

TOWARD AN INTEGRATED APPROACH TO LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND COMMUNICATION IN THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE CLASSROOM

MICHAEL ENNIS

FREE UNIVERSITY BOZEN-BOLZANO – ITALY

Abstract

In response to the realization of the need to develop cultural awareness and intercultural communication competence, recent trends in education policy and pedagogy in the U.S. and the EU have sought to integrate more culture into foreign language curricula. While the theoretical foundations of this trend are accepted as indisputable, the paper takes issue with the continued separate treatment of language and culture in the classroom and, especially, any preferential treatment of culture over language. Rather than culture being at the core of foreign language education, the paper argues that language should be at the core of intercultural education (IE). After outlining the basic tenets and insights of the culture movement in foreign language pedagogy and second language acquisition, the paper builds upon watershed scholarship (e.g. Claire Kramsch, Michael Byram and Milton and Janet Bennett) to introduce an over-arching framework for developing cultural awareness and intercultural communication competence, while maintaining the centrality of language and therefore the need to develop both linguistic and communicative competence in the foreign language. The model is intended solely as an example for what might be developed from the bottom-up in various educational contexts, and not as a universal prescription for teaching language and culture concurrently.

Keywords: Communicative Competence, Cultural Awareness, Intercultural (Communication) Competence, Interactive-Communicative Approach, Foreign Language Pedagogy

Introduction: From “Big C” to “Little C” to *many Cs*¹

With the rise of cultural studies and the social and cultural turn in second language acquisition (SLA), language teachers and program directors at all levels of instruction have gradually opened their minds to a notion of culture beyond the canonical works of literature, masterpieces of art, intellectual achievements, master narratives, and public rituals, myths and heroes of a nation. “High culture” has had to make room for everything from various genres and media of popular culture, to an ever-expanding myriad of sub-cultures, to, in the Web 2.0 age, the walls, feeds, blogs, wikis and podcasts of everyday people. Such “texts” have been deemed appropriate in the foreign language² (FL) classroom because influences from cultural anthropology and the social sciences have made it clear that there is something behind “material culture” that needs to be dealt with, namely a “subjective culture”, or an intangible dimension of social conventions, values, expectations, worldviews and identities that at least in part governs human thought and behaviour. Simultaneously, scholars and educators have come to embrace the natural interdependence of language and culture in the real world.

Especially since the advent the 5 C’s in the U.S. (ACTFL 1996)³ and the Common European Framework of Reference in the EU (Council of Europe 2001)⁴, there has been a comprehensive effort to incorporate this broader conception of culture into FL instruction in North American and European education systems. Although there have been countless suggested remedies to the inadequate treatment of culture in FL education, the most influential innovations borrow theories and methods from the fields of sociolinguistics, cultural anthropology and intercultural communication (IC). Some go as far as to place culture at the “core” of language instruction, whereby the ultimate goal becomes to develop both “cultural awareness” and “intercultural communication competence” (ICC) (e.g. Bennett et al. 2003; Brody 2003; Chick 1996; Crawford and McLaren 2003; Damen 2003; Dunnett, Dubin and Lezberg 1986; Hu and Byram 2009; Kramsch 2004; LaFayette 2003; Lange 2003; Paige et al. 2003; and Saville-Troike 2003, Levine and Phillips 2010; Valdes 1986). Such terms have become catch phrases in regional, national and international scholarship, in cutting edge textbooks and in classrooms around the globe, and a broad transition to cultural content and cultural tasks has been occurring for well over two decades. While the need to develop both cultural awareness and ICC is duly noted, the culture movement has challenged the status quo and aims to permanently

transform the essence of FL education, and should therefore be subject to careful analysis.

The central premise of this paper is that the culture movement has overcome the separate treatment of language and culture only in theory. What seems to have remained from the “culture-corner”⁵ era in course book and syllabus design is a separation of language tasks and culture tasks, especially in the case of a reliance on the learners’ native language (L1) for cultural and intercultural instruction. There seems to be a popular misconception that due to the psychological and cognitive demands of confronting and discussing cultural differences and cultural processes, most beginning and intermediate language learners lack the linguistic competence to be enlightened on such matters in the target language, while even upper intermediate and advanced courses that maintain the target language for cultural activities still tend to treat cultural and intercultural learning as something distinct and separate from language learning.

This paper challenges this trend on two grounds. First, the tendency toward culture learning as the core focus of the FL classroom reverses the natural relationship between language and culture, as the languages one acquires are in the first place the medium of enculturation and acculturation, in the second the foundation of one’s culture(s), and in the third the primary medium of expressing culture. Second, focusing solely or even primarily on culture in language classrooms runs the risk of undermining the last 40 years of SLA research which have culminated in interactive-communicative approaches to language teaching⁶, unless culture tasks are carefully and fully integrated into language instruction. Given the already limited funding and emphasis on languages and cultures in many Western education systems, the culture movement, or at least its common implementation in praxis, runs the risk of merely replacing the established goals of developing “linguistic competence” and “communicative competence” with (inter)cultural instruction. This is all the more disconcerting when one considers that the vast majority of learners do not continue *formal* study of FLs beyond what is required in the education system.

I. A Case for the interdependence of language, culture and communication

According to a constructivist view of cognitive and affective development, for instance that of Piaget (see Wadsworth 1996), human beings learn by interacting with their environment. As we assert ourselves in the world, we gradually assign meaning and purpose to various objects and actions, form

ever more complex categories for those objects and actions and develop skills in using those objects and performing those actions to satisfy our wants and needs. A *social* constructivist perspective, for instance that of Vygotsky (see Wertsch 1985), basically qualifies the constructivist view by noting that the vast majority of interaction is social in nature and the acquisition of semiotic systems, themselves progressively learned via social interaction, is what permits higher mental functions and advanced cognitive development. Vygotsky believed that language facilitated both social interaction and thought, and was therefore central to all human activity. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (see Carroll 1991) goes one step further, claiming that the semiotic systems one acquires in fact shape cognition, because the relation amongst signs in the languages we acquire in turn supersedes the relation amongst objects in the real world, in other words, because – even in the weakest version of the hypothesis – a semiotic network underlies/overlies all mental categories.

The theory of IC proposed by Gudykunst and Kim (see Gudykunst, 1995) goes as far as to claim that a central goal of communication is “uncertainty reduction” or the formation of ever more complex mental categories for dealing with the world, especially the new and unexpected in our social lives. Linked to uncertainty reduction are theories that define stereotypes as the naturally occurring mental categories for dealing with others (see Øyvind 1999). Just as we classify inanimate objects and animals based on their overt characteristics and attributes, so do we categorize human beings, at the very least in terms of two very general categories, “us” and “them”, if not in multiple categories based on any number of social constructs such as beauty, gender, sexual orientation, race, religion, socio-economic status, nationality, and the like. In this respect, stereotypes are “necessary evils.”

Cultural anthropologists, such as Edward T. Hall (1989, 1990) or Clifford Geertz (1973), define culture as a complex web of these semiotic systems developed for interacting with others, whereby every utterance and act takes on meaning. Culture is defined as “subjective reality”, or a person’s acquired understanding of how the world was, is and should be. Culture could be summarized as the entirety of mental categories one has formed through experience – i.e. primarily through socialization. Culture encompasses all things one has come to know and expect since birth and it guides our perception of, interpretation of and emotional reaction to everything we encounter. Research on values, most notably that of Kluckhohn (1954) and Hofstede (2004), supports “ethnorelativism” (not to be confused with “moral relativism”), or the notion that even our deep-rooted values were formed via social interaction with members of social

institutions (e.g. family, peer groups, education, mass media, etc.). These “core” values are understood as the fundamental building blocks of culture.

Finally, the application of sociolinguistics (see Hymes 1967; Kramsch 1993, 1998; McKay and Hornberger 1996) and sociocultural theory (see Lantolf 2000; Block 2003) to SLA combine to reveal (a) that the meaning of all verbal and nonverbal behaviour emerges only during social interaction, (b) that the successful negotiation of meaning is not possible with linguistic knowledge alone, but also requires social skills and cultural knowledge, (c) that communication is not just about the negotiation of meaning, but simultaneously involves the constant (re)negotiation of social reality, which includes all social constructs such as power relations, identity, group membership, and even the context and rules of language and social interaction, (d) that language and culture therefore form a dynamic whole which is only observable during social interaction situated in a given context and which is constantly in flux as a result of social interaction across contexts, and (e) that in the era of globalization, no language is inherently bound to one nation and one national culture, since, especially in the case of English as lingua franca, native (NSs) and non-native speakers (NNSs) alike bring decidedly diverse cultural frames, linguistic repertoires and subjective impressions of the language in question to all communicative acts (Cf. Risager 2007; Jenkins 2008; Kramsch 2009; Seidlhofer 2009).

The upshot of this over-simplification of several complex theories for language instructors is the inherent interconnectedness of language, culture and communication: communication is the primary activity of all human beings, and it is how languages and cultures are *perpetually acquired* (Fig. 1); in turn, languages and cultures allow us to engage in ever more complex forms of communication, while the languages one *perpetually acquires* for the sake of communication is at the core of this ongoing process (Fig. 2). This model has clear implications for FL pedagogy. First, it becomes crucial to prepare students to deal with this dynamic interconnectedness in their real-life encounters with the FL. Second, it reveals that teaching languages and cultures means to expose students to foreign social realities, which will result in affective and cognitive responses. Third, it means that all communicative acts in the FL are by definition translingual and transcultural (i.e. situated between languages and cultures), and that there is no predetermined set of linguistic and cultural facts to prepare students for all potential encounters. Fourth, and most important for the arguments herein, it means that it is inadvisable to treat a foreign culture as something unrelated to acts of communication

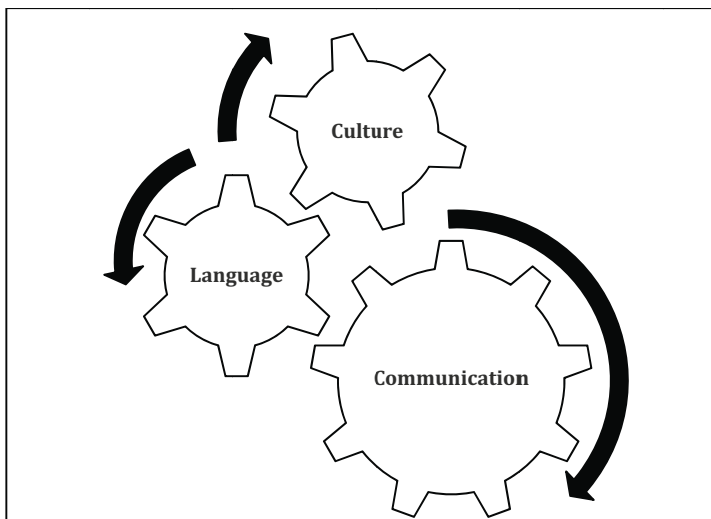


Figure 1: Communication is both the means and purpose of acquiring language and culture

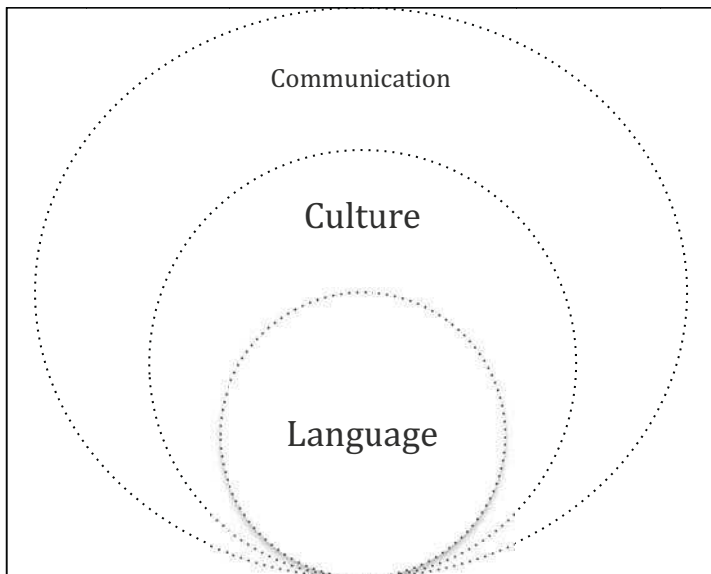


Figure 2: Language is at the core of human existence

set within an (inter)cultural frame. Especially in a cultural or intercultural curriculum, language should remain the core focus and traditional communicative tasks in FL the foundation of classroom activity.

II. A Case for intercultural education

There are at least three overlapping schools of thought that seek to establish the centrality of culture in FL education: critical pedagogy (e.g. Crawford and McLaren 2003), ethnography (e.g. Erickson 1996; Hall, J.K. 1999; Riggensbach 1999; Saville-Troike 1996; Schiffrin 1996), and intercultural education (IE) (e.g. Bennett et al. 2003; Borrelli 1991; Buttjes 1991; Byram 1991, 1997; Chick 1996; Damen 2003; Dunnnett, Dubin and Lezberg 1986; Kordes 1991; Paige 1993; and Smith et al. 2003). Each of these broad approaches derives its definition of culture from cultural anthropology in that they each focus on a “subjective culture” present in “subjective reality” as manifested in the “material culture” observable in “empirical reality” (Fig. 3). They each also seek to adopt both a “cultural specific” (to develop “cultural awareness” of a specific target culture) and a “cultural general” (to develop ICC) approach, in which there is a dual focus on the cultural knowledge necessary to better understand specific FL communities and on the skills necessary for interacting with all speakers of the FL. Though individually they set disparate and often abstract goals, taken collectively they begin to offer practical solutions to the issues faced by instructors.

Critical pedagogy is very broad in scope in that it aims to enlighten students on the nature of cultural processes and instil the ability to critically analyse all phenomena in terms of their contexts and from multiple frames of reference via hermeneutics and phenomenology. The ultimate goal is the subversion of hegemonic practices, the emancipation and empowerment of subcultures, and the elimination of prejudice, discrimination and hegemonies. Feminist scholars extend the movement to what might be called “critical feminism” in language instruction (e.g. Freeman and McElhinny 1996). But most arguments in favour of critical pedagogy offer few recommendations for teachers. Critical pedagogy might best be described as a statement of purpose for the culture movement.

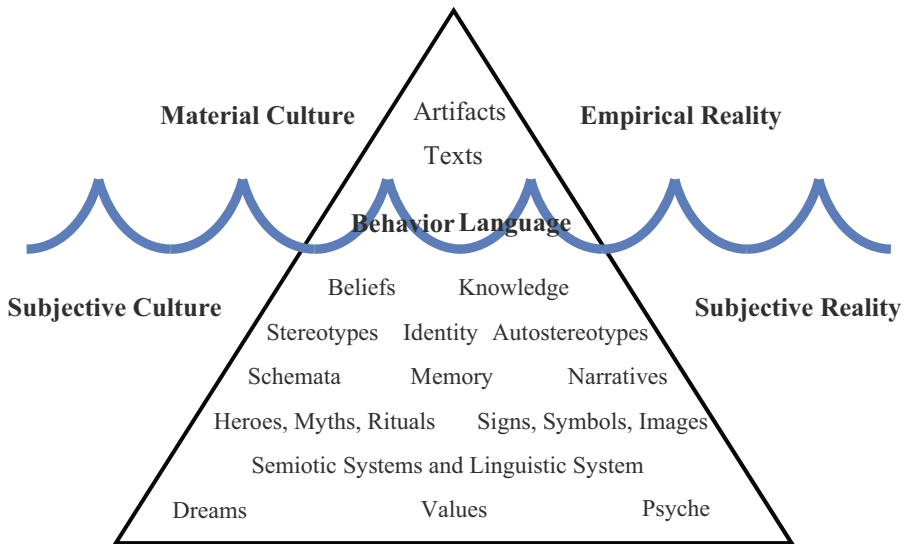


Figure 3: The Iceberg Model of culture (adapted from Rogers and Steinfatt, 1998)

The implementation of social scientific methods such as discourse analysis and microethnography in the language classroom constitutes a pragmatic attempt to enlighten students on the sociolinguistic, sociocultural and sociopolitical implications of communication in the FL by turning them into “ethnographers” and “language researchers.” Students are to be trained in basic research methods and are expected to conduct “mini research projects” during their encounters with the FL. Thus, proponents of discourse and ethnographic analysis provide numerous concrete methods and tasks. Yet these methods tend to have many limitations in an FL context in which students do not yet have the linguistic and communicative skills to conduct such inquiries in the target language or are not immersed in the target language and culture so as to make such observations with regularity. The use of recorded authentic interactions between members of the FL community or having students conduct research in their own communities (e.g. Erickson 1996; Schiffrin 1996), the analysis of film and television (e.g. Hall, J.K. 1999; Judd 1999; Scollon, R. 1999) and the use of tandem learning and internet communication technologies to facilitate autonomous learning via interaction with NSs (e.g. Little and Brammerts 1996)⁷, can all clearly be used to expose the interface of language, culture and communication

across contexts, but are difficult to incorporate into the full range of tasks necessary in contemporary language learning.

The field of IC (see Paige 1993; Smith et al. 2003; Bennett 2005), or the study of all cross-cultural interactions, has given rise to empirically tested intercultural training programs. These training programs offer individual activities, a focused methodology and detailed guidelines for the instruction of ICC. The theoretical foundation of most programs is Bennett's Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) (Appendix 1), which can be used to inform FL teachers as to the appropriateness and relevance of materials and tasks. Furthermore, the central goal of ICC, and by extension IE, is to understand and minimize miscommunication across cultures on all micro and macro levels, and this aim encompasses the intentions and methodologies of both critical pedagogy and ethnography. In terms of placement and assessment, Bennett has developed an Intercultural Development Inventory, which is a statistically validated psychometric instrument for measuring Intercultural Sensitivity/Competence (See, for instance, the extensive reference and use of Bennett's model in Hu and Byram 2009).

Therefore, the real challenge to integrating intercultural learning into FL instruction is applying the methods of critical pedagogy, discourse analysis, microethnography, and IE without undermining the existing goals of FL curricula, i.e. the attainment of fluency and accuracy in the FL and the development of linguistic and communicative competence across the four skills: reading, writing, speaking and listening. Yet in many cases, such activities would merely need to be translated into the target language and incorporated or turned into language lessons. One simple example, which I have frequently used on the first day of beginner language courses, is to turn a communicative language lesson about nationalities, descriptive adjectives and describing oneself and others into an activity that simultaneously requires students to construct stereotypes (negative and/or positive) about other nationalities (i.e. an intercultural learning activity that fosters the development from denial to defence).

III. A case for an integrated model

Embracing the inseparability of language and culture in FL instruction necessitates a broad and adaptable model that fully integrates language and culture pedagogy, accounts for all levels of FL instruction and serves to guide task, lesson, syllabus, and curriculum design. There are several models in the literature which outline the inherent link between acculturation and language acquisition (e.g. Action and de Felix 1986;

Gonzalez 2004) and the development of ICC and language acquisition (e.g. Witte 2009); there are numerous policy statements of IE and calls to action which outline the challenges and goals of IE and its assessment, especially in the EU (e.g. Byram and Zarate 1995; Byram et al. 2002; MLA 2007; Council of Europe 2008; Byram 2009; Beacco et al. 2010; Lenz and Berthele 2010, and Levine and Phillips 2010); and there are countless suggestions for individual activities to develop cultural awareness and/or ICC, most recently of the ethnographic and intercultural sort referenced above. Yet, there are no widely disseminated models that piece it all together to demonstrate how linguistic competence, communicative competence and ICC might be taught *simultaneously* from the most basic to the most advanced levels of language instruction. The most widely circulated publications call for more culture and discuss the challenges and goals, sometimes offering broad guidelines for curricula or task design and assessment, without outlining how intercultural language teaching might occur in the target language at various levels of proficiency. In the absence of such guidance, language instructors, especially at the beginner and early intermediate levels, continue to fend for themselves when it comes to teaching culture and ICC in the FL. That said, the groundwork for such integrated models has existed for over two decades.

The most directly and indirectly influential model of teaching language and culture in North America and Europe is Michael Byram's (1991, 1997) model of teaching skills and knowledge, represented by four interrelated content areas (Fig. 4). The model is paradigmatic of most suggestions for integrating culture in the FL classroom. The basic premise of the model can be summarized as follows: "to teach culture without language is fundamentally flawed and to separate language and culture teaching is to imply that an FL can be treated in the early learning stages as if it were self-contained and independent of other socio-cultural phenomena" (Byram 1991, 18). Yet although Byram claims that "[l]earning must be a clear approximation to first language and culture acquisition," implying "direct experience" (ibid. 18-19), he maintains that the students' first language (L1) can be used for comparative analysis. Byram calls for the use of the FL to teach the language and experience the culture, whereas L1 can be used to reflect on experiences with the FL and foreign cultures. Furthermore, most of the language learning and cultural experience is to take place outside of the classroom, within the context of homework assignments, study abroad, travel and a life-long dedication to language and culture learning.

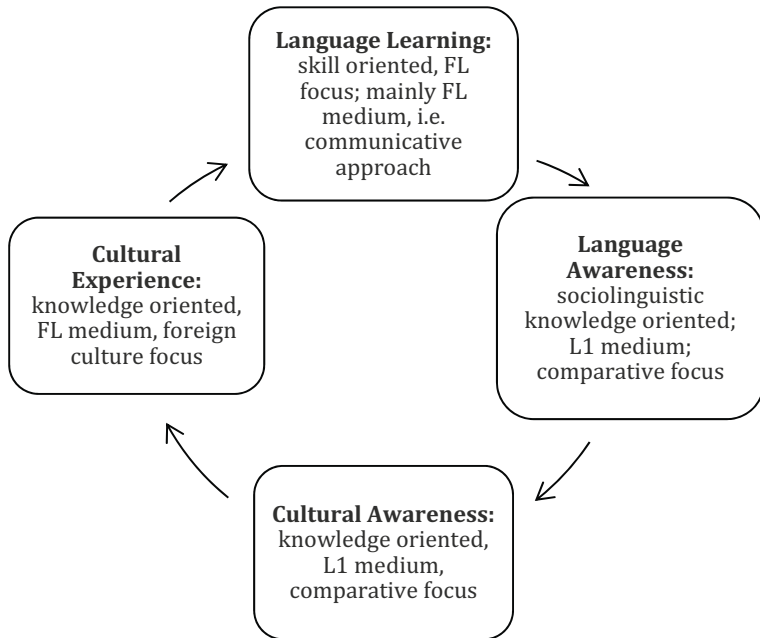


Figure 4: Byram's integrated model of teaching language and culture (1991)

Byram's work has been profoundly influential in curriculum policy in the EU—it is the inspiration of the *Autobiography of Intercultural Encounters* (Council of Europe, 2009) and central to the EU's official policy on IE—but its full implementation has been somewhat limited in Europe, especially in higher education, and applying his model to FL instruction in the US is near impossible. With the exception of Spanish and in some cases French, it is difficult for North American students to come into direct contact with members of the target linguistic community, as it is cost and time prohibitive to plan a field trip or weekend excursion to a community where the language is spoken. Though Europeans tend to be more internationally-minded than Americans, most experiences abroad are short stays for field trips, tourism or business, where only a minority of the best students have the opportunity to take longer sojourns via EU exchange programs⁸. It would seem if Western secondary school and university students do not “experience” the target language and culture in the language classroom, it is likely they will not experience much at all, at least not in a supportive educational environment. Considering the fact

that there has also been a recent re-emergence of deductive grammar instruction to deal with the issue of fossilization, talking about the FL and culture in the students' L1 quickly diminishes the amount of class time actually spent using the language to develop accuracy and fluency in the four skills. Byram's model essentially requires instructors to prepare students so that they might learn from real encounters. This should be the ultimate goal of instruction, but we must accept the fact that those real encounters will occur neither immediately nor regularly for most students. We must accept that very few of Byram's concerns can be addressed, unless we either exponentially increase the amount of money and time spent on FLs and cultures—which is unlikely in the foreseeable future—*or* carefully integrate facets of his model into traditional interactive-communicative tasks.

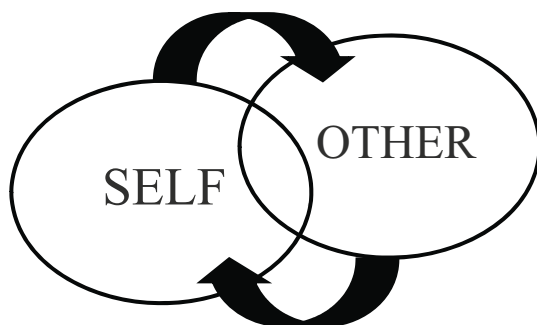


Figure 5: Kramersch's model requires the shifting of perspectives (1993, 2003)

The second most influential model of language and culture instruction in North America and Europe is Claire Kramersch's model of "teaching at the cultural faultline" (1993, 2003). Kramersch is a pillar in both cultural studies and the sociolinguistic/sociocultural realm of SLA, and her insights are an inspiration for critical pedagogy in FL instruction. Kramersch's body of work calls for classroom tasks designed to enlighten students on cultural processes, especially the role of context and the divergent perspectives that others bring to all acts of communication. This is accomplished by requiring the students to adopt the perspective of *Other* (Fig. 5)—in the tradition of phenomenology, critical sociology and ethnography—from a "third place" between languages and cultures. Most importantly, Kramersch gives concrete demonstrations of how language and

culture might come together in traditional communicative tasks. The most basic example she offers is to have students perform a simple narrative from the perspective of its multiple voices, so as to gain a deeper understanding and more precise interpretation of what the text is supposed to mean. A slightly more complex example would have students interpret a narrative individually before having all students present their interpretations to the class. The subtle differences in interpretations across classroom participants then serves as a catalyst for a discussion of cultural perspectives, which concludes with an anticipation and/or demonstration of how members of the FL community would tend to interpret the narrative on their own terms.

The greatest strength of Kramsch's approach is that it successfully unites language and culture in communicative tasks conducted entirely in the FL. The weakness is that it is most relevant for literary studies. Although Kramsch is one of the driving forces behind the social and cultural turn in SLA and FL pedagogy, and although she has recently expanded her model to include linguistic autobiographies (2009)⁹, her critical pedagogy requires extensive adaptation for most of the world's language programs—not to say that the model could not or should not be expanded to other genres. Her approach seems to be most concerned with teaching literary studies to American university students and for this reason it has had limited impact on intermediate and basic language instruction and programs in which literature is not emphasized.

The least influential, yet most complete model of an integrative approach to language and culture is that proposed by Janet and Milton Bennett (Bennett et al. 2003). The Bennetts suggest adopting and adapting established techniques used in intercultural training programs and integrating them into traditional language instruction. They suggest that Milton Bennett's DMIS should be referenced in the design of classroom tasks, to ensure that students engage in activities that are appropriate in terms of their ability to process and cope with cultural difference. Additionally, they suggest aligning their model to established language proficiency guidelines in an attempt to simultaneously inform curriculum designers on both the students' ability to perceive, understand and cope with cultural difference and their ability to do so in the FL. Although their proposed model would allow for a truly integrated approach to language and culture in the classroom, from the most basic to the most advanced levels of instruction, and although all trends and models discussed thus far could be included in such a model, I have been unable to locate any attempts to follow their advice to-date. The paper will therefore conclude by describing a model that attempts to align the DMIS with the two most

widely accepted proficiency guidelines—the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines (ACTFL 1999, 2001, 2002 and 2012) and the Common European Framework (Council of Europe 2001)—while taking all insights discussed in this paper into consideration, as an initial attempt at an overarching set of guidelines that fully unites language, culture and communication in the classroom.

IV. Toward an integrated approach to language, culture and communication

Appendix 2 presents a draft of an integrated model to language and intercultural pedagogy I developed while teaching German at the University of Cincinnati from 2006 to 2009. The model is divided into three columns. The first column describes a level of ICC based upon Bennett’s DMIS (Bennett 1993 and 2004) and offers broad guidelines for planning lessons and tasks intended to foster the transition to the next level. The suggestions for task design are inspired by Bennett’s work, insights from research on stereotypes (Allport 2000; Øyvind 1999) and value systems (Kluckhohn 1954; Hofstede 2004; Hills 2006), and the aggregate work of Krashen (1993, 2003 and 2009) and Byram (1991, 1997 and 2009). Also informative were insights from the Five C’s (see ACTFL 1996 and Phillips 2003), critical pedagogy (see Crawford and McLaren 2003), and ethnographic methods as a learning tool (see Erickson 1996; Riggenbach 1999; Saville-Troike 1996; Schiffrin 1996).

The second column follows the recommendation of the Bennetts (Bennett et. al. 2003) to apply the DMIS to FL education by combining the model with an established set of language proficiency guidelines. The descriptors of language proficiency levels used here are based on the ACTFL (ACTFL 1999, 2001, 2002 and 2012) and the CEFR (Council of Europe 2001) guidelines, where the alignment of the two sets of guidelines is based upon personal experience teaching in higher education in the U.S., Germany and Italy. Whereas the first column offers guidelines for the creation of lessons and tasks that foster the development of ICC, the second column offers guidelines for lessons and tasks that foster the development of linguistic and communicative competence in the FL. These guidelines are based upon both the ACTFL and CEFR descriptors and student-centred, interactive, collaborative and task-based teaching methods which place equal emphasis on developing accuracy and fluency in the FL across the four language skills: reading, writing, speaking and listening (see Ellis 1997 and 2003; Lee and VanPatten 2003 and Lightbown and Spada 2006). Such methods are based upon the input-

interaction-output model of SLA (see Block 2003; Gass 1997), in which written and spoken discourse (i.e. input) is adapted to the learners' proficiency level in order to make target linguistic features comprehensible; the negotiation of meaning in the classroom (i.e. interaction) is carefully controlled so as to require students to cognitively process those linguistic features; and students are challenged to make themselves comprehensible to others (i.e. output) as they reproduce those linguistic features in collaborative-interactive tasks, during and after which they receive various forms of corrective feedback. As students advance in proficiency, the input, interaction and output become more authentic and open. This model however accepts that advanced levels of proficiency are acquired not in the classroom, but via real-life encounters, and thus the underlying objective is "learner strategy training" (O'Malley and Chamot 1990) and training "learners as researchers" (Erickson 1996; Hall, J.K. 1999; Riggensbach 1999; Saville-Troike 1996; Schiffirin 1996) most notably in ethnographic methods and learning via interaction. It is assumed that lower levels of proficiency are achievable with little cultural awareness and ICC, while advanced proficiency is not achievable without such knowledge and skills. Thus, by aligning intercultural learning and language learning, this model simultaneously addresses the sociolinguistic and sociocultural dimensions of SLA (see Block 2003).

The aim of this model, as outlined in the third column, is a set of guidelines for the development of tasks, lesson plans, syllabi, textbooks and curricula that take into account students' ability to cope with and learn from (a) perceived differences between their own cultures and foreign cultures, and (b) new examples of the FL during real-life interactions in the FL. Most importantly, care was taken to align the development of intercultural sensitivity with the development of language proficiency. Each number on the far left represents one of seven levels of intercultural sensitivity and a corresponding level of linguistic and communicative competence. Each row describes, in the first column, the cognitive/affective and, in the second column, the communicative/linguistic competencies at that level and the types of activities required to develop to the next level. The timeline for each level is based upon personal experience as both student and instructor: although students enter language programs at different levels, although some proceed more rapidly, and although some finish a program developed beyond expectations, students completing the FL requirement at a university rarely exceed the intermediate low to mid-range on the ACTFL scale and B1 on the CEFR scale, even if they are tested at a higher level. Students possessing a B.A. in an FL or completing a degree that involves more intensive language instruction rarely exceed

the intermediate high-advanced low (B2) range. Only students who spend significant time abroad, take care to interact with native and advanced speakers, and develop effective autonomous learning strategies reach the levels of intermediate high/B2+, advanced/C1 and superior/C2. The same could be said for the ethnorelative stages of intercultural sensitivity. The sociocultural and psychological issues of multilingual and multicultural communicative contexts have to be adequately dealt with for higher levels of linguistic competence, communicative competence and ICC to even be conceivable. For this reason, the two developmental columns are adjustable, but inseparable.

The goal of levels 1-3, or of a basic language program through the university, is to prepare students to gain from authentic interactions in the FL, implying that students must be urged to complete a study abroad program thereafter. The primary goal of levels 3-4, or of the major/minor, is to develop students who are successful in and dedicated to learning from real-life encounters. Levels beyond this point are, in most cases, attainable only as a result of a life-long dedication to language and intercultural learning and many years of autonomous study. In other words, the goal of FL teachers should be to help students become intermediate learners that have come to accept foreign cultures as equally valid alternatives to their own, so that they are prepared for life-long autonomous study.

It should, however, be stressed that both the organization into “levels” and the “alignment” of the two strands of development is specific to the author’s personal experience as learner and educator in universities in the United States, Germany and Italy. Some language programs have a population of beginner language learners who are much further developed in terms of intercultural sensitivity by virtue of living in a multilingual and/or multicultural community, while there are a number of high school and underclass university students who are quite proficient in their specific FLs, but due to normal affective and cognitive development and limited intercultural experiences are not interculturally competent. *Therefore, the alignment of the two strands of development and the organization of the model into defined levels is flexible to the context of instruction; in other words, it is conceived as a model of desired targets and not a model of natural cognitive development.* But regardless of how the model is restructured, the ultimate goal remains to systematically prepare students for autonomous, life-long intercultural and language learning in their private lives.

Conclusion

The *Report from the MLA ad hoc committee on foreign languages* (MLA 2007) and the *White paper on intercultural dialogue* (Council of Europe 2008) have challenged Western institutions of education to move toward intercultural curricula. In a world struggling to cope with mass migration, the depletion of natural resources, ethnic cleansing and international terrorism, the old instrumental motivations for teaching and learning FLs and cultures no longer suffice. Global challenges necessitate global thinking and international cooperation, and FL education is in the best position to develop and implement pragmatic tasks, courses and curricula that attain the goals of multilingual and multicultural societies and translingual and transcultural global citizens. Most importantly, the burden should not fall solely upon the educators of the so-called “critical languages” that are to serve strategic national interests abroad, but the more “traditional” languages, with their higher enrolments, though decreasing funding, should lead the way. It is idealistic to assume that all language learners will become near-native speakers of the languages they study. But it is necessary that language teachers enlighten them on the relationship between language, culture and communication and foster linguistic, communicative and intercultural communication competence. The incomplete model presented in this paper is not intended as the definitive solution to the continued separate treatment of language and culture, but it is hoped that it at the very least provokes further reflection, discussion and action.

Appendix 1: Bennett’s DMIS (1993, 2004)

| Ethnocentric Stages | |
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| <p>Denial: a result of little to no contact with other cultures, either by coincidence or choice</p> | <p>A. Isolation: has "benign stereotypes" and needs exposure to cultural difference</p> <p>B. Separation: has erected physical or social barriers and needs exposure to "Big-C" to facilitate differentiation (1993, 32-34)</p> |
| <p>Defence: difference has been acknowledged, but one seeks to maintain one’s worldview</p> | <p>A. Denigration: forms negative stereotypes and "a derogatory attitude toward difference"</p> <p>B. Superiority: emphasizes the positives of one's own culture and needs to focus on these positives, followed by the equally positive aspects of the foreign culture(s)</p> <p>C. Reversal: Denigration of own culture and superiority of foreign culture(s) is a possible outcome; needs to see the “commonality of cultures”, the “generally good in all cultures” and “the value and vulnerability that all human beings share” (1993, 40-41)</p> |
| <p>Minimization: while cultural diversity is accepted and not negatively evaluated, it is dangerously trivialized as being less important than universals</p> | <p>A. Physical Universalism: assumes that physical and biological similarities results in mutually understandable verbal, nonverbal and mental behaviour, but ignores “the culturally unique social context that enmeshes such behaviour in a particular worldview” (1993, 43) and needs to be made explicitly aware of the necessity of social context</p> <p>B. Transcendent Universalism: assumes that “all human beings, whether they know it or not, are products of some single transcendent principle, law or imperative” (1993, 43) and needs to develop cultural self-awareness, followed by an illustration of substantial cultural differences, preferably with the help of members of other cultures</p> |

| Ethnorelative Stages | |
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| <p>Acceptance: “cultural difference is both acknowledged and respected” (1993, 47)</p> | <p>A. Respect for behavioural difference: takes note of the cultural context of foreign behaviour and an attempt is made to evaluate behaviour within its cultural context</p> <p>B. Respect for value difference: values of other cultures are realized and accepted as equally valid, at least in their own cultural context; values are not viewed as universals or something that is possessed, but as the process of “assigning worth”; needs practical application of ethnorelativism in simulations</p> |
| <p>Adaptation: one accepts that “one does not have culture, one engages in it” (1993, 52); accumulates a “repertoire of cultural alternatives” (1993, 52) and develops the ability to shift frames of reference</p> | <p>A. Empathy: possesses the ability to shift frames of reference from context to context and adopt other’s perspectives; development proceeds from constant gathering of knowledge about another culture and practice of IC</p> <p>B. Pluralism: becomes bi- or multicultural and demonstrates “Natural Empathy”; (Accidental pluralism does not result in intercultural sensitivity/competence, as it does not guarantee a positive attitude toward difference nor conscious ethnorelativism.); Actual face-to-face interaction will result in continued development</p> |
| <p>Integration: implies coming to grips with a multiplicity of realities, with internal culture shock and cultural marginality; realizes that “identity emerges from the act of defining identity itself” (1993, 60); ≈ “Third Culture” “Marginal Man,” etc.</p> | <p>A. Contextual Evaluation: can pick and choose from “many cultural options” in order to adapt to a given situation</p> <p>B. Constructive Marginality: can step outside of all cultural frames of reference due to a complete acceptance of cultural relativism and the notion of subjective reality, and can therefore assume the role of mediator between cultures. NOT “Encapsulated Marginality”: the “state of being stuck on the margins of two or more cultures without a conscious choice” (1993, 64)</p> |

Appendix 2: An integrated model of language and intercultural learning

| | INTERCULTURAL LEARNING AND DEVELOPMENT OF INTERCULTURAL SENSITIVITY | LANGUAGE LEARNING AND DEVELOPMENT OF LINGUISTIC AND COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE | GOALS AND LIMITATIONS OF AN INTERCULTURAL CURRICULUM |
|---|---|---|--|
| 1 | <p>Starts at DENIAL, or is unaware of the fundamental differences between C1 and C2</p> <p><i>Quickly</i> moves to DEFENCE as encounters superficial differences between C1 and C2, solidifies stereotypes of the people of C2 and becomes aware of the stereotypes people of C2 have of the people of C1</p> | <p>Starts with NO COMPETENCE (A0) in FL</p> <p><i>Quickly</i> moves to NOVICE (A1) as is exposed to and pushed to produce words and chunks in very simplistic, but meaningful tasks, engages in rote memorization and learns strategies for negotiating meaning in FL</p> | <p><i>Only possible</i> if student has lived in an isolated community without any knowledge of FL/C2, but is an assumed starting point for all beginning instruction</p> |
| 2 | <p>Starts at DEFENCE, or believes that both C1 and C2 are homogenous and static, and that C1 is fundamentally superior to C2</p> <p><i>Systematically</i> moves to MINIMIZATION as encounters the many positives of both C1 and C2, and begins to rationalize cultural differences and critically analyse the validity of stereotypes from both sides</p> | <p>Starts at NOVICE (A1), or can produce memorized chunks in highly structured communicative tasks, and can begin to negotiate for meaning in FL</p> <p><i>Systematically</i> moves to INTERMEDIATE LOW-MID (A2+/B1) as is exposed to and pushed to produce simplified examples of FL in highly structured communicative tasks intended to emphasize both the meanings of words and the significance of forms</p> | <p><i>Ideally</i> reached by the end of the first course in a basic language program, at the latest</p> |

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| 3 | <p>Starts at MINIMIZATION, or believes people of C1 and C2 are inherently similar, in spite of the differences experienced and comes to view stereotypes as being erroneous beliefs about others</p> <p>-----</p> <p>-----</p> <p><i>Struggles</i> to move to ACCEPTANCE as encounters the most profound differences between C1 and C2 (especially underlying value systems) and the plurality of C2s (subcultures) within all language communities, comes to understand the experiential causes for those differences and the role of context, develops a broader conception of self and other and begins to form more complex and stereotypes to compensate</p> | <p>Starts at INTERMEDIATE LOW-MID (A2+/B1), or can start to creatively produce complete sentences with varied grammatical accuracy, demonstrating at the very least an awareness of grammar and the presence of a developing linguistic system, and can negotiate meaning and begin to notice meaning and form in context</p> <p>-----</p> <p>-----</p> <p><i>Systematically</i> moves to INTERMEDIATE HIGH (B1+/B2) as is exposed to and pushed to produce grammatical sentences in gradually more authentic, complex and open-ended tasks—still with an explicit focus on form—, learns to pay attention to both the linguistic features and the role of context, and starts to learn how to self-correct mistakes and errors via communicative interaction with more advanced and NSs</p> | <p><i>Ideally</i> reached by the end of a basic language program (or university/high school minimum FL requirement), at the latest</p> <p>-----</p> <p>-----</p> |
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| 4 | <p>Starts at ACCEPTANCE, or views C1 and <i>all</i> C2s as equally valid ways of perceiving and reacting to the world, at least in their own contexts, and accepts stereotypes as “necessary evils” that need to be kept flexible in dealing with others</p> <p><i>Systematically</i> moves to ADAPTATION as encounters C2s on their own terms and begins to consciously and unconsciously appropriate various features thereof in order to better understand, communicate and/or integrate</p> | <p>Starts at INTERMEDIATE HIGH (B1+/B2) or has at least begun to “learn how to learn” via interaction in order to better communicate and begins to produce strings of sentences in coherent, connected discourse during interaction</p> <p><i>Systematically</i> moves to ADVANCED (B2+/C1) as exposes self to and pushes self to produce strings of grammatical sentences in a range of authentic contexts, actively attempts to self-correct and acquire FL via interaction with more advanced and NSs, and, begins to intensely study the formal rules of FL</p> | <p><i>Likely</i> reached with the successful completion of a language degree program (Major/Minor) that offers some content-based immersion courses, opportunities for extracurricular interaction in the target language, and, most importantly, some sort of study trip abroad.</p> |
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| 5 | <p>Starts at ADAPTATION, or comes to realize the emergent and transitional nature of culture; can empathize with the perspectives of C2s, and can begin to apply explicit and implicit knowledge of appropriate C2s to interactions with NSs of the FL</p> <p><i>Might</i> move to INTEGRATION as a result of a dedication to life-long intercultural and language learning in virtually every interaction with others</p> | <p>Starts at ADVANCED (B2+/C1) or is capable of sustaining discourse and making up for limited mistakes and errors by self-correcting and actively recycling new features of FL during interaction with advanced and NSs</p> <p><i>Systematically</i> moves to SUPERIOR (C1+) by continuing to interact with other advanced and NSs and making a conscious effort to improve all linguistic aspects</p> | <p><i>Possibly</i> reached after several years of formal and autonomous study including content-based immersion courses and at least one long-term study abroad experience (exceptional undergraduate study), <i>more likely</i> a result of advanced study (M.A. /PhD.) and/or multiple or extended stays abroad</p> |
| 6 7 | <p>Has reached INTEGRATION if can bring multiple valid cultural frames to every situation, maintains a critical distance to all forms of behaviour and utterances, while still capable of successfully interacting with others, i.e. embraces the true nature of identity and culture</p> | <p>Starts at SUPERIOR (C1+), or the ability to comfortably interact with and learn from natives</p> <p><i>Might</i> move to DISTINGUISHED (C2), or native-like competence, as a result of a dedication to life-long intercultural and language learning in every interaction with others</p> | <p><i>Possibly</i> reached only after several years of advanced study including content-based immersion courses and/or extended stays abroad</p> <p><i>Results unlikely</i> even after many years of exposure</p> |

Notes

1. In foreign language pedagogy, “Big C” is often used to refer to “high culture” (e.g. a nation’s literary tradition) and “Little C” refers to the cultural values and the day-to-day behavioural patterns of a community.
2. Scholars and educators often make the distinction between a “foreign language” and a “second language.” An FL is a language that is being learned in a broader context in which the language is not an L1 of the

surrounding community, e.g. teaching English in Japan, while an SL is a language that is being learned in a context in which the language is an L1 of the surrounding community, e.g. teaching English in the United States. In praxis, the distinction is not unequivocal, as it is difficult to define a “native” language given national and regional dialects and the idiosyncrasies of language users across contexts. The distinction is further problematized by fact that many languages, like English as lingua franca, are increasingly used as vehicular languages in multilingual contexts. Yet making this distinction remains crucial due to the fact that there are profound implications for learner motivation, learner contact with the language and native speakers (NSs), and learner affective and subjective responses to the language and the speech community. This paper refers only to FL pedagogy, though there are numerous tangents to SL pedagogy.

3. The Five C’s are the national standards for foreign language education adopted by the *American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Language* (ACTFL) and associate organizations in the early 1990s in the United States. The standards called for focusing on **Communication** in foreign languages, developing knowledge and understanding of other **Cultures**, establishing **Connections** to other disciplines, making **Comparisons** between students’ L1s and cultures and their foreign languages and cultures, and fostering participation in multilingual **Communities**. Thus the Five C’s can be seen as a major impetus for incorporating cultural content in the foreign language curriculum in the United States. But the eleven-member task force that developed the standards was very careful not to be overtly prescriptive and the actual curricula and methods were to be developed at the grass roots level. The downside of a bottom-up approach is the resulting inconsistency and discrepancy in the application of the standards in public school systems, and marginal adherence in higher education. More importantly, the Five C’s allow for the use of English to teach cultural content.
4. The CEFR levels can be seen as a response to the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines in the United States. The ACTFL Guidelines were first drafted in 1982 as an adaptation of the Interagency Language Roundtable Scale – the proficiency scale used by the Department of Defense and the Foreign Service Institute in the US since the 1950s – initially for use in higher education. The CEFR levels evolved out of efforts by the Council of Europe to unify methods of learning, teaching and assessing languages in the EU during the 1990s. There are two essential differences between ACTFL and CEFR that are relevant here: (1) due to its purpose, CEFR is much more prescriptive in nature than the ACTFL guidelines or the Five C’s, even though it explicitly calls for bottom-up implementation as well; and (2) CEFR has become much more influential in Europe and internationally perhaps in part due to its prescriptive nature, but more likely due to the existing bureaucracies for language teaching and assessment in Europe. Most European nations have institutions that promote the study of their national languages and cultures abroad, such as

the Goethe Institute in Germany, Alliance française in France, Instituto Cervantes in Spain, and the British Council in the UK. These institutions have largely embraced CEFR and have aligned their international language certificates to the CEFR guidelines. The other major international language certificates (e.g. Trinity College London, Cambridge English, Certificazione di Italiano come Lingua Straniera, Test DaF, etc.) have likewise been aligned to CEFR. Simultaneously, the Bologna Process has resulted in many European universities using CEFR as descriptors for their language requirements for admission and graduation, and all of the above has forced the major European publishers to align their language teaching material to CEFR. As a result, even exam boards in the U.S. (e.g. the Educational Testing Service) have been forced to align their language exams to CEFR in order to remain competitive internationally and many American universities are now adopting CEFR, rather than ACTFL, as their internal proficiency standards. Although its adoption and adaptation varies across EU countries, CEFR has emerged as the *de facto* proficiency guidelines internationally. But like ACTFL, CEFR focuses on language proficiency and only identifies intercultural education and cultural instruction as parallel goals. Subsequent publications have tried to integrate more culture into the curriculum, but these later prescriptions have not yet trickled down in most countries.

5. It is difficult to say where this term originates, but a “culture corner” commonly refers to the practice of setting aside a small section in course book units or a few minutes in lesson plans to discuss some cultural aspect, ideally of direct relevance to the thematic content of the language lesson. The culture corner is perhaps the most rudimentary method of incorporating culture into the language curriculum and has been used for decades around the world, but it does not, in my opinion, constitute a truly integrated method to language and culture as most examples, especially at lower levels of instruction, require students to engage the cultural content in their L1s and have little relevance to language learning. Even at more advanced levels of language instruction in which culture corners are taught in the target language, these types of cultural activities are compartmentalized from language learning and tend to focus on High Culture or bits and pieces of useful cultural information.
6. Most contemporary foreign language teaching methods are based upon the input-interaction-output model of second language acquisition, which emphasizes the role of communication in the development of accuracy and fluency. Lessons and units that follow current SLA theory are very carefully designed and implemented, even if to students and third-party observers they sometimes seem to just consist in reading, writing, listening and speaking in the foreign language. In simple terms, spoken and written discourse is adapted to make target linguistic features comprehensible to learners; the negotiation of meaning in classroom interaction is controlled so as to have students cognitively process these target linguistic features as they use them to communicate; and students are challenged to produce

these target features in an attempt to make themselves comprehensible to others and they then receive various forms of instruction and corrective feedback. The “culture corner” method separates cultural and intercultural learning from this process and thereby treats culture as something separate from the types of communicative acts in which learners are engaged.

7. See also the work at the International Tandem Network:
<http://www.cisi.unito.it/tandem/email/idxeng00.html>
8. An estimated 4% of all European university students now participate in Erasmus <http://ec.europa.eu/education/erasmus/doc/stat/1011/report.pdf>.
9. In Kramsch’s approach, a linguistic autobiography is a collection of texts that challenge learners to reflect on the symbolic meanings they assign to the FL, which, from their “third place,” are often very different than the denotative and connotative meanings that NSs commonly associate with the language. Kramsch argues that such activity fosters the development of “symbolic competence,” which not only motivates learners and increases their linguistic resources, but in fact deepens their linguistic knowledge of the FL and enhances their communicative competence.

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