lacks adequate address to learners in general, even if it addresses learners in a particular classroom; "learning a foreign language" means a myriad of different things, each of which requires different tools for research, modeling curricula, and assessment. As for the literature/linguistics specialists, that means that the SLA professional must learn the appropriate strategic competencies for SLA's extended network of fields and overlapping disciplines.

Another issue that is critical to the current generation of scholar-teachers in both SLA and other specializations is the problem of digital literacy: not just digital archives or bibliographies but *literacy*—what it means to comprehend or communicate over new forms of technology (social media) in contrast to print forms, and other issues of informatics. The SLA expert, in supervising lower division courses, has to be familiar with main issues in comprehension and learning that come to the fore in the use of digital materials to represent a foreign culture, or in archive organization in an era when indexing and thesauruses are no longer familiar to users. This might, for example, require additional help from reference and research librarians—but it is critical to understanding not only how to teach these materials, but also how the "order of books" may be changing,[17] which will effect future research and force literary and linguistics scholars to rethink their assumptions about literacy and exposure to specific forms of language or textualities.

Other chapters in this volume make eloquent cases for an expanded profile for SLA scholars. What I have briefly outlined here is the case that such expansions are critical to the survival of language programs—that scholarship in SLA can complement other specializations, that assessment and curricular planning need to involve all levels and areas of a program (especially in light of policy and student learning issues), and that research needs to inform decisions in these other areas. The PhDs in *all* areas of the typical PhD program need to know that issues from SLA must be integrated into their own practice—their professional development on every level will be conditioned by the epistemology of and practices within a teaching environment, just as other sorts of professional development problems (the ones described above), will condition every aspect of their scholarship and professional practice. As Willis-Allen proposes, these professional development issues will be involved in designing teaching materials and course development, not just for the lower division, but for all levels of the curriculum. To this criterion I would add that their supervisors must give explicit attention to how to teach their dissertation specialties and what there actually is to teach in them, as well as to realistic assessments of the relation of their scholarly work to the undergraduate and graduate curricula.

[17] The term is borrowed from Roger Chartier (1994), who uses it to model how books are involved in various networks: as container for knowledge, as an object of value, as an object to be controlled, etc.

7 Some Conclusions

The set of six areas of practice that I have outlined here as a heuristic for understanding what a graduate program needs to teach and assess as part of professional and scholarly practice have to be understood as a way to look at what *is* represented in existing programs, so as to assess their effectiveness and where they can be improved. No program will have the resources or size to pay equal attention to all of those areas; no student will have the time and funding to devote extensive time to all. However, *every* program will have to create the consciousness in its PhDs that the map presented in my heuristic do indeed define professional practice, professional goals, and the nature of learning at the PhD. Which aspects it chooses to highlight are local; there are no "wrong" or "right" combinations of focus, but there are terrifically poor matches between programs and its students, between professional aspirations and the training required to fulfill them, and between individual work-life balance choices and the kind and intensity of work required in certain career choices.

Virtually all educators in higher education have to engage in research in one form or another, to some extent or other (from books to conference or alumni presentations)—sometimes as producers, sometimes as disseminators (and with a choice of disseminating to the public or their own students). Each choice, however, requires a different set of these area skills to be emphasized—dissemination requires communication and utter clarity about audiences and their needs, production requires impeccable attention to research design and communication to professional communities about alternatives. Virtually all scholars in higher education have to engage in various forms of teaching—sometimes as classroom teachers, or as presenters in workshop or continuing education, or as supervisors explaining curricula and curricular change to those they supervise.

That situation also applies to FL programs as institutional entities, not just as realizations of theoretical principles: they must be able to diagnose what they are able to teach, to use local resources to supplement what they are missing, and to assess their students, over the course of their program, on their development in *all* of these areas (with particular emphasis on their specialization, but never neglecting other dimensions of professional practice). They must self-assess in multiple dimensions and stress that their students are engaged in a profound network of multiliteracies that they are learning to balance—the essence of a PhD program as the creation of accountable professionals, and a set of literacies that qualify them broadly to work independently and credibly both inside and outside the academy. To do less is to consign the humanities to the role of a welfare recipient, whose existence is guaranteed only by the charity of others (charity assigned in the form of "required courses" that guarantee enrollments and budgets for teaching assistants who continue their graduate educations—funding that may be under threat from the idea of MOOCs, large online courses). To address these literacies as critical to professional practice is to reclaim relevance for the PhD and to help PhD students plan their professional lives rather than being subject to the ever-decreasing employment opportunities for narrow specialists.

The essays in this volume prove that we can do better—and that SLA specialists have begun to lead the way in that direction of assessment and accountability that keeps any profession viable and relevant to current needs.

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