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Towards Multilingualism and the Inclusion of Cultural Diversity

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and the Inclusion of Cultural Diversity

Content

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Introduction

1. Spirit of change

At the beginning of the 21st century, we published an anthology entitled "Plurilingualität[1] und Identität" (De Florio-Hansen/Hu eds. 2003, [2]2007). The large majority of the articles dealt with how multilinguals – in most cases people with migration backgrounds – regard their multiple identities, i.e., how they perceive themselves in comparison to the different ways other people perceive multilingualism and multilingual speakers.

In the aftermath of increasing migration into the European countries and between them, a spirit of change is evident. Unfortunately, positive changes did reached only the societies and their main institutions in part, e. g. the education systems. But there are evident developments in the respective scientific disciplines. The most important are the evolution from
  - 'Interdisciplinarity' towards 'Transdisciplinarity'
  - 'Interculturalism' towards 'Transculturalism'
  - 'Diversity' towards 'Super-Diversity'
  - 'Integration' towards 'Inclusion'

In my opinion, there is nothing wrong with the fact that the findings of the humanities and the social sciences precede and prepare for societal changes, if these developments really reach and transform migratory societies in a positive fashion.

As the term 'patchwork identity' is often used in various fields of psychology and sociology (e.g. Kraus 2000; http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php), I opt for calling our present volume a patchwork. The choice and sequence of the contributions are determined by an interdisciplinary,

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[1]   In Europe, especially in multilingual countries, a distinction is made between territorial and individual multilingualism. For the latter type the term 'plurilingualism' is used. Thus, multilingualism refers to countries like Switzerland, Belgium and Luxembourg; meanwhile the individual speakers who know and use several languages are called 'plurilinguals'. This distinction, in my opinion, is not very sensible: What about 'plurilinguals' in multilingual countries? Therefore, in the present volume, the term 'multilingualism' covers both (multifaceted) phenomena.

or better: a 'transdisciplinary' approach (cf. Welsch 2010). How does 'interdisciplinarity' differ from 'transdisciplinarity'? The often quoted interdisciplinary approach should consist in the exchange of ideas and the cooperation of scholars from different disciplines – to create a piece of research uniting different views to reach synergetic effects. In reality, scholars often get together to discuss their projects, but afterwards follow their own purposes. For this reason, 'interdisciplinarity' lost its meaning becoming a more or less empty phrase. 'Transdisciplinary' approaches, however, aim at a non-antagonistic exchange. Unfortunately, there is often a 'clash of philosophical and scientific cultures'[2] caused by completely different views of the same subject and varying research practices. This clash is aggravated by terminological misunderstandings of the disciplines involved.[3]

We are still far away from real 'transdisciplinary' research, but at least this small anthology is an attempt to unite contributions from such fields as linguistics, (foreign and second) language pedagogy, migration studies, and social philosophy (cf. below for details). As we are – hopefully – on the way towards multilingualism and the inclusion of cultural diversity, a 'transdisciplinary' approach is extrinsically entwined with the concept of 'transculturality' which should replace multiculturalism and 'interculturality'. Revised concepts of culture are inevitable in times of internationalization and globalization (cf. e.g. Hu 2003). Professional and private mobility, migration flows and worldwide communication show that monolithic cultural concepts – strongly separating one national culture from the other – have become obsolete, mainly for two reasons: They do not correspond to the reality of modern 'patchwork' identities; moreover, they impede the integration, or better: the inclusion of individuals with different cultural backgrounds. Huntington's *The Clash of Civilizations* is mainly based on this obsolete view of cultures and emanating civilizations.

For a better understanding of the concept of 'transculturality', it is useful to differentiate between two aspects of culture: content and extension. 'Transculturality' is about the extensional aspects of cultures and civilizations. For more than two centuries, theories about culture followed the so-called 'sphere-model' which goes back to J. G. Herder at the end of the 18th century. Even though Herder's views of the content of culture – he included aspects of everyday life – were innovative at his time, he determined the conceptualization of cultural extension in a negative way. That is to say, his 'sphere-model' might have been adequate at the end of the 18th century. But until recently, it paralyzed the development of concepts reflecting the needs of contemporary societies.

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[2] The title of S. P. Hunting's controversial book *The Clash of Civilizations* (1996) is reproduced in German as *Der Kampf der Kulturen.* This slogan leads to an overgeneralization and a simplification of Huntington's theories.

[3] Cf. the INALCO-Project of the European Union.

Welsch (2010), to whom we owe the concept of 'transculturality', quotes from Herder: "jede Nation hat ihren Mittelpunkt der Glückseligkeit in sich wie jede Kugel ihren Schwerpunkt!" (Herder 1774, 44f.). This 'sphere-model' implicates an internal claim to 'homogenization' and an external demand for exclusion. The consequences of his conceptualization consist in a lack of communication between the spheres and in the impossibility of mutual influences and interlacements. Thus, Huntington's *The Clash of Civilizations*: Spheres can only clash.

'Transculturality' underlines the external network and the internal hybridism of cultures:

> Zeitgenössische Kulturen sind extern denkbar stark miteinander verbunden und verflochten. Die Lebensformen enden nicht mehr an den Grenzen der Einzelkulturen von einst (der vorgeblichen Nationalkulturen), sondern überschreiten diese, finden sich ebenso in anderen Kulturen. […]
> Und intern sind zeitgenössische Kulturen weithin durch Hybridisierung gekennzeichnet. […] Weltweit leben in der Mehrzahl der Länder auch Angehörige aller anderen Länder dieser Erde […] (Welsch 2010, 3).

Apart from the fact that concepts such as culture and thus 'transculturality' are not based on clear-cut models, the intention is evident: to allow for better understanding, cooperation and solidarity of people from different cultural backgrounds. Does multiculturalism not have the same aims? A great variety of multicultural concepts exist all over the world. In the Federal Republic of Germany 'multikulti' failed. The option for tolerance proved insufficient: It led to the development of parallel communities and ghettos. What was missing was respect which accepts other views and searches for similarities and communalities. Even in Canada, the success of 'multiculturalism' was quite limited. As opposed to the US 'melting pot' which in the beginning required complete assimilation or at least Americanization, Canadians – due to the their English/French heritage – tried out the living together of Anglophone and Francophone communities which resulted in other forms of segregation. Furthermore, what about the rights of other ethnic groups in the Canadian mosaic? (Ramirez 1990)

Even though there still is a widespread use of the term 'multiculturalism', the main multicultural concepts are no longer an option. In the USA, the metaphor of the melting pot was replaced by that of the rice salad, still expressing supremacy of the WASP (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant). To correspond to political correctness the rice salad- metaphor changed into that of a tossed salad. The thus expressed pluralism that should replace assimilation is an optimistic view, "a symbol which tends to describe the interaction among different ethnic groups […] but most of all to describe what should happen" (Gennaro Lerda 1990, V).

Welsch (2010, 7) points out that both concepts – multiculturalism as well as 'interculturality' – adhere to the ‚sphere-model' of culture: "Der Unterschied zwischen beiden ist nur, dass die Multikulturalisten dies im Blick auf Verhältnisse innerhalb von Gesellschaften, die Interkulturalisten hingegen im Blick auf die Verhältnisse zwischen Gesellschaften tun" (ibid.). The often quoted idea of intercultural learning aims at a dialogue between two different cultures through hermeneutic understanding. It focuses on otherness and tries to avoid the clash often manifested in so-called critical incidents. On the whole, the DESI study (cf. Beck/Klieme 2007) followed these conceptualizations creating tests for measuring intercultural competence by asking students how they judge a 'critical incident' and how their own behavior would have been in such a situation (cf. De Florio-Hansen 2010). In general, there is nothing wrong with having knowledge of customs and with being polite in international contacts, but the avoidance or the repairing of critical situations is by no means sufficient for a peaceful living and a proficient working together in multi-ethnic societies.

'Transdisciplinary' and 'transcultural' approaches go together with the fact that diversity is not longer considered an exception in modern societies. On the contrary: Individualization is a main feature today, and therefore diversity is rapidly increasing among autochthones through changes in public and private life. A great deal of these developments is caused by people originating from all over the world who contribute to personal and societal enrichment. In general, we can state that multifaceted societies with different cultural influences from outside are in the long run better prepared to face global and local challenges than communities of monoculture (cf. van Lier 2004). Analyzing 40 years of immigration in the UK, especially in London, Vertovec (2006, 5) coined a new term:

> Super-Diversity [is] a notion intended to underline a level and kind of complexity surpassing anything the country has previously experienced. Such a condition is distinguished by a dynamic of interplay of variables among an increased number of new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants (ibid).

What is true for the UK, is also valid for the German-speaking countries, even though there are some differences (cf. Gogolin/Meyer 2010)

As super-diversity is the rule in most Western societies – as it has always been in a less evident way –, homogenous and integrative options are becoming more and more obsolete. Every individual stands in his/her own right and has to be accepted, encouraged and supported as such. Meanwhile most (German) integrative school-programs tend to help students overcome their supposed 'deficits', inclusion means to accept the different views and talents of migrants without prejudice or better, considering their contributions as a chance for proper positive changes. In other words: Diversity education, i.e. pedagogy of

super-diversity, is based on the attempt to include and nurture all (positive) characteristics of migrant children. Furthermore, the inclusion of super-diversity is not limited to students and their teachers; it is a responsibility referring to all individuals, autochthones as well as migrants.

2. Multilingualism and Cultural Diversity as Signs of 'Europeanness'

With the present volume, I shall give an instantaneous view of some of the developments briefly outlined above. The main focus of the articles is on the Federal Republic of Germany and the German-speaking countries. 'Transdisciplinary' and 'transcultural' approaches as well as concepts of super-diversity and inclusion are on the way. Hopefully, the aforementioned concepts will have a deeper impact on most important fields of public and private life.

In her article "Multilingualism of the other", which opens the main part of the present volume, **Claire Kramsch** shows – taking Kafka as an example – that the knowledge of more than one foreign language was regarded as an aim of cosmopolitan elites long before the European Union proclaimed multilingualism, i.e. knowing at least two foreign languages, to be the main feature of 'Europeanness'. Giving Kafka's memoir "Ein Bericht für eine Akademie" (1917) a deeper reading, it becomes evident that multilingualism is quite always lived as a painful experience by multilingual individuals. Their identity, their 'legitimation' as a non-native speaker and their acknowledgement by the community of native speakers are to be considered as endangered. Nowadays, in the age of cultural displacement and identity crises, multilingual subjects have to deal with the reality of belonging to several speech communities that each have a claim on their whole self (Kramsch 2006, 2009).

Rotpeter, the protagonist of Kafka's language memoir, transformed through will power from an ape into a human being. He covers the stages of multilingual development – from ape language to human language to German – at lightning speed. The ape becomes human but he is alienated in human language even though he is able to write a report in highly educated standard German. Rotpeter's as well as Kafka's dilemma is that of the non-native speaker who, as an author, exercises ownership of a foreign language without being a legitimate owner of the language. That Rotpeter – although admired for his socialization into the German language – remains an outsider is also shown by an interesting activity in teaching and learning foreign languages at UC Berkeley. Divided in groups of four, the students "had to imagine themselves to be members of the Academy, assembled as a jury to decide, on the basis of Dr. Rotpeter's speech, whether or not invite him to join the American Academy of Sciences."

But Kramsch's article is not only about the willed renovation of identity and the painful questions that multilingual people ask themselves. Another important issue of her contribution is the role of literature and literary studies which, in combination with linguistics, give deeper insights into the situation and the feelings of multilingual subjects. In opposition to the social sciences which deal with theories and empirical data, literature describes the particular in order to show the universal human condition. "In this sense, linguistics and literary studies complement one another. While linguistics offers us a theory of language learning and language use, literature makes that theory relevant to each of us by grounding it once again in the particularity of our own experience."

Franz-Joseph Meissner – his article is entitled "Teaching and learning intercomprehension: a way to plurilingualism and learner autonomy" – outlines the evolution of a well-known project of the European Communities. Intercomprehension is an initiative conform to the promotion of European multilingualism. The overall aim of the European Union is to limit or even to avoid the use of English as lingua franca. The responsible linguists and educators of the *Language Policy Division* (cf. Doyé 2005) see in the use of a global language the danger of linguistic imperialism, the disadvantage of a culture-free use of the lingua franca and an insufficient communication and potential depreciation of the mother tongue (ibid. 7). In this *Guide for the development of language and education policies in Europe: from linguistic diversity to plurilingual education* Doyé (ibid. 7) defines intercomprehension as a form of communication in which each person uses his or her own language and understands that of the other. This concept is also refered to as reciprocal bilingualism.

Meissner's definition of intercomprehension in the present article is limited to the acquisition of reading knowledge in a language not explicitly learnt. The connection between the idiom already known and the "unknown" target language depends in the opinion of the 'intercomprehensionists' on the linguistic similarity of the two languages. The concept, not the term, seems to go back to language pedagogy in France where Dabène (1975) developed for her French students a comprehension model of Spanish texts. An important question, however, remained unanswered: What differences can we state between the immediate understanding of the "target" language and the systematic acquisition of special skills which are on the whole similar to those well-known for intelligent vocabulary guessing?

Meissner shows that reading comprehension depends not only on the relatedness of languages of the same family, but on other factors, too, e.g. a certain level of procedural competence, the development of multi-language and learning awareness raising strategies (MULLARS) as well as a deeper and broader mental processing of 'unstructured input'. Therefore, Meissner

underscores the narrow link ignored until now between Intercomprehension and Learner Autonomy.

The main contribution of Meissner consists in the detailed and differentiated description of the phases of intercomprehension, the intercomprehension method and the draft of a syllabus for teaching intercomprehension. Until recently, the empirical studies of Meissner himself and other 'intercomprehensionists' focused mainly on adult learners, especially university students. There is no doubt that intercomprehension is a useful tool for European elites. But how can intercomprehension be implemented in secondary schools? Is the concept not limited to privileged children of the (upper) middle class in grammar schools? What about students with migration backgrounds? Wouldn't it be worthwhile to include their high potential for multilingual communication?

The article of **Frank G. Königs** "The Issue Concerning the Pedagogy of Multilingualism – Where Is It going?" focuses on the German educational system, i.e. how foreign languages are taught and learnt in a school context. Defining 'multilingualism' broadly as knowledge of more than one foreign language, the author refers to the Language Policy of the European Union in the form of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment (CEFR; Council of Europe 2001a) and the European Language Portfolio (ELP; Council of Europe 2001b). In order to give some answers to the question of the title, Königs points out that multilingualism is a multilayered construct. Furthermore, he describes different perspectives on multilingualism.

The Curriculum Perspective deals mainly with the sequence in which languages are learnt in the schools of the Federal Republic of Germany. Königs opposes options like "French first" to the usual language order "English first". In this context, he argues that Spanish or Chinese may be the language of commerce in the next decades – using this consideration against a language policy that promotes English as first and main foreign language.

The Perspective of Foreign Language Oriented Educational Psychology is, on the whole, linked to the EuroCom-Project (of Intercomprehension). Königs gives some details of a respective teaching experiment at a 'Europaschule'[4].

The heterogeneous background knowledge of individual learners is taken even more into account in the following paragraph of Königs' contribution. It deals with the Methodological-Pedagogical Perspective. Language teachers (as well as their students) have to cope with the diversity of teaching and learning backgrounds, meanwhile foreign language pedagogy in German schools is still based on the notion that all students are monolingual, i.e., the teaching of foreign languages refers to German as mother tongue. Therefore Königs puts

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[4] ‚Europaschulen' are public schools which promote intercultural learning through innovative methodological approaches.

forward a claim for changes in foreign language teaching and its organization. The greatest challenge seems to be promoting self-directed learning among the students.

Inviting us to give the pedagogies of multilingualism a chance, Königs underscores the importance of differentiated views of multilingualism. Implicitly, the following questions result from his consideration that multilingualism is still in its infancy: Is there a difference between (foreign) language pedagogy and the pedagogie(s) of multilingualism? Is the latter concept not mainly about teaching and learning strategies apt to invite foreign language learners to consider the links between the languages learnt and useful learning strategies? Does the pedagogy of multilingualism – on the contrary of the more or less unconnected accumulation of different (separated) language repertoires – not refer to languages across the curriculum, too, with a strong claim for Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL)? Is the promotion of individual multilingualism of migrant students with their different mother tongues and their often differing learning traditions not a main field of research and practice?

The evident differences between language learners grown up with German only and multilingual students who are able to interact in a functionally adequate manner in two or more languages are in the focus of **Nicola Rück**. With an empirical study grounded on a questionnaire, she is able to take not only the learning results (marks on last report) into account but also the beliefs of the respondents regarding their language learning and use. Rück intends beliefs as individual subjective understandings, as idiosyncratic truths, "often value-related and characterized by a commitment not present in knowledge" (Wenden 1998: 517).

Summarizing the most important results of her empirical study (Rück 2009), she asks in the present article: "Are migrant children the better learners of French? About monolinguals and plurilinguals in the foreign language classroom". Before she can show – according to her findings based on the survey administered in 6 classes of ninth grade in different parts of Germany – that multilingual students, especially those of Türkish origin, are the better learners of French, she describes and justifies her research methods.

With reference to the *Beliefs about Language Learning Inventory* (BALLI; Horwitz 1987), Rück developed a "Questionnaire on the Learning of Foreign Languages" with a supplement for those students who grew up with more than one language. In order to reach a greater validity of the results and to give deeper insights her design is not only on an empirically qualitative basis, but she follows also a quantitative approach (126 respondents). Rück investigates into the reasons and draws quite differentiated conclusions from her findings with

regard to the teaching of French in German secondary schools (for further details cf. Rück 2009).

The following article "How migrant students of Turkish origin perceive their school and family contexts" of **Inez De Florio-Hansen** can be considered as an amplification of Rück's research. The overall aim of De Florio-Hansen and her doctoral student who administered the written survey consists in widening the perspectives: What do children and young people of Turkish origin think about the contexts they are living in? How do they perceive their situation in German schools, i.e., how do they feel in the classroom and the wider school context? What are their needs? Which are their aims in the future?

Even though their beliefs cannot be regarded as a mirror reflecting the 'real' conditions under which young Turkish people live their family and school lives in the Federal Republic of Germany, a crucial point in administering a questionnaire is the choice of the context. The difficulties or restrictions researchers have to surmount until there is a chance to find out what children and young people of Turkish descent really think about the school context, especially about their teachers, shall be described in De Florio-Hansen's article. This description leads to a balance of the pros and cons of other possible contexts that allow for a greater objectivity in the personal views of the respondents.

Furthermore, I shall illustrate in the contribution the long way from the first draft of the questionnaire to its final form, i.e. the questionnaire administered and presented in the article which – as many written surveys – could undoubtedly still be improved. The main challenge was twofold as I aimed at comparable results of a wide range of age and somehow deeper insights. How to formulate the different items in a fashion so that they were intelligible to students in the secondary system as well as to pupils of elementary schools? How many items would be necessary to shed light into the life contexts of migrant children and young people with Turkish roots? Would the doctoral student be able to motivate especially younger children to respond to a large number of items?

While Kramsch analyses a quite typical historic situation in Europe, i.e. Kafka's multilingualism, **Georges Lüdi** describes current possible difficulties and solutions of migration induced multilingualism in Switzerland with the overall aim of 'tranculturality'. What characterizes many European countries with migration flows is to be found in Swiss regions. But the language microcosm of this country offers more aspects worth considering in detail. Lüdi underscores the particularities of Switzerland, e.g. the territorial multilingualism (German, French, Italian, Rhaeto-Romansh), the inner-German variants (Swiss German) and the distinction between elite and folk multilingualism.

According to Lüdi, integration means inclusion: All language minorities – not only the recognized ones – should have the opportunity to participate in and contribute to the construction of social reality. In order to accomplish necessary social action, two other types of language functions have to be considered. The first one consists in developing a child's personality through a strong mother tongue. For good reasons Lüdi advocates the maintenance of L1 pointing out the psychological consequences caused by deprivation. The oppression of the mother tongue of migrant children is not only a loss for themselves, but for the host country, too. The second function is that of categorizing reality and acquiring new knowledge. Thus, a sufficient competence of the school language, i.e. German, is indispensable. A (further) common language would result in less violence: The knowledge of Swiss German helps to facilitate communication in everyday life.

In Lüdi's present article: "Integration and empowerment of migrant language minorities" empowerment does mean that social inequality should be reduced by responsible and autonomous citizens. The Basle "Integrationskonzept" and the Basle "Gesamtsprachenkonzept" regarding school language policy (cf. Lüdi 2003) are examples of Switzerland's search for multilingual solutions to the world's communication problems. These concepts implicate a valorization of multilingual forms of communication refusing to accept "homoglossic" ideologies. In this sense, a Swiss born journalist of Turkish origin considers himself a "best-of-program" of all his cultural backgrounds which are essential parts of his identity – and, one may add, which enrich the host country, too.

3. Metalogue

Giving migrants a chance to articulate their needs and to participate in the creation of social life, is not the only challenge of migration induced multilingualism. 'Transculturality' and the inclusion of cultural diversity do not depend only on language equality, i.e. a reconsidered and revised power relationship between dominant and dominated languages in order to give minorities a voice. This challenge is entwined with the claim for respect. An important issue in this context, especially in education, is the headscarf controversy.

In the context of education, the question of the recruitment of teachers becomes more and more important. There is no doubt that the schooling of children and adolescents originating from migrant families cannot be left to teachers from their own ethnic backgrounds. All teachers are responsible for migrant education. Evidently, it is not possible to transform teachers from other (than German) origin into "German teachers"; their function consists mostly in serving as 'trait d'union' and often as role models. For these reasons, the question of the headscarf has to be resolved. It became a problem when women

of other (than German) descent began to reach levels of higher education, becoming lawyers, data managers etc. They often wear the headscarf as a symbol of distinction.

Hopefully, we can shed some more light into the multifaceted und super-diversified contexts of migration induced multilingualism and help to improve the situation of migrants and their children in multiethnic and 'transcultural' contexts. In our opinion, only through respect and solidarity we can promote a peaceful working and living together of all citizens in multiethnic societies.

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CLAIRE KRAMSCH

Multilingualism of the other[1]

Abstract

Multilingualism used to be a taken-for-granted fact of life in border regions and diasporas, multiethnic communities and cosmopolitan families. It is now a global phenomenon.[2] In the U.S. it has been equated with marginalized immigrants, ethnic minorities and the learning of English as a second language (see, e.g. Pavlenko/Blackledge 2004). In Europe, multilingualism is promoted by the European Union as a badge of European citizenship (Gogolin 1994, Coste et al. 2004, Levy/Zarate 2003, Zarate/Gohard-Radenkovic 2004, Moore 2006, Kramsch 2006b, Zarate et al. 2007). However, the fundamental power differential between languages and their speakers is occulted by the bland term "multilingualism". In its celebration of multiplicity, this term does not take into consideration the painful issues of legitimation, entitlement, de- and reterritorialization, and the complex experience of people living across languages that each have different symbolic values. This paper explores the social and cultural dimensions of individual multilingualism by focusing on a special kind of "language memoir", namely a semi-autobiographical essay written by an author who is usually read as a monolingual German writer but who was, in fact, multilingual and multicultural: Franz Kafka. By giving Kafka a multilingual, rather than a psychoanalytic or metaphysical reading, we can perhaps explore what literary studies can contribute to research on multilingualism and, vice versa, how multilingualism research can enrich the study of literature.

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[1]   This title is a variation on Jacques Derrida's autobiographical essay *Le monolinguisme de l'autre* (Paris: Galilée, 1996).

[2]   This paper is a variant of a talk I gave at the Annual Meeting of the American Association for Applied Linguistics in Salt Like City on April 6, 2002, titled "Animal body, human language: What SLA can learn from Kafka's paradoxes" and of a plenary address I delivered at the Vth International Conference on Third Language Acquisition and Multilingualism on Sept.4, 2007 in Stirling, Scotland. I am grateful for the feedback received on these two occasions. I also want to thank Michael Huffmaster and David Gramling for their comments and input.

1. Multilingualism of the other

Franz Kafka (1883-1924), a Jew born and raised in the capital of what was to become Czechoslowakia, was the quintessential multilingual individual. His home language, German, was the educated language spoken by his family and friends and the language he was taught at school. Bilingual in Czech and German, Kafka knew in addition French and a little English. In 1907, when asked to fill out a personnel questionnaire for the Insurance Company he was to work for: „Kennen Sie außer Ihrer Muttersprache noch andere Sprachen? Welche? Wie weit reichen Ihre Kenntnisse darin? Können Sie diese Sprachen bloß verstehen oder auch sprechen, oder sich ihrer auch schriftlich bei Übersetzungen und Aufsätzen bedienen?", the 24-year old law school graduate wrote back in longhand: "Böhmisch, außerdem französisch und englisch, doch bin ich in den beiden letzten Sprachen außer Übung". Less than a year later, he responded to a similar prompt: „Der Petent ist der deutschen und böhmischen Sprache in Wort und Schrift mächtig, beherrscht ferner die französische, teilweise die englische Sprache." (cited in Gramling forthcoming). He also knew some Italian. Like so many Western European Jews of the time, he spoke and understood no Yiddish and only acquired some Hebrew much later (for an extensive study of Kafka's languages, see Nekula 2003).

The remarkable thing about Kafka is that he actually had no "mother tongue", if by mother tongue one means the language of the mother, of childhood affections, or attachment to a shared cultural community. His parents spoke German to him from birth and it was also the language he wrote in, but it remained for him, he said, a "learned" or "paper language", "the bureaucratic language of the state, a commercial language of exchange" (Deleuze/Guattari 1975, 25); he spoke it with the inflections of his hometown, Prague. As he writes to his friend Max Brod in October 1917, his German was the language of others, "[dieses Deutsch], das wir von unseren undeutschen Müttern noch im Ohre haben" (Brod/Kafka 1989, 216). In a sense one could say that Franz Kafka's decentered relation to German was similar to that of Jacques Derrida to French. Derrida, an Algerian Jew whose only language was French even though, as he says, French was not his language, called his linguistic condition a "monolingualism of the other" (Derrida 1996). What is interesting for us today is how Franz Kafka the writer overcame the self/other dichotomy by creating for himself a 'multilingualism of the other' that became unique to him. How did he achieve this feat?

In a letter to Max Brod dated June 1921, Kafka refers to attempts by Jews to learn German as "mauscheln", the German word for "speaking like Moses, i.e., like a Jew". In his view, acquiring the German language was for Jews a kind of theft; even if they spoke German like native speakers, Jews remained non-native speakers of the language.

> Das Mauscheln im weitesten Sinn genommen [ist] die laute oder stillschweigende oder auch selbstquälerische Anmaßung eines fremden Besitzes, den man nicht erworben, sondern durch einen (verhältnismäßig) flüchtigen Griff gestohlen hat und der fremder Besitz bleibt, auch wenn nicht der einzigste Sprachfehler nachgewiesen werden könnte. (Brod/Kafka 1989, 359)

During his childhood and adolescence, Franz Kafka, like other educated Western Jews of the time, scorned Yiddish, a language associated with low social class and Eastern European origins, the language of a diaspora without its own territory. But in his late twenties he discovers the traveling Yiddish popular theater of Isak Löwy.

He is overwhelmed by the vitality of the dancers, the music, the language. The yiddish language, this hybrid language "grafted on to Middle-High German" (Deleuze/Guattari 1975, 47), seems to have all the raw and exuberant lifeblood that he feels is missing in the German language. This encounter reconnects him with his Jewish roots, but as Deleuze/Guattari relate, it prompts him to relocate himself not in Yiddish, nor in Czech, but in the very language which he found so alienating – German, as we shall see in the next section. Deleuze/Guattari explain this paradox as follows:

> Kafka ne s'oriente pas vers une reterritorialisation par le tchèque. Ni vers un usage hyperculturel de l'allemand, avec surenchères oniriques, symboliques et mythiques même hébraïsantes […] Ni vers un yiddish oral et populaire.[…] Il voit [dans le yiddish] moins une sorte de territorialité linguistique pour les juifs qu'un mouvement de déterritorialisation nomade qui travaille [la langue allemande] […] tellement du dedans qu'on ne peut pas la traduire en allemand sans l'abolir. On ne peut comprendre le yiddish qu'en « le sentant », et avec le cœur […] Cette voie que montre le yiddish, il la prend d'une tout autre façon pour la convertir à une écriture unique et solitaire. (Deleuze/Guattari 1975, 46-47)

Thus we have in Kafka a multilingual individual who had, in effect, no "native language" and who ended up writing about nothing else but the existential entrapments of language. Many of his writings have to do with people, objects, animals in search of the language that would at last open the doors to truth, trust and survival. He was obsessed with messengers that never manage to deliver their messages, accused who can never find out what their sentence is, sons who get killed by the mere words uttered by their fathers, objects who speak and laugh without lungs, dogs who ceaselessly ask questions that remain unanswered. One of his more memorable writings is a short story about an ape who learns the human language: *Ein Bericht für eine Akademie*.

2. *Ein Bericht für eine Akademie* (1917)

In November 1917 Kafka published in the Zionist journal *Der Jude*[3] a short story titled "Ein Bericht für eine Akademie". This report, narrated in the first person by a fictional well-known variety artist, named Rotpeter, is a satire of an official speech traditionally delivered upon invitation to the assembled members of the Austrian academy by prominent scholars and artists. The speech is supposed to relate how they became the famous personalities they are now. In Rotpeter's case, it is the story, told in perfectly literate high German, of an ape who decided to become human and who eventually became a successful artist. It begins like this:

> Hohe Herren von der Akademie!
> Sie erweisen mir die Ehre, mich aufzufordern, der Akademie einen Bericht über mein affisches Vorleben einzureichen.
> In diesem Sinne kann ich leider der Aufforderung nicht nachkommen. Nahezu fünf Jahre trennen mich vom Affentum. […] Diese Leistung wäre unmöglich gewesen, wenn ich eigensinnig hätte an meinem Ursprung, an den Erinnerungen der Jugend festhalten wollen. Gerade Verzicht auf jeden Eigensinn war das oberste Gebot, das ich mir auferlegt hatte; ich, freier Affe, fügte mich diesem Joch. Dadurch verschlossen sich mir aber ihrerseits die Erinnerungen immer mehr.

He then goes on to recount his animal life in the jungle of Sierra Leone, his capture by the hunters of the German Hagenbeck circus, the shots he received, his incarceration in a cage too small to stand, too narrow to sit, crushed against a locker, his exhaustion and desperation, and, finally, his decision to escape by the only means available, namely, by ceasing to be an ape.

> Immer an dieser Kistenwand – ich wäre unweigerlich verreckt. Aber Affen *gehören* bei Hagenbeck an die Kistenwand – nun, so *hörte ich auf*, Affe zu sein.

Note that this metamorphosis itself is a linguistic feat. From *gehören* (to have a proper place) to *aufhören* (to stop), there is in German only a difference of a few letters, yet metaphysically the difference is between life and death. But it is also quite a scandalous utterance: How can someone *decide* to stop being who he is? Already here we can see the ambiguity that Kafka maintains throughout the story. Is the monkey just playing with language, well aware that he will never be taken for a human because he has the body of an ape? Will his outward appearance prevent people from hearing and reading the words he utters? Or

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[3]   This journal, edited by Martin Buber, only lasted eight years (1916-1924), but was an important intellectual forum for modern German Jewry. Its aim was to overcome deep divisions between Eastern and German Jews by offering a forum where East European writers and German Jewish readers could meet on neutral ground.

does his power to transform himself lie in the way he manages to manipulate the German language?

The ape starts learning the body language of his captors, he imitates their every gesture, is rewarded for his progress. He manages the sociopragmatics of the human handshake, the smoking, the drinking and grunting of the sailors on board. One day, as he has at last managed to gulp down a whole bottle of vodka and to throw the empty bottle dramatically behind him, not as a desperado, but "as an artist", the word "Hello!" bursts forth from his lips - his first human word. Thus starts his career as a human artist. His linguistic breakthrough is the first milestone on the path to becoming a fully assimilated speaker of German. He takes language lessons and wears out many language teachers ("I used up many teachers, indeed, several teachers at once"). He makes spectacular progress. He earns "highly distinguished medals and honorary doctorates of great universities". He becomes undistinguishable from a human member of the Academy. He only has the bad habit of reminding visitors of his origins by lowering his pants in public and openly displaying the wound he received during his capture.

This story was understood by many readers of the time as a satire on the assimilated Jews in Central Europe. After WWII, it was put on stage at various German theaters and was read as a metaphor for the plight of immigrants and the problems of identity associated with their acquisition of the dominant language. Since the 1990's there has been a dramatic increase in the number of performances of the *Bericht* , e.g., in Vienna, Weimar, and Berlin, and many other German cities, featuring Turkish and Kurdish actors in the role of the German-speaking ape.

3. Linguistic alienation

The process of multiple language acquisition in this story is clear enough. The ape has no other recourse, if it wants to survive, than to learn the language of its masters. But which language? First he has to abandon the animal language that was his.[4] He imitates the howls and grunts of the sailors on the ship, a non-verbal language with a human voice. After much distress at having to adopt the smoking, drinking and spitting behaviors of the sailors, he finally manages to bring forth his first human word: "Hello!" to the excited applause of the sailors on deck. From then on, through sheer will power and an exhausting regimen of daily training, he manages to learn the German variety of the human language. The German code enables him to speak to his teachers, the people around him and, once he has become a celebrity in the world of variety artists, his

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[4] It is not clear in which language he communicates with the little female ape that is brought to him every night by his impresario. Perhaps he has not completely forgotten his native language?

impresario. From ape language to human language to the German language, Rotpeter covers the stages of multilingual development at lightning speed.

But, of course, since the story is told in the first person, we know of this development only through the narrator, himself a variety artist, and the way he uses the German language is rather different from the German of native speakers, if only because he "plays at being a native speaker", rather than just being the unreflected mouthpiece of a speech community to which he would belong. Rotpeter becomes human but he is alienated in the human language.

Kafka's German has been read either as a vehicular language expressing the universal 20th century human condition, or as a referential language expressing a particularly German existential angst. Kafka's writings have also lent themselves to mythic interpretations, that point to the beyond through symbols, metaphors, and allegories. The readers of the time projected what Mark Turner (1996, 15) calls "a spatial action-story" of physical capture, transportation by ship, and human language instruction onto the more abstract "nonspatial event-story" of the assimilated Jew in the Prague of 1917. The source story, i.e., the successful language learner and renowned artist, was projected parabolically onto a target story, the story of Franz Kafka himself. As Turner and Fauconnier have shown (Turner 1996, Fauconnier/Turner 2002), by projecting one story onto another, readers blend two mental spaces into one another. Here, we have at least two stories blended one into another, based on such metaphors as: AN APE IS A HUMAN, A JEW IS A GERMAN, A NON-NATIVE IMMIGRANT IS A NATIVE SPEAKER, each in a blended condition, made accessible through metaphoric processing of the text by its readers.

The cognitive and rhetorical process by which we construct stories, project them onto other stories, and blend one story into another is what Turner calls "parable" (ibid., 15). Parable is here a cognitive process or mental instrument, that begins with narrative imagining, then combines story with projection. In the 1990's, the audiences at the staging of this story have no difficulty projecting the Kafka source story on to the target story of immigrants in Germany, forced to emigrate from their countries of origin through political or economic necessity, and forced to learn German. Some of them became writers, who, like the Italian Gino Chiellino, the Brazilian Zedo Rock, the Turk Feridun Zaimoglu, tried to bend the German language to make it say things monolingual native speakers are not likely to say.

Many monolingual readers read Kafka's German as a mythic language, filled with symbolism and psychoanalytic traces of a troubled father/son relationship. But, in fact, multilingual Kafka, like his alter ego Rotpeter, rejected symbolism. Together with his reader, he constructed a world where words are taken at face value, in the here and now of a purely linguistic territory. As Deleuze/Guattari describe it:

Journal 1921 : « Les métaphores sont l'une des choses qui me font désespérer de la littérature ». Kafka tue délibérément toute métaphore, tout symbolisme, toute signification, non moins que toute désignation. La métamorphose est le contraire de la métaphore. Il n'y a plus sens propre ni sens figuré, mais distribution d'états dans l'éventail du mot. La chose et les autres choses ne sont plus que des intensités parcourues par les sons ou les mots déterritorialisés suivant leur *ligne de fuite*. (Deleuze/Guattari 1975, 40, my emphasis)

One understands now a little bit better how Rotpeter's metamorphosis, that hinged on the wordplay *gehören/aufhören*, could come to pass. That wordplay strips the signifiers of all their social and cultural ("territorialized") connotations and denotations. It reduces them to deterritorialized, visual and acoustic ciphers that enable him to escape the limitations imposed by any given society and culture . The French term *ligne de fuite* [line of escape] used by Deleuze/Guattari is intriguing. Itself a metaphor, it evokes either perspective in painting (*point de fuite* or vanishing point), or escape route, or just flight trajectory. Each of these blends in turn creates and is created by a philological reading of everyday words like two other everyday words, *Ausweg* and *berichten,* as I show below.

4. Lines of escape of the multilingual writer

4.1 Taking the language at its word

Some literary critics like Marthe Robert (1979) and Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (1975, 22-23) have argued that to understand a multilingual narrator like Kafka you have to go beyond allegory, symbolism, and take language at its word , i.e., adopt neither a referential nor a mythic reading, but a meaning that comes directly from the sounds of words, their etymology or their grammatical shape on the page – what Deleuze/Guattari call "de-territorialization". We have seen already his play with the verbs *gehören* and *aufhören*. For the ape-become-human, as for multilingual writers, the German language is not bound to be either referential or mythic; its meaning can escape along semiolinguistic 'intensities' that are more or less literal, more or less figurative. Rotpeter's German looks like German, sounds like German, is indistinguishable from that of a native speaker of German, and yet it remains the language of an ape - an ape-actor on the stage of a variety theater. Take, for example, the word **Ausweg** in the passage below from *Ein Bericht für eine Akademie.*

Ich verlangte Freiheit weder damals noch heute. Nebenbei: mit Freiheit betrügt man sich unter Menschen allzu oft. […] Nein Freiheit wollte ich nicht. Nur einen *Ausweg* […] sollte der Ausweg auch nur eine Täuschung sein. […] Nur nicht mit aufgehobenen Armen stillestehen, angedrückt an eine Kistenwand.

In everyday German, *Ausweg* has the metaphoric meaning of escape, get-away, solution out of a dilemma. In literary German it might mean *Freiheit* (freedom). Kafka rejects both metaphors and gives the word additional meaning by reducing the term to its bare bones etymology: *Aus-weg = Weg (hin)aus* or exit out of the cage. We should not, however, **expect** that for a German speaker the lexical item *Ausweg* cannot be used to indicate an exit, which would have to be expressed by words like *Ausgang* or *Ausfahrt*. The ape has to find a path where none exists. The multilingual has to invent a way of using language that doesn't exist in any of the languages spoken by monolinguals.

Of course, Kafka almost abets his readers into associating *Ausweg* with some mythic beyond, because the German language easily lends itself to flights of symbolism. They may associate "a way out" with existential notions of inclusion and exclusion, life and death, freedom and bondage. And Rotpeter derives cunning pleasure from reminding his audience that humans know nothing of freedom. *Freiheit*, he says, is reserved to animals, to a paradise lost, and an ape's distant memory of perfect happiness. But Kafka never allows his readers to dwell on this metaphoric reading of the story. One particularly noteworthy example comes at the end of his speech, when Rotpeter says:

> Überblicke ich meine Entwicklung und ihr bisheriges Ziel, so klage ich weder, noch bin ich zufrieden […] ich *berichte* nur, auch Ihnen, hohe Herren von der Akademie, habe ich nur *berichtet*. (my emphases)

The verb **berichten**, (to report) with its transitivity prefix **be-** , is used in German verb formation to make someone or something the target of a nominalized action as in *begraben* (to bury) or *begrüßen* (to greet). Everyday uses of German are clear: *berichten* means nothing more than to make a report such as the one the ape makes in this story.

But Kafka's *Bericht* is no mere report. By cunningly playing with the signifier, Kafka makes the *Bericht* into an indictment. The indoeuropean root *recht-* (meaning: right, correct, lawful, upright, forthright), enables the narrator to play with the polysemy of the words *richten* (to judge) and *berichten* (to report). It invites the reader to explore alternative mental spaces related to "putting things straight", "setting the record straight" or "saying it right", "correcting someone" or even "making apes stand upright", and the like. While the ape accedes to the humans' request that he ‚report' on the facts, his statement above implies that he is also setting the record straight, passing judgment, bringing justice. Thus, in the same manner as the ape of the story scorns the language of his teachers (the sailors with their howls and grunts) all the while that he expresses his gratitude for their instruction, the non-native narrator manages to criticize the native speakers at the same time as he complies with their request to state the facts, nothing but the facts, about his socialization into multilingualism.

In sum, Kafka goes further than just write a well-crafted fictitious monologue in highly educated standard German. He weaves the principle of hybridity characteristic of his minority language, Yiddish, right into the fabric of the dominant language. He does that by requiring of his readers a way of reading that is not quite literal/referential and not quite figurative/metaphorical but thrives on the form of the signifier itself: etymologies, associations of verbal shapes and sounds, puns and language play. Indeed, what Kafka loved most in Yiddish, the vernacular language used by Jews from central and eastern Europe, was the vitality with which it had hybridized High German through Hebrew and Slavonic borrowings, and through written Hebrew characters. Yiddish theater opened his eyes to the relation between the language and the dancing, singing bodies of its actors and musicians.

4.2. Reterritorializing language in the reader's body

If the first "line of escape" was **deterritorizializing** the German language, the second is a reterritorialization in the reader's body. The emotional responses the story received showed that it was read as more than an allegory. It reached the readers in their embodied selves. Besides reterritorializing the meaning of words in the words themselves rather than in some outside reality here or beyond, Kafka embeds the language in prototypical image schemas evoked by the words. The notion of image schema, used by cognitive scientists like George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (Lakoff 1987, Johnson 1987), refers to cognitive and affective patterns that recur in our sensory and motor experience. Motion along a path, bounded interior, balance, symmetry, space, time, causality are typical image-schemas. A container (e.g., a locker) is an image-schema. It has three parts: an interior, an exterior, and a boundary that separates them. "We experience many things as containers: a bottle, a bag, a cup, a car, a mountain valley, rooms, houses. Two of our most important containers are our heads and our bodies." (Turner 1996, 16)

Actions like "hunting" or "capture" evoke image-schemas of physical violence along a path, objects like "locker" or "wall" evoke image-schemas of enclosure and containment, prepositions like *against* the lockerwall, *facing* the locker, *in front of* the locker evoke physical coercion and constraint. We can identify with the plight of the ape because we share with the narrator some of the basic image-schemas of human perception and interaction, such as: space, time, causality, motion along a path, container and containment, up and down, in and out. Ultimately, we *empathize* but also we *engage* with Rotpeter's paradoxes and inconsistencies, such as the fact that for him the foreign language was both a *way out* of bondage (*Ausweg*) and a *way in* to the opportunities and constraints of a speech community. This speech community negated him as an ape, but now it rewards his linguistic performance and applauds his story.

4.3 Cultivating paradox and irony

The third line of escape for the narrator is what Kellman has called the multilingual narrator's "willed renovation of his own identity" (Kellman 2000). In *Ein Bericht für eine Akademie*, Rotpeter's speech is alternately obsequious, ironical, lyrical, tragic. He adopts in turn the deferent tone of a respectful circus director, the macho tone of military camaraderie, the lofty metaphysical/philosophical tone of the sage, and the conceited tone of the academic. He insults his audience as he praises them. Here, for instance, his ponderous statement towards the end of his speech: "Ihr Affentum, meine Herren, sofern Sie etwas Derartiges hinter sich haben, kann Ihnen nicht ferner sein als mir das meine". This little sentence contains a typical mix of obsequiousness and insult: An assumption of equality between apes and humans, a suggestion that the venerable gentlemen of the Academy are specious and unreliable monkeys (who "monkey around"), the double-voicing "etwas Derartiges" that ventriloquates the derogatory comments made by natives on the *Art (der-art-iges),* i.e., race, manners and ethnicity, of non-natives. Not only can the various blended spaces of this story be blended one into the other, but they can combine with other stories to make an even richer mix. For example, the Kafka story can be blended with the many stories of Monkey, the Great Pretender mischief maker and havoc wreaker par excellence, who in various trickster narratives always plays an ambiguous role, robbing Peter to give to Paul, while pretending to serve both.

A prime example of this deviousness in *Ein Bericht für eine Akademie* is shown after his metamorphosis into a human being. The first human behavior that the ape acquires is the human handshake, the traditional sign of man-to-man honesty and trustworthiness, a pledge to keep's one word. "Das erste, was ich lernte, war: den Handschlag geben; Handschlag bezeigt Offenheit; mag nun heute, wo ich auf dem Höhepunkte meiner Laufbahn stehe, zu jenem ersten Handschlag auch das offene Wort hinzukommen." The handshake is the quintessential human sign of friendship and trust. But how can we trust a monkey, even if he speaks like a native speaker? Our suspicion extends to Rotpeter, the narrator. We may perhaps even distrust this whole story, since monkeys are notoriously playful and unreliable, and their language is, as we all know, gibberish[5].

5. From multilingualism of the other to third language

Beside German that was spoken at home and Czech that was spoken outside the home, Kafka carved out for himself a third language of his own poetic creation, inspired by the rediscovery of his Jewish roots. It is in that language that he

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[5]   *gibberish* is defined in the OED as "the nonsense chatter of an ape or monkey."

recounted the story of an ape turned human. The fears and hopes of the protagonist can help us understand the complex and paradoxical nature of this third language.

5.1 Linguistic legitimacy: the hidden anguish of the multilingual speaker

The multilingual individual has to deal with sometimes excruciating questions of legitimacy, identity, and personal integrity. Some of the little mentioned fears of non-native multilingual speakers, besides the fear of not sufficiently mastering their various linguistic codes and not being able to communicate with others, is the fear of not being entitled to use these codes the way monolingual speakers do. Some of the questions multilingual speakers like Kafka ask are:

Do I speak a legitimate language? Do I speak it well enough to be understood? To be taken seriously? To be accepted? Don't the questions I continually ask of native speakers brand me as an outsider, reveal my unwillingness to just play the game, to accept the native speaker ways as facts of life? Protagonists in Kafka's stories are tirelessly trying to find out what the rules are, how to have access to the law, but they are given no other answer than: "Become one of us and you will know." Yet becoming one of them is by definition impossible for someone who, like an ape, doesn't look like them.[6] The non-native can be explained the rules of grammatical and lexical accuracy, but cannot – or may not - be explained the laws of pragmatic appropriateness and sociolinguistic acceptability.

Am I a legitimate speaker of the dominant language? Am I listened to with benevolence, or condescension?[7] How can I speak/write the dominant language like a native speaker without usurping the native speaker's style and sounding like an impostor? Are the writings of non-native writers of German read for their universal appeal as German literature or for their exoticism, as *Ausländerliteratur*? (Kundera 2007). Are people interested in what I say because of what I have to say or because of what I represent (e.g., an ethnic minority)? Do I want my listeners to understand how similar to or how different I am from them? Kafka brilliantly illustrates the dilemma of the non-native speaker author

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[6] In a recent essay, Milan Kundera reports on a conversation he had with a Frenchman, where he tried to tell a funny story of a hoax to beat police surveillance in the Communist CSSR, to which the Frenchman replied: "I don't find that funny". He summed up his understanding of the cross-cultural clash as follows: "We remained friendly, but we were never friends. The memory of our first encounter serves as a key to understanding our long-unacknowledged differences. What held us apart was the clash of two aesthetic attitudes: the (Czech) man allergic to kitsch collides with the (French) man allergic to vulgarity" (2007, 35). How can one bridge this difference even if one recognizes it as such?

[7] „Sie sprechen aber gut Deutsch!" said by a German professor to a Nigerian professor of German at an international conference of German teachers in Germany.

exercising "ownership" (Widdowson 1994) of a foreign language without being a legitimate 'owner' of that language (Kramsch 2006b).

5.2. Experienced multilingualism: de- and re-territorialization

Deleuze/Guattari discuss how the breakdown and fall of the Hapsburg empire at the outset of World War I accentuated among scientists, artists, writers, thinkers of the time a sense of deterritorialization, decenteredness that can be found at once in Einstein's theory of relativity, twelve tone music, expressionist cinema, Viennese psychoanalysis and the Prague school of linguistics. This sense of deterritorialization has its parallels in the post-structuralist orientation of much thinking today. Like the territorial upheavals of the 1920's, today's globalization and large scale migrations have made multilingualism, a natural state of affairs, a symptom of the deterritorialization of languages and cultures (Kramsch 2006a) and an opportunity for reterritorializations of various kinds through language (see Pavlenko/Blackledge 2004).

In this age of cultural displacements and identity crises, multilinguals have to deal with the reality of belonging to several speech communities that each have a claim on their whole self (Kramsch 1996). Native speakers want to integrate them into their speech communities: "you are one of ours", "just be one of ours", yet they will always be by definition non-native speakers, asking embarrassing questions and behaving, like Rotpeter, in inappropriate, kitschy or vulgar ways. Echoing cultural stereotypes, Kafka's pessimism has generally been seen as quintessentially German, his caustic style as quintessentially Jewish, his cultural roots as quintessentially steeped in his German-Czech origins. But the question native speakers will continue to ask is: Can we trust you? Rotpeter's answer is ambivalent, but Kafka's is not. We might not be able to trust the ape if we take him as a native speaker of German, but we can trust Franz Kafka, the literary author, to tell the truth of what it means to be multilingual.

5.3 Foreign language teachers re-territorialize Kafka's multilingual protagonist

In an effort to make foreign language teachers aware of multilinguals' experiences, twelve language teachers, teaching a variety of languages (French, German, Russian, Hebrew, Danish, Korean) at UC Berkeley, were given the story to read and were then divided into four groups of three. Each group had to imagine themselves to be members of the Academy, assembled as a jury to decide, on the basis of Dr. Rotpeter's speech, whether or not to invite him to join the American Academy of Sciences. Group members had to discuss among themselves who they each wanted to impersonate. Each was then to give his/her opinion on the candidate's suitability for membership and assign him a rating on

a scale of 1-10. The candidate had to be given a group score of at least 20 points to be admitted.

Group #1. U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Services
The Immigration Office: Despite his superb mastery of the language, Dr. Rotpeter lacks the proper funding necessary for a green card, and would not suffer persecution or death if returned to his native country, Sierra Leone. He will therefore be deported. Rating: 1/10
The Scientific Advisor: Rotpeter's extraordinary second language acquisition curve, his amazing accelerated development show an unusually high degree of instrumental motivation. However, I felt tricked by the candidate's eloquence and didn't know whether to trust him. Rating: 7/10
The Human Rights Activist: Dr. Rotpeter has endured unbelievable hardships and adversities. He has overcome his humble origins, his physical and cultural uprooting, and has shown determination and stamina to fight and make it against all odds. He is a national treasure and his story should serve as a model for many people. Rating: 10/10.

Group #2. U.S.Citizens for Democracy
The President of the Heritage Languages Association: Dr. Rotpeter's story is quite similar to that of many heritage language learners in the U.S. As Dr. Rotpeter writes: "There was no attraction for me in imitating human beings. I imitated them because I needed a way out, and for no other reason. I lost my human voice again at once: it did not come back from months; my aversion for the schnapps bottle returned again with even greater force. But the line I was to follow had in any case been decided, once and for all." There are clearly three types of heritage students: those who do not want anything to do with their heritage and want to be totally assimilated; those who happily want to be multicultural; and those who are in a dilemma like Dr. Rotpeter. Students in this third category look for the "way out" and decide to act only as "on stage." The motivations of being multicultural or multilingual can stem from different reasons, but whether they are happy as multicultural individuals will depend on who they are and what counts as happiness. I believe that the Academy of Sciences will benefit from having Dr. Rotpeter among its members, if only to represent the large number of heritage speakers we have today in America. Rating: 6/10
A white supremacist: Not to be trusted. Why does he want extra points for just being human? If he has decided to become one of us, why does he always remind us that he is a foreigner? Why does he want our pity, our admiration? And if he is not really one of us, why should we invite him to be part of our Academy? Rating: 0/10

A member of the Republican party: This ape is pretty pretentious to pretend to be like us. After all, he is and remains an ape. However, he does have a way with the human language that one can only admire. Rating: 2/10.

Group #3. Prominent figures in world history and politics
Dick Cheney, former Vice President of the United States: This individual has a subversive irony and a wit that make him suspicious. We can't trust him. He must be a spy. We have to keep an eye on him. But precisely for that reason, we need to have him in our Academy. Rating: 10/10
Madeleine Albright, former U.S. Secretary of State: What does he mean that we are not free in America? This Dr. Rotpeter is not very diplomatic. He is relentlessly seeking to reveal the truth about his origins, about us, and this won't win him any friends. However, he does have an immaculate ability to assimilate and who knows? Perhaps he will manage to change the world for the better. Rating: 5/10.
Queen Elizabeth II of England: Dr. Rotpeter's performance was impressive, he truly is a master of masks. Moreover, he is quite a gentleman. He is eloquent and well-educated, and cleans his face when spat on. However, I sense a covert hostility and anger in his speech, a slight superiority complex and I wonder whether he knows his place. Speaking, as he does, above his station, I wonder if he will not be a potential threat to the social well-being of this country. Rating: 4/10.

Group #4. Media celebrities
Ingmar Bergman, filmmaker: Dr. Rotpeter's script lacks depth and a sense of the tragic. Instead of cries and whispers, we have cold sarcasm and caustic irony. The protagonist avoids confronting death, which he hopes to stave off through words. He leaves no time for pain to fester. In short: an emotional alien, a dilettante alien, an amateur student of life. However, I must admit that some of his spatial metaphors of entrapment would make a good film, as would his metamorphosis from an ape to a human, and the scene with the little female chimp. Rating: 7/10.
George W. Bush, former United States President: I looked into his eyes and I liked what I saw: a good man I can trust. He has an earthy manner, a say-it-like-it-is, no nonsense humor that I can deal with. There is an immigrant who has experienced a conversion, pulled himself up by his bootstraps, learned good English and is out to achieve the American Dream. However, he looks a little too much to the past; instead he should move on and look to the future. Rating: 7/10.
Dr. Phil, TV show psychotherapist: Dr. Rotpeter is an admirable example for us all. He experienced wounds and abuses, bad relationships, and the ravages of alcoholism, but he moved on, turned his life around and managed to build a

nurturing relationship with a female chimpanzee. He could shave better, however. He definitely deserves to be admitted to the Academy. Rating: 9/10.

In the end, the only group that concurred in admitting Dr. Rotpeter into the Academy was the jury made up of media celebrities. The students were evidently more willing to admit the ape into the human Academy of Sciences as a variety artist than just as a human being – quod erat demonstrandum. But it also suggests that the teachers were sensitive to the artful nature of the story and the unconventional style of its author.

Conclusion: The legitimacy of the multilingual speaker in a multilingual world

How can the study of literature and research on multilingualism contribute to one another? The ability of a literary author like Franz Kafka to multiply meaning by using everyday language in unusual ways is not reserved to writers who know several languages. Literary or poetic language, as linguists like Jakobson (1960) or Widdowson (1992) have pointed out, has always invited the reader to focus on style rather than just content. It defamiliarizes the familiar, reconfigures the usual, and flouts readers' expectations. But the translingual imagination (Kellman 2000) benefits from an additional store of meaning possibilities that come from other linguistic codes, other cultural resonances. Research on multilingualism can bring to the fore the psycho- and sociolinguistic aspects of individual multilingualism, for example, enhanced metalinguistic awareness (Jessner 2006), subjective resonances of various languages (Pavlenko/Blackledge 2004), differences in the symbolic value historically attached to each of them, and the subtle meanings of code-switching. But neither ethnographic interviews nor the most detailed analysis of empirical data can easily capture the range of human feelings, memories and aspirations that literature can express. While the social sciences try to apply universal theories to predict particular phenomena and use empirical data to build theories, literature tries to describe the particular and thereby to understand the universal human condition. Thus it is the very concrete, detailed description of Rotpeter's particular predicament that enables us to reterritorialize his experience into ours. In this sense, linguistics and literary studies complement one another. While linguistics offers us a theory of language learning and language use, literature makes that theory relevant to each of us by grounding it once again in the particularity of our own experience.

What Kafka so vividly portrays is the particular wager of multilingualism. He has earned his legitimacy as a German author by making visible the absences, the alterities in the heart of the German language – what Deleuze/Guattari call: "stealing the baby from its crib and walking the tightrope".

Combien de gens aujourd'hui vivent dans une langue qui n'est pas la leur? Ou bien ne connaissent même plus la leur, ou pas encore, et connaissent mal la langue majeure dont ils sont forcés de se servir ? Problème des immigrés, et surtout de leurs enfants. Problème des minorités. Problème d'une littérature mineure, mais aussi pour nous tous : comment arracher à sa propre langue une littérature mineure, capable de creuser le langage, et de le faire filer suivant une ligne révolutionnaire sobre ? Comment devenir le nomade et l'immigré et le tzigane de sa propre langue ? Kafka dit : voler l'enfant au berceau, danser sur la corde raide.
(Deleuze/Guattari 1975, 35)

Research on multilingualism would benefit from exploring further the unique style of other multilingual authors and their particularly acute translingual imagination.

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FRANZ-JOSEPH MEISSNER

Teaching and learning intercomprehension:
a way to plurilingualism and learner autonomy

Abstract

One consequence of the replacement of behaviourist learning theory (…) by the cognitive theory was to view the language learner as an intelligent, discriminating decision-maker, matching means and ends in learning and in communicating; he became a strategy user. (James 1990, 209)[1]

1. The situation

Over the last decades, intercomprehension (henceforth IC) has widely been discussed as a method of acquiring receptive skills in various languages (see Lutjeharms 2005; Meißner 2005b) – especially in France with Eurom4 and Galatea and to a certain extent in some other countries, too. In the German context, EuroCom organized two international conferences dealing with IC (Kischel/Gothsch 1999; Kischel 2002). *The seven sieves* (McCann et al. 2002) describe bases of transfer between the Romance languages. Hufeisen/Marx et al. (2007) adopted the sieves-model to the Germanic languages from a linguistic perspective. A lot of empirical studies were published – too numerous to be enumerated in this paper. Most of them deal with adult learners who already knew different languages before making use of IC systematically. All these publications prove that 'expert learners' can develop multilingual reading comprehension very quickly[2]. The encouraging French experiences with the simultaneous acquisition of receptive skills in various Romance languages (Courtois 1993) led to the construction of the electronic GALATEA-net platform, which offers university students of different countries and continents the possibility to define common projects and to work together in their languages. The web-based multilingual communication and acquisition work in accordance with the principles of reciprocal learning between Romanophones and with 'content and language integrated learning' (CLIL) (see Degache 2003).

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[1] We found this quotation in Düwell (1992, 39).

[2] Mißler (1999, 33) lists a great number of studies where positive inferencing between languages is treated.

The potential in the field of intercultural learning is remarkable. In addition, there are several internet addresses for distance learning which combine IC with multimedia and the advantages of blended learning. – If the IC-way optimizes language learning in general, then it should be used as soon as possible. A certain number of experiences made in German secondary schools between 1992 and 2007 confirm that IC is 'teachable' to learners of the secondary level (Sekundarstufe I) and that it leads to good results (Hülk 2001; Böing 2004; Bär et al. 2005; Behr 2007). At present, an interdisciplinary school-project ('language learning across the curriculum/common curriculum') uses IC with Dutch as target language (henceforth TL) as a 'multi-language and learning awareness raising strategy' (henceforth MuLLARS). The project concerns ten and eleven year-old pupils and the subjects are German (mother tongue), English, French and Spanish. It refers to some results of the *Evlang*-project (Candelier 2003) and tries to take advantage of the pupils' primary school experiences in the context of the beginning of secondary school learning.

The German projects focus on TLs which do not belong to the same family as the learners' mother tongue. They are of interest for the development of IC beyond linguistic family boundaries.

The 'IC method' (Meißner et al. 2004) consistently shows itself to be not only an efficient way of (a) developing multilingual receptive skills, but of (b) getting insight into (one's own) mental processing with new foreign languages in interaction with the idioms mentally activated, as well as (c) of sensitizing to linguistic questions in general (see Hawkins 1999). Therefore, it must be considered as an effective MuLLARS (Morkötter 2005; Meißner 2005a; Martinez 2008). Nevertheless, most authors who wrote about learner autonomy ignore the strong link between IC and their subject. Vice versa, IC courses and learning materials often neglect the impressive potential of intercomprehensive strategies for making pupils more autonomous in learning. The right way to IC is decisive for the development of learning awareness. Teachability of learning autonomy through IC is a question of methodology. It is a pity that IC-methods obviously follow *Transmission* principles more than those of *Interpretation*. Little (1999, 4) observes:

> The Transmission view assumes that knowledge is available 'out there', and that the teacher's task is to transfer appropriate knowledge to the learners. Communication is conceptualized as a one-way process in which authorities (teachers and textbooks) propound, and learners receive (by listening or reading). The Interpretation view arises from a different understanding of how communication proceeds. It does not deny that knowledge is 'out there' and to that extent must be transmitted to learners, but it recognizes that new information can be understood and assimilated only in terms of what we already know.

In short, IC-based autonomy cannot be successfully taught through simple linguistic descriptions of interlingual correspondence-rules. The increase of

learning competence follows from the insight into the processing of language acquisition and learning. The focus of an IC-method/of IC-methodology is therefore on the learner, on his processing and on (self-)guidance.

2. Languages, intercomprehension and education

Before defining IC, it may be useful to explain what it is not. It is no way to put a stop to the Babylonian confusion of languages, insofar as it does not simply reduce the 'separation' between the 5746 world's languages to that of the 249 language families (Nettle/Romaine 1998, 34). If we consider IC, we always have to take into account several factors, their interaction and the impacts on intercomprehensive processing, i.e. (1) the extent of measurable linguistic distance between languages within a specific set of languages, (2) the psychotypological distance between languages, (3) what a person already knows about these languages, (4) the difference between declarative and procedural knowledge related to the languages involved, (5) the capacity to exploit strategies leading to IC, (6) the motivation or tenacity a person has to understand the TL and to resist frustrating experiences that can be encountered.

In order to make use of the numerous advantages of IC, it is necessary for learners to have at their disposal a certain level of procedural competence in at least one idiom that belongs to the same linguistic family as the TL. Klein (2002) describes from a linguistic point of view why French offers optimal conditions, i.e. bases of transfer, upon which a pan-Romance IC can be constructed. Our own observations confirm this statement as well as the thesis of Castagne (2004) who underlines that in the context of learning and teaching IC only works if the number of opaque schemes doesn't exceed 30 percent of the whole. So Dutch is to a certain extent intercomprehensive to native speakers of German 'at first glance', whereas Swedish or Danish are not or much less. Thus Schmidely (2001) can discuss whether and to what extent Rumanian can be regarded as intercomprehensive for native speakers of Spanish.

The intercomprehensibility between languages of the same family explains the development of a *didactique des langues proches* proposed by Louise Dabène in 1975 to teach Spanish to speakers of French in a way which differs from German or Russian (which do not belong to the Romance family). In the German situation, the *didactique des langues proches* has a lot of characteristics in common with the so called tertiary didactics (*Tertiärsprachendidaktik*) or 'didactics for a TL that belongs to a family of which the learner already knows at least one language'. In the context of DaF (teaching German to students of other languages), Hufeisen (2006) developed what she called DaFnE, German after English (*Deutsch als Fremdsprache nach Englisch*) (2006). The DaFnE-method utilises the learners' procedural and explicit knowledge of English as an international language in order to learn German. Therefore it belongs to the

intercomprehensive approaches. In Alsace, the Germanic dialect is often used to facilitate the acquisition of English (Adolf 1999).

3. Bridging between which languages?

Recent studies proved that it is less important whether the language which delivers the bases of transfer is the learner's mother tongue (L1) or not. The decisive facts are the apparent proximity between languages and the TL as well as what language learners have at their disposal and what they think about languages and language learning. That is why native speakers of African or Asians languages who acquire a second European idiom regularly look for bridges between their European languages.

Our own findings affecting mental processing of IC confirm Cenoz' (2001, 9) observation:

> … linguistic typology has proved to be influential in the choice of the source language. Speakers borrow more terms from the language that is typologically closer to the target language, or using [the] concept of psychotypology, the language that is perceived as psychologically closer. The effect of psychotypology has been confirmed in several studies […]. For example, learners of French and English who are native speakers of a non-European language tend to transfer vocabulary and structures from other Indo-European languages they know rather than from their first language. […]
>
> Cross-linguistic influence in second language acquisition has been related to the level of proficiency in the target language, and less proficient learners have been reported to transfer more elements from their first language than learners who present higher levels of proficiency […].
>
> In the case of the third language acquisition, it is important to consider proficiency not only in the target language, but also in the two other languages known by the speaker. This fact adds complexity to the study, taken into account that multicompetence is not the sum of monolingual competences […].

It must be said in the context of learning and teaching that these findings neither sufficiently take into account the importance of internal and external mental guidance on the learner's intercomprehensive capacity nor the degree of familiarity with 'his/her' languages and language combinations. Analyses of multilingual use in IC regularly show the construction of interlingual routines related to frequent 'code switching', i.e. the switching from one bridge-language to the next and to the TL. In the setting of IC activities, this means the spontaneous choice of a language A or B for the identification of bases of transfer. Once learners find out that a special language X works quite well as an effective tool to develop reading comprehension in a special TL, they have a tendency to use this language again and again for initiating transfer processing. Our experiences with teaching IC make it quite plain that the choice of the

bridge-language can be influenced by external guidance (one teacher, one method), too[3].

4. How does intercomprehension work? Two examples

To explain IC by means of two examples, we first quote a range of parallel-sentences in different languages. Whereas the Finnish example (a) offers no real base of transfer (that leads to IC) at all, numerous analogies between the Romance languages (d, e, f, g) are self-evident:

a. *Hän on ammatiltaan lääkäri ja hän on työssä terveyskeskuksessa Haapaniemenkadulla.*[4]
b. *Er ist von Beruf Arzt und arbeitet im Gesundheitszentrum in der Haapaniestraße.*
c. *He is a doctor and works in a medical centre in Haapanie-street.*
d. *Il est médecin et travaille dans un centre médical dans la rue d'Hapanie.*
e. *E medico e lavora nel centro medicale nella via Hapanie.*
f. *Es médico y trabaja en el centro (médico) de (la) salud en la calle Hapanie.*
g. *Es metge i treballa a un centre mèdic al carrer Hapanie.*

The example reveals that we have to distinguish between IC at first and at second glance. It is a truism that we succeed in identifying significantly more linguistic structures than it seemed possible immediately after the first impression, when we read a text of an 'unknown' language again and 'intercomprehensively'. Intercomprehensive reading triggers mental processing that differs considerably from reading and listening (Meißner/Burk 2001) in a language which is familiar to us, as Lutjeharms (2001) explains.

As a second example, we quote a Polish text taken from the cover of the *Introduction à la didactique du français langue étrangère* written by Weronika Wilczyńska (2005). Even if we don't know any Slavonic language, we can identify the central message.

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[3]   In the German context, it is only the didactics of French that has developed methods to use the bridge-language to 'go beyond', i.e. to acquire at least reading competence in Italian or Spanish (Nieweler 2001; Meißner 2002).

[4]   This sentence is taken from Senja Riekkinen-Gebbert: *Yksi, kaksi, kolme: Finnisch für Deutschsprachige*. Bremen: Hempen 2003.

1) TEXT-TYPE: book cover; INTENTION: marketing; SUBJECT: foreign language learning and teaching

2) SOURCE-TEXT:

<u>Weronika</u> <u>Wilczyńska</u> jest <u>profesorem</u> <u>Uniwersytetu</u> im. <u>Adama</u> Mickiewicza w <u>Poznaniu</u>. Ma bogate doświadczenie w <u>praktycznej</u> <u>dydaktyce</u> języków obcych. Jej za<u>interes</u>owania naukowe obejmują <u>psychologiczne</u> <u>aspekty</u> <u>akwizycji</u> języków, z uwzględnieniem wymiaru <u>kulturowego</u>. Opublikowala z tej dziedziny szereg <u>prac</u> o <u>charakterze</u> <u>teoret</u>ycznym i <u>praktyc</u>znym.

3) INTERTEXT FOUND AFTER INTERCOMPREHENSIVE READING:

Weronika Wilczyńska (is) [female?] professor at the University (?) Adam(a) Mickiewicza. Weronika Wilczyńska (at/in) Posen. (?) (?) (?) (in) practical/practice didactical/didactics (language/s) (?). [Her/She] ?interes (?) (?) (?) psychologic aspect/s acquisition (of language/s) and (?)(?)(?) (?) culture. (?)publish/ed/ (we exclude *publication* as we know that the international series of *–ation, azione, ación...* is **atie* or something like that) (?)(?)(?)(?)(?)(?)(?) characterized theoretical (and) practical/in theory and practice.

4) INTERPRETATION:

W. W. is a professor at the Adam Mickiewicz University of Poznán in the field of didactics. Her interests concern the psychological aspects of language acquisition. [We can guess that this is] related to culture [and that the] publication serves theoretical and practical concerns.

What do these intercomprehensive activities teach us? At first glance, we learn something about the orthography of the TL in comparison to other languages: *Uniwersitet, university, université, Universität, università...* We learn that the Polish community belongs to the Occidental *res publica litterarum* which is documented by the great number of 'cultisms', words of the common European tradition, which it shares with other European languages. Then we discover some parts of the TL architecture in comparison to the bases of transfer found in other languages. Finally, we identify lacunas (non opaque forms and functions) and develop hypotheses about the non-identified patterns like *unywersitetU, PoznanIU,* the function of pre- and suffixes: *zaINTERESowania....* This step gives us the basis for putting forward hypotheses about forms (and functions), i.e. the architecture of the TL. It is obvious that these findings give orientation to open a way to construct a plan of how to go on with learning to read Polish.

As both examples prove, intercomprehensive reading (and guessing) also reveals what we still need to know to be able to understand a language with more ease: (1) the most frequent opaque words, (2) the "function words" which

bridge the lexically full elements and give structure to the sentence: prepositions, conjunctions, articles as well as morphemes; (3) the structure of different types of sentences: indicative clause, conditional clause, interrogative… Finally, we realize that (4) knowing interlingual 'rules' which describe regularities and irregularities 'between' comparable phenomena of the languages in regard to the TL would be useful. Then we need to know where and how we can verify our hypotheses (grammars, dictionaries, personal support). If we deal with a text very concretely, the questions we ask will be very concrete and they demand very concrete answers, too. Looking at the Polish text, one of the main questions is how to find reliable answers to ambiguities in the area of morphemes and 'suffixes' (*psychologiczne aspekty akwizycji psychologiczne aspekty akwizycji*). – In the case of the Slavonic languages, we obviously need more than this; for example, the way these idioms express the functions of the 'missing' articles in comparison to Romance or Germanic languages. The last argument already goes beyond the mere dimension of passive skills. This shows how intercomprehensive reading usually leads from one lexical and grammatical question to the next. This is another reason why IC works as a good teaching or learning tool. If we turned from Polish to Russian, other difficulties would appear, beginning with the Cyrillic alphabet.

If we decide to 'learn' a TL more than incidentally, we need some kind of guidance or at least a pedagogical framework that gives orientation. The IC method requires that learners define their objectives and make clear their ways of learning by putting forward and examining (modifying or refuting) didactical hypotheses about learning behaviour. In contrast to traditional methods in the field, the IC method makes learners face 'unstructured input' from the very start. This means that the language has not been adapted to the objectives of a given TL curriculum. Unstructured input demands implicitly or explicitly the categorisation of the different phrasal elements by decomposition and (re-)composition of a syntagma or of the whole sentence. As intercomprehensive reading requires the discovery of significations, forms, functions and structures, it triggers deeper and broader mental processing than inductive operations usually do.

5. The intercomprehension method: some essentials

What do we know about the mental activities related to IC and self-guidance? – There are several models to explain intercomprehensive processing (Hufeisen 2004). Most of them give insight into the mental activities at the very moment when IC takes place. Only a few take into account the dimension of IC teaching and learning and that learning processes must be organized 'collectively' (i.e. in the classroom), controlled and integrated into classroom management. The 'IC method' (see Meißner 2004a) joins empirical psycholinguistic foundations to

those of external and self-guidance methods. With regard to the psycholinguistic implications, the empirical basis was given by the 'Giessen IC Data Corpus' (GIDaC) which collected more than 30 cases of IC with unknown Romance languages. The data were elicited from case-studies with German university students of all disciplines. The students had to 'understand' a Romance TL they had not learnt formally. The data-corpus contents included (a) as far as reading comprehension was targeted the 'translations' of the text given in the TL (mostly into the bridge-language), (b) simultaneous think-aloud protocols, (c) notes taken by the students while listening to the original text of the TL and (d) observational data noted by the researchers controlling the IC-operations. The possibility of retrospective interviews was given. The data reveal largely identical mental operations (as we performed them when reading Polish). They concern the different parts of the TL architecture as well as the bridge-languages, i.e. lexicon, morphology, syntax, etc. (Meißner 1997; Meißner/Burk 2001). The results of the case-studies confirm the findings reported by Maspero (2000), Cenoz (2001), Müller-Lancé (2003), Jessner (2004) and Jamet (2007).

As IC is based on transfer processing, the traditional model of transfer types could be enhanced (Meißner 2007). This deals with the differences between the direction of interlingual transferring (pro- and retroactive transferring between a language A and B5), the location where transferring takes place (within the system of the bridge-language or the TL or 'between' the languages), and the objective of transferring (transfer of identification vs. transfer of production). Thus the GIDaC delivered the first part of the empirical basis of the IC method. The second step, to gain empirical grounds for a teaching method of IC, was provided by experiences with IC involving teacher training and classroom-studies during teaching IC (Caparelli 2003; Böing 2004; Bär et al. 2005, Behr 2007). This work has not been finished yet, as it took more time than scheduled. It became apparent that teaching IC needs a special teacher training (Meißner 2005a). Teaching and learning materials have been developed.

6. Towards a syllabus for teaching intercomprehension as a multi-language and learning awareness raising strategy

As far as decoding an 'unknown' language is concerned, the points 1 to 6 list operations that can be found in nearly all analyses of mental proceeding (processing?) related to IC. The points 7 to 12 affect the elaboration of learning competence through IC. – The points (and the tasks) focus on the macro- as well as on the micro-level of knowledge construction.

It is evident that any kind of teaching IC has to consider these phenomena.

1. *Constructing a semantic frame on the basis of a text type*. In the Polish

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[5] The terms *pro-* and *retroactive transfer* had been used by the didactics of the 1970s, but they had not been linked to interlingual processing (Coste & Galisson 1976, 569).

example, a scientific author is presented; her work and interests are described. The message is addressed to a very special group of people and the intention is to promote the product 'book in matters of applied linguistics' (in terms of marketing). Obviously, the text type, the fundamental intention and the context lead to a mental activity that can be described as a sort of mind mapping and top-down processing, oriented to the question: What might the text deal with? The answer demands skilful guessing.

2. *Choosing the bridge-language(s).* The degree of intercomprehensibility neither exclusively depends on the countable characteristics that measure linguistic proximity between different languages nor on the subjective impression of linguistic 'psychotypology', but on the text type as well as on 'expectations' and attitudes that exist on the part of the learner towards the TL, a text and its subject. It must be said that there are two fundamentally different ways of IC-operation: the perceptible formal data-driven type and the concept-driven type. Concept-driven IC can be exploited systematically in contexts of language for special purpose teaching, when pupils have a concrete idea of what is communicated. In that case they know the contents, but still have to identify the forms. In the field of lexicon, the fundamental determinant of intercomprehensibility concerns the relationship between transferable and opaque forms as well as the logical arrangements of arguments transported by the text.

   As to the first point, computational studies comparing the use of cognates in various Romance languages and text-types show that oral lexicon differs more from one language to another because of the frequent use of mots populaires and non international words in oral speech than it is the case between written texts in the same languages (Meißner 2004c). It is also self-evident that a well structured text is easier to understand than a kind of gibberish leading to confusion. Another determinant of intercomprehensibility is cultural distance. People who belong to neighbouring cultures are more at ease understanding each other than those who have a very limited knowledge about the target culture and whose own cultural background is quite different from it. These points must be taken into account by the intercomprehensive approach. They deal with the choice of texts with which IC can be trained.

3. *Connecting verbal form with content.* In any case, the first attempt at identification reveals proper nouns, toponyms, dates and cognates. Here, lexical and morphological transfer takes place. In a second step, IC moves on to the identification of syntactical patterns. In the case of listening IC, the word order is decisive for understanding. With regard to the Romance languages, the rule is that new information is always given in a 'following position' (anaphoric versus cataphoric dislocation):

(a) *Paul aurait dû faire le nécessaire*
    1   2   3 4   5

(b) *Pablo habría debido hacer lo necesario*
    1   2   3   4   5

(c) Paolo *avrebbe dovuto fare il necessario*
    1   2   3   4   5

(d) *Paul hätte das Notwendige tun sollen*
    1   2   5   4   3

(e) *Paul should have done what was necessary*
    1   3   2   4   5

As the structure of these sentences shows, French learners listening to German will have to tackle the difficulty that information units are given in an order they do not expect. As Jamet (2007) could show, the obstacles do not exist for Italian learners listening to French. The example explains why the syntactical dimension can be decisive for understanding a language spontaneously. Obviously, it is also necessary to consider the syntactic dimension when teaching IC. Unfortunately, most exercises remain in the lexical field. If in the classroom listening comprehension is targeted, this is an appropriate moment to explain to (the) learners how listening comprehension works and how it can be trained and tested (for auto-evaluation).

4. *Microscopic reiterative reading and listening.* It is self-evident that the full identification of bases of transfer demands 'microscopical (reiterative) reading or listening' which entails a mental processing far beyond the word-to-word identification and deep and large mental processing. It seems that learners employ top-down operations "compensatorily to plug gaps where their understanding of a text is incomplete" (Field 1999, 338). Stanovich (1980) calls this phenomenon the "interactive-compensatory mechanism". In the case of IC, it must be added that top-down-operations activate semantic schemes related to concepts of words and morphemes as well as to grammatical patterns which can potentially be found in all languages mentally activated. This stresses the importance of procedural knowledge in the bridge-languages concerning the different skills, which is decisive for listening comprehension. The lack of procedural knowledge in the field of listening comprehension and of deep processing initiated by encoding the TL as well the structural syntactical distance explain why Latin does not work very well in IC processing with modern Romance languages. The fact that good intercomprehensive readers and listeners can make regular use of routines of decoding/(encoding) located 'between' languages already explains that plurilingual microscopic reading is an effective way of interlingual routine construction, too. But IC does not only depend on

'concept-driven' top-down operations. It interacts with 'data-driven' bottom-up processing at the various levels of lexical form and content identification, going from the phon-level (*b-o-*) to the phonem/graphematic level (*booking*), to the lexematic (*booking*) identification and grammatical qualification (*noun, function…*) and even beyond (Meißner 1996).

5. *Plausibility control concerning semantics.* Learners succeed in decoding a message insofar as they can give sense to it and their interpretation is supported by the identification of verbal forms. Tacit questions are: Is my interpretation of the message plausible? Does it really correspond to the situation where it is produced? Whereas this kind of controlling affects the communicative level, grammatical control goes to the formal side of the language data and to the grammar of hypotheses (see below).

6. *Control of our linguistic hypotheses.* The identification of formal, functional and semantic TL schemes leads to the construction of an instantaneous 'grammar of hypotheses' (GH) that reflects 'systematicity' in the way it is produced by the student's *plurilingual interlanguage*.

   a. Unlike the original concept of *interlanguage* (Selinker 1972), the IC approach stresses its plurilingual and ephemeral composition. Whereas interlanguage is pictured as systematic and dynamic, the GH actually is systematic and ephemeral, because it is modified by nearly each intercomprehensive procedure. Of course, the cognitive schemes of the GH cannot correspond to the linguistic norms of the TL. Further work must be done to win productive competence. When IC is used systematically and over a time span, students must continually adapt their hypotheses interacting with the linguistic schemes found in the bridge-language(s). This concerns all the languages activated as well as the interlingual correspondence rules. New cognitive schemes must be adapted to other contents of the GH and, vice-versa, 'old' schemes will be conformed to the more recent ones or will be extinguished. The cognitive operation model of Rumelhart/Norman (1978) seems suitable to describe the operations. The key-words are *accretion, tuning* and *restructuring*.

Although this paper does not intend to deal with concrete methodological questions, the IC method has developed a special type of productive exercise which is worth mentioning. It consists of making the learner write texts in the TL. The pedagogical intention is not to increase or to test the learner's productive competence, but to use this text as a document that reflects his/her plurilingual interlanguage and that invites speaking about it. This kind of activity can be used for the construction of reports that document the increase

of IC competence. This gives a basis upon which the GH can be built.

b. A second kind of 'systematicity' affects interlingual correspondence-rules. It is obvious that each finding potentially modifies what a learner can exploit in order to construct new schemes or to identify bases of transfer. Thus we can say that retroactive transferring leads to an improvement of the knowledge in the bridge-languages, too. It stabilises activated mental schemes in the plurilingual lexicon.

The consequences for the teaching of IC seem clear: They demand the organisation of pro- and retroactive interlingual transferring.

7. *Prophylaxis of errors*. As interlingual transfer processing makes the learner discover interlingual correspondence-rules as well as differences constantly, the IC method is a powerful tool to avoid interferences. Reproaches that this method produces regular interferences and false friends are wrong, because they are not based upon experience with IC-learning and teaching (that imply very strong prophylactic strategies). They say much more about the lamentable results of traditional methods that did not focus on plurilingualism than about the real risks linked to the systematic use of inferring techniques.

8. *Dictionary and grammar competence.* The points one to six tell learners what kinds of support they need to find good answers to the hypotheses triggered by the identification of lacunas and ambiguities. This concerns dictionaries, grammars, social support. Therefore the plurilingual approach demands and entails a certain ability to use dictionaries, grammars, etc. Experience shows that dictionary use entails an enhancement of auto-input.

9. *Monitoring of learning and learning processes.* Plurilingual and pluri-directional transferring is complicated and requires continuous awareness of the processes related to mentally interacting languages as well as to mental guidance. This point explains why the IC method must be regarded as a MuLLARS. The following points will explain this argument. They affect the macro-level of knowledge creation, whereas micro-level strategies belong to the more methodological domain in our view.

10. *Noticing and input enhancement.* Monitoring leads to a *controlled processing* which is relevant for successful multi-language learning. This argument is frequently advanced in relation to the so called 'interface-hypothesis' (see Schlak 1999). As a method that demands permanent controlling of interlingual pluridirectional as well as learning behavioural activities, the didactics of plurilingualism optimises input processing and can produce a

kind of "self-generated input enhancement" (see Morkötter 2005, 46). In the context of didactics of plurilingualism or IC, the 'input enhancement-hypothesis' must therefore be modified and extended to plurilingual acquisition models. Analogically to the findings about 'monolingual' foreign language learning processing, it can be said that plurilingual activities generate a *plurilingual auto-input*. It seems that *noticing* works very strongly within the setting of acquiring plurilingualism, too. Riemer/Eckerth (2000) rightly stress it as a strong link between the "distinguishable, but inseparable" (Schumann 1994, 234) cognitive and affective factors of language learning. "The noticing-hypothesis states that what learners notice in input is what becomes intake for learning." (Schmidt 1995, 20; quoted by Riemer/Eckerth 2000, 230). It is self-evident that this aspect has a plurilingual dimension.

Regarding language learning in practice and task-construction, the findings of Riemer/Eckerth suggest task-based interaction and not instruction.

11. *Revision of motivation and of attitudes.* Already in his early works about motivation of learners of a first and a second foreign language, Düwell (1979) underlines the importance of motivational transfer ("interference") and of transferring language learning experiences. In 2003, he states that research about *plurilingual motivational interference* will be one of the most important tasks in plurilingual didactic research ([4]2003, 348). Recent studies about language learners' subjective theories (Kallenbach 1996; Mißler 1999; Morkötter 2005) prove that pupils continuously compare the impressions, feelings and experiences related to different foreign languages, their use in intercultural communication and their acquisition in the classroom.
As the intercomprehensive method differs significantly from traditional methods, learners who took part in IC courses regularly show a remarkable positive reaction. The reasons repeatedly quoted by these pupils are:
  - the astonishing speed with which learners succeed in developing reading and listening competence in the new TL;
  - plurilingual processing (looking for bases of transfer in different bridge-languages; controlling the learning steps) that regularly leads to new activities as well as to a new experience with languages and language learning. Several indices could be found that learners changed their learning related self-concept towards a more positive interpretation. As the intercomprehensive method focuses on the learner, its first basic principle is *learning by doing,* (i.e. reading a text in the TL, construct the sense and the GH). But in contrast to former approaches, the second principle is to make learners themselves evaluate the reasons why they put forward explicitly or implicitly a certain linguistic or learning hypothesis;
  - analysing their own learning processing puts the learners in the centre

of classroom interests and activities. Pupils appreciate that they are no longer in a receptive, but in a very active position. They say that they became 'researchers' in matters of their own learning;

- pupils state that they learnt better. They realise this is encouraging. They ask why the IC-method is not present in "normal" foreign language lessons;

- the new experience with languages entails a revision of the pupils' subjective theories about language learning and about the importance of foreign languages in general. To give an example, we quote the case of French. The experience that this language facilitated the understanding of Spanish entailed a new view of the bridge-language. Pupils were 'grateful' to French which gave reading competence to Italian and Spanish. In this case, the plurilingual approach could neutralise negative attitudes towards prior learned foreign languages and changed what psychologists call "causative attributions".

12. *Transfer of learning strategies.* This paper does not intend to give an overall survey of the abundant literature about learning strategies (see Düwell 1992; Little 2000; 2004; Morkötter 2005). If according to Oxford's influential taxonomy (1990)[6], we distinguish three major direct strategies, i.e. (1) memory strategies (to build up lexical or grammatical associations; repeat things systematically, etc.), (2) cognitive strategies (intra- or interlingual transfer of rules or interlingual correspondence schemes) and (3) compensatory strategies (to describe a word that is not retrievable or fuzzy; to avoid a subject because it cannot be coped with), it goes nearly without saying that the transfer of available learning experiences to further learning tasks is 'normal'. If we go to the indirect strategies, i.e. (4) meta-cognitive strategies (to control learning processes or to evaluate one's own learning progress at regular intervals), (5) affective strategies (control anxiety; maintain positive self-perceptions) and (6) social strategies (empathy, using the TL in intercultural communication as often as possible, etc.), it becomes apparent that intercomprehensive learning fosters strategies of learning languages. – Unfortunately, we do not have enough data.

13. *The compensating factor of strategy use*: There is little doubt that one factor can, to some extent, compensate deficits in neighbouring sectors. It could be observed that an eighteen year-old bilingual German-Russian girl who had learnt English and Spanish at school for only three years succeeded more quickly in reading Italian than her monolingual classmates, although they knew French and Latin in addition and had spent considerably more time learning English and Spanish than Tatjana who came to Germany at the age

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[6] Little's (2004) critical remarks focus on the lack of unambiguousness of the categories.

of fourteen. An interview revealed that Tatjana made regular use of monitoring strategies.

14. Here is an open list of 'pedagogical key-tasks' in the area of MuLLARS-competence – from A to Z:
     a. Describe the way you found out that…
     b. Can you expand this method to other phenomena of the language X or Y?
     c. Why did you fail in your attempt to… linguistically?
     d. Why did you fail in your attempt to … behaviourally?
     e. Compare the functions of analogical forms you could identify in a TL to the extent of functions related to its basis/bases of transfer in language X.
     f. Compare your latest findings concerning the phenomenon X to the correspondent findings of your last session and explain what all these phenomena have in common/what is different.
     g. What is in your opinion comparable in comparing (your) languages? What is not? Give some examples and explain your point of view.
     h. What are your strategies to avoid the risk of false friends?
          i. When speaking or writing
          ii. When reading or listening
     i. Describe your behavioural strategies which conduced to successful transferring.
     j. Compose a list of your errors and discuss their reasons: (a) linguistically and (b) concerning learning behaviour.
     k. How can you explain the following errors in DaF linguistically?
          Endlich konnten die Eltern ihr Kind wieder in die Arme schlingen.
          Der Mensch muss essen, um mit dem Leben davonzukommen.
          Give further examples.
     l. What do these errors say about learning?
     m. Discuss these sentences with your teachers of English, French, Spanish.
     n. List the consequences for (your) further learning (and teaching).
     o. Define your needs to improve your learning.
          i. Note the questions that come up when you are working with foreign languages involving words.
               1. when translating to your mother tongue
               2. when translating to a foreign TL
          ii. Note the questions which come up when you are working with foreign languages involving grammar.
               1. What kind of information is needed?
               2. How must information be communicated for it to be

            understandable?

p. List the questions and check several dictionaries and grammars.
q. What are your criteria for the choice of a dictionary? For translating into your mother tongue, for writing in the TL?
r. Describe your attitudes towards learning foreign languages.
s. Do you believe that speaking foreign languages is a valuable enrichment to your life?
t. What levels of competence, defined by the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*, have you achieved up to now? What are you intending to achieve in what language?
u. List the ten words in each of the languages you like best and give the reasons.
v. List five words in each of your languages you always tend to forget.
w. Discuss how you can learn best…
x. What can you do to "have fun with languages"?
y. What do you think about the IC-method?
z. How can you make it profitable for you to learn 'your' languages?

7. Perspective

There are very strong indices that IC-teaching and learning as a multi-language and learning awareness raising strategy lead to a deeper and broader processing of foreign language data as well as to better learning. An integration of IC into foreign language teaching as it is practised day after day in school contexts as well as in adult education is of general interest.

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FRANK G. KÖNIGS

The issue concerning the pedagogy of multilingualism – where is it going?[1]

Abstract

In my paper I argue that the *pedagogy of multilingualism* should not be dismissed as an educational fad, and to help him understand the potential it has, and, more importantly, to imagine ways in which it could develop in the future. To do this, I would like to begin by briefly discussing the concept of *multilingualism*; directly afterwards (section 2), I will shed some light on the phenomenon of multilingualism and its teaching from various perspectives: curriculum planning (section 3), foreign language oriented educational psychology (section 4), and methodology and teaching strategies (section 5). Finally, I will make some recommendations from the various arguments presented (section 6), and I would like to point out that these recommendations are going to break with conventional conceptions about what should be done inside and outside the classroom and what is even possible. But before I provoke anyone, I will make a few remarks about the concept of *multilingualism*.

1. Preliminary Remarks

Let's imagine that a colleague who is interested in foreign languages, but not in teaching foreign languages, pages interestedly through the relevant monographs, journals, and bibliographies because, for example, he or she wants to inform him- or herself about what is currently being discussed. As this colleague of ours flips through the pages, he runs across the terms, among others, *multilingualism* and the *pedagogy of multilingualism*. His curiosity piqued, our colleague performs a search through the database of the Informationszentrum für Fremdsprachenforschung[2]. The search reveals that, since 1997, *multilingualism* appears 103 times in the titles of articles and books, and 336 publications discuss multilingualism. So far, so good. Astonishingly, however, the situation is quite different with the *pedagogy of multilingualism*[3]: the term can be found in only 8 titles and is discussed in 23 other publications.

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[1]   I wish to thank Joshua Brazee for having translated the German version of this paper.
[2]   Information Center for Foreign Language Research.
[3]   The German terms used in this search were, respectively, *Mehrsprachigkeit* and *Mehrsprachigkeitsdidaktik*.

Astonished, our colleague discovers that, on the one hand, an apparently old topic is still being intensively discussed, but, on the other hand, that the research dealing with various different forms of multilingualism is, in fact, neither new nor surprising. More surprising for him is that there is such a thing as *the pedagogy of multilingualism,* or that it needs to be developed – he hadn't necessarily counted on that. He quickly begins to wonder about the origin of the scientific interest that has been brought to bear on *multilingualism* and its pedagogy. He's caught between two presumptions: either something in particular gained the necessary support from politicians concerned with education and experienced an upswing in research interest, or there is actually a genuine research interest in examining intensively, and in detail, the connections between *multilingualism* and the teaching thereof. Still amazed, he wonders what this interest is made up of and what it is founded on.

2. On the Multilayered Concept of Multilingualism

At first sight, *multilingualism* is understood as the mastery of at least two foreign languages in addition to a native language; the mastery of a single foreign language in addition to the native language is understood as "bilingualism" (see Bausch 2004). However, the term, in and of itself, is a problematic one as can be seen in the discussion of so-called "bilingual education" – where the very word itself suggests the largely equal command of a native and a foreign language; this mastery, as we know, is nearly unattainable in our schools and educational system. Yet, there is nothing in this phenomenon itself, namely, the use of the foreign language to teach subjects other than the foreign language itself, to object to.

In fact, the Council of Europe has set as a goal of their educational policy that every European citizen, whenever possible, should have sufficient knowledge in at least two modern foreign languages other than his or her native language. This means that he or she should at least have the opportunity to obtain this knowledge during the course of normal schooling[4]. In addition to this policy-based approach, we observe that more and more of our students are bi- or multilingual at home, and, therefore, have different backgrounds which are useful in helping to establish and develop multilingualism (cf. Krumm 1999; 2003; 2005; Oomen-Welke/Krumm 2004). And we have also observed that the acquisition of a second foreign language often occurs at a time when a fundamental knowledge in at least one foreign language is already available. And this is, for example, the case when German students learn French and Spanish after they have learned English, or when foreign students who have learned English as their first foreign language learn German as their second

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[4] This refers to the German *Schule*, which is primary and secondary school, from kindergarten to 12th or 13th grade.

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foreign language (cf. Hufeisen 1994). It is not difficult to recognize that these cases are only partially comparable to one another and it causes one to ask what these various learning backgrounds can mean for teaching a second or third language. Therefore, we come rather quickly to a very colourful kaleidoscope of appearances of bi- and multilingualism:

Toward a Concept of Multilingualism for Learning and Teaching a second foreign language in (German) Schools

Native language German
plus first foreign language   -->   Bilingualism

Native language German
plus first and second foreign languages   -->   Multilingualism

Two native languages
(e.g. German plus Turkish)   -->   Bilingualism

Two native languages (e.g. German
and Turkish) plus a first foreign language -->   Multilingualism

Two native languages
(e.g. German and French)   -->   Multilingualism

Native language Russian,
first foreign language German
and a second foreign language
learned in a German school   -->   Multilingualism

Multilingual communities   -->   Multilingualism

Multilingual communities plus
one or more other foreign
languages   -->   Multilingualism

It should be obvious, *prima facie*, that the use of seemingly identical concepts – in our example, bi- and multilingualism – does not in any way encompass identical phenomena. Furthermore, most definitions of bi- and multilingualism lack any indication of what level of competency the second or third foreign languages have to be mastered in order that we can talk of bi- or multilingualism. In this case, it cannot be said that we have conceptual unity until we have a definition that takes only the number of languages learned into account. This demonstrates, once again, that these educational policies have

been enacted with good intentions, but without the necessary understanding of the realities of foreign language education in our schools.

If the concept of multilingualism is already unclear (cf. in more detail Königs 2002a; 2004), then the concept of the pedagogy of multilingualism is also unclear, but it is nevertheless still worth thinking about the meaning of the pedagogy of multilingualism. And, in fact, possibilities for other perspectives open up, even if at an abstract level we can come to a consensus that this pedagogy should concern itself with the teaching and learning of multilingualism. Of course, that raises the problem that the teaching and learning of a second foreign language in school, as we have seen sketched out above, can occur within entirely different contexts, and, consequently, require a more differentiated concept of multilingualism (cf. in more detail Königs 2004 as well as several articles in Bausch/Königs/Krumm 2004). Therefore, it is no longer possible to speak of "the" pedagogy of multilingualism. Consequently, I would like to indulge myself in the not so insignificant luxury of speaking of many different kinds of pedagogies of multilingualism, but not so much that the concept of multilingualism is not filled out in a coherent way. With respect to the standpoint of the observer, different perspectives will be revealed about what the pedagogies of multilingualism are capable of achieving.

3. The Curricula Perspective

With regard to the learning sequence of foreign languages in public schools, the majority of the state mandated curricula require English to be taught as the first foreign language – this is already the case in most of the primary schools in Germany. This requirement is, above all else, a result of the observation that, along with its function as the language of international trade, English also has the function of the *lingua franca*. This fact has motivated schools, not only in Germany, to teach the most widely used foreign languages first, so that when students finish school, they will have as much knowledge as possible about their languages. The foreign language policy in Germany – whether maintained implicitly or explicitly – which is that the most important language should be the one that is taught first in school, is one of several possible positions worth taking into consideration.

Another argument is consequently practically ignored, namely, that one could learn a language like English, a language that appears very frequently in the world outside of the classroom and which is typologically close to German, later in life, that is, as a second or third foreign language. This is an argument frequently advanced by Romanists even though they know that they argue in vain. Even the attempts to introduce the languages of our neighbouring countries – whether it be Dutch, Polish, Danish, or Turkish (in this regard one thinks of the numerous German citizens with Turkish origins) as the first foreign

language throughout Germany have failed on account of the scant acceptance by parents (and the ministers of education[5]) of the "English first" doctrine.

If one takes a position in support of "English first" – and I repeat, there are good reasons for that that even I, as a Romanist, can see – then we must, in this context, allow for two questions: has it been considered that English education or rather the pedagogy of English education, the fact that the way in which one is taught and learns the first foreign language, becomes the default model for foreign language learning? In other words do English educationists consider that it is through this education that students build long-lasting models of how the learning of foreign languages functions? And if English is so important for our society, then why do short English passages in television interviews and films continue to be dubbed instead of being broadcasted in the original language with subtitles? This would serve as an example of authentic language use outside of the classroom. It leads us to the assumption that a curriculum, motivated through language policies, can only partially fulfill the actual requirements of multilingual education. Additionally, the above-mentioned curricular argument has at least three flaws:

Flaw 1: The German language community has failed to become aware of the necessity of active use of foreign languages, a characteristic it shares with many large language communities. It often leads to a reserved attitude toward the active use of a foreign language. Smaller language communities are much more receptive in this regard.

Flaw 2: Representatives of the languages learned secondly and thirdly in the foreign language learning sequence could use the same arguments to claim that the TV originals in "their" language should also be made more widely available to the public.

Flaw 3: For one continuously growing section of the school population, this argument is simply not applicable. These students have different native languages than German and, therefore, have different needs in regard to their own language growth.

In relation to this, one could also add as a fourth flaw the uncertainty of the development of world languages in the context of international communication. Graddol (2006) suggests a scenario in which the supremacy of English as the language of international commerce could be broken in the next two to four decades by another language (for example Spanish or Chinese). Against this background, such a change could result in a completely different sequence for

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[5]   This refers to the various elected officials in each *Bundesland* who are responsible for educational policy within the individual German states.

learning foreign languages in our schools as well as a new perspective on the increased use of authentic texts in their original languages through the media. One could hold on to the interim conclusion that anchoring the curriculum to the current sequence of foreign language learning has its problems. I will return once more to the problem of what one can conclude from this.

4. The Perspective of Foreign Language Oriented Educational Psychology

From our consideration of foreign language acquisition processes, we know that these processes are, to a considerable extent, interwoven with the languages one already knows. Students bring a large amount of object-language, meta-language and language learning related knowledge with them. This knowledge is, in its own way, also responsible for how the acquisition processes are structured in the minds of the student. The work of Manfred Raupach (e.g. 2000; 2004) continuously concerns itself with the question of which resources students fall back on when learning a foreign language, and in what ways. His consideration of the structure of the bilingual mental lexicon is only one example of this question. And that branch of the pedagogy of multilingualism which, for example, supports a reinforcement of the various bridge languages on whose basis one can build the prospective acquisition of the other typologically related languages, makes use of this structure (cf. Meißner 2004; 2006; and in this volume): The suggestion, for example, of integrating these language competences into French classes that will prepare a student for Spanish (cf. Böing 2004; as well as Nieweler 2001) includes exactly this insight as a starting point – an insight that has in the meantime been established in the concept of teaching German as a second foreign language after English (cf. Neuner et al. 2004). In certain ways, this attempt accomplishes exactly what one hopes to accomplish with teaching English as the first foreign language, namely, the systematic preparation of further foreign language acquisition processes.

A teaching experiment testing such methods was performed at the 'Europaschule' in Gladenbach. The initial responses to a survey issued to the parents and students after the experiment suggest that they would like to see the systematic integration of the teaching methods of the first foreign language, which begins in the first grade, into the teaching methods of the second foreign language which is taught from the fifth grade onward. This integration has confirmed the principles – to a certain extent – that have been developed in the context of the Concept of the Seven Sieves of the Eurocom Project, which led partly to practical teaching suggestions (cf. Klein/Stegmann 2000; Meißner 2004). One important result is that the concept of transfer has been filled with new life and has become detached from a seemingly negative and suggestive meaning. Of course, negative transfer can occur, but the transfer process will – one almost wants to add, "once again" – regain its productive meaning, in which the transfer of gained object-language and/or meta-language insights are

principally understood as stimulating learning. Of course, the assumption is that this positive effect on learning presupposes the possibility of measuring certain teaching phenomena, for instance, with respect to raising awareness of regularity of the objects and processes of learning. But at the same time, this also means that various basic language knowledges will lead to varied processes, whereby the results of the respective processes can end up being similar. This fact enhances, on the one hand, a recognition, which has established itself as plausible, within multiple contexts of researching the teaching and learning of foreign languages, that processes and products are sometimes two sides of the same coin and sometimes two sides of two very different coins, or to put it differently, from the product, one can establish only to a limited extent what the fundamental learning processes were.

This leads us once again to a problem; the more differentiated the previous knowledge is, especially in relation to language knowledge and language learning awareness, the more the evaluation of the products will be differentiated. In other words, the learning processes of people in a group with a more homogenous background knowledge, will tend to be more similar than the learning processes of a group of people with a more heterogeneous background knowledge. However, the more heterogeneous a group is, the higher the level of abstraction on which one reaches generalizations will be. The research results of the last few years show that, on the one hand, a comprehensible tendency exists toward keeping the studied groups as homogeneous as possible, but proving, on the other hand, that there is an importance to be ascribed to the individuality of the working processes of languages. It would be difficult to explain otherwise that the concept of learner autonomy has led to ever more accurate differentiations and to lessons involving learners' choice of learning material and strategies, offering a variety of material suited for different kinds of learners (cf. Dam 1999; Holec 1981; Legenhausen 1998; Voller/Benson 1997). This brings me to the next task: it is now time to focus on the didactical implications of multilingualism.

5. The Methodological-Pedagogical Perspective

It is held as a general pedagogical principle that good teaching should try to meet the students where they are (cf. in extenso e.g. Butzkamm 2004). The attempt to connect the new knowledge to the previous knowledge of the student, to explain it, to cement it and to make it recallable, is mostly based on the presumption of a largely homogeneous group of learners. But also in cases where groups of learners with the same native language have a largely comparable level of knowledge in the first or second foreign language, there are agreements to be met and standards to be applied. Among others, Britta Hufeisen (2005) has indicated what these standards must be related to so that they will lead to a series of changes in everyday teaching:

a. A unified grammatical terminology for <u>all</u> foreign languages at an institution;

b. Cooperation among foreign language teachers with the goal of finding common elements that relate to the pedagogy of multilingualism within their lessons and to ensure connections between the different languages;

c. Agreement among themselves on the concepts of learning-, communication-, and awareness-enhancing strategies as well as on learning counseling;

d. Tighter communication with subjects other than the foreign language that are taught in the foreign language. With the possible consequence that this will allow for cutting back on one foreign language's share of the curriculum and the offering of another language;

e. Some foreign language textbooks already lead the students to think systematically about structures and lexemes in those foreign languages that are comparable to the ones that they are learning. Admittedly, however, – and I say this rather regretfully – foreign language textbooks for adults are much more reserved in this way than the textbooks used for school pupils (see also Königs 2006b).

This list reflects to a great extent only what we have reached in the research, but not, however, the actual reality of teaching. It shows us, on the one hand, in which directions changes that took account of the current state of research would have to go. Let me refer to, as an example, work on foreign language learning counseling that (cf. Mehlhorn 2006), in its core, aims at making the students aware of their own state of knowledge, so that from there measurements based on learning strategies and adjusted to the respective individuals, can be generated mostly by the learners themselves. Learners must be able to recognize which learning path they are going down, of what quality their acquisition processes are – that is, are they successful or not in reaching their goals? – and finally, if and how one can profit from being able to compare one's learning path with someone else's (cf. in the context of the pedagogy of multilingualism Königs 2000). This assumes, incidentally, that the students hold themselves accountable for the learning goals that they have set out for themselves or which have been set out for them.

The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (cf. Council of Europe 2001) has recently emphasized that the learner's awareness has to be supported as well as having to become an object of outside and self-evaluation. This means that a place has been given for a systematic portfolio assessment, which can help guide the students to this accountability. The existing results are thoroughly encouraging (cf. Kolb 2007), and new foreign language textbooks have already incorporated this, not just in relation to the so-called "Can do-Descriptions" of the Framework of Reference. I have, in view of the previously

discussed perspectives on the pedagogies of multilingualism, at least outlined the inherent difficulties of the respective perspectives, and I would like to do this now for the pedagogical-methodological perspective by raising various questions:

- How does one incorporate overall heterogeneous states of previous knowledge into a lesson? What is to be done, for example, when students have extensive background knowledge in Russian, Arabic, or Turkish? Does one set them aside? That would break with the principle of meeting the students where they are. If one wants to include them, how would this be done, and, moreover, how would this be done so that the rest of the learning group can also profit from their inclusion?
- Does the inclusion of such knowledge resources not mean that the position of the teacher as knowledgeable authority is abandoned? That is, can anyone in good conscience require of a teacher that he or she must have the necessary skills at such a level to be able to include, for example, Turkish, Russian, or Arabic systematically into a lesson?
- Does this attempt to include these background knowledges not lead to an "over-differentiation", and therewith, at the same time give a special position to those people who are lucky enough to have such backgrounds?
- Does one who wants to include these aspects of multilingualism into his or her teaching run the risk of watering down the learning goals in the individual languages?
- Does the inclusion of these previous knowledges present a new challenge for work with the so-called new media?
- Now, one could answer some of these questions, even in relation to a completely successful teaching practice. I mention in this context only scenarios in which authentic translation and interpretation tasks also give the students who have those seemingly exotic knowledges at their disposal the opportunity to include their language skills (cf. Meißner 2005a; cf. further articles in Bausch/Burwitz-Melzer/Königs/Krumm 2006).

Nonetheless, there remains a certain uneasiness with the extensive concept of multilingualism and the pedagogy of multilingualism. This uneasiness moves – and this is my thesis – less out of the concept itself, and more out of the consistent development of the basic ideas of the pedagogy of multilingualism. In conclusion, I will turn to these basic ideas.

6. The Pedagogy of Multilingualism – What now?

I threatened at the beginning that I would like to end my discussion with some provocative thoughts. The readers may want to allow themselves to feel a bit provoked, and so to make these provocations tangible, I have put them into thesis form:

The educational policy has taken a first step – an important and correct one – with the directive that European citizens master two modern foreign languages, but this policy fails to take an important second step: changing community awareness of foreign language learning and its practical applications.

The changes in the language and language-political consciousness can hardly work as a "top-down" concept. The insight that learning foreign languages broadens your horizons is much more important, not in the sense of an unexamined acquisition of these languages, but in the sense of a constructive interaction with one's own language and foreign languages in the most authentic contexts possible. Why does the press find it worth reporting every time a politician speaks a foreign language? It is by no means necessary that politicians do so at every chance they get, but they should indeed show that they can do it and that it serves mutual communication as well as mutual understanding. And in doing so, the media have their own role to play.

There is no such thing as "the" multilingualism nor "the" teaching thereof.

We should not talk about multilingualism in generalities, but instead say which form of multilingualism we mean. These concepts, which are hidden behind a supposedly unified notion, are heterogeneous and require different treatment in the way we deal with them. Should this differentiation not succeed then we run the risk of unnecessarily watering down a meaningful and comprehensive concept.

If we take multilingualism and pedagogies of multilingualism seriously, then we have to seriously consider changes in our schools.

When multilingualism is discussed as a complex phenomenon, and when the pedagogy of multilingualism claims to take that complexity into consideration – as it must – then consideration of questions of the following kind have to be allowed: Can we actually shove foreign language teaching which is aimed at multilingualism into a 45 minute cycle and still have a good conscience about it? Research on learner autonomy has shown us that the traditional cycle does not allow for the time that is required in order to complete these tasks. Do we not need different kinds of foreign language courses? What I am thinking about

are streaming courses with traditional foreign language teaching in comparison with those which consciously offer foreign language teaching that is aimed at multilingualism. And I am thinking as well of differentiated courses for those people whose language abilities are particularly extensive and who could, in part, use these abilities to help others improve their own abilities. Don't we have to have stronger distinctions between receptive and productive skills in the course descriptions at schools? Should we not move on to considering preexisting language skills as being something profitable and not as a hindrance, and could we not, in doing so, promote the integration of students with another native language than the one that is spoken locally? At the same time, shouldn't we plan for courses that students with language deficiencies could attend regardless of their native language?

We must comprehensively clarify the prerequisites.

Up to now, we have tended to connect the prerequisites to the degree of assumedly proven or provable language competences. Don't we, in addition, have to systematically determine which learning types we are dealing with, and which learning traditions our students bring with them? That, and especially that is for me a component of the pedagogy of multilingualism. The following can be deduced:

We need teaching materials that differentiate more strongly between what our students already know in the language especially in the area of auxiliary materials.

Textbooks, especially for German as a foreign language, feature auxiliary materials for specific language groups. In view of the aspirations toward multilingualism, does this tendency not need to be broadened to include the textbooks of all the present foreign languages taught in schools, so that the students with various language backgrounds can more accurately find what they need in these textbooks?

The following, on which I am not going to comment, has a strong connection with the aforementioned theses:

Do we not have to broaden the current sequence of languages in which English is the first foreign language, in order to offer all of the aforementioned options?

And finally:

The reform of teacher training must make sure that prospective foreign language teachers will be in a position to adequately deal with the various

*language backgrounds of their students. The reform has to introduce training
concepts that will not let multilingualism degenerate into merely a concept with
good intentions, but develop into a living idea that brings our students closer to
that which should drive all learning goals: the joy of foreign language learning
and the application of foreign languages in the most real possible conditions (cf.
in more detail Königs 2006a).*

I do not expect that the reader of my theses will immediately and jubilantly
agree. I have already admitted that I want to provoke. And with the mention of
the necessary financial investment with which the realization of my theses is
bound, one can accuse me of being an unrealistic daydreamer. I would,
however, counter that the mere formulation of goals and creeds belongs to the
half-heartedness of at least German educational policies. All too often, reforms
are forced to remain "cost neutral" or, even more, to reduce existing costs. I
would immediately add that I believe this to be the wrong way in question for
educational policy. At the beginning, we must have a sustainable concept, and
only then should we consider how to get the financial resources necessary to
realize our goals. Unfortunately, in Germany we go all too often down the
wrong path and orient our reforms within previously defined financial
boundaries. This is also, by the way, a situation that made a comparison with the
"winners" of the PISA study so questionable.

Let us now return to the beginning and to our colleague who is interested in
foreign language. He should, after this little *tour d'horizon*, at least know that
multilingualism and pedagogies of multilingualism are not concerned with just
the recycling of old ideas. In fact, the opposite is true: the pedagogies of
multilingualism are just at the beginning. Let's give them a chance.

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NICOLA RÜCK

Are migrant children the better learners of French? About monolinguals and plurilinguals in the foreign language classroom

Abstract

In my paper I am going to discuss a variant of multilingualism, which has, to an increasing degree, received attention in the Second Language Acquisition Research in the last few years: the phenomenon of multilingualism which is often already present in our foreign language classrooms. More precisely, I am working on a comparison between monolingual and multilingual students with regard to their beliefs about language-learning. As it is commonly understood in the Anglo-American world, 'beliefs about language-learning' are viewed "as individual subjective understandings, idiosyncratic truths, which are often value-related and characterized by a commitment not present in knowledge". (Wenden 1998: 517)

1. Introduction

The aim of my research is to discover differences between monolingual and plurilingual pupils concerning their beliefs towards learning modern languages and thereby to offer some insight into the varying conditions and needs which such pupils bring with them into the classroom. 'Plurilingual pupils' are here defined as pupils who are able to interact in a functionally adequate manner in at least two languages and whose language capacity is characterized by "an unlimited readiness to change into another tongue, a faculty acquired by day-to-day experience in two or more languages" (Christ 2000: 10, translation N.R.)[1]. I am here dealing with young people who, from their migration background and their particular situation in life (cf. Byram 2000), have already acquired at least two languages when they start learning foreign languages in school, as distinct from those who have grown up with only German as their native language.

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[1]   In the present-day discussion plurilingualism is frequently distinguished from bilingualism (cf. Rieger 2003 and the anthology by Cenoz/Hufeisen/Jessner 2001 as also the whole of the research field 'Tertiary Languages'). As, however, my sample includes learners with either two or three languages, it would seem methodically unwise to proceed from three groups (monolinguals, bilinguals, plurilinguals). I therefore use 'plurilingual' as a general term for bilinguals and plurilinguals (cf. Herdina/Jessner 2002).

2. The design of research

As up to now very little research has been conducted on lingual and cultural heterogeneity in the modern language classroom, I have found it useful to place my investigation on a somewhat broader basis than has been usual in Foreign Language Research in recent years. This means that contrary to Hu (2003) and Fäcke (2004, 2006) who have conducted their research on an empirically qualitative basis, thereby focussing on depth of understanding to the neglect of general validity, I have chosen a quantitative approach with qualitative components in order to attain on the one hand – as far as possible – results which may claim to be generally valid, and to give on the other hand – at least here and there – a *deeper* insight into our particular field of interest. With this in mind, I have developed a "Questionnaire on the Learning of Foreign Languages" which consists partly of open and partly of closed questions. This questionnaire was distributed to pupils of six learner groups of level 9 in three integrated comprehensive schools and three grammar schools in Hessen, Berlin and North-Rhine-Westphalia. All these classes have a high incidence of pupils with a migration background (30-60 %). There are 126 respondents.

2.1 The respondents

The following graphs show the distribution of learners according to mother-tongues[2] and countries of birth:

**Figure 1: Distribution of learners according to mother-tongues**

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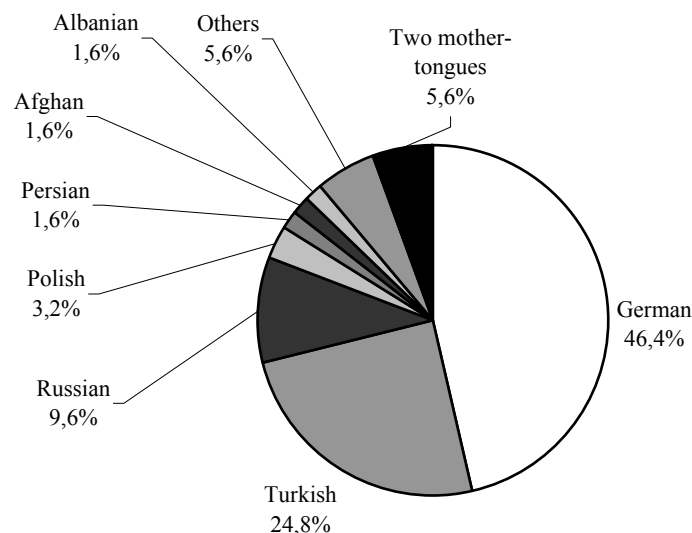
[2]   Mother-tongue here means 'languages learnt at home'.

76

Of the participants who claimed to have a native language other than German (53,6%), almost half were of Turkish descent. The second largest group had Russian as a native language (more than $1/5^{th}$ of the plurilingual pupils), followed by the group which claims to have two mother-tongues[3] (about $1/8^{th}$ of the plurilinguals), the languages in question being either German and another language or a combination of two other languages, e.g. Turkish and Arabic. Besides a small number of speakers respectively of Polish, Persian, Afghan and Albanian descent, there are some isolated respondents (Italian, Macedonian, Greek etc.) which are grouped together. The relatively small number of learners whose families stem from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia[4] and Italy (who form the 2nd and 3rd largest groups of foreign inhabitants in the Federal Republic) can in my opinion be explained by the fact that these frequent more often than not middle schools (cf. Gogolin/Neumann/Roth 2003 as also Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Ausländerfragen 2002) or even schools for educationally subnormal children (cf. Kornmann 2003).

Only slightly less than half of the respondents have grown up monolingually with German. The reason for this is that I purposely chose to select my sample in learner groups with a large percentage of children of foreign provenance in order to be able to compare monolingual and multilingual learners. But the great majority of all participants were born (and therefore didactically socialized) in Germany:

Figure 2: Distribution of learners according to countries of birth

Afghanistan
2,4%

Others
5,6%

Turkey
2,4%

Russia
8,9%

Germany
80,7%

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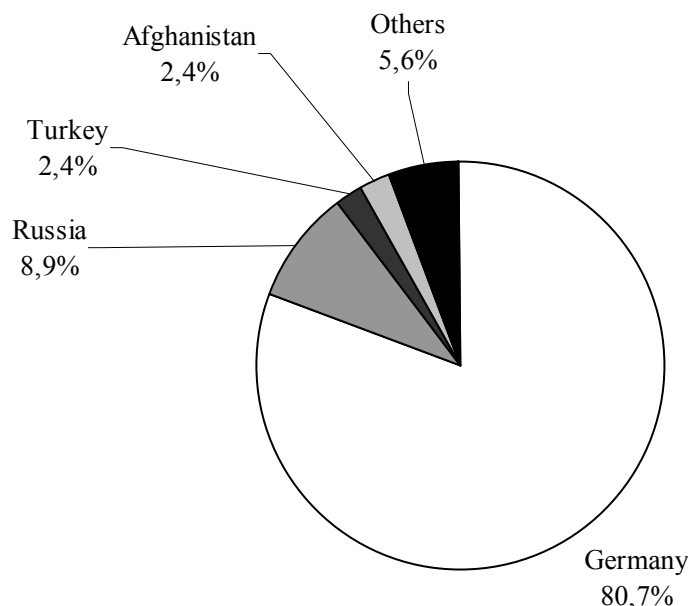
[3] In general children of parents of different nationalities.

[4] Serbia/Montenegro

2.2 The questionnaire

The questionnaire used for my investigation can be divided up under the following headings (appendix):

   I. "Icebreaker": free associations
  II. Language background: foreign languages learnt at school
 III. Beliefs I: Experiences and preferences
 IV. Beliefs II: How to learn a foreign language
  V. Further observations and socio-demographic data
        Attachment Z for plurilinguals: language background

After conducting free associations regarding the term 'Foreign Language Teaching' and background data concerning the languages learnt at school (which languages, at what age begun, last mark in report) the learners are asked to state their 'beliefs' with regard to their experience and preferences as to language learning and language teaching. For the most part the questions in this section are a combination of the open and closed variety. This is followed by an item-block in which the learners have to indicate on a five-level Likert scale how correct they find certain statements on learning foreign languages ('Beliefs II').

This part of the questionnaire was developed in accordance with the *Beliefs about Language Learning Inventory* (*BALLI*) (Horwitz 1987) which may be considered as a standardized and globally proven instrument to ascertain 'beliefs about learning foreign languages'. From this questionnaire I have taken over the entire structure (assessment of statements – Likert Scale) and part of the items. Other items have been formulated by me, as I deemed it sensible to adapt the questionnaire to the special situation of linguistically and culturally heterogeneous groups. Furthermore the *BALLI*-instrument – which was conceived as early as 1987 – contains mainly statements which reflect a somewhat 'traditional' view of language learning whereas I am also interested in the pupils' beliefs concerning a more modern approach to the learning of a language. Besides "further remarks" and socio-demographic data, linguistic background data of the plurilingual youngsters are ascertained with the aid of an attachment for plurilingual learners (attachment Z).

3. Some results

In my paper I present some results from sections II, III and IV of the questionnaire.

3.1 Mark on last report

On asking about their marks on the last report, we get the following results: The monolingual and the plurilingual pupils of my sample show hardly any difference in their English marks. The average mark in both groups is 3.1 (cf. *table 1* and *figure 3*)[5].

Table 1: Mark on last report

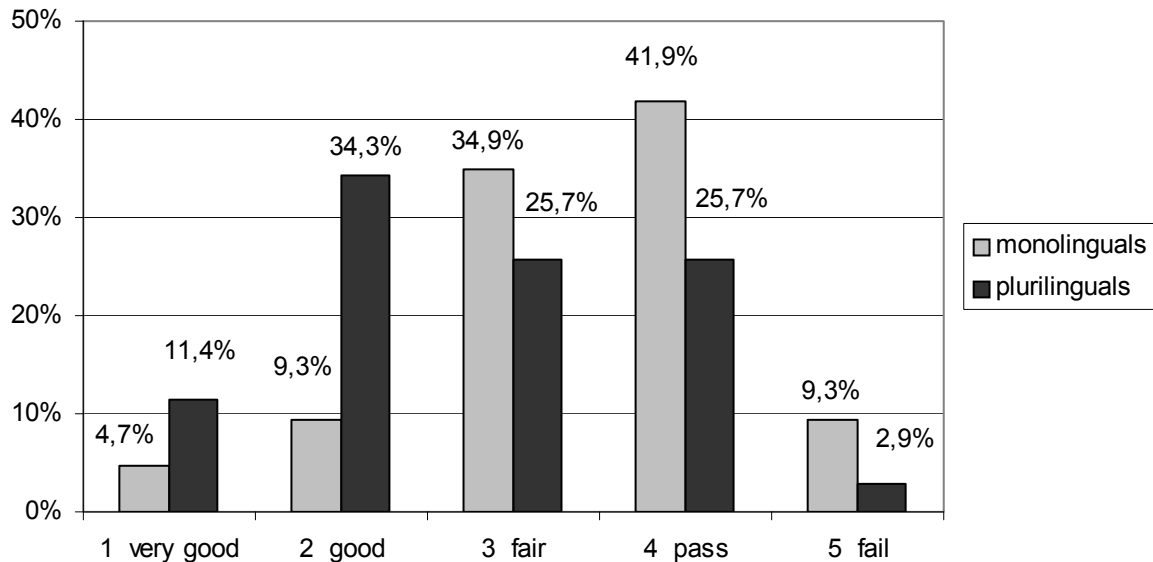|	monolinguals	plurilinguals
English	Ø 3.1	Ø 3.1
French	Ø 3.4	Ø 2.7

Figure 3: English mark on last report
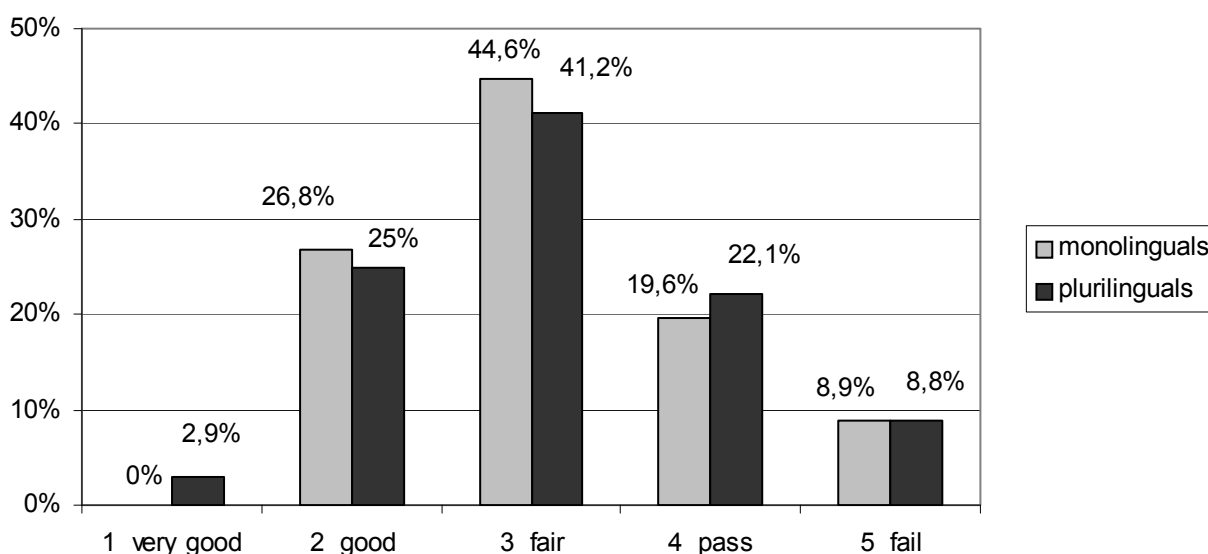
LQ = 2,61; df = 4; p = 0,624 > alpha = 0,05 (n. s.)

But when it comes to French, we get quite a different picture (cf. *table 1* and *figure 4*):

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[5] All the respondents have English as their first foreign language. For those who have French too, this is their *second* foreign language.

Figure 4: French mark on last report

LQ = 10,55; df = 4; p = 0,032 < alpha = 0,05 (sign.)

We can here see the clear advantage which the plurilingual learners of my sample have over the monolinguals: They surpass them significantly by more than half a mark. The good marks (1 and 2) are predominantly gained by the plurilinguals (45,7 % against 14 % monolinguals), whereas the field of the bad marks (4 and 5) shows a clear majority of monolinguals (51,2 % monolinguals against 28,6 % plurilinguals).

It seems to me that this circumstance can be partly explained by the large number of learners of Turkish origin in the sample who apparently find similarities between Turkish and French, especially regarding the vocabulary[6]. This may lie in the fact that a considerable number of French words have been adopted in Turkish since the beginning of the 20th century as a result of increasing cultural relations between Turkey and Europe (cf. Tekinay 1985: XXXIV) which took place in the process of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's political and cultural reforms:

In their zeal to efface the traces of the old language, the reformers have often gone to the other extreme. It is not only in the fields of science, technology and culture that many words from West European languages have found their way into Turkish, but also the vocabulary of everyday life has been partly "europeanized". Up to World War II the majority of these words came from

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[6]   This became obvious in conversations I had with three Turkish girl-students while developing the questionnaire. Some of the open questions indicate this as well.

French – *kuaför* from French *coiffeur* (hairdresser) is a good example for this (Steinbach 1996: 75, translation N. R.).

Besides German and English words which were also adopted, Italian plays a certain part in this process (cf. Tekinay 1985: XXXIV). This could partly explain the "proximity" which the learners feel towards French.

The large number of Turkish pupils explains – as already suggested – only part of the difference between monolingual and plurilingual learners. For if one does not compare monolingual and plurilingual pupils but differentiates between them according to mother-tongues, in any way that relate to my cases, the following may be stated: Among the pupils who attained "very good" we do find a conspicuous number of Turkish learners. But this is no longer the case in the section "good". Here no mother-tongue is conspicuous, but the German learners are significantly under-represented. The monolingual native Germans in my sample have obviously greater difficulties in coping with French at school than is the case with the plurilinguals, regardless of what their native language may be.

I am inclined to assume that this has to do with the way in which French is still predominantly taught in this country. For in spite of the efforts to the contrary made by research in the Teaching and Learning of Foreign Languages, French still seems to be taught to a great extent in a very "traditional" manner, which means that much stress is laid on grammar, vocabulary error-correcting and, in the upper forms, on literature. My hypothesis is supported by various researchers in this field, as for example Bleyhl (1999), who bewails the grammatical orientation of present-day French teaching, accusing it of strangling the desire to learn; or Vogel (2000), who critizises the emphasis laid on structure drill and error-correction; or Leupold (2002), who confirms the afore mentioned findings; as also Meißner (2002), who denounces the orientation of French teaching to the written code and considers present-day instruction in this subject, as it is still widely practiced in Germany, as dated and inadequate for present-day needs. In his opinion, "une révision méthodologique profonde" should take place in the teaching of French.

My supposition that the considerably better marks attained by the plurilingual pupils could have a lot to do with this type of instruction is confirmed by the sections III and IV of my questionnaire.

3.2 Popular Activities in Foreign Language Teaching

In section III (Experiences and Preferences) one of our concerns is which activities in Foreign Language Teaching are the favourites among the pupils questioned.

Although there is not much difference in many items, three significant results may be noted in my sample, as can be seen in the following charts:

Figure 5: Popular activity "Grammar exercises"

<div align="right">
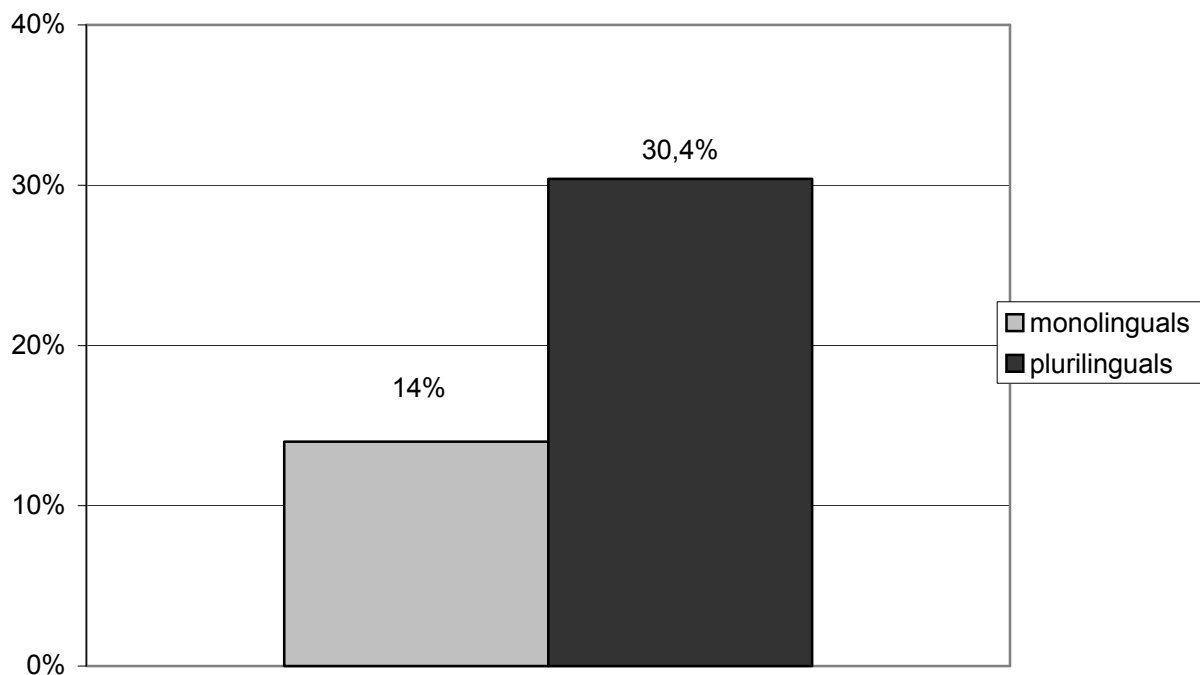
Chi ² = 4,74; FG = 1; p = 0,03 < alpha = 0,05 (sign.)

</div>

Almost one third of the plurilinguals says that they enjoy doing grammar exercises. By contrast, only $1/7^{th}$ of the monolingual pupils seems to enjoy this activity. Considering the ratio between the two groups, we note that more than twice as many plurilinguals than monolinguals choose the answer "doing grammar exercises" as one of their favourite activities. The case is similar with the next item:

Figure 6: Popular activity "Learning Vocabulary"

<div align="right">
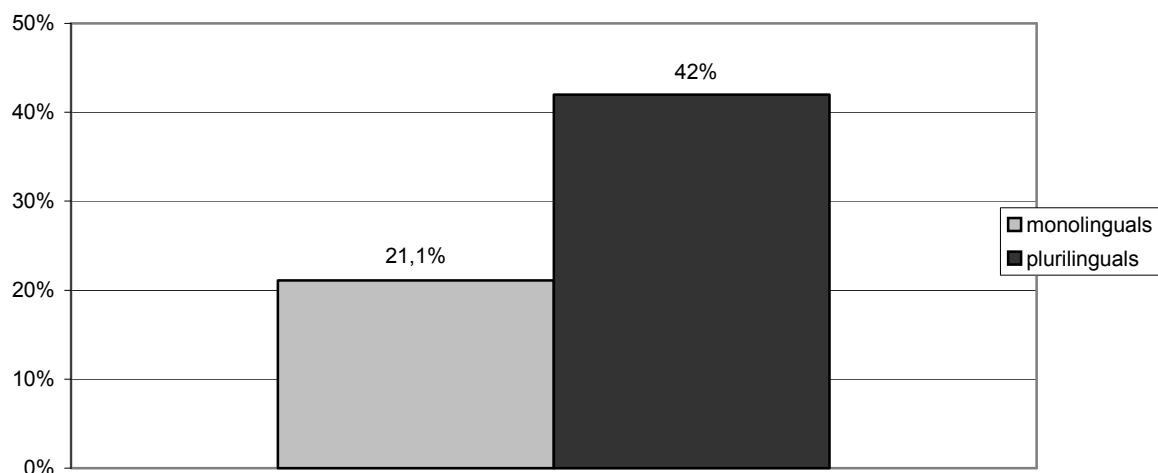
Chi ² = 6,26; FG = 1; p = 0,012 < alpha = 0,05 (sign.)

</div>

Again, about twice as many plurilinguals as monolinguals say they enjoy learning vocabulary, the percentages being here somewhat higher than in item 10: About one fifth of the monolingua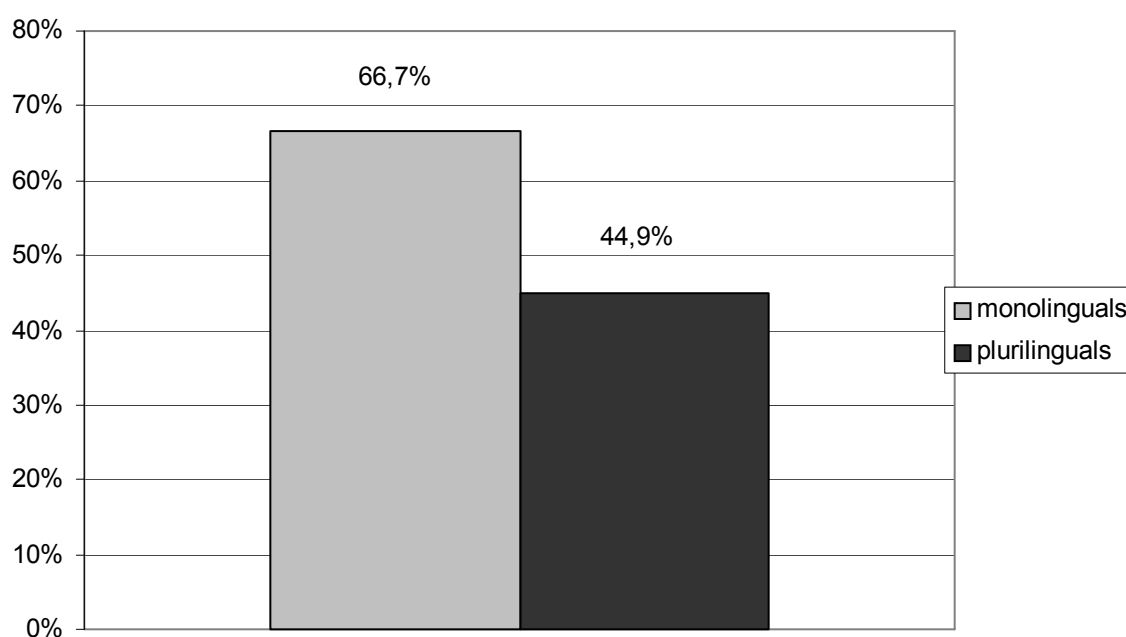ls and two fifths of the plurilinguals prefer this activity. Both differences mentioned are significant on the level of 0.05.

Matters look different as regards the item "Free tasks according to your own choice":

Figure 7: Popular activity: „Free tasks according to your own choice"

Chi ^{2} = 5,96; FG = 1; p = 0,015 < alpha = 0,05 (sign.)

Here it is noticeable that the free-choice activity is very popular with the monolinguals and rarely so with the plurilinguals. About two thirds of the former and less than half of the latter are in favour of this kind of activity. This difference is also significant on the level of 0,05, so that a definite relationship may be assumed.

The differences as shown above give a first indication that monolingual and plurilingual pupils prefer (at least in part) different forms of foreign language teaching. The plurilinguals noticeably often name activities which are connected with a traditional conception of teaching ("learning vocabulary" and "grammar exercises") whereas the monolinguals opted in their majority for the free-choice item which is related to a more modern form of language teaching.

3.3 The Learning of foreign languages

We find further indications for the supposition that the plurilingual pupils of the sample tend to prefer traditional foreign language teaching more than the

monolingual ones in Section IV of my questionnaire, where the attitudes of the learners towards modern-language learning are examined. This section "Beliefs in the stricter sense" consists of 24 items in which the pupils tested are asked to give their opinions on a five-fold scale ranging from "very true" to "not true at all". Significant differences come to light in some of the statements between the monolingual and the plurilingual pupils. In this context what follows seems of particular interest:

Between the statement "The most important thing in foreign language learning is the learning of grammar" and the variable mono- and plurilingualism we find a significant relationship which can be described as follows:

Figure 8: Item 9 "The most important thing in the learning of foreign languages is the learning of grammar".
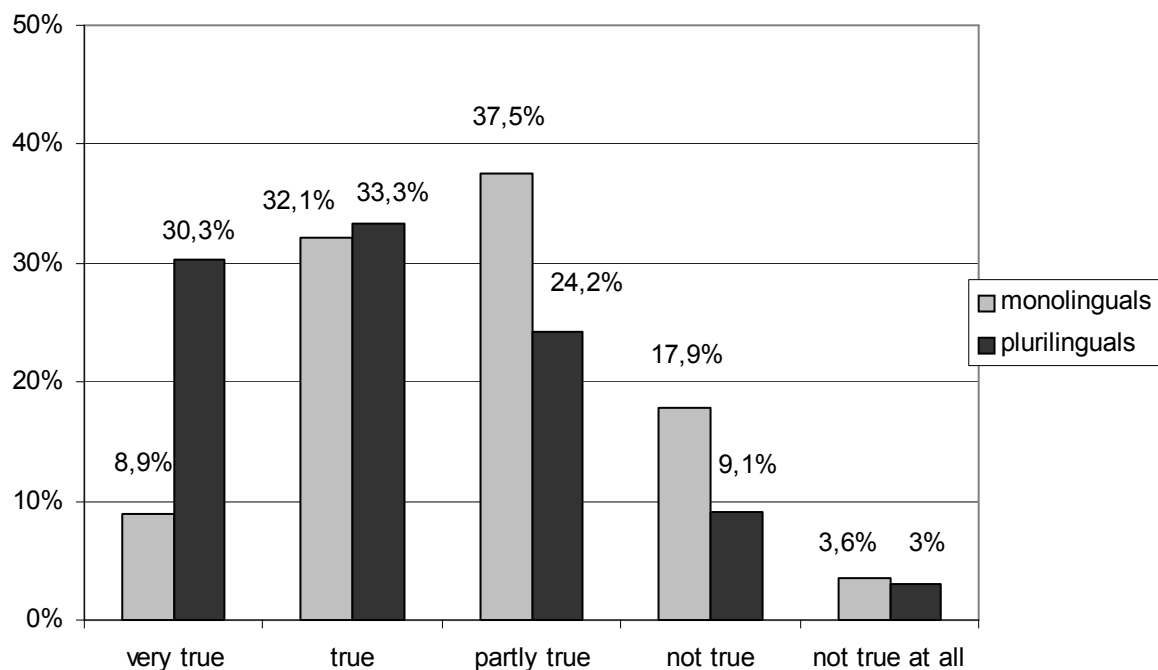
Chi² = 10,33; FG = 4; p = 0,035 < alpha = 0,05 (sign.)

A conspicuous percentage of plurilinguals and only relatively few of their monolingual classmates consider this statement to be very true (cf. figure 8).

Another clear connection can be noticed between the responses to the statement "Mistakes should always be corrected immediately in foreign language teaching" and mono- versus plurilingualism:

Figure 9: Item 15 "Mistakes should always be corrected immediately in foreign-language teaching."
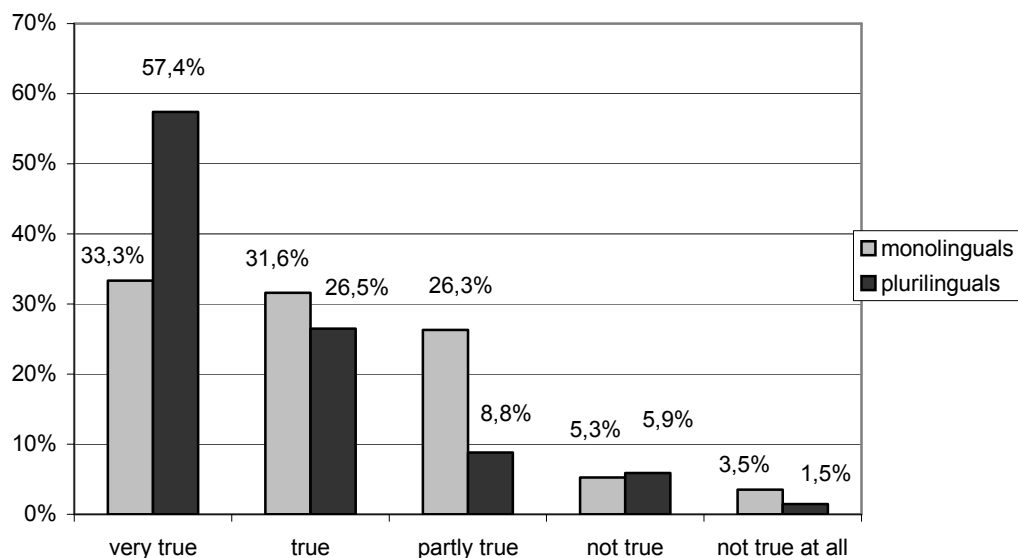
LQ = 10,54; FG = 4; p = 0,032 < alpha = 0,05 (sign.)

Conspicuously few monolinguals and conspicuously many plurilinguals find this statement very much to the point whereas a conspicuous percentage of the monolingual pupils opts for "partly true". It may be concluded that both in item 9 and in item 15 the plurilingual pupils decidedly approve of this statement whereas the monolinguals are far less clear-cut in their responses.

Despite the fact that the five-scale chart does not show a complete dependency between the responses to the statement "I get the most out of foreign-language teaching when we work on a project" and mono- versus plurilingualism, we do obtain a local significance by reducing the five scales to three (I agree, I am undecided, I do not agree). A clear dependency seems now quite obvious (figure 10).

Figure 10: Item 4 "I get most out of foreign-language teaching when we work on a project." (three scales)
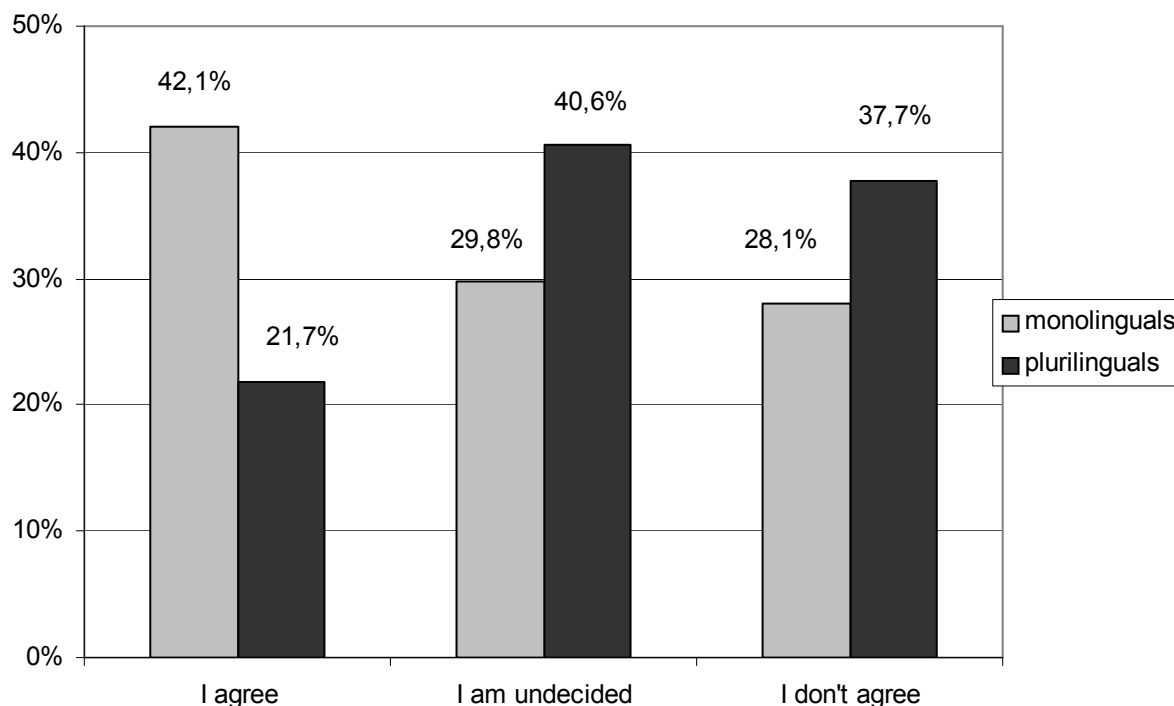
We see that the monolingual pupils agree to this statement conspicuously often whereas the plurilingual ones as frequently do not.

The differences presented in the section "Beliefs in the stricter sense" complement the picture suggested by the "Popular activities" section. The plurilingual and monolingual pupils of my sample not only have – at least partly – different preferences regarding lesson activities, they apparently also have different opinions as to what is important in foreign-language learning and how the lessons should be run if they are to profit from them. A significant part of the plurilinguals is convinced that learning grammar is of prior importance and that mistakes should be corrected at once. This corresponds to the fact that a clear majority of the plurilinguals tick Grammar exercises and Learning vocabulary as (for them) particularly popular activities. Traditional teaching which concentrates on grammar, vocabulary and the correction of mistakes is apparently just what a conspicuous percentage of the plurilingual learners wants. In contrast to this, the monolinguals seem to regard open tasks and working on projects as more profitable, thereby betraying a preference for a more up-to-date scheme for language lessons.

Admittedly, the opinions mentioned cannot be equated with what is actually going on in the learning process, i. e. it does not necessarily follow that the plurilinguals actually do learn languages better through grammar exercises and the correction of mistakes. To establish a one-to-one relationship between thinking and doing would obviously be erroneous. But the statements mentioned

86

do permit us to conclude that the expectations of the plurilinguals are fulfilled to a higher degree by traditional teaching than those of the monolinguals who are more in favour of modern methods, i. e. of open forms of teaching. This implies on the other hand that plurilingual learners may be expected to fulfil the expectations of traditionally oriented teachers to a higher degree than the monolingual ones.

Reasons for these differences seem to me to lie essentially in the cultural factor, as the plurilinguals in my sample come almost exclusively from, as Hofstede (1993) puts it, "collectivistic" backgrounds in which very traditional forms of language-teaching are the rule. Even though most of the pupils tested have been didactically socialized in Germany, it is highly probable that their parents have set ideas about what "good teaching" should be like and that they have influenced their offspring accordingly. Moreover, it may be supposed that these learners are accustomed to authoritarian structures at home, which could facilitate their acceptance of structurally oriented forms of teaching in the classroom, as opposed to the monolinguals who have supposedly grown up in a more individual-centred atmosphere.

4. Conclusions

Of course it is not admissible to answer the title question with a global Yes. My data-base does not allow us to say that migrant children are the better learners of French. In the framework of my investigation I may however advance the hypothesis that learners with a migrant background, described here as pluriliguals, are – owing to their beliefs and preferences – better adapted to the type of French instruction which seems to be the rule in Germany, and, as pupils, are therefore better than their monolingual classmates who would prefer more open forms of learning.

What consequences can be drawn from this? Of course there can be no question of sticking to traditional ways of teaching French for the sake of the plurilingual learners. More modern methods are urgently needed if we do not want to demotivate the monolingual students and lose them at the latest at sixth-form level (cf. Meißner 1999). As the plurilinguals are particularly aware of the necessity to acquire foreign languages (see Rück 2009) and therefore enjoy learning them (see the results of Section III of my questionnaire), we should lead them to reflect the aims and ways of learning a language and to consider the advantages of more open forms of classroom-work. The results of the item "Tasks according to your own choice" indicate that this need not be futile. Although the values of assent are here much lower than those of the monolinguals, we do get quite a considerable almost 45 % result on the positive side. This leaves space for hope that the plurilinguals can be made ready to accept more up-to-date forms of learning a foreign language.

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Fragebogen über das Lernen von Fremdsprachen

Liebe Schülerin, lieber Schüler!

An der Universität Kassel untersuchen wir, wie man den Fremdsprachenunterricht in Schulklassen verbessern kann, in denen Schüler/innen mit unterschiedlichen Muttersprachen gemeinsam lernen. Deshalb möchten wir gerne erfahren, was jeder einzelne von euch über das Lernen von Fremdsprachen denkt. Mit dem Wort ‚Fremdsprachen' sind im folgenden Sprachen gemeint, die dir noch nicht so vertraut sind, weil du sie nicht als Kind „auf natürliche Art", sondern im schulischen Unterricht zu lernen begonnen hast (also nicht deine Muttersprache und nicht Deutsch, wenn dir Deutsch mittlerweile schon sehr vertraut ist). Lies dir die folgenden Fragen bitte aufmerksam durch und beantworte sie gewissenhaft. Bei manchen Fragen sollst du in Stichworten oder ausführlicher antworten, bei anderen sollst du bitte das ankreuzen, was am ehesten (!) für dich zutrifft. Je ehrlicher deine Antworten sind, desto hilfreicher sind sie für uns. Wir interessieren uns nämlich für das, was du wirklich denkst! Wir versichern dir, dass deine Angaben keinerlei Einfluss auf deine Noten haben, denn niemand an eurer Schule bekommt sie zu sehen. Außerdem ist die Befragung anonym, d.h. dass du deinen Namen gar nicht nennen brauchst. Vielen Dank für deine Mitarbeit!

1) Was fällt dir zu dem folgenden Wort ein? Notiere bitte alles, was dir in den Sinn kommt! Stichworte genügen.

«Fremdsprachenunterricht»

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

2) Welche Fremdsprachen hast du bisher in der Schule gelernt?
   In welchem Alter hast du angefangen, sie zu lernen?
   Was war deine letzte Zeugnisnote?
   Bitte ankreuzen.

Welche Sprache?	**Alter bei Beginn**	**letzte Zeugnisnote**
☐ Englisch	5 – 6 – 7 – 8 – 9 – 10 – 11 – 12 – 13 – 14 – 15	1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5 – 6
☐ Französisch	5 – 6 – 7 – 8 – 9 – 10 – 11 – 12 – 13 – 14 – 15	1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5 – 6
Sonstige:	5 – 6 – 7 – 8 – 9 – 10 – 11 – 12 – 13 – 14 – 15	1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5 – 6
Sonstige:	5 – 6 – 7 – 8 – 9 – 10 – 11 – 12 – 13 – 14 – 15	1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5 – 6

3) Lernst du gerne Fremdsprachen?

☐ ja, sehr   ☐ ja   ☐ mittel   ☐ nicht so sehr   ☐ gar nicht

Begründe bitte deine Antwort! Stichworte genügen.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

4) a) Hast du es schon einmal erlebt, dass die unterschiedlichen <u>Muttersprachen</u> in eurer Klasse in den Fremdsprachenunterricht einbezogen wurden?

☐ ja, oft   ☐ ja, selten   ☐ nein

Wenn ja: Wie findest du es,   **Wenn nein: Wie findest du es,**
dass sie einbezogen wurden?   **dass sie <u>nicht</u> einbezogen wurden?**

☐ Ich finde es gut.   ☐ Ich finde es gut.
☐ Es ist mir egal.   ☐ Es ist mir egal
☐ Es ist mir peinlich.   .   ☐ Ich finde es nicht gut.
☐ Ich finde es nicht gut.   Sonstiges: _____
Sonstiges: _____

Begründe bitte deine Antwort („Wie findest du es, dass...?")!

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

b) Hast du es schon einmal erlebt, dass die unterschiedlichen <u>Herkunftskulturen</u> in eurer Klasse in den Fremdsprachenunterricht einbezogen wurden?

☐ ja, oft   ☐ ja, selten   ☐ nein

Wenn ja: Wie findest du es,   **Wenn nein: Wie findest du es,**
dass sie einbezogen wurden?   **dass sie <u>nicht</u> einbezogen wurden?**

☐ Ich finde es gut.   ☐ Ich finde es gut.
☐ Es ist mir egal.   ☐ Es ist mir egal
☐ Es ist mir peinlich.   .   ☐ Ich finde es nicht gut.
☐ Ich finde es nicht gut.   Sonstiges: _____
Sonstiges: _____

Begründe bitte deine Antwort („Wie findest du es, dass...?")!

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

5) Was gefällt dir im Fremdsprachenunterricht <u>besonders gut</u>? Hier kannst du mehrere Dinge ankreuzen!

☐ Laut lesen
☐ Freie Texte schreiben
☐ Lieder in der Fremdsprache hören
☐ Mit dem Workbook/Cahier d'exercices arbeiten
☐ Lernspiele (z.B. Vokabelspiele)
☐ Etwas in der Fremdsprache vortragen
☐ Lehrwerktexte erarbeiten
☐ Mit dem PC lernen
☐ Rollenspiele
☐ Grammatikübungen machen

☐ Geschichten, Gedichte, Witze o.ä. lesen
☐ Vokabeln lernen
☐ Etwas in der Fremdsprache vorspielen
☐ Filme/Videos ansehen
☐ Das Hörverstehen üben
☐ In der Fremdsprache diskutieren
☐ Freie Aufgaben nach eurer Wahl
☐ Kontakte zu Muttersprachlern (Briefe, E-mail)
☐ Wortschatzarbeit im Unterricht
Sonstiges: _____

6) Was gefällt dir im Fremdsprachenunterricht <u>überhaupt nicht</u>? Hier kannst du mehrere Dinge ankreuzen!

☐ Laut lesen
☐ Kleine freie Texte schreiben
☐ Lieder in der Fremdsprache hören
☐ Mit dem Workbook/Cahier d'exercices arbeiten
☐ Lernspiele (z.B. Vokabelspiele)
☐ Etwas in der Fremdsprache vortragen
☐ Lehrwerktexte erarbeiten
☐ Mit dem PC lernen
☐ Rollenspiele
☐ Grammatikübungen machen

☐ Kleine Geschichten, Gedichte, Witze o.ä. lesen
☐ Vokabeln lernen
☐ Etwas in der Fremdsprache vorspielen
☐ Filme/Videos ansehen
☐ Das Hörverstehen üben
☐ In der Fremdsprache diskutieren
☐ Freie Aufgaben nach eurer Wahl
☐ Kontakte zu Muttersprachlern (Briefe, E-mail)
☐ Wortschatzarbeit im Unterricht
Sonstiges: _____

7) Hattest du schon einmal längeren Kontakt mit Personen, die eine deiner <u>Schulfremdsprachen</u> als Muttersprache sprechen?

☐ ja, regelmäßig　　　　☐ ja, oft　　　　☐ ja, selten　　　　☐ nein

Wenn ja: in welcher Sprache? _____ **In welchem Land?** _____

8) Im folgenden wird aufgelistet, was manche Menschen über das Lernen von Fremdsprachen denken. Lies bitte jede Aussage aufmerksam und entscheide, wie zutreffend du sie findest, indem du eine der Zahlen von 1 bis 5 ankreuzt:

	sehr zutref-fend				gar nicht zutref-fend
1) Um eine Sprache gut sprechen zu können, muss man etwas über die Kultur wissen, in der diese Sprache gesprochen wird.	1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5				
2) Wenn ich einen Text in der Fremdsprache lese, versuche ich, die Bedeutung von Wörtern zu erraten.	1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5				
3) Jemand, der schon als Kind zweisprachig aufgewachsen ist, hat beim Lernen von Fremdsprachen Vorteile.	1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5				
4) Fremdsprachenunterricht bringt mir am meisten, wenn wir an einem Projekt arbeiten.	1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5				
5) Ich möchte gerne Menschen aus einem Land kennen lernen, dessen Sprache ich lerne.	1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5				
6) Jeder Schüler/jede Schülerin muss eine Fremdsprache selbständig lernen, der Lehrer kann nur Hilfestellungen geben.	1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5				
7) Es ist nicht so wichtig, dass man in der Fremdsprache alles richtig sagt, Hauptsache, die anderen verstehen einen.	1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5				
8) Fremdsprachenunterricht mit Schüler/innen unterschiedlicher Muttersprachen müsste sich von Fremdsprachenunterricht mit nur deutschen Schüler/innen unterscheiden.	1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5				
9) Das Wichtigste beim Lernen von Fremdsprachen ist das Grammatiklernen.	1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5				

	sehr zutref-fend				gar nicht zutref-fend
10) Es ist mir wichtig, meine Fremdsprachen möglichst gut zu lernen.	1	– 2	– 3	– 4	– 5
11) Beim Lernen von Fremdsprachen sind Kenntnisse in anderen Sprachen hilfreich.	1	– 2	– 3	– 4	– 5
12) Ich werde die Fremdsprachen, die ich lerne, im Leben sehr gut gebrauchen können.	1	– 2	– 3	– 4	– 5
13) Den Wortschatz einer Sprache lernt man am besten mit zweisprachigen Vokabellisten.	1	– 2	– 3	– 4	– 5
14) Ich glaube, dass ich in der Lage bin, eine Fremdsprache gut zu erlernen.	1	– 2	– 3	– 4	– 5
15) Fehler sollten im Fremdsprachenunterricht immer sofort korrigiert werden.	1	– 2	– 3	– 4	– 5
16) Das Wichtigste beim Lernen einer Fremdsprache ist es, die Sprache anzuwenden.	1	– 2	– 3	– 4	– 5
17) Die Erfahrungen, die Schüler/innen beim Erlernen anderer Sprachen gemacht haben, sollten in den Fremdsprachenunterricht einbezogen werden.	1	– 2	– 3	– 4	– 5
18) Es ist mir wichtig, Fremdsprachen zu lernen, damit ich später einen guten Job bekomme.	1	– 2	– 3	– 4	– 5
19) Wenn Schüler/innen aus unterschiedlichen Kulturen kommen, verstehen sie im Fremdsprachenunterricht auch vieles unterschiedlich (z.B. Begriffe, Geschichten usw.).	1	– 2	– 3	– 4	– 5
20) Man lernt eine Fremdsprache am besten, indem man versucht, vieles selbst herauszufinden und auszuprobieren.	1	– 2	– 3	– 4	– 5
21) Beim Lernen von Fremdsprachen ist es am wichtigsten zu lernen, wie man von der Muttersprache in die Fremdsprache übersetzt.	1	– 2	– 3	– 4	– 5
22) Wenn ich mich in einer Sprache nicht so sicher fühle, habe ich Hemmungen, sie im Gespräch anzuwenden.	1	– 2	– 3	– 4	– 5
23) Wenn Schüler/innen unterschiedliche Muttersprachen haben, machen sie beim Lernen von Fremdsprachen auch unterschiedliche Fehler.	1	– 2	– 3	– 4	– 5
24) Ich bin gut im Lernen von Sprachen.	1	– 2	– 3	– 4	– 5

9)   a) Was macht ihr im Fremdsprachenunterricht deiner Meinung nach zu selten?

_____

b) Weitere Anmerkungen:

_____
_____

10) Für die Auswertung des Fragebogens benötigen wir noch folgende Angaben:

Geschlecht: ☐ weiblich   ☐ männlich

Geburtsland: _____

Geburtsjahr: _____

Herkunftsland der Eltern: _____

Nationalität: _____

Muttersprache(n):   _____

Geplanter Schulabschluss: _____

Vielen Dank für deine Unterstützung!!!

Anlage: E

Kennziffer: ....

Fülle dieses Blatt bitte nur dann aus, wenn du als Kind in deiner Familie nur Deutsch gelernt hast.

Kreuze bitte in der Tabelle an, wie gut du die von dir bisher in der Schule gelernten Fremdsprachen beherrschst! Orientiere dich dabei an folgenden Erklärungen:

	mündlich	**schriftlich**
0	weniger als 1	weniger als 1
1	Ich kann mich auf ganz einfache Art verständigen, bin dabei aber auf Hilfe angewiesen. Ich kann ausdrücken, dass ich etwas nicht verstanden habe. Ich kann vertraute alltägliche Ausdrücke und ganz einfache Sätze verstehen, wenn sehr deutlich und langsam gesprochen wird.	Ich kann eine einfache Postkarte, z.B. mit Feriengrüßen, schreiben. Ich kann einzelne vertraute Namen, Wörter und ganz einfache Sätze (z.B. auf Plakaten) wiedererkennen und verstehen. Ich kann kurze, einfache Texte im Lehrbuch verstehen.
2	Ich kann mich in einfachen Situationen (z.B. Einkaufen, Begrüßung, Sich-Vorstellen usw.) verständigen, spreche aber nicht gut genug, um das Gespräch aufrecht erhalten zu können. Ich kann im Gespräch einzelne Sätze und häufig gebrauchte Wörter verstehen, wenn es z.B. um einfache Informationen zu einer Person, zur Familie, zum Einkaufen geht.	Ich kann einen ganz einfachen Brief schreiben. Ich kann in einfachen Texten bestimmte Informationen auffinden. Ich kann kurze, einfache persönliche Briefe verstehen.
3	Ich kann an Gesprächen teilnehmen, wenn die Themen mir vertraut sind oder mich interessieren (z.B. meine Hobbies). Ich kann aus Geschichten, Berichten oder Erzählungen Hauptpunkte verstehen, wenn es um vertraute Dinge aus Schule, Freizeit usw. geht.	Ich kann einfache zusammenhängende Texte über Themen schreiben, die mir vertraut sind und die mich interessieren. Ich kann Texte verstehen, in denen mir vertraute Themen in Alltagssprache behandelt werden.
4	Ich kann mich spontan und fließend unterhalten., so dass ein Gespräch mit einem Muttersprachler möglich ist. Ich kann mich beteiligen und einschalten, wenn über Dinge gesprochen wird, die mich angehen oder interessieren, und ich kann dabei auch ausdrücken, was ich glaube, meine und fühle. Ich kann Radio- oder Fernsehsendungen, Filmen oder Hörkassetten bzw. CDs folgen, wenn in normalem Tempo und deutlich gesprochen wird.	Ich kann Briefe oder andere Texte schreiben, in denen ich eigene Eindrücke, Gedanken und Erfahrungen beschreibe und deutlich mache, was wichtig ist. Ich kann bei Zeitungstexten oder anderen längeren Texten schnell herausfinden, um was es inhaltlich geht und ob ein Text z.B. sachlich berichtet oder ob der Leser überredet/ überzeugt werden soll.
5	besser als 4	besser als 4

Sprache	**mündlich** (siehe Erklärungen oben)	**schriftlich** (siehe Erklärungen oben)
	0 - 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5	0 - 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5
	0 - 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5	0 - 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5
	0 - 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5	0 - 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5

Anlage: Z

Kennziffer: ....

Beantworte die Fragen auf der Vorder- und Rückseite dieses Blattes bitte nur dann, wenn du als Kind in deiner Familie (auch) andere Sprachen als Deutsch gelernt hast.

A) Welche Sprache(n) sprichst du mit folgenden Personen:

Vater: _____   Mutter: _____

Geschwister: _____   Freunde: _____

B) Sprichst du mit manchen Personen abwechselnd mehrere Sprachen? ☐ ja ☐ nein

    Wenn ja: mit wem und zu welchen Gelegenheiten? _____

_____

C) Warst du schon einmal in einem Land, in dem eine der von dir unter A) genannten Sprachen gesprochen wird (also z.B. Türkei, Kroatien, Russland o.ä.)?

                                                                   ☐ ja ☐ nein

  a) **Wenn ja: in welchem Land?** _____

  b) **Wie oft ungefähr?** ☐ 1 mal   ☐ 2 bis 3 mal   ☐ öfter   ☐ regelmäßig

  c) **Aus welchem Anlass?** ☐ Urlaub ☐ Familienbesuch ☐ dort gelebt Sonstiges:_____

D) Trage bitte in die Tabelle (unter dem Kasten mit den Erklärungen) die von dir unter A) genannten Sprachen ein und kreuze an, wie gut du sie (und das Deutsche) beherrschst! Orientiere dich dabei bitte an folgenden Erklärungen:

Erklärungen zur Tabelle:
1 = Ich kann die Sprache **nur wenig sprechen (bzw. schreiben), verstehe aber mehr.**
2 = **Einfache Sätze zu vertrauten Themen** (z.B. Familie, Einkaufen, Freunde u.ä.) bereiten mir keine Schwierigkeiten.
3 = Die Kommunikation über **mir vertraute Themen** (z.B. Hobbies, Erlebnisse, Reisen) ist mir ohne Probleme möglich.
4 = Die Kommunikation über **viele, auch anspruchsvollere Themen** ist mir ohne Probleme möglich.
5 = Ich **beherrsche die Sprache ohne Probleme**

Sprache	mündlich (siehe Erklärungen oben)	schriftlich (siehe Erklärungen oben)
Deutsch	1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5	1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5
	1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5	1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5
	1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5	1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5

E) In welchem Alter hast du angefangen, Deutsch zu lernen?   Mit _____ Jahren.

    Wo hast du es gelernt?

    ☐ in der Familie   ☐ in der Schule
    ☐ im Kindergarten   ☐ mit Freunden   Sonstiges: _____

Anlage: Z

F) Ist dir das Erlernen der deutschen Sprache eher leicht oder eher schwer gefallen?

☐ sehr leicht ☐ eher leicht ☐ mittel ☐ eher schwer ☐ sehr schwer

Versuche bitte zu begründen, warum (denke z.B. auch an Dinge wie Kontakte zu anderen Kindern / Lust, die Sprache zu lernen / Hilfe durch andere Personen / Sprachunterricht usw.)!

_____

_____

_____

_____

G) Hier geht es im Unterschied zu Frage 4) um deine eigene Muttersprache und Herkunftskultur:

a) Hast du es schon einmal erlebt, dass <u>deine Muttersprache</u> in eurer Klasse in den Fremdsprachenunterricht einbezogen wurde?

☐ ja, oft ☐ ja, selten ☐ nein

Wenn ja: Wie findest du es, | **Wenn nein: Wie findest du es,**
dass sie einbezogen wurde? | **dass sie <u>nicht</u> einbezogen wurde?**

☐ Ich finde es gut.   ☐ Ich finde es gut.
☐ Es ist mir egal.   ☐ Es ist mir egal
☐ Es ist mir peinlich.   .   ☐ Ich finde es nicht gut.
☐ Ich finde es nicht gut.   Sonstiges: _____
Sonstiges: _____

Begründe bitte deine Antwort („Wie findest du es, dass...?")!

_____

_____

_____

_____

b) Hast du es schon einmal erlebt, dass <u>deine Herkunftskultur</u> in eurer Klasse in den Fremdsprachenunterricht einbezogen wurde?

☐ ja, oft ☐ ja, selten ☐ nein

Wenn ja: Wie findest du es, | **Wenn nein: Wie findest du es,**
dass sie einbezogen wurde? | **dass sie <u>nicht</u> einbezogen wurde?**

☐ Ich finde es gut.   ☐ Ich finde es gut.
☐ Es ist mir egal.   ☐ Es ist mir egal
☐ Es ist mir peinlich.   .   ☐ Ich finde es nicht gut.
☐ Ich finde es nicht gut.   Sonstiges: _____
Sonstiges: _____

Begründe bitte deine Antwort („Wie findest du es, dass...?")!

_____

_____

_____

_____

INEZ DE FLORIO-HANSEN

How migrant students of Turkish origin perceive their school and family contexts

Abstract:

In the following contribution, I shall present and discuss the results of an exploratory study based on a written survey. The overall aim of this research is to gain more insights into school and family contexts of migrant students of Turkish origin. The focus is on their perceptions, believes and feelings about their school situation and their future. Items regarding their language learning and use, i.e. of their mother tongue(s), the second language German and the foreign language(s) studied at school, account for Part B of the three-part questionnaire (Part A: Perceptions of the school context; Part C: Socio-demographic data). In the first three sections of my paper I shall illustrate the difficulties researchers have to cope with when constructing, piloting and administering a questionnaire with migrant children and adolescents and by which choices I tried to overcome these problems. The processing of the data (in total 51 items; 31 respondents) and their analysis constitute the main part of my contribution (section 4). Even though the empirical basis is too small as to generalize the results obtained, a claim can be laid to their great plausibility as they correspond in many points to research findings in the field of migration studies. My further considerations (section 5) hopefully lead to a better understanding of and a greater respect for migrant children and adolescents as well as their families.

1. How to gain some insights into the life of migrant children and young people with Turkish backgrounds

Rück's contribution (in this volume) as well as her doctoral thesis (cf. Rück 2009) shed much light on the beliefs of migrant students about the learning and teaching of foreign languages in German schools. Her results confirm the hypothesis that there is a notable difference between monolingual students which grow up with their mother tongue (German) only and 'plurilinguals' able to use already more than one language when the study of foreign languages starts. As her questionnaire was administered in public schools she had to adapt to the 'political correctness' required by the school administration. It is well known by researchers trying to conduct survey studies in the public sphere that certain questions, e.g. those regarding the social status of the student's family, are not allowed. This means that it is quite difficult to gain some insight into the

socio-economic conditions and the family contexts of the students, not to talk about how they may judge the quality of their schooling and the support given to them by their teachers.

When a questionnaire passes the aforementioned hurdles by eliminating unwelcome questions, it is often up to the teacher of the subject matter under research to select the students who, in his opinion, could best give a positive image of his/her teaching. This happened e.g. when I was piloting a written survey containing a series of questions about the learning and teaching of natural sciences, especially that of technical terms in the field of biology. The headmaster chose an "appropriate" teacher of biology who, in her turn, selected some migrant students who gave only positive answers regarding the subject matter and their teacher. The main reason for this selection consists obviously in the aim of the school boards not to further damage the image of public education in German schools, especially the schooling of migrant students. Studies in the aftermath of PISA revealed that in no other country socio-economic status determines in such a negative way the chances of reaching secondary school qualifications or regular vocational training, not to speak of the access to universities, as in the Federal Republic of Germany (cf. OECD reports).

Furthermore, administering a survey in German public schools and educational institutions is only allowed if the parents of the respondents are informed in advance about the research aims and the evaluation and publication of the data. This problem is easier to solve when the questions of the survey are more or less "neutral" or innocuous as in the case of Rück's written survey. Questions or items about foreign language teaching and learning in general are not supposed to enter too much into private spheres of the respondents. In any case, parents have to sign a (written) permission which has to be returned in time to the authorities – the headmaster or the teacher in question. If some parents of a class or learner group do not agree, the researcher has to decide if the "rest" of the sample is sufficient to guarantee at least some sort of generalizable results. The problem of parental consent is aggravated when the respondents are migrant students. Turkish parents often seem unwilling to cooperate with the schools and the teachers of their children. This is mostly due to the fact that teachers in Turkey enjoy a special reputation. They are considered experts in all questions of education so that Turkish parents hesitate to intervene. Who, if not the teacher, knows what is best for their children?

A solution to some of the aforementioned problems is the administration of the questionnaire by the researcher her-/himself or an administrator who gives adequate instructions, supervises the respondents and collects the filled out questionnaires. By proceeding in this way teachers are not able to select students they consider suitable for the survey – for whatever reasons, e.g. the image of the school, their own reputation, and the importance of special school subjects. In the present case of a written survey about the school and family contexts of migrant students of Turkish descent (cf. questionnaire "Befragung zu Schule

und Umfeld" in the appendix) it was a Turkish assistant of mine from Istanbul who administered the survey.

2. How to choose a situation propitious for the administration of the questionnaire

Even though I could overcome some of the problems described above, the main difficulty remained: how to avoid feelings of unease with the respondents regarding their possibly negative perceptions of their teachers and the lacking support given to migrant students in general? That is the main reason why we decided to administer the questionnaire in a context out of public schools.

As my assistant speaks German very well – he graduated from Marmara University with a bachelor degree in German and obtained a master's degree in German as a foreign language at the University of Kassel – he tried to support students of Turkish origin in several ways, e.g. through tutoring in a private school run by Turkish care persons.

The "Akademische Bildungsplattform" is an institution with relationships to similar education platforms in Turkey (cf. http://www.fem.com.tr; http://www.yamanlar.k12.tr). It offers not only private tutoring in the main subject matters such as German, English, mathematics and natural sciences, but also application coaching and courses of informatics for migrant children and young people coming from Turkish families in Kassel (http://akademischebildungsplattform.de/). The tutoring is provided mostly by German teachers, the administration of the "Akademische Bildungsplattform" is Turkish. The languages of communication, also among the students themselves, are German and Turkish. The introduction into Islamic values which many students of the institution attend to is held in Turkish. As most Turkish families can afford the low tuition price of the "Akademische Bildungsplattform" a great number of students profit from this coaching.

Administering the written survey in this institution allowed us not only to create a propitious atmosphere for the respondents. It was quite easy to get the permission of the parents as they fully trust in the institution. Above all, this institutional context made it possible to present the questionnaire to a sample covering a large span of age and a reasonable number of different schools. There were 31 respondents (17 males, 14 females) from elementary school up to the end of secondary school (cf. section 4).

3. How to construct, pilot and administer a questionnaire with migrant students

Right on the outset of my empirical study based on a questionnaire it was clear that there should be a prevalence of closed questions with most items to be answered to with "yes" or "no". This decision which reduced the possibility of qualitative results was justified by the fear that the respondents would not be

willing to write longer statements in German. Moreover, I was afraid that their statements would not allow for plausible interpretations because of their reduced language competences especially in written productions. This fear was not unfounded. I experienced this with the questionnaire itself: e.g. the quite common German word "Geschwister" (brothers and sisters) was unknown even to older migrant students (cf. C Item 9 below).

It was a hard way from preliminary drafts to the final version of the questionnaire "Befragung zu Schule und Umfeld". Based on the relevant literature (e.g. Brown [2]1990; Seliger/Shohamy [3]1995; and especially Dörnyei 2003) I followed the usual way from first items, item pools, multi-item scales to item analysis. I profited from a previous written survey about self-directed vocabulary learning administered to students of English and Romance Languages at Kassel University (n = 78) and extended to those of all foreign languages taught at the University of Berlin (FU) (n = 190) and the Goethe University Frankfurt (n = 149), in total 417 respondents (cf. De Florio-Hansen 2006; see also pages 149-157: general reflections about research methodology in foreign language teaching and learning).

In a pilot study, a first draft of the questionnaire "Befragung zu Schule und Umfeld" was distributed to 4 students (1 male, 3 females) at the "Akademische Bildungsplattform" by my assistant. The students (for details see below) filled in the questionnaire separately to allow for Thinking Aloud. Evaluating these 4 questionnaires and the think aloud protocols I modified the questionnaire in several parts:

- I changed the text of the instruction as to render it clearer and less constraining.
- Another essential modification regarded the sequence of the three parts of the questionnaire placing the socio-demographic items at the end. The final version is structured as follows (cf. Appendix): A. Perception of the school context (17 items), B. Language learning and language use (21 items), C. Socio-demographic data (18 items).
- In part C of the questionnaire the grid destined for the indication of the schools attended was changed, but not sufficiently. Most of the respondents were not able to indicate the school type(s); they wrote down only the name of the school (see 4.3 below).
- I decided for a booklet format in the final version as an attractive layout proved very important.

Processing the data of the 4 respondents of the pilot study, general tendencies are already recognizable:

1. Respondent, male, 11 years old, both parents from Turkey, father: groundskeeper/real estate agent, mother: housewife, no brothers and sisters, attended for six month a grammar school, did not make it, had to return to a middle school.

Even though he attends private tutoring in the three main subject matters (German, English, mathematics) he likes going to school and finds all subject matters interesting ("Alles möge ich").

Like most of the respondents (see section 4 below) he seems convinced to have no problems with learning.

Like many other respondents he indicates that his parents can help him overcome learning problems (even though obviously they cannot give him specific help in subject matters).

There is a notable discrepancy between performance at school and career aspiration: he wants to become a children's doctor (see section 4 below).

2. Respondent, female, 13 years old, father: German, mother: from Turkey, 2 brothers.
   Attends private coaching in German and English; admits that she would perform better in most subject matters if her German was better. Considers English as her second foreign language (even though it is the first in the German curriculum; she seems to regard German as her first foreign language even though her father is German). She likes going to school and does not realize any learning or school problems.

3. Respondent, female, 19 years old, reached the diploma of a middle school (Realschulabschluss) where she learned English and French as foreign languages; she now attends a vocational school (Fröbel-Seminar) as she wants to become a youth care worker.
   It seems that getting older the views of the respondents become more realistic and they have more courage to express unease with German schooling: her parents could not help her, but encouraged her. She did not like attending school and felt treated unjustly by her teachers.

4. Respondent, female, 20 years old, 3 sisters, after attending different school types she obtained the "Abitur" certificate (baccalaureate) and studies now at Kassel University to become a school teacher.
   Her parents, too, could not help her; she often felt treated unjustly by the teachers; in her opinion they do not pay sufficient attention to the problems of migrant students and thus do not support them adequately.

After completing the aforementioned modifications of the pilot version of the questionnaire I consulted a colleague of mine, Prof. Dr. Marek Fuchs, a sociologist, specialized in the construction of questionnaires and author of several migration studies based on written surveys. At that time, Marek Fuchs offered a "Fragebogen-Sprechstunde" at the department of social sciences at Kassel University. Every staff member could profit from his "Questionnaire Consultation Hour" submitting a written survey in progress. Even though there

were no notable language problems with the former drafts of my questionnaire, I followed most of his pieces of advice and changed the form (from statements to questions and vice versa) and the wording of some items.

Finally, the survey was conducted by my assistant in the "Akademische Bildungsplattform" with 31 respondents in one session of approximately an hour. As my assistant was involved in the empirical project, there was no doubt about his obvious interest in the outcome. It was even clear that the administrator's behavior conveyed important messages to the respondents. On the basis of Dörnyei's advices (2003, 86-91), we fixed some other important points:

- His introductory speech should possibly be accompanied by a combination of professional conduct and friendliness.
- He should communicate the purpose and the significance of the survey in a way that even younger respondents could follow the instructions easily.
- He should read out the initial instructions (cf. cover of the booklet) to the respondents and allow for their questions.
- The assurance of confidentiality was especially important in the migration context.
- He should underline the usefulness of the survey by offering feedback on the results.

4. How to process questionnaire data

4.1 The questionnaire

As mentioned before, the final version of the questionnaire consists of three parts: A. Perception of the school context (16 items), B. Language learning and language use (21 items) C. Socio-demographic data (18 items). The three parts can be further divided into clusters of items belonging together:

Part A: **Perceptions of the school context**
A 1–4:   general school situation
A 5–8:   school year 2006/2007
A 9– 14:   support through teachers and parents
A 15–16:   remedial teaching at school and/or private coaching

Part B: **Language learning and language use**
B 1–6:   Turkish and Turkey in the German school context
B 7–16:   knowledge of German and Turkish
B 17–20:   foreign languages
B 20:   additional remarks

Part C: Socio-demographic data
C 1–9:   origin and family
C 10-18:   school career/aspirations

4.2 The processing of the data

When I was conducting the written survey about vocabulary learning (cf. 3 above), questionnaire data of the more than 400 respondents was stored in a computer file by two expert students specializing in data analysis. Nevertheless, I processed more than 100 questionnaire data by hand as to control the computer processing and to see if "handmade" grids with annotations would allow for further interpretations and insights. I found many relevant details which get lost when converting the answers of the respondents into categories and numerical scores. This is especially true with open-ended questions:

> The coding of open-ended items, however, often goes beyond mechanical conversion and requires a certain amount of subjective interpretation and summary on the part of the coder. Here the task is to condense the detailed information contained in the responses into a limited number of categories. (Dörnyei 2003, 99).

Even though the survey "Befragung zu Schule und Umfeld" does not contain many open-ended items like the questionnaire about vocabulary learning, I decided for processing the data by hand (cf. Brown [2]1990). In doing so, I hoped to get more detailed and more differentiated results than with a software program like SPSS for example. Furthermore, a quicker comparison between the 31 respondents was possible.

   For this exploratory study I developed a special grid making possible an easy consultation of the different answers of one respondent. In developing this grid I aimed at facilitating the comparison with the answers of all 31 respondents as well as the results of the 17 male respondents with those of the 14 female ones.

   On a paper of the format DIN A 2 I reserved 55 spaces (the 16, 21 and 18 items of the questionnaire) on the right hand side from top to bottom, putting item groups together (see above 4.1). From the right to the left I provided for sufficient space for each respondent, coding the most important information: m (for male), w (for female), age (at the moment of the administration of the questionnaire), and respective grade. Unfortunately it was not possible to add a precise indication of the type of school attended, i.e. Hauptschule, Realschule, Gesamtschule, Gymnasium[1]. I got the grid (see figure 1) copied several times

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[1]   In most of the 16 States of the Federal Republic of Germany, at the end of grade 4 (i.e. the end of elementary school) the pupils are selected for one of the four school types on the base of their (presumed) performance. Well informed German parents influence the "advice" of the elementary teachers and opt for the most prestigious school type, the Gymnasium, the only one whose diploma (Abitur) guarantees access to university. The Realschule, a sort of middle school, is attended by those children and young people who

and put in the answers manually. I started with the first respondent on the right hand side, proceeding from right to left, so that the data of the eldest student was to be placed on the left. At the end of the lines there was space provided for annotations about the respondent and for general considerations.

Figure 1: Sample of the data processing grid

A. Perceptions of the school context

Age and grade of the respondents

The 17 male respondents covered a range from 9 to 17 years of age (born between 1989 and 1998). The average age of the males is 12.4 years. They attended schools between grade 3 (the penultimate grade of elementary school) and grade 13 (the last grade of grammar school), on an average of grade 6.

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are not chosen for grammar school or whose parents are not able to support them enough so that their offspring can attend the school with the highest prestige. On the bottom you find the Hauptschule, the school "for the rest" with a very high percentage of migrant students, especially those of Turkish descent. The Gesamtschule consists of the aforementioned three school types. It should allow children who do not reach the levels of performance required for attending Realschule or Gymnasium at the end of elementary school to pass later on from the level of Hauptschule to Realschule or from Realschule to Gymnasium, but Gesamtschulen exist only in some of the Federal States. In these States they are attended by a high percentage of migrant students.

> The figures of the 14 female respondents are: from 10 to 17 years of age (born between 1990 and 1997), average age of the females 13.2 years; grades attended: between grade 4 (last year of elementary school) and grade 10 (last year of Realschule or Gesamtschule, on an average of grade 8.

A comparison of genders (see below 5) is possible even though the females constitute a more compact group and attend on the average higher grades.. A reason for this might be the fact that male migrants are subject more and at an earlier age to school and learning problems than the female respondents. The data base, however, is too small as to further more detailed hypotheses in this regard.

A 1–4: general school situation

As my survey cannot be more than an exploratory study with very restricted generalizability I limit myself in the following to the main results which may lead to further research in the field of migration studies.

In my perspective, it is interesting to see that most of the respondents – even though they attend the "Akademische Bildungsplattform" for private lessons and coaching – like to go to school (A Item 1) and do not perceive their evident problems with learning (A Item 2):

> (A Item 1: On the whole, do you like to go to school?)[2]
> Male respondents: 12 like to go to school, 5 do not like it.
> Female respondents: 12 like to attend school, 2 answer with yes/no.
> **Total: 24 like to attend school, 5 do not like it, 2 answer with yes/no.**

In constructing the questionnaire I rarely included Likert scales with a medium option like "partly yes/partly no" being aware of the fact that especially migrant students would avoid clear-cut answers. Nevertheless, some of them, mostly females, wrote the option yes/no by hand behind the respective item.

> (A Item 2: Do you have problems with learning at school?)
> Male respondents: in their opinion, 14 have no difficulties with learning, 3 admit to have problems, but one of these students nevertheless likes to attend school.
> Female respondents: 11 do not perceive learning problems, 3 answer with yes/no. Here, too, one of these 3 respondents, however, likes to go to school.
> **Total: 25 of all respondents do not perceive any learning difficulties, 3 admit to have problems, 3 avoid a clear cut answer writing yes/no behind the respective item.**

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[2]   Translation of the items and replies etc.: DF-H

To deepen these perceptions of the 31 students, I put a similar question at the end of the questionnaire.

(C Item 17: Do you feel at ease with school?)
Male respondents: 11 answered with yes, 6 with no.
Female respondents: 13 feel at ease, 1 does not feel so.
Total: 24 feel at ease with school, 7 do not feel comfortable.

On the whole, there is an almost complete similarity between A Item 1 and C Item 17.

In the same item cluster, the students were invited to indicate the subject matters they like and those they dislike (A Item 3 and Item 4) (multiple answers possible).

(A Item 3: Which subject matters at school do you like?)
Male students: subject matters they like are: mathematics (10), German (3), English (3) and French (2).
Female students like German (7), mathematics (5), English (3) and French (2).
Total: mathematics (15), German (10), English (6) and French (4).

To help with the interpretation of the results about foreign language learning, I shall underline the fact that all 31 respondents study English at school. 13 respondents study French as a second foreign language (see blow B Items 17-20). The respondents of Turkish origin like learning French, even though in most school types they attend, it is an optional subject. These results are confirmed by those of the written survey conducted by Rück (see her contribution in this volume).

(A Item 4: Which subject matters don't you like very much?)
Male students: subject matters they dislike: German (9), English (4), mathematics (3) and natural sciences (2).
Female students dislike mathematics (8), English (4), natural sciences (4) and German (3).
Total: German (12), mathematics (11), English (8) and natural sciences (6).

On the whole, the problems with the German language, especially at higher levels, where academic language (cf. Cummins 1979, 1982, 2000; Gogolin 2003) is needed for the subject matters, seem to increase. Below (see A Item 10 and Part B) we will see whether the respondents are aware of their insufficient competences in reading and understanding the (spoken and especially the written) instructions during the lessons and in their respective textbooks.

A 5–8: school year 2006/2007

Interesting items of this cluster are those about the school career, i. e. how many respondents repeated a grade in school year 2006/2007 and displayed insufficient performance in subject matters?

(A Item 7: Do you repeat this grade?)
Male respondents: no: 14, yes: 2, 1without reply.
Female respondents: no: 14.
Total: no: 28, yes: 2, 1without reply.

(A Item 8: In what subject matters was your mark on last report   5 (insufficient)[3])
Male students: German (2).
Female students: English (2), natural sciences (biology) (1).
Total: German (2), English (2), natural sciences (biology) (1).

I deduce from these replies that the private lessons and the coaching at the "Akademische Bildungsplattform" are quite successful.

A 9– 14: support through teachers and parents

In the aftermath of PISA voices claiming greater support of migrant students got more numerous. From the 1970s, researchers and educators proved in a great number of empirical studies that migrant students need special support to enable them to draw level with monolingual peers of German descent or at least to reach a school degree or diploma necessary for vocational training (cf. Cummins 1979, 1982, 2000). In the German context, Gogolin (1994) was one of the first to state that the main cause for insufficient performance of migrant students was the "monolingual habitus" of German schools. Teachers, even nowadays, do not sufficiently take into account that their migrant students who have to cope with family language(s) and German need a different support than their German peers. Most teachers prepare their lessons and hold classes as if all students were starting from approximately homogenous knowledge in German. Therefore it is astonishing that most of the 31 respondents express satisfaction with the support of their teacher(s).

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[3]   The German school system marks are: 1 (= very good), 2 (=good), 3 (= satisfactory), 4 (= sufficient), 5 (= insufficient), 6 (= inadequate/without any chance of filling the gaps; this mark is given very rarely).

(A Item 9: When I have problems with learning in a special subject matter, my teacher helps me.)
Male respondents: 15 feel supported, 2 answer with no.
Female respondents: 10 answer with yes, 3 with no, 1 with yes/no.
Total: 25 feel supported, 5 do not feel so, 1 respondent answers with yes/no.

It seems that teachers have learned in the aftermath of international studies to care more for their migrant students, but they do not really know how to deal with the problems their multilingual students encounter especially with academic language. Many respondents themselves are aware of the reason why they do not perform well in subject matters (as mathematics, natural sciences etc.).

(A Item 10: If my German was better, I would perform better in (special) subject matters.)
Male respondents: yes: 10, no: 7.
Female respondents: yes: 10, no: 4.
Total: yes: 20, no: 11.

To confirm or to prove these perceptions of the respondents regarding their teachers, I reformulated A Item 9 in two different ways.

(A Item 11: I often feel treated unjustly by one of my teachers.)
Male respondents: yes: 7, no: 10.
Female respondents: yes: 6, no: 8.
Total: yes: 13, no: 18.

(A Item 12: My teachers do not consider sufficiently the problems of migrant students.)
Male respondents: yes: 8, no: 9.
Female respondents: yes: 4, no: 8, yes/no: 2.
Total: yes: 12, no: 17, yes/no: 2.

These answers shed some more light on the feelings of the respondents (than their answers to A Item 1 and C Item 17 as well as to A Item 9). A cautious interpretation that needs to be submitted to further empirical research is the following: the majority of the respondents like to go to school, also because migrant families of lower socio-economic status motivate their children better for learning than comparable German parents. The respondents feel at ease, also because of the multicultural body of school children and young people. Nevertheless, they experience some of the same problems.

As aforementioned (see section 3 above), only older respondents admit that their parents could not help them when it came to problems with learning at school.

> (A Item 13: When I have problems at school, my parents can help me very well.)
> Male respondents: yes: 12, no: 5.
> Female respondents: yes 8, no: 3 (1: only with Turkish), yes/no: 3.
> **Total: yes: 20, no: 8, yes/no: 3.**

> (A Item 14: When I have problems at school, my parents always encourage me.)
> Male respondents: yes: 16, no: 1.
> Female respondents: yes: 12, no: 2.
> **Total: yes: 28, no: 3.**

A 15-16: remedial teaching at school and/or private coaching

No one of the respondents receive remedial teaching at school. Most of them follow private lessons in German (23), mathematics (21) and English (12) at the "Akademische Bildungsplattform" (A Item 15 and Item 16).

B. Language learning and language use

The overall aim of this part of the questionnaire is twofold: apart from the attitudes towards the foreign languages English and French, I wanted to gain some insights into the respondents' perceptions about their main languages, i.e. Turkish and German (meanwhile Rück's contribution in this volume concentrates on the believes of multilingual students about foreign language teaching and learning). At the same time, a special interest of mine lies in the research of teachers' behavior: how do they take into account that in many schools more than a third of the students are of Turkish origin?

B 1–6: Turkish and Turkey in the German school context

> (B Item 1: Are you allowed to use Turkish during school lessons?)
> Males: yes: 2, no: 13, 1: sometimes, 1 without reply.
> Females: yes: 2, no: 12.
> **Total: yes: 4, no: 25, 1: sometimes, 1 without reply.**

It would go beyond the scope of this contribution to explain in more detail the importance of the mother tongue (L1) of migrant students. Most researchers and experts maintain that a good competence in the L1 is an inestimable basis for the

acquisition of the second language (German) and its academic varieties (cf. e.g. Gogolin 2010). In an elucidating analysis of the talk of four Turkish children during collaborative group work in a German elementary school, Grießhaber et al. (1996) demonstrate that the working language of the pupils is Turkish, even though they have to accomplish a task in German (the components and the function of batteries). For their working process they were allowed to use whatever language they wanted to. The researchers point out that the children's performance in German did not deteriorate by the use of Turkish.

There are two justifiable reasons why teachers forbid the use of the L1 Turkish during the lessons: on the one hand, they think that the total ban of the mother tongue leads to a better performance in the L2 German. On the other hand, they feel uncomfortable as they do not understand the Turkish inserts of their students. These justifications have to be discussed in the light of empirical research. But in some schools teachers go even further:

(B Item 2: Are you allowed to use Turkish in the schoolyard during the breaks?)
Males: yes: 14, no: 3.
Females: yes: 12, no: 2.
Total: yes: 26, no: 5.

At the time of the survey administration, there was a lively debate about what language to use in the schoolyard – not only in Germany but also in other German speaking countries (cf. the contribution of Lüdi in this volume). This discussion was mostly led by politicians who wanted to show their firm will to integrate migrant students in the German society. As it seems, teachers were wise enough not to care very much about such advice.

Some teachers in some way try to include the mother tongue of their migrant students by asking them how something (an object, a term) is called in Turkish. One third of them talk about (life in) Turkey; they seem – so the majority of the 31 respondents – more or less informed about the country.

(B Item 3: Does your teacher ask from time to time how something is called in Turkish?)
Males: yes: 9, no: 8.
Females: yes: 8, no: 5, yes/no: 1.
Total: yes: 17, no: 13, yes/no: 1.

B Item 4: Do you compare life in Turkey with life in Germany in the different subject matters?
Males: yes: 6, no: 11.
Females: yes: 5, no: 9.
Total: yes: 11, no: 20.

(B Item 5: Are individual teachers well informed about Turkey or not so well?)
Males: well informed: 7, not well informed: 8, 2 without reply.
Females: well informed: 7 (well informed: 6, very well informed 1), not well informed: 7.
Total: well informed: 14, not well informed: 15; 2 without reply.

A longer interview I conducted with a Turkish university student of mine (subject matters studied: French and geography) confirms these results (cf. De Florio-Hansen 2008).

On the whole, the respondents attest to the majority of their teachers a positive attitude towards migrant students with Turkish backgrounds.

(B Item 6: Do the majority of your teachers have a positive attitude towards Turkish students?)
Males: positive attitude: 10, negative attitude: 7.
Females: positive attitude: 9, negative attitude: 3, yes/no: 1, 1 without reply.
Total: positive attitude: 19, negative attitude: 10, yes/no: 1, 1 without reply.

B 7–16: knowledge of German and Turkish

As mentioned above, I followed the advice of most questionnaire constructors and tried to control and deepen the data through other similar questions or statements in various positions of the questionnaire. A Item 10 (see above) shed some light on the perceptions of the respondents regarding their academic language competences in German. With B Item 7, 8 and 9 I wanted to find out more about the knowledge and use of German and Turkish. Therefore, I integrated in B Item 7 and B Item 8 a Likert-scale with five options including this time partly good/partly bad.

B Item 7: How good is your knowledge of German in everyday life?
Males: very good: 6, good: 7, partly good/partly bad: 4.
Females: very good: 7, good: 5, partly good/partly bad: 1, bad: 1.
Total: very good: 13, good: 12, partly good/partly bad: 5, bad: 1.

B Item 8: How good is your knowledge of Turkish?
Males: very good: 9, good: 3, partly good/partly bad: 4, very bad: 1.
Females: very good: 5, good: 5, partly good/partly bad: 4.
Total: very good: 14, good: 8, partly good/partly bad: 8, very bad: 1.

B Item 9: Is your German better than your Turkish?
Males: German better: 7, Turkish better: 3, both: 5, 2 without reply.
Females: German better: 9, Turkish better: 2, both: 3.
Total: German better: 16, Turkish better: 5, both: 8, 2 without reply.

In my opinion, the answers of the respondents to these three questions further the hypothesis that the self-evaluation of their language performance in German and Turkish is influenced by something that I would call 'national pride' without giving this term a negative meaning: migrant students, especially those of Turkish descent, almost always display an attachment to their mother tongue and family language Turkish. In their perception their knowledge of Turkish is approximately on par with their competence in German: very good or good German: 25, very good or good Turkish: 22. Nevertheless, they admit that their German is better than their Turkish: 16 (German better) –5 (Turkish better).

In what contexts do children and adolescents of Turkish origin use Turkish and/or German?

B Item 10: With my parents I mostly speak Turkish.
Males: yes: 13, no: 4.
Females: yes: 10, no: 3, both: 1.
Total: yes: 23, no: 7, both: 1.

B Item 11: With my brothers and sisters I mostly speak German.
Males: yes: 7, no: 7, both: 2, 1 without reply.
Females: yes: 11, no: 2, both: 1.
Total: yes: 18, no: 9, both: 3, 1 without reply.

B Item 12: At home, we are watching almost always Turkish TV-programs and Turkish movies.
Males: yes: 10, no: 5, both: 2.
Females: yes: 3, no: 8 (1: only my parents), both: 3.
Total: yes: 13, no: 13 (1: only my parents), both: 5.

B Item 13: Do you have Turkish friends?
Males: yes: 17.
Females: yes: 14.
Total: yes: 31.

> B Item 14: Do you have German friends?
> Males: yes: 17.
> Females: yes: 13, no: 1.
> **Total: yes: 30, no: 1.**

The following question should reveal to a certain extent the frequency of the contacts with the Turkish friends compared to those with German peers. In this context, it is important, however, to point out that Turkish has become sort of a youth language among migrant students in general and that even young Germans in certain neighborhoods of big cities like Hamburg or Berlin speak Turkish with their Turkish peers (cf. Dirim 2000).

> B Item 15: Do you mostly speak Turkish with your friends?
> Males: yes: 9, no: 6, both: 2.
> Females: yes: 3, no: 11.
> **Total: yes: 12, no: 17, both: 2.**

Evidently, the female respondents more often speak German with their friends than the males. One main reason might be that the females want to "emancipate" from the family context (most of the female respondents at the "Akademische Bildungsplattform" wear a headscarf) and therefore look for contacts with German girls; meanwhile the males seem to find more "self-confirmation" in relationships with peers of Turkish origin (see section 5 for further considerations about the differences between male and female respondents).

In the State of Hesse, especially in the cities, German schools offer lessons in the mother tongue(s) of migrant students, called "Herkunftssprachenunterricht" ("lessons in the language of origin"), if the number of students is sufficient.[4] Kassel, where the survey study was conducted, has 195,000 inhabitants with a Turkish component of 8,100. The estimated number of naturalized citizens of Turkish origin in Kassel is about 3,000–4.000. They, too, can attend the Turkish lessons so that there is quite always a sufficient number of children and young people interested in improving their mother tongue (the attendance is voluntary).

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[4]   Not all States of the Federal Republic of Germany offer "Herkunftssprachenunterricht". In some States the consulate general are in charge of the organization of these classes. The teachers come from Turkey: Those paid by the German administration can stay forever in Germany (if they want to); those recruited by the Turkish State often have to return to Turkey after several years. This distinction has an eminent influence on their knowledge of German and the teaching practices.

B Item 16: In what grades did you attend Turkish lessons ("Herkunftssprachenunterricht")?

grades: name of school:

Males: for 9 years: 1, for 6 years: 1, for 5 years: 1, for 4 years: 6, for 3 years: 1, for 2 years: 1, 6 without reply.

Females: for 7 years: 4, for 6 years: 2, for 4 years: 4, for 2 years: 1, for one year: 1, 2 without reply.

Total: for 9 years: 1, for 7 years: 4, for 6 years: 3, for 5 years: 1, for 4 years: 10, for 3 years: 1, for 2 years: 2, for one year: 1, 8 without reply.

It is not always a lack of interest that migrant students do not attend lessons in the language of origin. Sometimes the way to the school where the Turkish lessons are offered is too long; sometimes time tables do not coincide. With others there are private constraints which do not allow the attendance in the afternoon. Some teachers even dissuade migrant students from attending these classes in the conviction that the Turkish lessons are an additional charge for "weak learners".

B 17–20: foreign languages

As aforementioned, the results of Rück's research (in this volume; 2009) show that English, the first foreign language in most German schools, is not very favored by migrant students of Turkish descent, despite its utility. The following results do not really confirm this:

(B Item 17: Do you like learning English?)
Males: like it: 9, not so much: 8.
Females: like it: 7, not so much: 6, partly 1.
Total: like it: 16, not so much: 14, partly 1.

(B Item 18: What was your mark in English on the last report?)
Males: mark 2: 5, mark 3: 5, mark 4: 5, mark 5: 2.
Females: mark 2: 2, mark 3: 4, mark 4 : 6 (1: 4 -), mark 5: 2.
Total: mark 2: 7, mark 3: 9, mark 4 : 11 (1: 4 -), mark 5: 4

Even though learning a second foreign language is optional in all school types besides grammar school, a great number of respondents are learning a second foreign language.

(B Item 19: Do you learn a second foreign language at school?)
Males: yes: 10, no: 7.
Females: yes: 9, no: 5.
Total: yes: 19, no: 12.

(B Item 20: If yes, which (second) foreign language do you learn?)
Males: French: 6, Latin: 2.
Females: French: 7, Japanese: 1.
Total: French: 13, Latin: 2, Japanese: 1.

The missing 3 are respondents who consider English (1) as their second foreign language (German being the first one) or Turkish (2) (English being the first one).

B 21: additional remarks

This item was conceived to allow for personal comments about the main issues of the questionnaire. It was placed at the end of part B to give occasion for summarizing individual perceptions and believes.

(B Item 21: Is there something you would like to say/add with regard to school, single subject matters as well as the use of German and/or Turkish?)
Males: 12 without reply, 2 explicitly no, 3: further remarks.
Females: 7 without rely, 5 explicitly no (1: no ☺), 2: further remarks.
Total: 19 without rely, 7 explicitly no (1: no ☺), 5: further remarks.

Three of the respondents' additional remarks seem to be restatements of items, two add new considerations.

1. Male (born in 1997, 10 years old, third grade of elementary school, he repeats this class):
   Support with the English language
   [mark on last report: 2]

2. Male (born in 1995, 12 years old, fourth grade of elementary school, he repeats this class):
   French
   [Probably he would like to learn French; mark on last report in English: 5]

3. Male (born in 1991, 16 years old, 10 (= last grade) of Realschule; he repeats this class):
   Teachers should show Turkish students a better understanding.
   [This statement is to compare with his answer to B Item 6:
   Do the majority of your teachers have a positive attitude towards Turkish students? He attests to most of his teachers a positive attitude.]

4. Female (born in 1993, 14 years old, seventh grade of Gesamtschule):
   … that it is not allowed to speak Turkish during the lessons.

5. Female (born in 1993, 14 years old, ninth grade of Realschule):
   German teachers should treat us, i.e. the Turkish students, a bit more fairly.
   [As nr. 3 above, she attests to most of her teachers a positive attitude; cf. B Item 6]

C. Socio-demographic data

C 1–9: origin and family

For a better understanding of the data and their interpretation, I summarized age and grade of the 31 respondents at the beginning of section 4.2, A. Perception of the school context (see above).The above mentioned averages are drawn from the answers of the respondents to C Items 1– 3.

C Items 4 – 7 do not need gender-based processing:
All 31 respondents were born in Germany (C Item 4).
In 25 cases both parents are Turkish, six respondents have a German mother (C Item 6 and C Item 7).

C Item 8: profession of the father/ profession of the mother:
The answers confirm the fact that during the last twenty years a solid middle class of Turkish migrants was formed. (cf. section 5: Further considerations). This is especially true with the city of Kassel where the majority of Turkish people live in a neighborhood (around the campus of Kassel University) which is near downtown where many Turks have shops, restaurants and other different services (banking, real estate etc.).

(C Item 8: profession of the father):
All fathers work, i.e. no one is unemployed.
Most fathers (about 90 %) have jobs as mechanics (motorcar mechanics),
construction workers, metal workers and taxi drivers.
3 respective respondents indicate only the name of the company.
1 father is a post-office clerk; 1 is self-employed.

As there is no sign that mostly the German mothers work whereas the Turkish women stay at home, the reasons may be others. One is perhaps the age of the children.

> (C Item 9: Have you got any brothers or sisters?)
> No brothers and sisters: 1
> 1 brother or sister: 8
> 2 brothers/sisters: 12
> 3 brothers/sisters: 6

The indications of 4 respondents are not quite clear, e.g. they indicate a total number, but do not specify the gender of their siblings.

C 10-18: school career/aspirations

The main goal of this part of the questionnaire consists in controlling the previous answers of the respondents. Furthermore, the following items serve to reconstruct a more complete image of their school career.

> (C Item 10: Did you attend school in Turkey?)
> Males: no: 15, yes: 2.
> Females: no: 14.
> **Total: no: 29, yes: 2.**

As all respondents are born in Germany, it is very difficult to imagine that 2 males attended a school in Turkey: maybe some one's parents returned for a short period to Turkey in order to come back to Germany. More probably, the 2 respondents got the question wrong. In German the verb "besuchen" can mean "to attend (a school etc.)", but also "to visit" a monument or an institution. Perhaps the respective students went with some cousin or other relative to a Turkish school for some days during a stay in Turkey.

Quite often migrants from Turkey are "accused" in the media that they do not send their children to a Kindergarten (age 3 to age 6), respectively that they are reluctant to do so. What was true two or more decades ago, does not reflect the current situation (in Kassel).

> (C Item 11: Did you go to a Kindergarten?)
> Males: yes: 16, no: 1.
> Females: yes: 13, no: 1.
> **Total: yes: 29, no: 2.**

In most primary schools preparatory classes are organized to help those children – from migrant but also from German families – who are not yet able to follow the lessons in the first grade of primary school. The main goal of the "Vorklassen" is to improve the German language so that the children can develop not only their skills in every day communication but especially their

competences in the academic language which is crucial for the learning in the subject matters.

> (C Item 12: Did you attend the Vorklasse (preparatory class)?)
> Males: yes: 6, no: 11.
> Females: yes 4, no: 10.
> **Total: yes 10, no: 21.**

Adding the attendance of preparatory classes and classes repeated during primary school, approximately one third of the respondents attended primary school longer than for the regular four years (grade 1 to grade 4):

> (C Item 13: How many years did you attend primary school?)
> Males: 4 years: 11, 5 years: 4, 7 years: 1, 1 without reply.
> Females: 4 years: 10, 5 years: 3, 6 years: 1.
> **Total: 4 years: 21, 5 years: 7, 6 years: 1, 7 years: 1, 1 without reply**

In many schools so-called mentoring classes or an orientation stage of two years at the beginning of secondary education are established. They should allow for more time to adapt to the requirements of the German secondary school system. These classes are often attended by migrant students who have to cope with the requirements of academic language. What is true with migrant children is valid also for many German students originating from disfavored socio-economic contexts. In most cases the elementary teachers suggest an adequate schooling to the parents of "weaker" learners.

> (C Item 14: Did you attend an orientation stage at the beginning of secondary education?)
> Males: yes: 6, no: 9, 2 without reply.
> Females: yes: 9, no: 4, 1 without reply.
> **Total: yes: 15, no: 13, 3 without reply.**

As aforementioned (see section 2 and 3) the administration of the questionnaire at the "Akademische Bildungsplattform" made it possible to include children and adolescents from many different schools. Therefore the perceptions, believes and feelings of the respondents may call for a greater generalizability than if they came only from two or three schools. C Item 15 shows that they have attended or attend 7–10 different primary schools and at least 12 different secondary schools. As I pointed out above, many respondents did not indicate the school type they attend. The following indications seem clear:

Males: grammar school (Gymnasium): 4, middle school (Realschule) 6.
Females: grammar school (Gymnasium): 4, middle school (Realschule) 4.

The remaining 13 students attend either elementary school or a Gesamtschule without specifying the special branch.

> (C Item 16: How many classes did you repeat during your whole schooling?)
> Males: no class repeated: 12, one class: 4, 1 without clear reply.
> Females: no class repeated: 11, one class: 2, two classes: 1.
> **Total: no class repeated: 23, one class: 6, two classes: 1, 1 without clear reply.**

The results show that slightly less than ¼ of the respondents did repeat a class. It is quite clear that the children and adolescents of Turkish descent who participated in the written survey are at least as successful as German monolinguals of comparable socio-economic status (cf. section 5: Further considerations). It is not astonishing that the great majority of the respondents feel at ease with school (for specifications see above after A Item 2).

> (C Item 17: Do you feel at ease with school?)
> **Total: 24 feel at ease with school, 7 do not feel comfortable.**

At the end of the questionnaire the students tested were asked about their career aspirations:

> (C Item 18: my career aspiration: …………………………………………………….)
> Males: policeman: 8, fire fighter: 1, lawyer: 2, engineer: 1, musician: 1, 4 without reply;
> (some male respondents indicate a second option: mechanic, politician, soccer player and even soldier).
> Females: children's doctor, business woman, nurse, child care worker, police woman, teacher of English, dentist, architect, teacher of mathematics, warehouse logistics specialist, 4 without reply;
> (only two females indicate a second option: the "future" business woman wants to become a leader of Volkswagen, another one indicates: lawyer).

Meanwhile the males seem to have more realistic career aspirations, the female respondents have much greater ambitions which are sometimes out of reach for them with regard to their current school career. As many migrant parents they seem not to be well informed about the German school system: they believe that later on they could change track and reach a diploma that provides access to university. As for the males the high number of "future" policemen may be influenced by a very popular soap opera entitled "Türkisch für Anfänger" ("Turkish for beginners") which was shown on German TV at the time of the survey administration. The very likeable male protagonist was a Turk serving in the German police. Apart from that, German police in cities with a high

percentage of migrants from Turkey try to recruit young Turks for police service.

5. Further considerations

During the course of this contribution I underlined several times that the results of the questionnaire "Befragung zu Schule und Umfeld" cannot at all be generalized. Nevertheless, some tendencies are in accord with the findings, i.e. hypotheses and results, of research into individual multilingualism of migrant students, the eminent role of their mother tongue and the difficulties caused by their insufficient knowledge of German academic language. On the other hand the perceptions, believes and feelings of the respondents are in contrast with the stereotypes propagated by the media and sometimes even by scholars (cf. Esser 2006).

Quite often you get the impression that most migrant students do not perform well at all at school, that they are unwilling and even recalcitrant, especially the males. On the contrary, the male respondents of the survey seem to be more adapted to the circumstances than the females. The answers and statements of the girls are much more diversified than those of the males. Most marginal notes are to be found in the females' answers. In my opinion, this is a sign of their self-confidence.

Considering the socio-economic status of their families which was caused by the conditions of their parents' and grandparents' recruitment, and with regard to the language problems they have to cope with in German schools, the 31 respondents do not perform worse than comparable German monolinguals. One of the males (born in 1989, 17 years old) has reached the baccalaureate (Abitur) after an absolutely regular school career (4 years in elementary school, 9 years in grammar school). He wants to study mathematics (one of his main subjects during the last years in grammar school) and become a university professor. Some of the females, too, have reached or will reach diplomas that allow them to embark on an academic career.

Journalists and media people in general, who constantly repeat that migrant students feel at unease with German schools, do not take into account that apart from certain neighborhoods of high migration population density such as in Berlin, in many cities and smaller towns especially migrants from Turkey live quite "normal" lives. As I pointed out above, a Turkish middle class emerged in many parts of Germany. Already in 1996, the newspaper "Hannoversche Allgemeine" (18/19/1996) reported of Turkish companies in approximately 60 different branches offering 168,000 jobs. In 2004 the number of Turkish independent entrepreneurs in Germany has increased to ca. 60,000 employing 330,000 people among which 2/3 were German (cf. the weekly newspaper "Die Zeit" of 25/03/2004).

The fact that Turkish people live quite segregated in so-called parallel societies, has to do with the history of their immigration (cf. Hunn 2005). When

the first Turkish migrant workers came to the Federal Republic they were full of admiration for Germany. A photograph of the first female tailors recruited in Turkey show a group of young women without headscarves. But the hopes of the migrants darkened soon. They had to do the work that Germans and "guest workers" from member countries of the European Union scorned. Even though in the beginning their religion was not at all a crucial question of German society, with increasing immigration from Turkey the attitude of Germans towards Islam, and especially towards Muslims of Turkish origin, changed.

On the other hand the Turkish migrants had no chance to return to their home country. The Turkish government did not at all encourage them to repatriate because of a severe recession in Turkey. Unwillingly, they continued to stay in Germany. The respective German legislation, i.e. the "Anwerbestopp", a law that should stop further immigration from Turkey (1973) and even the "Rückkehrförderungsgesetz" which offered incentives for Turks willing to leave Germany (1983), had opposite effects. The great majority of Turkish migrants opted for family reunion and got their family members to join them in Germany. Their desperate situation strengthened their self-confidence and many Turks started small businesses on their own which in some cases ended up in successful entrepreneurship. Even in public life, Turkish men and women began to excel especially in culture and politics. Turkish neighborhoods are considered as a stabilizing factor, because due to the more solid family structures Turkish people rarely drift into asocial behavior (cf. "Frankfurter Allgemeine" of 11/11/2000; Süddeutsche Zeitung of 14/10/2003).

Who accuses the 140.000 Turks living in Neukölln, a disadvantaged Berlin neighborhood, of being parasites of the German welfare system unwilling to contribute to the German GNP (cross national product) and doing nothing but causing turmoil, might not refuse an answer to the question: what about this neighborhood if it was populated by 140.000 Germans of disadvantaged socio-economic status?

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Befragung zu Schule und Umfeld

Liebe türkische Schülerin, lieber türkischer Schüler,

wir möchten gern erfahren, wie du in der Schule zurechtkommst. Deshalb haben wir einen Fragebogen für türkische Jugendliche entwickelt, die in Deutschland leben und hier zur Schule gehen. Diese Befragung ist Teil eines Forschungsprojekts zur Sprachentwicklung von türkischen Schülerinnen und Schülern.

Der folgende Fragebogen ist kein Test und keine Klassenarbeit. Selbstverständlich ist die Befragung anonym. Deine Angaben werden vertraulich behandelt.

Wir möchten etwas über Deine persönliche Situation erfahren und Deine Meinung kennen lernen. Daher gibt es keine falschen Antworten. Versuche bitte, möglichst alle Fragen zu beantworten. Wenn du aber einmal keine Antwort geben kannst, dann gehe einfach zur nächsten Frage über.

Vielen Dank für Deine Mitarbeit!

A. Zur schulischen Situation:

1. Gehst du im Großen und Ganzen gern zur Schule?   Ja ☐   Nein ☐

2. Hast du mit dem Lernen in der Schule Probleme?   Ja ☐   Nein ☐

3. Welche Schulfächer fallen dir leicht? ....

4. Welche Schulfächer fallen dir schwer? ....

Im Folgenden (Fragen 5 – 8) geht es um das letzte Schuljahr 2006/07:

5. Hast Du im letzten Schuljahr einen „blauen Brief" bekommen?   Ja ☐   Nein ☐

6. In welchen Fächern hattest Du im „blauen Brief" die Note „mangelhaft oder „schwach ausreichend"? Note 5: .... Note 4-:....................................

7. Wiederholst du jetzt diese Klasse?   Ja ☐   Nein ☐

8. In welchen Fächern hattest du im Zeugnis am Ende des letzten Schuljahrs die Note „mangelhaft"?

....

Bitte sage uns, ob die folgenden Aussagen auf dich zutreffen oder nicht:

9. Wenn ich in einem Fach Probleme mit dem Lernen habe,
hilft mir die Lehrerin oder der Lehrer.   Ja ☐   Nein ☐

10. Wenn ich besser Deutsch könnte, würde ich den Stoff in anderen Fächern
besser verstehen.   Ja ☐   Nein ☐

11. Ich fühle mich von einer Lehrerin oder einem Lehrer oft ungerecht behandelt.
                                                               Ja ☐   Nein ☐

12. Viele Lehrerinnen und Lehrer gehen zu wenig auf die Probleme
von ausländischen Schülerinnen und Schülern ein.   Ja ☐   Nein ☐

13. Meine Eltern können mir bei Problemen in der Schule gut helfen. Ja ☐   Nein ☐

14. Wenn ich in der Schule Probleme habe, machen mir meine Eltern immer wieder Mut.
                                                               Ja ☐   Nein ☐

15. In welchen Fächern erhältst du Nachhilfe- oder Förderunterricht außerhalb der Schule

....

16. Bei wem erhältst du diesen Unterricht? (Name des Instituts oder der Organisation)

....

B. Zu den Sprachen:

1. Darfst du in der deutschen Schule im Unterricht Türkisch sprechen? Ja ☐   Nein ☐

2. Darfst du in den Pausen Türkisch sprechen?   Ja ☐   Nein ☐

3. Fragt eine Lehrerin oder ein Lehrer im Unterricht manchmal, wie etwas auf Türkisch heißt?
                                                               Ja ☐   Nein ☐

4. Wird in einzelnen Fächern manchmal das Leben in Deutschland mit dem in der Türkei verglichen? Ja ☐ Nein ☐

5. Sind einzelne Lehrerinnen und Lehrer gut über die Türkei informiert oder nicht so gut informiert? gut informiert ☐ nicht so gut informiert ☐

6. Haben deine Lehrerinnen und Lehrer in der Mehrzahl eine positive Einstellung Zu türkischen Schülerinnen oder Schülern oder eine negative Einstellung?
positive Einstellung ☐ negative Einstellung ☐

7. Wie gut kannst du dich im Alltag auf Deutsch verständigen?

sehr gut ☐ gut ☐ teils/teils ☐ schlecht ☐ sehr schlecht ☐

8. Wie gut sind Deine Türkischkenntnisse?

sehr gut ☐ gut ☐ teils/teils ☐ schlecht ☐ sehr schlecht ☐

9. Kannst du besser Deutsch als Türkisch? besser Deutsch ☐ besser Türkisch ☐

Bitte sage uns, ob die folgenden Aussagen auf dich zutreffen oder nicht:

10. Mit meinen Eltern spreche ich meist Türkisch. Ja ☐ Nein ☐

11. Mit meinen Geschwistern spreche ich hauptsächlich Deutsch. Ja ☐ Nein ☐

12. Zu Hause sehen wir meist türkische Fernsehprogramme und Filme. Ja ☐ Nein ☐

13. Hast du türkische Freunde oder Freundinnen? Ja ☐ Nein ☐

14. Hast du deutsche Freunde oder Freundinnen? Ja ☐ Nein ☐

15. Sprichst Du mit deinen Freund/innen meist Türkisch? Ja ☐ Nein ☐

16. In welchen Klassen hast du am Türkischunterricht teilgenommen?
Klassen: Name der Schule:

....

17. Lernst du gern Englisch oder nicht so gern? gern ☐ nicht so gern ☐

18. Welche Note hattest du im letzten Zeugnis in Englisch? ....

19. Lernst du eine zweite Fremdsprache in der Schule? Ja ☐ Nein ☐

20. Wenn ja, welche? ....

21. Gibt es etwas, was du in Bezug auf die Schule, den Unterricht in den einzelnen Fächern sowie den Gebrauch der deutschen und/oder der türkischen Sprache gern noch sagen möchtest?

....

....

....

C. Zur eigenen Person und der Familie:

1. Bist du männlich oder weiblich?   männlich ☐   weiblich ☐

2. In welchem Jahr bist du geboren? ....

3. Wie alt bist du jetzt?   ....Jahre

4. Wo bist du geboren?   in Deutschland ☐   in der Türkei ☐   in ....

5. Wenn du nicht in Deutschland geboren bist, wie alt warst du, als du nach Deutschland gekommen bist? .... Jahre

6. Meine Eltern stammen beide aus der Türkei.   Ja ☐   Nein ☐

7. Ein Elternteil stammt nicht aus der Türkei, sondern aus (bitte Land angeben)

....

8. Beruf des Vaters: .... Beruf der Mutter: ....

9. Ich habe ....Brüder und ....Schwestern.

10. Hast du in der Türkei die Schule besucht?   Ja ☐   Nein ☐

11. Hast du einen deutschen Kindergarten besucht? Ja ☐   Nein ☐

12. Hast du in Deutschland vor der Grundschule eine Vorklasse besucht?   Ja ☐   Nein ☐

13. Wie viele Jahre hast du die deutsche Grundschule besucht?   ....Jahre

14. Hast du nach der Grundschule die Förderstufe besucht?   Ja ☐   Nein ☐

15. Welche Schule besuchst du jetzt?

Name der Schule:
....

Bitte ankreuzen:

Hauptschule ☐

Realschule ☐

Gesamtschule ☐   Hauptschulzweig ☐   Realschulzweig ☐   Gymnasialzweig ☐

Gymnasium ☐

16. Wie viele Schuljahre hast du in deiner gesamten bisherigen Schulzeit wiederholt?

.....................................Schuljahr(e)

17. Fühlst du dich insgesamt in der Schule wohl oder nicht so wohl?
wohl ☐   nicht so wohl ☐

18. Mein Berufswunsch: ....

Nochmals vielen Dank!

GEORGES LÜDI

Integration and empowerment of immigrant language minorities

Abstract

Obviously, there are different kinds of language minorities. This paper does not treat historical, territorial ones, but rather the unrecognized minorities formed by groups speaking minoritized languages of immigration in Western Europe and in particular in Switzerland. After a short presentation of the demolinguistic situation in Switzerland, we will talk about power relations between dominant and dominated languages, about empowerment and, at the end, about the possibility of finding plurilingual solutions to the world's communication problems.

1. Introduction

1.1 Which language should pupils speak in the schoolyard?

In summer 2006, a headline in one of Basle's leading newspapers stated: "*Man spricht schweizerdeutsch*" [*One speaks Swiss German*]. Various informants declared that in many schoolyards and meeting places for youngsters, it is prohibited to speak other languages than Swiss German. Among the reasons for the banishment of other languages — English included —, the responsible persons first argued that the young ones would not understand each other (and of course the local population) if one group spoke Turkish, another Albanian and a third one Serbian, i.e. if they did not speak the local *lingua franca*. Second, this could avoid the creation of ethnic groups excluding and/or provoking non-members, i.e. people who do not speak the group language. Thus, a common language would result in less aggression and violence. Third, to learn German and to express oneself in German was seen as an indispensable condition for integration. In the meantime, the Swiss law on foreigners expressly requires, as we will see later, the acquisition of the host language in order to obtain permanent work permits and, of course, to acquire the Swiss citizenship.

In Berlin there have been intense discussions about a very similar regulation in one school. Indeed in Basle there wasn't any discussion at all. Everyone, teachers, parents, politicians and the migrants themselves accept this rule, saying that it is important for these youngsters to become integrated. Speaking the school language in the schoolyard, in meeting places, in football clubs etc. represents a way to enforce its acquisition.

But maybe this helps solving only half of the problems — or causes new ones. This has to do with the distribution of general language functions over different language varieties. Generally speaking, there are three types of language functions. The first one is to develop a child's personality, to offer her or him the opportunity to perceive, to name and resolve daily problems in the interaction with parents, caretakers, teachers, peers, etc. This means that in order to avoid violence, members of a society have to be able to resolve their problems with each other on the basis of language. Most specialists will agree that this means a strong L1. The second function is a cognitive one: we categorize reality with language and we acquire new knowledge through language. One of the main reasons for the school failure of children belonging to ethnic minorities and immigrant communities is their lack of sufficient competence in the school language (=L2) to acquire new knowledge through classroom interaction and through reading, and to integrate it in the type of knowledge that was acquired in the family or community by mean of the L1. The third main function of language is related to social action: we indicate group membership through the use of a language variety, and we participate to the construction of social reality through language.[1]

If they don't acquire sufficient mastery of the local language, migrant children (and their parents) will be excluded from the participation and construction of the social reality in the host country, they will have difficulties in the acquisition of new knowledge and they will tend towards resolving problems with more aggression. In other words, there are very good reasons why migrants should learn the host language. On the other hand, a fully developed L1 is commonly seen as necessary condition for the acquisition of L2. In addition, many migrants do not accept that their children loose their language and culture of origin (and many specialists believe that this would mean a loss for the host society too). In which language should migrant children develop their personalities and participate in „world making": in the language of origin or in the host language alone, or in both of them? The answers both groups of actors, the host societies and the migrant communities, will give to this question draws upon their linguistic and cultural representations or ideologies.

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[1]   See Lüdi (2006) for a more detailed reflection on the role of L1 or „mother tongue" in the educational systems of European countries.

1.2 From homoglossic to polyglossic language distribution

Strong stereotypical representations determine many discussions about language policies. Most people still perceive the world as divided in separated linguistic territories, where one and only one language is spoken. Quadrilingual Switzerland is no exception. Indeed, the country is divided into four language territories or regions, each corresponding to one national language.
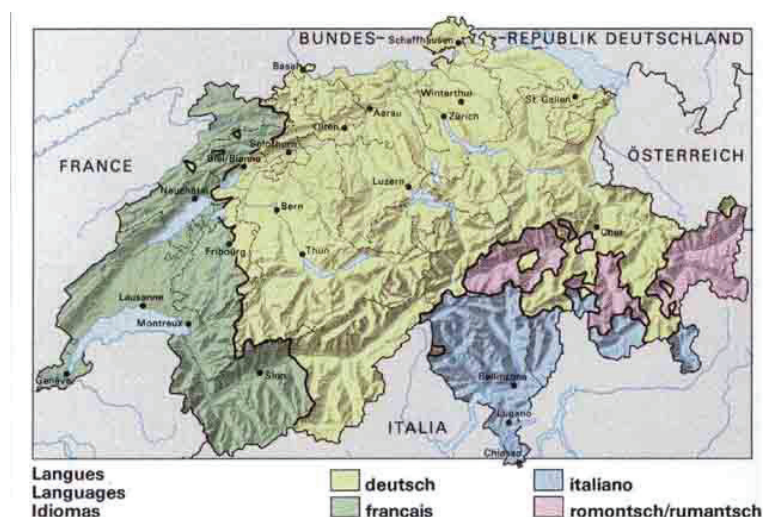
In each of these regions, there is one and only one official language, one and only one school language and a huge majority indicates the local language as the main one; even the fourth national language, the endangered Rhaeto-Romansh, has a majority of more than 60% in its own region:

Graph 1: Local language as main language by linguistic region, in %, 2000
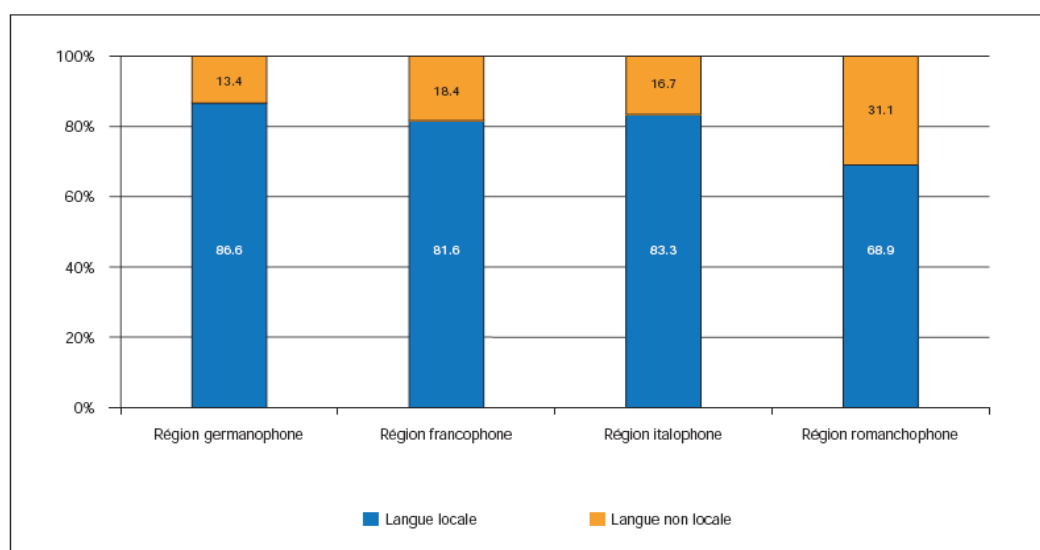
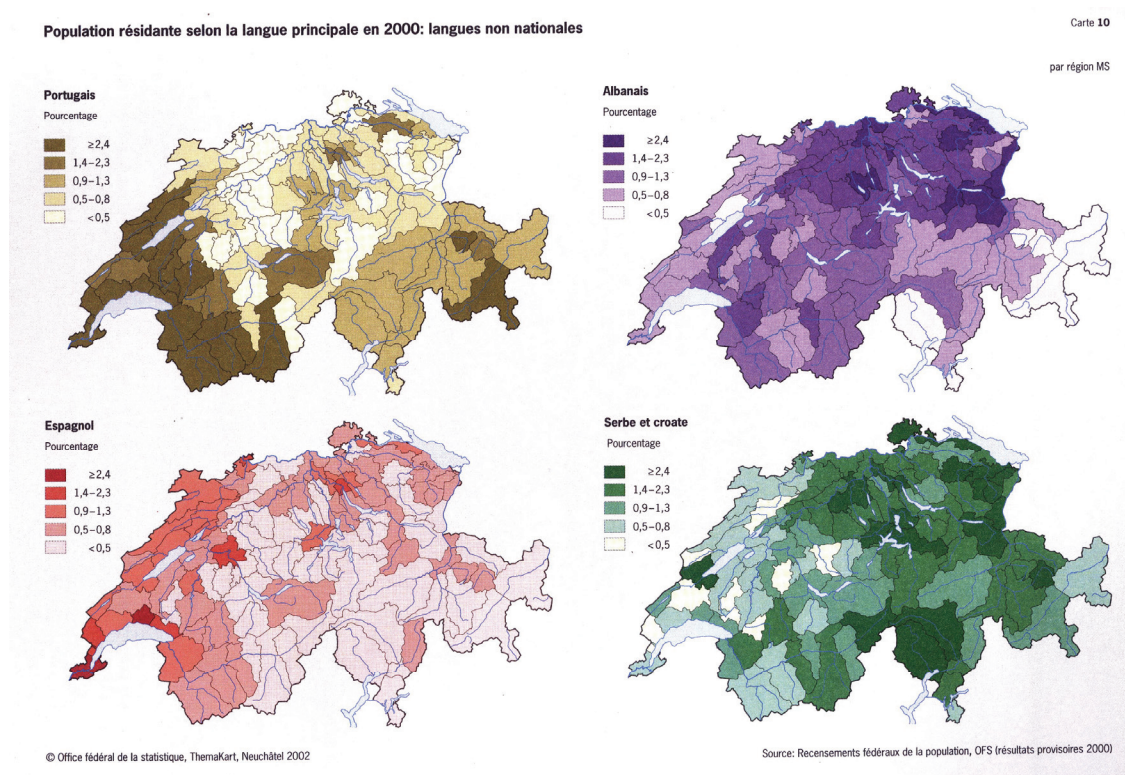Source: Recensement fédéral de la population, OFS

Since 1960, there is a growing number of speakers of non-national languages throughout Switzerland. Based on the national census taking place every 10 years, one can observe an overall rise from 0,7% in 1950 to 9% in 2000. In addition, because of the exclusive use of one official language in most of the country, we have to add the speakers of the other national languages to this 9% which leads us to the above mentioned 13% - 31% of alloglots in the population of the four language regions (for details see Lüdi/Werlen et al. 2005).

Table 1: Swiss population according to main languages[2] in %.
Source: Swiss federal census 1950-2000. Swiss Federal Statistical Office.

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
German	72.1	69.4	64.9	65.0	63.6	63.7
French	20.3	18.9	18.1	18.4	19.2	20.4
Italian	5.9	9.5	11.9	9.8	7.6	6.5
Rhaeto-Romansh	1.0	0.9	0.8	0.8	0.6	0.5
Other languages	0.7	1.4	4.3	6.0	8.9	9.0

The non-national languages are not distributed evenly throughout the country. Here are four examples:

Population résidante selon la langue principale en 2000: langues non nationales — Carte 10 — par région MS

Portugais — Pourcentage: ≥2,4 / 1,4–2,3 / 0,9–1,3 / 0,5–0,8 / <0,5

Albanais — Pourcentage: ≥2,4 / 1,4–2,3 / 0,9–1,3 / 0,5–0,8 / <0,5

Espagnol — Pourcentage: ≥2,4 / 1,4–2,3 / 0,9–1,3 / 0,5–0,8 / <0,5

Serbe et croate — Pourcentage: ≥2,4 / 1,4–2,3 / 0,9–1,3 / 0,5–0,8 / <0,5

© Office fédéral de la statistique, ThemaKart, Neuchâtel 2002

Source: Recensements fédéraux de la population, OFS (résultats provisoires 2000)

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[2] Main language = „the language in which you think and that you master best (only one answer)".

The Portuguese and the Spanish speaking communities are more concentrated in the Suisse romande, the Albanian and Serbo-Croatian ones in the German-speaking region. But despite a very unequal distribution, the speakers of these languages never reach a percentage sufficient to form "language territories".

1.3 Do immigrants constitute linguistic minorities?

Generally, linguistic minorities get some legal protection. The Council of Europe has done important work in this respect. However, these documents only deal with "historical" minorities. In Switzerland, for example, the minority languages Romanche and Italian are explicitly mentioned in the language law of October 5th, 2007; the languages of immigration do not have the same legal status. But the federal state and the cantons can provide help in teaching these languages as L1. In France, the *Délégation générale à la langue française et aux langues de France* goes even further listing Armenian, Berber and Arabic dialects among the "langues de France" [languages of France], with the similar goal of allowing their speakers to get some formal instruction in their own language (http://www.dglflf.culture.gouv.fr/).

As already mentioned, there are no „alloglot islands" in Switzerland, demographically speaking. Even where the concentration of other languages is higher, as in the large cities, speakers of, for example, English and Dutch on the one hand, of Turkish and Albanian on the other hand share the same living areas. This is not due to linguistic reasons, but to their social background (cf. Lüdi 1994). The case of Basle is quite typical: in Rosental (52,2% foreigners), Klybeck (50,7%) and Matthäus (49,8%) the languages of immigrants and refugees dominate (e.g. languages of Ex-Yugoslavia, Portuguese, Tamul), while in the middle class quarters with a low concentration of foreigners as St. Alban (22,6%), Bachletten (16,4%) and Bruderholz (16,3%), the proportion of English, French, Swedish etc. is comparatively high.

**Foreigners in Basle by quarter, 2005 (max. 52,2%/ min. 16,3%)**
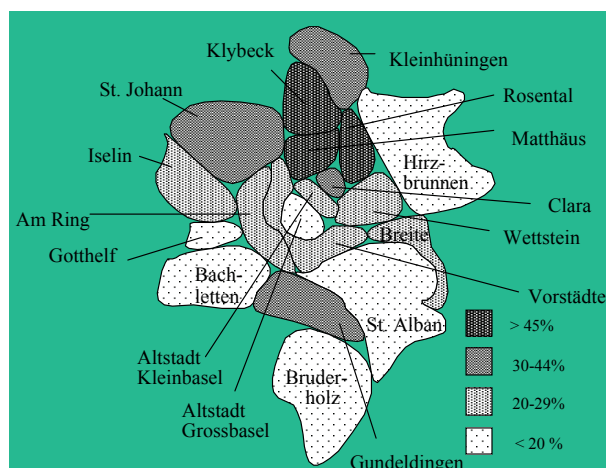
Twenty years ago, the specialist in linguistic minorities William Mackey (1986, 11) wrote: "Nuestra generación es testimonio de la liberación definitiva de la lengua de sus constricciones de espacio y de tiempo". Rex et al. (1987, 9) underlined that European societies will have to accept, for several generations, that "apart from citizens of states of the normal sort [...] there are whole communities maintaining links with two countries or living in a diaspora which is a more important focus for identity than nationality." It was suggested that a new „migrant identity" (European Science Foundation 1988, 8) is emerging. However, the recognition of the rights of these „new minorities" to preserve their language and culture and to hand them over to the next generation depends on the political will to consider them as integrated part of the host society (Benattig 1987, 111). This would mean a public recognition of immigrant communities with their cultural specificities (id., 114) on the part of the host society that goes far beyond the timid first steps mentioned above, but also and mainly a „vouloir-vivre collectif" [the firm will of the community to continue to live together] from the side of the minorities themselves, which is generally considered a definitory feature of any minority. Special efforts and costs from both sides would be necessary for the maintenance of the heritage language and culture. A necessary (but not sufficient) condition is the will, particularly of the young generations, to assume their otherness in comparison with majoritarian society. Do modern economies contribute to the erosion of national borders and identities or do they contribute to new forms of centralisation? Predictions are impossible, but two movements seem inevitable: the sedentarisation of migrants and the „ethnic revival" of local cultures.

It is certain that school problems of alloglot children are similar to those of „historical" minorities: exclusion from the school community, difficulties in acquiring new knowledge through the school language, much less immigrants in schools with higher requirements. This can be documented by the proportion of alloglot students by school type in Basle (graph 2). The social effect shows up even more strongly when we look at the distribution of the languages of origin by school type (graph 3). The languages that are better represented in grammar schools are typically those of so-called "affluent" immigrants or "expatriates" like English, French and others (e.g. Dutch and Japanese), whilst the languages of working class immigrants like Turkish/Kurdish and Albanian dominate in preprofessional schools.
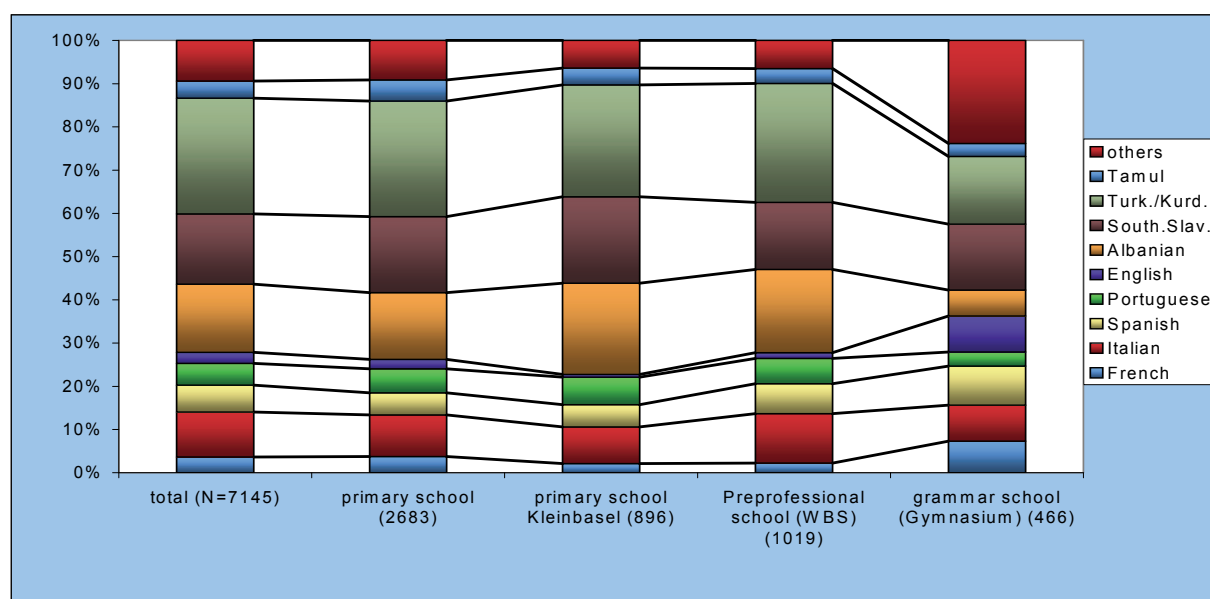
Graph 2: Proportion of L1 of foreign pupils by school type in Basle, 2005.
Source: Basle-City, cantonal school statistics
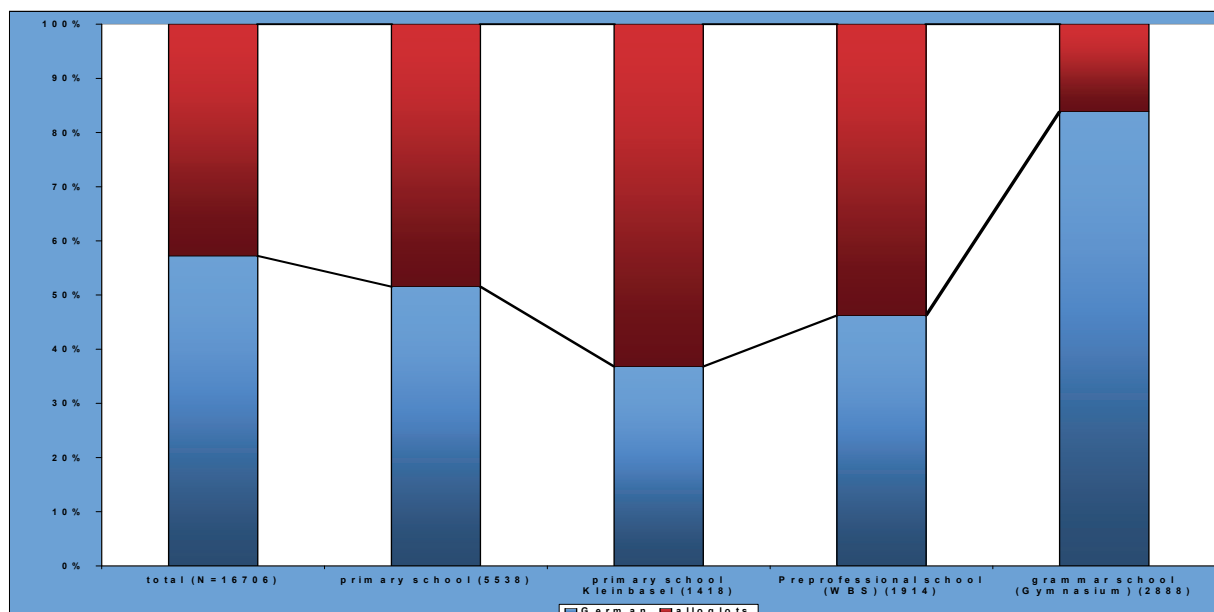
Graph 3: Proportion of pupils with German and other languages as L1, by school type, in Basle, 2005 Source: Basle-City, cantonal school statistics

Being at the same time a member of a low social class and not speaking the local school language severely impedes success at school. This problem can be dealt with in terms of majorities and minorities and of minorities' linguistic rights. In other words, one may propose to deal with the schooling of immigrant children in a similar conceptual framework as the one that was elaborated for children of indigenous, historical minorities. Because of the missing legal status — even the Council of Europe excludes them from the groups that should benefit from the

Charter of Regional and Minority Languages —, we could call them "unrecognised minorities".

2 Power relations between dominant and dominated languages

2.1 Language and power

The totality of linguistic resources available to members of a community for socially significant interactions constitutes the linguistic repertoire of that community. The linguistic resources include all the different languages, dialects, registers, styles and routines spoken by the group (Gal 1986). In the same way, we can speak of the linguistic repertoire of a multilingual person. Due to shared local language value systems, the different varieties or languages that constitute his or her repertoire do not have the same value on the linguistic market-place. In Basle, for example, the official language German and the international *lingua franca* English represent high symbolic capital. The same is not true for Turkish or Albanian. Choosing the appropriate variety of his or her repertoire in a given situation allows a multilingual person to raise her or his — economic or symbolic — capital. At the orthodox church, Serbian might be the right choice, for talking at work German, English or eventually French.

To interact verbally with success in the language appropriate to the situation means having power. In other terms, access to power depends on a person's repertoire: if you don't speak the appropriate language, you are in a weak position. Lack of knowledge of the local language might be compensated by the very high prestige of English indeed, but not by languages of immigration. Therefore the acquisition of the local language by immigrants is very important.

However, there are other aspects of the relation between language and power that go far beyond the knowledge of the appropriate variety as already stated by Freud:

> Wir wollen übrigens das Wort nicht verachten. Es ist doch ein mächtiges Instrument, es ist das Mittel, durch das wir einander unsere Gefühle kundtun, der Weg, auf den anderen Einfluss zu nehmen. Worte können unsagbar wohl tun und fürchterliche Verletzungen zufügen. (Freud, 1976, XIV, 5. 214)

Words can be very beneficial and words can hurt, certain forms of verbal interaction being particularly violent. And this happens frequently not because the speaker wants to use verbal violence, but because he lacks more differentiated ways of expressing him or herself. Conversational analysis sheds light on the ways utterances are embedded in actional contexts, whether they are aimed at mutual understanding or at competition, and why communication succeeds or fails. Beilhardt/Kübler/Steinbach (1979) identified, for example, a form of utterances they called "utterances aimed at intimidation". They are typical for the attitude or 'gestus' of order, prohibition and punishment with no

or an absolute minimum of words. It is an asymmetrical, distorted form of communication, oriented exclusively towards the exercise of power. Those who make use of it want to assert themselves without advancing justifications and without allowing objections. Frequently the reason is a socially conditioned powerlessness due to limited or a lack of language competence. It often combines with physical violence. There is, by the way, a long tradition of considering language and violence as opposite poles: to be civilised means mastering differentiated verbal means; on the contrary barbarians (gr. bárbaros = stammerer) lack culture and make use of physical force (cf. Hirsch 2001, 11) — or verbal violence. Two modern philosophers theorised these aspects of communication theory. Both conceive verbal communication as an a priori of socialisation; for Jürgen Habermas, the ideal community of communication is based upon the faculty to act and to speak. In contrast, the ethics of communication of Emmanuel Levinas presupposes the faculty of recognising and accepting the other's alterity (Gürtler 2001, 202 ff.).

Such forms of communicative behaviour can be observed in local families speaking their language at a very basic level, i.e. families where the parents do not master the language in a way sufficiently elaborated to argue with the children. Thus, they just command, prohibit and punish, often using violence.[3] This behaviour may be carried on to the next generation: if children do not learn to argue in a differentiated way, they will reproduce intimidating forms of speaking outside the family, in the schoolyard and the peer group. Consequently, there are good reasons why educational systems generally recognize their responsibility to work on this problem from the first years at school onwards, in order to "empower" children the lacking appropriate verbal means.

Many immigrant children are confronted with similar problems, however in an even more accentuated form, for two different reasons: Firstly, they often experience communication from members of the host society as intimidating — and react correspondingly. Secondly, their linguistic background in the family language (=language of origin) is often similarly poor as the one described above; as a consequence, they are less receptive to the usual help measures provided in the host language. In short, immigrants are frequently linguistically powerless. Not only because they speak the wrong language — i.e. because of their domination by native speakers of the (legitimate variety of the) official language —, but also because they grow up in an impoverished language environment. Their powerlessness entails poor school results — that will again enforce the lack of power.

In order to guarantee the equality of chances for migrant children — and in order to maximise the benefits of their labour force —, the host countries' educational systems have to assume a double responsibility: firstly, they must offer specific teaching of the host language as L2; secondly they have also to

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[3] http://www.thomasgransow.de/Fachmethoden/Deutsch/Strukturelemente_7.html last visited on January 21, 2008

ensure — in close collaboration with parents, countries of origin, migrant associations etc. — that Albanian, Turkish etc. children are capable of expressing themselves in a differentiated way in their ancestral languages, thus generating a stable bilingualism.

This may also avoid identity problems as shown in the following story of a Turkish girl, who spoke German very well and asked herself if her status as a foreigner was noticeable in her speech, but had nevertheless nightmares in which she saw hands tearing away her face: „Saniye [...] fing an, sich zu integrieren. Sie sprach inzwischen sehr gut Deutsch und fragte sich oft, ob man es merke, dass sie eine Ausländerin ist. [...] Ihre Alpträume häuften sich. Sie sah immer wieder Hände, die ihr Gesicht abrissen." (Ackermann 1983, 19)

In fact, the problem is the lack of recognition of her double Turkish-German identity, especially because no place is made for the Turkish language and culture at school. The French psychologist Robert Berthelier indeed affirms that the problem, for children like Saniye, is the total exclusion of their mother tongue from the host country's educational system: « le problème, pour ces enfants, est donc celui d' une déprivation de la langue (et, à travers elle, de la culture) maternelle liée à son exclusion totale de l'appareil pédagogique […] » (Berthelier 1988)

Teaching the language of origin in the host country's educational system helps to avoid such troubles. In contrast to the preconception that bilingualism sits at the origin of migrant children's school failure, we argue thus that fostering bilingualism offers the best remedy to their problems. As for other linguistic minorities, migrants may not be reduced to one or the other language, their bi- or plurilingualism has to be taken seriously, as the asset it represents for both the persons and the host society, and not as a potential cause of trouble.

3. What does "empowerment" mean in this context?

3.1 "Empowerment"

This argumentation is in line with the policy of „empowerment" promoted among others by De Mejía/Tejada for native children in Mexico.

> Empowerment is the process through which the participants in the […] process become conscious of their capacities, potential, knowledge and experiences […] so that they can assume responsibilities in the development of autonomy and full participation in decision-making […] in the light of the changes and new advances in national educational policies. (de Mejía/Tejada, 2001)

It is assumed that educational systems not only play an important role in the education to responsible and autonomous citizens, but have also to contribute to the reduction of social inequality. In the case of the education of migrant children, this task is complex. (a) As has been mentioned above, mastery of the

L1 represents the best prerequisite for L2 acquisition; thus, the enlargement of competences in the L1 (=language of origin of the parents) is not the family's sole responsibility, but also the school system's responsibility, especially in the field of literacy. (b) Because the onset of plurilingualism should be as early as possible, early immersion of immigrant children in the host language in day nurseries and kindergartens with professional caretakers (*not* language teachers) is essential. (c) But the school's main task goes far beyond the construction of basic competences; it has to convey discursive autonomy, i.e. the faculty of using the language in the sense of Habermas, Levinas and others as a responsible and emancipated partner. Research on classroom discourse has shown that this goal is frequently not specially focused on, not even with autochthonous students. We will come back to this question later on.

3.2 The Basle „Integrationskonzept"

The host countries react differently to this challenge. In Switzerland, where much of the political life takes place in the cantons, the new federal law on foreigners ("Gesetz über Ausländerinnen und Ausländer (AuG)" of September 16, 2005) insists on the need for learning a national language:

> Art. 4 Integration
> 4 Es ist erforderlich, dass sich Ausländerinnen und Ausländer mit den gesellschaftlichen Verhältnissen und Lebensbedingungen in der Schweiz auseinandersetzen und insbesondere eine Landessprache erlernen. [It is necessary that foreigners deal with the social situation and the conditions of life in Switzerland and especially learn a national language]
> Art. 23 Aufenthaltsbewilligung [authorisation to take up residence]
> 2 Bei der Erteilung von Aufenthaltsbewilligungen müssen zusätzlich die berufliche Qualifikation, die berufliche und soziale Anpassungsfähigkeit, die Sprachkenntnisse und das Alter eine nachhaltige Integration in den schweizerischen Arbeitsmarkt und das gesellschaftliche Umfeld erwarten lassen.
> [In the procedure of conferring consent to reside, the professional qualification, the professional and social adaptability, the language skills and the age of the applicant must allow for the expectation of a lasting integration into the Swiss labour market and the social environment]
> Art. 34 Niederlassungsbewilligung [residence permit]
> 4 Sie kann bei erfolgreicher Integration, namentlich wenn die betroffene Person über gute Kenntnisse einer Landessprache verfügt, nach ununterbrochenem Aufenthalt mit Aufenthaltsbewilligung während der letzten fünf Jahre erteilt werden. [It can be granted in case of successful integration, notably if the person concerned has a good knowledge of a national language…]

The Canton Basle-City has elaborated a framework for the integration of immigrants that goes far beyond this model, based on the sole acquisition of the host language. It claims for a change of paradigm away from a deficit-based to a

potential-based approach, and is broadly accepted by the political parties. The three key ideas are:

1. The foundation is constituted by the potential capacity, i.e. the capital of knowledge accomplishments, experiences and competences of the immigrants participating in the process.
2. Integration is understood as a common task for the whole society or the whole city; that means that all members of society, both locals and immigrants, are called upon to participate in the process.
3. The integration policy is a warranty for a conscious and respectful treatment of difference. Superficial attribution of problems to culture or ethnicity, that in fact have social or structural reasons should be avoided, and gender-specific aspects should not be ignored or neutralised. (cf. Sicherheitsdepartement des Kantons Basel-Stadt 2006)

In the same way as many people blindly adopt the stereotype of the „normality" of unilingualism, they believe in a one-dimensional cultural and linguistic identity. However, Le Page/Tabouret-Keller argue convincingly that the relation between languages, forms of social organisation and identities are variable and complex (1985, 243). In a multidimensional sociolinguistic space, individuals can subsequently adopt positions that are very distant from each other in order to account for changing needs along with different forms of interaction and topics of conversation (1985, 14)[4]. Integration means to accept identity changes, in the sense not of a loss of the identity of origin, but of the admission of new fragments of identity, of the construction of „multiple identities" or „patchwork identities". And members of the host society are indeed included in this process. As in the case of plurilingual repertoires, a multiple identity does not result from the addition of partial identities (e.g. Turkish and Swiss or German, and male, and academic, etc.), but from the melting of identity fragments into a proper identity system. To believe that such processes always develop harmoniously, without breakages, would be naïve. For this reasons, all actors are called upon to analyse the possible risks and to contribute to diminish them (cf. Lüdi/Py et al.

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[4] "As the individual speaks, he is seen as always using language with reference to the inner models of the universe he has constructed for himself; he projects in words images of that universe (or, of those universes) on to the social screen, and these images may be more or less sharply focused, or more or less diffuse, in relation to each other or in relation to those projected by others in their interactions with him. As he speaks, he is inviting others to share his view of the universe [...], and the feed-back he gets may lead him to focus his own images more sharply, and may also lead him to bring his own universes more into focus with those projected by others" (115). "To the extent that he is reinforced, his behaviour in that particular context may become more regular, more focused; to the extent that he modifies his behaviour to accommodate to others it may for a time become more variable, more diffuse" (181).

1994). This is the challenge for any integration concept (see also the text of Ural Tufan on playing with identities in the last paragraph).

3.3 The Basle „Gesamtsprachenkonzept" (school language policy)

Consequently, the government of Basle-City demanded a concept for a school language policy that would be compatible with the goal of integration. The main points are:
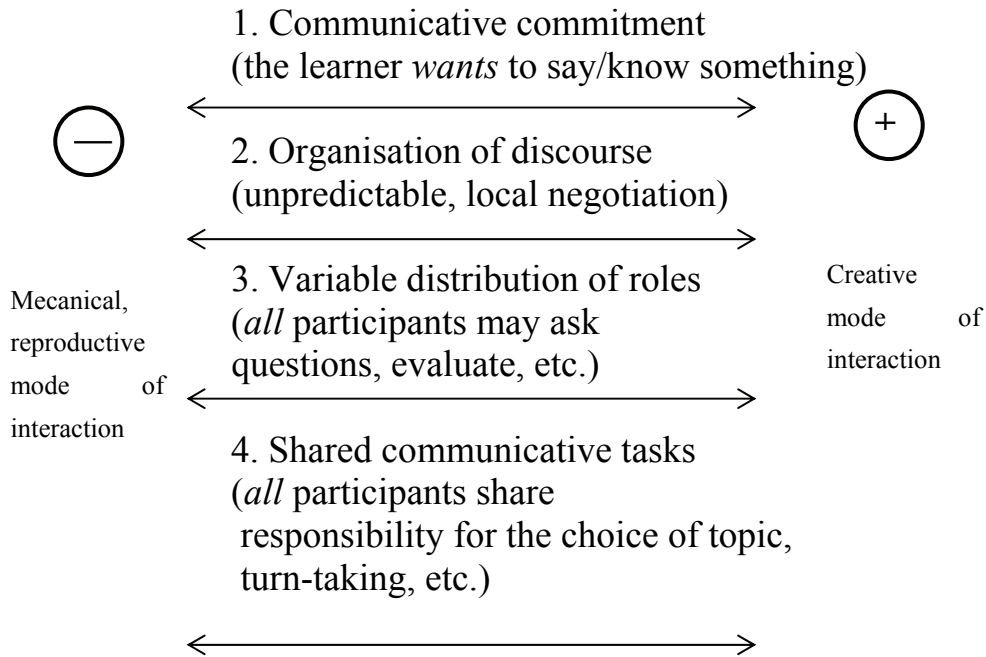
> 1. All children acquire a high oral and written competence in Standard German.
> 2. In addition, they get a functional competence in a second national language as well as in English.
> 3. They must have the opportunity of elaborating the competences in their language of origin and of learning additional national and other foreign languages.
> (http://www.edubs.ch/die_schulen/projekte/archiv/gesamtsprachenkonzept/pdf/gsk_reflexionsgruppe.pdf)

This means recognition of the argument mentioned above that elaborated competences — and notably literacy — in L1 do not hamper, but on the contrary facilitate L2 acquisition and integration.

3.4 A tool for empowering students in the classroom

But it is not sufficient just to decide on the languages to be learnt. The forms of language use at school can be decisive. Indeed, one instrument for empowering students is the use of appropriate forms of classroom discourse. Simona Pekarek Doehler (1999) observed a kind of continuum of forms of interaction that differ in their sequentiality, thematic structure, role play etc. One pole is characterised by an almost total teacher control; the students's tasks are simple (short answers to questions to which the teacher knows the answer in advance, heteroallocated turns, formulation of grammatical utterances). Students are at the same time powerless and systematically underchallenged by the dominating teacher. At the other pole we find locally organised, co-constructed and diversified forms of interaction; students' contributions are more complex, the focus lies on conveying their proper opinions, the utterances are longer and more complex — and contain more errors. Students are forced into a more creative and communicative style; the need of adapting themselves to new challenges, an unforeseen course of events, of participating in the coordination of the interactions is very demanding — and fosters the acquisition of discourse competence.

1. Communicative commitment
(the learner *wants* to say/know something)

2. Organisation of discourse
(unpredictable, local negotiation)

3. Variable distribution of roles
(*all* participants may ask
questions, evaluate, etc.)

4. Shared communicative tasks
(*all* participants share
 responsibility for the choice of topic,
 turn-taking, etc.)

Mecanical,
reproductive
mode   of
interaction

Creative
mode   of
interaction

(cf. Pekarek 1999)

In our context, one might argue that the linguistic powerlessness of children with migration background lacking the support of a creative mode of interaction in school will not diminish, but grow.

4. Searching for plurilingual solutions to the world's communication problems

4.1 Against "homoglossic" ideologies

Most modern states are polyglossic, as stated at the beginning, but still characterised by a „homoglossic" language ideology. We mean by that a system of belief of the type: „All speakers of a language belong to the same ‚nation'", „a ‚nation' should have its own state", „all inhabitants of this state should speak the same language" or, at least, „there are natural inequalities among the languages or varieties spoken on a state's territory, only one being ‚legitimate'".

The ideological background of these constructs is a very distant one. It is founded on the received wisdom that monolingualism represents an original state, intended by God and/or politically legitimised by human beings. To an extent, this stereotype can be seen in the Bible — that is to say, in the belief that multilingualism, resulting from 'confusion', has encumbered men like a divine curse ever since the construction of the tower of Babel (Genesis 11, 6-7). It is again found in Greek philosophy, starting with Aristotle; the Renaissance in turn

acquired it from medieval scholasticism. From the French Revolution (Barère 1794, Grégoire 1794) to the First World War, national sentiments start to be treated as religious affairs are, under the influence of Romantic ideas (Herder 1794, Fichte 1808, etc.); they are discussed with metaphors borrowed from religious history, and build the myth of the 'nation' as reflected in a common language. Within this framework, individual bilingualism is perceived as dangerous, in many ways: a menace to the command of the singular language which must yield somewhat to its competitor, as well as a menace to the singular culture attached to that language, and to discourse-transmitted knowledge of all varieties. In summary, bilinguals, particularly early bilinguals, would have their cognitive and social identity threatened.

There is no "natural" foundation for such ideologies. As Jürgen Meisel (2004) puts it:

> The human language faculty has an endowment for multilingualism. Assuming that this can be confirmed, the view of child bilingualism as a potential source of possible disturbances must be abandoned. Instead, monolingualism can be regarded as resulting from an impoverished environment where an opportunity to exhaust the potential of the language faculty is not fully developed.

'Nations', 'national languages' and 'linguistic minorities' — autochtonous as well as new ones — etc. are discourse constructions. The very idea that linguistic minorities are to be protected stands in direct relation with the national language discourse. Both are correlated to each other. Only after the concept of a 'national language' was constituted did other languages get the status of minority or regional languages (Duchêne 2005). New states and autonomous language regions reproduce homoglossic ideologies, as the case of Catalonia where the status of Castilian as the official language of Spain is seen to hurt beliefs of the type: "We are in Catalonia; here, the only legitimate language is Catalan". New minorities in polyglossic societies suffer under these circumstances.

In contrast to the situation of historic minorities, the solution cannot be an "up-grade" to the status of 'national language'. Albanian and Turkish will never be official languages in Germany or Switzerland. Nevertheless, we have to overcome the homoglossic ideology and move in the direction of polyglossic, i.e. multilingual conceptions of modern societies, thus attributing legitimacy to languages other than the official one(s).

4.2 Which competences must immigrants show?

In Switzerland, the national census of the population asks for the language use inside the family. Graph 4 shows the percentage of speakers of non-national languages (as main language) that (also) made use of the local language at home in 2000. (see Lüdi/Werlen et al. 2005 for more details)

Graph 4: Local language as part of the family repertoire for the speakers of the six most frequent languages of immigration, by language region, 2000
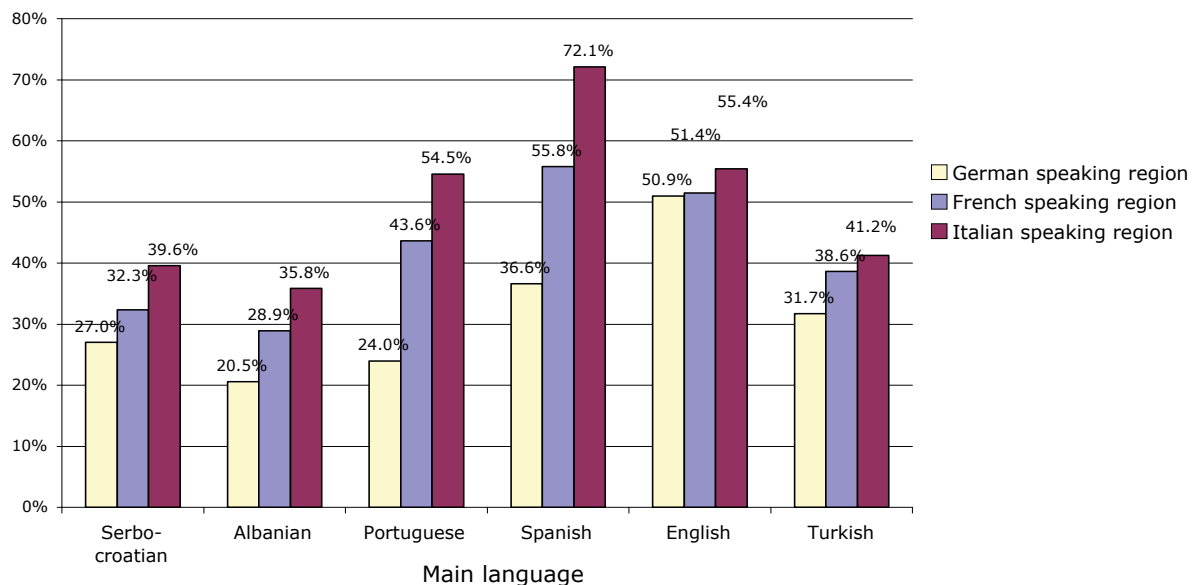
Nobody questions the need for immigrants to acquire the local language. Many European countries start testing these competences (see the Swiss law mentioned before). However, these tests are problematic where the focus is on the target language only. This concerns the content as well as the form of language tests. We totally agree with McNamara who argues that „discussion of the social and policy context of language testing and assessment, and the social and political meaning of its practices, represents perhaps the most significant area of new thought and debate in the field of language testing.“[5] This means, firstly, taking into account the real world contexts of language use.

> The focus on the ability of the candidate in conventional approaches within second language assessment views the candidate in a strangely isolated light; it is he or she who are held to bear the brunt of the responsibility for the performance; in this sense the inevitable gap between a test and real life appears unusually stark. (McNamara 1997, 452)

Language use is, on the contrary, normally situated; all partners in the interaction share the responsibility for the success of the communication. This means that tests have to deal with the role of the examining person (that simulates the native speaker in the exolinguistic conversation) in the dialogue. This is particularly important in the light of research done by Brown/Hill about English language testing systems showing that the same testees get very different results depending on the interviewers' examination style (Brown/Hill 2003). Examples from the Netherlands, where oral interaction skills are reportedly controlled by way of web-based computer tests represent flagrant violations of this principle. Secondly, the standards to be reached in the target

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[5]   In: bearcenter.berkeley.edu/measurement/docs/CommentaryPorterMcNamara.pdf

language have to be revisited. They are in general formulated in terms of the levels defined in the Common European Framework (Council of Europe 2001), i.e. between A1 to C2. But general levels of competence do not match immigrants' communication needs where oral comprehension faculties must be much more elaborated than, say, writing. Specific profiles taking into account the concrete situation of immigrants have to be developed. It is important to keep the basic rule in sight: to never measure a multilingual as a monolingual, but to appreciate multilingual competence to the same extent as any other. In the absence of a sufficiently balanced lexical repertoire, a bilingual person might not be good at translation, but in contrast be perfectly capable of making his/her own way in those domains in which s/he uses one or the other language. And there is, thirdly, the problem of the ways linguistic repertoires are used in plurilingual situations in polyglossic societies.

## 4.3 Valorisation of multilingual forms of communication

At first, one must, from a monolingual perspective, stop considering the languages practised by a sole multilingual speaker as the simple addition of languages learnt on their own terms and replace the classical notion of competence with that of linguistic repertoire or, better, verbal resources. This term *resources*[6], as we understand it here, lends numerous advantages. It outlines an indefinite and open set of grammatical and syntactic (and of course mimogestual) microsystems, partially stabilised and available to the speaker as well as the interlocutor. These microsystems can stem from different varieties of a language or from various languages, as well as from diverse discourse experiences. These resources are mostly mobilised during interaction, in collaboration with partner(s); as such, one can speak of shared resources (Pekarek Doehler 2005). Resources do not boil down to a dictionary of prefabricated expressions, as one finds in phrasebooks. They are shaped like semi-organised sets of often heteroclite means, similar to a handyman's toolbox.

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[6] Cf. Boulea/Jeanneret (2007) for a propedeutic reflection on the concepts of competence and resources. The notion is often used in conversational analysis, dating from classic works (e.g. Jefferson 1974), returning to the fact that linguistic elements, signs and actions are used to accomplish or structure activities (establishing lists, organising turns, starting or finishing a conversation): they therefore constitute resources for the organisation of interaction. The notion of resource seems to have some interest here as it focalises the actor's point of view (it is speakers who serve as resources) and foregrounds the potentiality of these resources, not stable form-function couplings (as often associated with the notion of function). The idea is always that the significance of resources is local, depending on sequential placement (see also Goodwin 1986). Since the seminal work of Ochs/Schegloff/Thompson (1996) in interactional linguistics, the notion is very often summoned within this line of work to return the linguistic system (lexicon, morphology, syntax as well as prosody) to a resource which acts on and structures social interaction. (Simona Pekarek Doehler, personal communication).

Some are prefabricated and memorised; others are procedures which create previously unheard utterances, amongst which one also finds heuristic means for the reinforcement of already available utterance resources, or for the development of hypotheses relating to the interpretation of the other language (Lüdi/Py 2003). In other words, they allow one to create and to play — to lead verbal activity in specific contexts, and therefore to take risks.

As a result of a growing mobility of people (globalisation, flows of migration, tourism, etc.), modern societies are linguistically more and more diverse. The semiotic landscape is characterised by the presence of many different languages as documented by the following pictures of Basle (cf. Lüdi 2007). Decoding 'citiscapes' presupposes — and helps constructing — plurilingual resources.
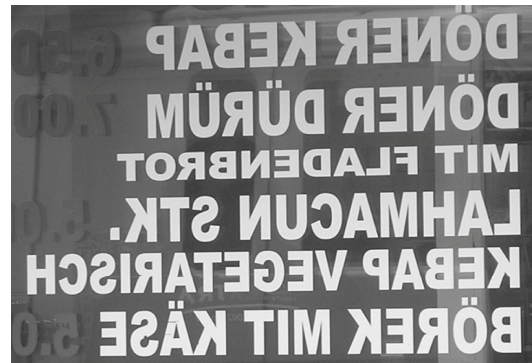
One the other hand, countless examples of tape-recorded oral interactions in multiple private and working contexts illustrate the ways plurilingual competences are jointly mobilised, mostly without normative considerations, in order to guarantee communicative success (Grosjean 2001, Lüdi/Py 2003, Mondada 2004, Lüdi/Heiniger 2007 and many others).

Let's quote just one case recorded in a labwork session in a pharmaceutical company in Basle, in which the head of the laboratory, Doctor JH, of Moroccan origin, a laboratory worker MS of Hungarian origin, and three German-speaking colleagues, NS, ML and SG, all participated. Their competences are very unequal: JH masters German only poorly, and MS's mastery of English is worse yet; and amongst the three others, German (that is, Swiss German) is dominant. The aim of the session is to correct an experience protocol written in German.

	NS:	so i think we can write like <u>this</u> wir eh müssen mit einem faktor von ehm=
	JH:	[ein komma drei]
	NS:	[und eh eh] aufgerechnet ist kein deutsches wort multipliziert ((*speaks a little more quietly and notes the phrase down on her paper*))
5	JH:	mmh
	NS:	ja recources ((??)) is not for the calculation the right word aso multipliziert werden um die gewünschte konzentration zu erreichen und <u>dann</u> würd ich den satz dazumachen einfach um zu=
	JH:	=mmh=
10	NS:	=erklären (..) wie es dann zu den auch verschiedenen abkürzungen hier kommt weisch so nen correction factor das beinhaltet salzfaktor und substanzgehalt (.) und dann eben dieser verdünnungsfaktor=
	ML:	=°xxx jo salz git's jo nüm°
	JH:	maybe then=
15	NS:	=and then [and then the calculation ya]
	JH:	[then here xxx that should be saying ya you say you explained between brackets it takes eh (.) ya one thing you could <u>do</u> either you do this nullkommaf-fünfsechs milliliter medium without s9 then we have one correction factor dilution factor (.) or you want to keep with s9 difference or without s9 as we discussed (.) because <u>if</u> you want to do a
20		difference then you will have <u>two</u> correction factors one is=
	NS:	no it's better to have only one [correction factor and not two otherwise it's too complicated]
	JH:	[ya then you have to add zero point fifty-six milliliter medium]
	NS:	ja=
	JH:	=without s9=
25	NS:	=ja=
	JH:	=and that's what mara did for experiments c and d
	SG:	ja
	MS:	ja
	NS	mmh
30	JH:	((*speaking to MS*)) mh wir haben gleich
	MS:	ja
	NS:	ja
	JH:	eh den verdünnungfaktor
	NS:	[ja]
35	JH:	[ok?]
	MS:	ja
	JH:	is besser eigentlich ya?
	NS:	mmh
	MS:	mmh
40	JH:	so we have one
	NS:	ja
	JH:	so i mean you add extra nullkomma sechsundfünfzig milliliter medium ((notes)) than we have one one dilution factor
	NS:	ok=
45	JH:	=ok?
	NS:	so i xxx
	JH:	so it is ((??)) good
	NS:	mmh
	JH:	so can you do that and then we can (..) do you have other::=

Lines 1-4, NS and JH converse in English (preferred choice), but switch to German for the task of the written wording. The same phenomenon occurs in NS's speech in lines 6-7, but here she does not return to English, instead continues in German (lines 7-12). The participants had already converged upon the technical term 'correction factor' (1.11) as acceptable in German. Ratification of this content by ML in Swiss German 1.13. JH and NS continue in English (1.14ff.), with the intervention of German numbers, as dictated by JH's protocol (1.17f.). In lines 32-41, JH explicitly addresses MS using a 'participant related codeswitching' to conclude in English (1.44) whilst the others confirm this non-verbally (1.40f.) or in German (1.38, 43). The analyses confirm the explanatory pertinence of the notion of multilingual competence (Coste/Moore/Zarate, 1997), understood as a resource put to work in a situated manner, in endolinguistic as well as exolinguistic situations (Lüdi 2003). The actors exploit these resources in a flexible and efficient way, depending on particular communicative situations, and this language use helps to shape activities. This is true for many communicative situations in immigrants daily life and should be considered in assessing their linguistic competences.

4.4 Elements for future consideration

Growing mobility of important parts of the world's population leads to a massive increase in multilingualism in post-modern societies and a lasting change from homoglossic to polyglossic communities with important „deterritorialised" linguistic minorities, mostly plurilingual to a variable degree.

Unfortunately, the views of a majority of people on multilingualism are still troubled by monolingual ideologies. This leads to the political claim that immigrants should assimilate linguistically and culturally — or leave. The minimal consequence is the belief that there are 'natural' inequalities among the languages or language varieties spoken within a particular territory, only one being 'legitimate'. This entails a lack of a balance of power between indigenous people and immigrants. Indeed, as Fairclough (2001) argues, language and power are intimately related. Language indexes the power relationships of a society and naturalises them. It reinforces power relationships. Language is a tool in the creation and reproduction of power.

There are good arguments for considering the multilingual person with a flexible repertoire and a plural linguistic identity as model for world citizenship in the 21st century. On one hand, being competent in the host language means having the capacity to perceive, name and resolve the problems of daily life, acquire new knowledge and participate in decision-making and in the construction of social reality. On the other hand, maintaining and fostering competences in the host language can be considered as an asset for the immigrants and their children themselves as well as for the host society. Away from the focus on the national language only, which means destabilising the

alloglots' identity, this means a process of empowerment of immigrants in polyglossic settings as stated above. This would help to rise the quite reduced — economic and/or symbolic — value on the linguistic market place of most immigrant languages (except English). Any political and educational reflection on multilingual and multicultural societies will have to consider these facts.

On the linguistic side, this means revisiting stereotypes about 'mixed' forms of speech and revalorising multilingual forms of communication. On the one hand, they match the idea of plurilingual repertoires as shared resources that the interacting partners mobilise in function of the situation, i.e. an optimal exploitation of all communicative means of which plurilinguals dispose. On the other hand, mixed forms of speech are strong markers of plural identities. As stated above, Le Page et al. (1985), Grosjean (1985), Lüdi/Py et al. (1994) and many others show evidence of the fact that immigrants are able — or should be able — to integrate different dimensions into a multiple identity system. In an article entitled "Ural Tufan" a journalist born in the Canton of Aargau (Freiamt), with roots in Turkey and living and working for decades in Basle, calls himself a "best-of-program" of all these cultural backgrounds, each part being a necessary part of his personality:

> […] As a "secondo" (= member of the so-called second generation of immigrants), I own various hats, i.e. I lead a double or even a fourfold life. (…) I am an Argovian from the Freiamt with Turkish roots who created himself a new home in Basle. Maybe I am also a Basler with roots in the Freiamt whose parents exchanged Istanbul with Switzerland forty years ago. Only one thing is sure: I am in a way a "best-of-program" of all these cultural backgrounds. One who knows that there is always one hat that suits. If I had to restrict my life to my being Turkish or to my socialisation in Wohlen (Freiamt), I would not be complete. (Basler Zeitung, 13.09.2006; S. 18 second@schweiz)

In summary, individual plurilingualism and social multilingualism are important capital that immigrants as well as the host countries should preserve and increase. It is time that political and educational decision-makers took this task seriously.

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The inclusion of cultural diversity – an imperative necessity in most
western societies – is not only based on tolerance and respect.
Heterogeneity, often considered as a great disadvantage, especially in
the field of education, should be seen as a chance and an enrichment of
host communities. Therefore, the contributions of this volume opt for
a school education which offers equal opportunities to every student,
including children and adolescents with migration backgrounds. A crucial
issue in this context, beyond empathy and a positive attitude of both
sides, is migration-induced multilingualism. This anthology provides
insights into newer concepts of increasing diversification in migration
societies and into individual multilingualism, which is not a deviance but
an obvious human condition all over the world.