Language Learning & Language Teaching

Pedagogical Norms for Second and Foreign Language Learning and Teaching

Edited by Susan Gass
Kathleen Bardovi-Harlig
Sally Sieloff Magnan and
Joel Walz

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Volume 5

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Studies in Honour of Albert Valdman
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Introduction

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The concept of *pedagogical norm* has been in existence since the 1960s. Grounded in both sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic principles, pedagogical norms guide the selection and sequencing of target language features for language teaching and learning. Such selection principles are more important than ever today as language teachers and material developers strive to incorporate an increasing number of varied aspects of language into the curriculum and to deliver it to a widening range of students. This book both situates and expands on this concept highlighting the interaction of research and pedagogy. Pedagogical norms involve research into the norms of actual language use and the implementation of those norms for pedagogical purposes, from designing textbook materials to creating daily classroom activities. The intended audience of this volume reflects the diversity of interests represented by the intersection of research and pedagogy. It is aimed at researchers researching the norms of language use and at practioners, including teachers, teacher-educators, and materials developers, who ultimately use research findings in a pedagogical context.

In the 1950s, the years leading up to the development of the concept of pedagogical norm, the language teaching field was firmly grounded in structural linguistics and the teaching of grammatical structures was paramount. The emphasis was on teaching grammar, with structures often being sequenced on the basis of a contrastive analysis between the target language and the native language of the students. The goal of language teaching was to develop new language habits in the students. To this end, there was little use of creative language and error-free utterances were the goal. Further, the targeted grammatical structures to be taught were those of the "standard" language and little thought was given to what the actual standard was.

The entire research climate concerning language, language learning, and language teaching began to change in the late 1950s and 1960s with Chomsky's writings (e.g., 1957, 1965). Language was viewed as a cognitive system (as opposed to a system that relied heavily on the concept of stimulus-response theory) that is part of the mental structure of all human beings. With regard to language learning, there was a concomitant, profound change in the view of how languages (first and second) were learned. The change emphasized the innate system that, it was claimed, all human beings have from birth and which allows language to develop on the basis of language-specific input. With regard to second language acquisition, the related debate focused on the extent to which this system is still available for post-pubescent language learners.

At the same time that Chomsky was introducing his concept of language, work in sociolinguistics was beginning to take hold. Variation was recognized as a significant part of languages that depended on such concepts as social status of interactants, the relationship between interactants, and the context of an interaction (see, in particular, work by Fasold and Shuy 1970; Labov 1966, 1967, 1970; Shuy 1967; Shuy, Wolfram, and Riley 1968; Wolfram 1969). The notion that all dialects are equally grammatical and that the standard language is the norm for reasons other than linguistic ones (e.g., social, economic, political) became commonplace and widely-accepted.

From a pedagogical perspective, standard languages typically have written materials as well as a codified system of pronunciation and spelling. Because non-standard languages have not been developed in this way, it is difficult to base pedagogical materials on them. Therefore, it is clear that for social and pedagogical purposes, the standard language was preferred as a teaching target. But, given the recognition of the important phenomenon of variation and dialects, the selection was not always clear cut, as is evidenced by some of the issues surrounding World Englishes, discussed in the journal with the same title (*World Englishes: Journal of English as an International and Intranational Language*).

As a cognitive approach to language was beginning to emerge and as the richness of language variation was being explored, the field of language learning was coming into existence. In early pedagogical and learning models (e.g., Lado 1957; Fries 1945, 1957), language learning was seen as a process by which new habits were instilled in learners with an emphasis on the need to eradicate errors because errors represented incorrect habits. However, the conceptualization and significance of errors took on a different role with the publication of Corder's (1967) article "The Significance of Learners' Errors". Unlike the typical view held at the time by teachers, errors, in Corder's view, are not just to be

seen as something to be eradicated, but rather can be considered important in and of themselves. Rather than being red flags, errors provide evidence of a system — that is, evidence of the state of a learner's knowledge of the second language. Similar to research on child language acquisition, second language errors were no longer seen as a reflection of faulty imitation. Rather, they represented indications of a learner's attempt to figure out some system, that is, to impose regularity on the language the learner is exposed to. As such, they are evidence of an underlying rule-governed system.

As the notion of a second-language system (Interlanguage) grew, researchers began to look at stages of development. It became clear that second and foreign language learners typically passed through natural stages as they learned another language. Many of the stages are ungrammatical (e.g., "no go") and learners were even found to "regress" from apparent correct forms to incorrect forms. This phenomenon is known as "U-shaped learning" (cf. Lightbown 1983).

The preceding discussion represents a brief synopsis of the linguistic, sociolinguistic, and psycholinguistic backdrop against which Valdman developed the concept of pedagogical norm. Briefly, a pedagogical norm is a combination of language systems and forms selected by linguists and pedagogues to serve as the immediate language target, or targets, that learners seek to acquire during their language study. In other words, pedagogical norms represent a mid-point, or series of mid-points, for learners as they progress toward acquiring native language norms. In the professional literature, they have been applied to teaching grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation, sociolinguistic differences, and notions of communicative competence.

Valdman (1989: 21) identifies four principles that guide the elaboration of pedagogical norms:

- They should reflect the actual speech of target language speakers in authentic communicative situations.
- They should conform to native speakers' idealised view of their speech use.
- They should conform to expectations of both native speakers and foreign learners concerning the type of linguistic behaviour appropriate for foreign learners.
- They should take into account processing and learning factors.

Pedagogical norms are simple in concept: select and teach a form of language that is acceptable to native speakers but easier to learn than the full native language system. Putting that apparently simple concept into practice, however, is quite complex, because, as Valdman explains "pedagogical norms are not static"

(Valdman 1989: 16); they shift as languages evolve, as international expectations for learner speech mature, and as learners progress in their second language development.

This volume revisits the notion of pedagogical norms and their various manifestations for different languages and different aspects of language in order to inform current professional discussion about expectations for native and for non-native speech and the match or mismatch between them, and also about learning processes and the students who use them. In addition to issues discussed above, norms for language teaching are becoming even more important given the increasing number of heritage language learners. They present specific needs and demand that questions of the target language and structures be addressed from a new perspective. These learners have needs unlike those of the traditional language classroom learners with whom many teachers and materials developers are familiar. For example, heritage learners come from backgrounds in which the target language is quite familiar to them from the context of their home life. This variety is very often a non-standard dialect, but nonotheless a dialect that they control reasonably well.

The volume addresses the following questions: What are appropriate goals for foreign language learning? What norms serve these goals? How might instruction help learners appreciate, understand, and eventually use language in its varied forms? What data do we need to make informed pedagogical decisions? In what directions do current studies point us? The book is divided into three sections: Defining pedagogical norms, Applying pedagogical norms, and Extending pedagogical norms. Taken together, the articles offer the most recent thought on the notion of pedagogical norm.

The first section, Defining pedagogical norms, opens with an introductory chapter by Magnan and Walz ("Pedagogical norms: Development of the concept and illustrations from French"), in which a detailed analysis of the development of the concept of pedagogical norm is provided. In the second chapter "Norms, native speakers, and reversing language shift", Spolsky provides a discussion of general issues related to norms, both linguistic norms and pedagogical norms. Spolsky provides historical context on this topic reminding us that language teaching has its origins in the teaching of sacred texts and that the norm for the language in question was the sacred language. The idea of a norm continued in secular education with some languages establishing regulatory agencies and others taking a more relaxed attitude. Not only was there concern with the establishment of language norms, norms were also of concern within the context of foreign language teaching where decisions

had to be made as to which variety of a language to teach, in most cases the prestige dialect of the educated population. Spolsky's chapter deals with the myriad issues facing those who are concerned with establishing appropriate pedagogical norms. Among the issues he confronts are those of social and local dialects, bilingual speakers, threatened languages, extinct languages, and minority languages. The language areas that he deals with span the globe. Remarkably, despite different languages and different settings (e.g., Africa, New Zealand, North America, Israel, the Caribbean), problems of establishing norms remain constant. Spolsky concludes by stating the need for norms while at the same time recognizing the diversity that exists among languages. As he states with regard to Valdman's work, we need to have a "sociolinguistically informed language pedagogy".

In "Standard, norm, and variability in language learning: A view from foreign language research", Kramsch also takes a historical perspective on norms, looking at the recent history of second and foreign language research and considering in particular the distinction between a "literate standard", most often used in foreign language teaching and "native speaker norm", the language variety used in second language teaching. She examines some basic principles of language learning and compares those with the norms of foreign language teaching in the United States, France, and Germany, noting a large discrepancy between the two. She argues for a variable pedagogical norm that will allow learners to become aware of the many variants available to speakers and reasons why one might be more appropriate than another in a given context. As she notes, the main question would then be "How much choice do learners have in selecting one grammatical or lexical form over the other and how aware are they of the meaning potential of each choice?" She extends the notion of variability away from traditional grammatical variation to include language use, levels of meaning, input modality, and context of use. Kramsch argues that we need to look at both second language and foreign language practices. Second language pedagogies turned away from the "speaking about" the language to an emphasis on communicative language use. It might be time to look at some practices in foreign language pedagogy, namely also giving the learners tools to reflect upon the language in addition to tools needed to speak it.

Auger's paper "French immersion in Montréal: Pedagogical norm and functional competence", dealing with French immersion programs in Canada, closes this section on creating linguistic and pedagogical norms. Similar to earlier work in the context of French immersion programs, Auger's interest begins with the observation that students who go through immersion programs

are not fully functional in French. Their performance in academic settings is very good and often comparable to that of native speakers of French, but one common complaint from immersion program graduates is that the many years spent learning French do not enable them to communicate with local native speakers in real-life settings such as the workplace. This is a serious problem, as functional competence in French is one of the key objectives of French-language immersion programs. She asks the questions: What can be done to remedy this deficiency? How can French-immersion programs design a curriculum that satisfies both the expectation that these graduates be able to speak *good* French and their need to communicate in naturalistic settings? Auger's paper explores how the notion of a pedagogical norm can help us design a curriculum that will make English speakers in a French-Canadian context functionally bilingual. She suggests that such a curriculum include the study of francophone Québécois literature and particularly literature that uses local language varieties.

The chapters in the second section "Applying Pedagogical Norms" apply the concept of pedagogical norm to pedagogical practices as well as to specific linguistic features. The first two chapters focus on *how* foreign language is taught, expanding the domain of the norm that has traditionally identified *what* is taught. Interpreting Valdman's fourth principle that pedagogical norms should take into account processing and learning factors, VanPatten and Lee both propose pedagogical practices that are consistent with research in input processing and findings from second language acquisition research. In "Communicative classrooms, processing instruction, and pedagogical norms", VanPatten demonstrates the importance of processing and learning factors in communicative language teaching. Surveying the basic tenets of communicative language teaching and generally accepted findings in second language acquisition research, he identifies areas of practice in communicative language teaching that are at odds with research about how foreign or second language learners acquire a language. A review of processing instruction attempts to reconcile pedagogical practice with research on second language acquisition and offers processing instruction as an option for any communication-oriented approach to language that might want to incorporate some type of focus on form. VanPatten thus brings the fourth principle of the pedagogical norm, sensitivity to processing and language learning factors, to bear on approaches to language instruction. Because processing instruction depends on the identification of the processing problems of second language learners, it too offers a perspective on *what* to teach within the approach of processing instruction, which provides one perspective on *how* to teach.

Lee challenges the pedagogical practice of withholding input until after formal presentation. In "The initial impact of reading as input for the acquisition of future tense morphology in Spanish", he demonstrates that second language learners can benefit from exposure to verbal morphology even when it has not been explicitly introduced prior to exposure. Previous first and second language reading research has demonstrated that readers can acquire new vocabulary as a result of reading. Lee extends this research to include the incidental acquisition of Spanish future tense morphology through reading in a second language. The students who participated in his study had no previous knowledge of future tense morphology so that as they read the passage used in the study they encountered the target forms for the first time. Several independent variables were manipulated: the frequency with which the target form occurred in the passages, learner-readers' orientation to the task, and cues to meaning. The effects of these variables were measured on both comprehension, using a free written recall and a multiple-choice comprehension test, and input processing, with half the subjects performing a multiple-choice recognition test and the other half a modified-cloze production test. The results indicated that all three independent variables have some effect on comprehension and input processing as measured using the form recognition test. This study underscores the importance of taking into account processing and learning when developing pedagogical practice.

The chapters that follow focus on areas of instruction, identifying the *what* of language instruction. In "Treating French intonation: Observed variation and suggestions for a pedagogical norm", Ramsey develops the rationale for the teaching of intonation using the concept of the pedagogical norm. She observes that although the pronunciation of vowels and consonants has been addressed in terms of a pedagogical norm, suprasegmental or prosodic elements have generally played a minor role in the foreign-language curriculum. This is the case even despite the fact that intonation contributes significantly to good pronunciation and can actually facilitate accurate production of second language segments. She describes the variation in French intonation observed in the speech of native speakers, as well as the intonation patterns of classroom learners of French at two levels. Using native-speaker and developmental data, she develops a pedagogical norm for French intonation. The norm is sequenced in three stages, sensitive to learners' level of linguistic competence. For example, in the medial position of declarative sentences, native speakers produce a simple rise or a complex contour ending in a rise. In contrast, beginning students do not consistently produce rising contours in the middle of sentences. At the

initial stage Ramsey suggests that teachers present two possible types of rises for this context; as the level of language learning advances, the suggestions for an appropriate pedagogical norm for medial contours become more complex and more complete.

Ossipov and Kerr close this section on applying pedagogical norms with treatments of variant word orders in French. Ossipov's concern is with left dislocation while Kerr's is somewhat broader, including left dislocation and other pragmatically based word orders in French. They both argue against the nearly exclusive attention in French classrooms to canonical word order of subject–verb–object. In "Dislocated subjects in French: A pedagogical norm", Ossipov examines three French corpora (two from France and one from Québec) to determine what the preferred dislocated constituent is (generally an NP or a tonic pronoun), what they are co-referent with (subject clitics), what the clitic pronoun is (*ce/ça*), and the extent to which left dislocation is pragmatically motivated. She outlines contexts within which it would be appropriate to encourage learners to use left dislocated sentences and presents learner data that show how left dislocated structures might cause less confusion than their attempts at canonical structures.

Kerr's work "Variant word-order constructions: To teach or not to teach? Evidence from learner narratives" deals with pragmatically based constructions, such as left dislocation and *c'est*-clefts (*C'est Marie qui aime Pierre* [It's Marie who loves Pierre]) and *ya*-clefts (*il y a Pierre qui arrive* [there is Pierre who is coming]). Like many others in this volume, Kerr acknowledges the disconnect between what is taught in textbooks and what is reality vis-à-vis the spoken language. This notwithstanding, she advocates that the initial presentations to learners be in the form of canonical word order. She bases this argument on Valdman's work on pedagogical norms, particularly the principle that processing and learning factors should be taken into account. Hers is an empirical study in which learners of French provided narrative data. Her results show that the pragmatic mode is rarely used. She rephrases the question of pedagogical practice with regard to pragmatically-based constructions to a question of *when.* Based on evidence from learning, she advocates delaying the presentation of discourse-based features until learners have greater competence in the second/foreign language.

In the chapters in the final section of this volume "Extending Pedagogical Norms" the concept of pedagogical norm is expanded beyond its traditional areas of focus. Adding to the work on pedagogical norms in the areas of phonology, morphology, and syntax, Jourdain and Scullen, Fox, and Blyth offer

convincing arguments for and demonstrations of pedagogical norms for communication strategies, comprehension, and narrative structure. Jourdain and Scullen demonstrate the viability of developing pedagogical norms for communication strategies in "A pedagogical norm for circumlocution in French". Circumlocution, the act of compensating for gaps in the linguistic repertoire, is used by both learners and native speakers to sustain or enhance communication. Although some learners develop such strategies on their own (and some do not), they may all benefit from instructional input that provides evidence of how the act of compensation is realized in the colloquial speech of native speakers. Because little work exists that documents the circumlocution strategies of native-speakers of French, Jourdain and Scullen report the results of a study of native-speaker circumlocution. The report serves two functions: to show that not all categories of circumlocution that have been identified in the communication strategy literature are realized in the French data and to provide models of those categories that are represented. Drawing on the native-speaker corpus, on learner examples from the same task that was completed by the native speakers, and on established proficiency levels of learners of French, the authors develop two sequenced pedagogical norms, one for lexical choice and one for syntactic structure. They also offer examples of classroom activities that engage learners in circumlocution.

In "Incorporating variation in the French classroom: A pedagogical norm", Fox is concerned not with the traditional area of language production, but rather with reception. She argues that the standard language, which she calls Standard Metropolitan French, may be sufficient for production, but students will not have developed sufficient knowledge of French in its international dimension unless they are familiar, at least receptively, with other varieties. She uses Standard Québec French as an example to show usefulness of using another standard variety (that spoken in Québec) even in instances when the target of instruction is standard French as spoken in France. This recognition of multiple standards, she argues, provides an additional richness to the language classroom and in the case of phonetics, another dataset that can be used to make students aware of differences between their native language and French. She therefore extends the notion of pedagogical norm to incorporate instruction in the comprehension of language varieties other than standard French, as spoken in France.

In "Between orality and literacy: Developing a pedagogical norm for narrative discourse", Blyth samples the range of variation in the common genre known as the narrative. Narrative discourse varies along many different parameters

including modality (oral vs. written), formality (formal vs. informal), narrative tone (detached vs. involved), narrative person (first person vs. third person), syntax (fragmented vs. integrated), genre (fiction vs. non-fiction), and subgenre (such as newspaper article, nursery rhyme, novel, or campfire story). He applies the principles for identifying a pedagogical norm to develop a norm for narrative discourse that is sensitive to both native-speaker variation and second language acquisition research on the discourse and grammatical development of second language narrative. He observes that unlike the grammatical features for which pedagogical norms have been developed previously, the speech act of narrative is made up of many grammatical and rhetorical components that are themselves highly variable (e.g., tense–aspect morphology). He proposes that narrative discourse may be arranged along a continuum of complexity: The easiest narratives to produce and comprehend for second language learners would (a) refer to specific singulative past experiences; (b) contain a foreground but no background; (c) follow the chronological order of events; and (d) require no narrator evaluation. At the other end of the continuum, the most complex narratives would (a) refer to generic experiences that are difficult to individuate; (b) contain a mutually contextualizing foreground and background with multiple episodes; (c) include flashbacks and flash forwards; and (d) require extensive evaluation by the narrator. Blyth proposes a pedagogical sequence in which learners would progress from routines, reports, fairy tales or folk tales, and finally to conversational stories or short stories. Such a progression would span several semesters, illustrating the importance of pedagogical norms in curricular development.

Taken together, the chapters in this volume illustrate how the concept of pedagogical norm mediates the close relationship among descriptions of the target language, second language acquisition research, language teaching methods, and pedagogical materials. As the chapters show, the development of instructional materials based on pedagogical norms can begin either in research or in practice. Descriptions of processes that drive second language acquisition may provide information to practioners who then develop materials or pedagogical approaches. Practioners may identify areas where authentic input or materials are not readily available or where learners have difficulty, which, in turn, will lead, respectively, to research on language use and second language acquisition and processing.

The chapters collectively illustrate how the concept of pedagogical norm applies to all components of language, including phonology, morphology, syntax, and discourse. Research that describes native-speaker use in all these

components will ultimately provide one anchor for developing pedagogical norms in interlanguage pragmatics. In a wide range of languages, teachers have begun to develop materials and approaches to teaching based on descriptions of native-speaker usage. Research in the acquisition of second language pragmatics and native-speaker judgments of interlanguage forms remains to be done, but will play a role in shaping pedagogical norms for pragmatics. We anticipate that future collaboration between research and pedagogy will result in additional pedagogical norms and in an expansion of the number of languages in which such collaborative research is carried out.

As this volume illustrates, pedagogical norms are both general and specific in nature. The principles underlying them reach across languages, but their applications to individual languages demand detailed investigation into language-specific constraints and context-specific usages. The concept of pedagogical norm provides a framework in which to question, for example, to what degree a textbook in one language can be transformed into another without altering features or constraints that are language specific? Even more than providing completed work on pedagogical norms, the chapters in this volume help us understand how pedagogical norms can be developed in a range of languages and for a range of language features. We hope that this volume inspires readers to continue and expand this important research area.

The theoretical foundation for this work was laid four decades ago by Albert Valdman whose many contributions over the years have shaped and refined the concept of pedagogical norm. This volume ends with a personal reflection by Harry Gradman on the career and life of Albert Valdman to whom this book is dedicated.

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Section I

Defining Pedagogical Norms

Pedagogical norms

Development of the concept and illustrations from French

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Language teachers and language learners have always struggled with language variation. Given that languages have geographic variants and that these different linguistic standards are, in turn, composed of features and forms that vary according to sociolinguistic context, it is not easy to resolve the question "What language should we teach?" We have typically turned to the language variety that society has deemed the most prestigious, be that for historical, economic, political, or even social reasons. But learners often find this standard norm difficult to attain because it tends to represent refined language, which is often characterized by complex forms and includes a substantial amount of nuance and variation. Despite the best attempts of teachers and students, learners rarely achieve the standard norm, at least not early in their language study. This reality leads teachers and students alike to seek ways to simplify and expedite the learning process, to identify progressive goals for language acquisition that represent in themselves language varieties that allow learners to communicate with the target language community.

Founded on the study of linguistic variation, pedagogical norms offer a series of progressive steps that serve as intermediate goals for language study. The concept was born of a concern that students learn a language as it is actually spoken, by people from varied backgrounds and in varied circumstances. Pedagogical norms are abstractions that mediate the complex realities of linguistic variation and typical language learning difficulties experienced by foreign language learners.

Albert Valdman introduced this concept to the profession and, over forty years, progressively defined and exemplified it by proposing norms for highly

variable features of French. He has been the driving force behind the concept, and remains its chief proponent today. A review of Valdman's writing on pedagogical norms from 1961–2002 and of his implementation of them in his French textbooks reveals how the concept evolved in relation to shifting notions of what constitutes language learning and language teaching. Refinement of the concept has depended on advances in the study of language variation and on knowledge of attitudes toward deviant language, areas of research that Valdman also explored, using his own data in French and the findings of others to develop the concept.

This chapter will trace the development of the notion of pedagogical norms over four decades, including in each case (a) influences from linguistics and foreign language teaching that helped shape the concept, (b) research conducted in French in order to establish and expand the norms, and (c) ways pedagogical norms have been used in French instructional materials. It will conclude with a brief discussion of areas for future investigation, not only in French, but also in other languages where issues of variation increasingly challenge language teachers and learners.

Early notions from the 1960s

Before Valdman explicitly formulated the notion of pedagogical norms, he realized their importance for teaching. His first manual for French teachers, *Applied Linguistics: French — A Guide for Teachers* (1961a), was a pedagogical grammar of French adopting Pike's tagmemics for syntax and a somewhat abstract version of structural phonology. In the introduction to that manual he wrote: "In the opinion of the author all varieties of French are equally 'grammatical' and acceptable from the point of view of the linguistic analyst, but the language teacher must make a choice and it is quite proper that in making this choice he should take into account the attitudes and feelings of the French speaking community" (p. 1). For the audiolingual times of the 1960s, the choice was clearly "the speech behavior of educated Paris speakers", known as "Standard French" (p. 1). To represent the normative model for teachers, then, Valdman chose "a variety of French that most French speakers, even those who do not control it, consider as the 'best' and the 'most correct'" (p. 1). Already in these early years, Valdman associated the choice of a linguistic variety to serve as a norm for teachers with the opinion that native speakers held of that particular set of language features. One criterion for a pedagogical norm — native speaker

attitude toward particular features — would be developed and refined from this beginning. The concept of a pedagogical norm would develop from the profession's imperative for pedagogical grammars based on descriptive linguistics.

Another criterion for a pedagogical norm also appeared in 1961: reduction of linguistic variation through selection of the most common or most neutral features (Valdman 1961b). For example, Valdman recommended against teaching full phonetic variation in environments where distinction among phonetic variants is not critical to comprehensible expression. Rather, a pedagogical approach should rely on phonemic differences. He thereby regarded the complex system of six French mid vowels[1] as poor targets for early instruction. He recommended that only pairs of vowels that are operative in all positions and for all speakers (/i/ vs. /y/ or /u/ vs. /y/) be introduced early or practiced intensively. The variation stemming from the other less operative mid vowel pairs (/ø/ vs. /œ/ and /o/ vs. /ɔ/) could be relegated to instruction later by expanding the use of the more frequent member of these pairs to a broader range of linguistic environments (1961b: 260).

True to audiolingual methodology, which aimed to make foreign languages accessible to the growing heterogeneous numbers of learners in secondary schools and colleges, Valdman maintained that foreign language instruction should be "efficient", "economical", and "flexible" (1966: 134). It was thus important to develop a minimum inventory of phonemes to be taught. The criteria for developing such an inventory would become the basis for pedagogical norms in Valdman's future writing. Whereas in 1961, he looked to native speaker attitude for insight in selecting features to be taught, in 1966 he advanced the need to consider also "the naive layman's very valid impression of fluency, grammatical accuracy, stylistic congruity, and accent" (1966: 138–39). Determination of a pedagogical norm, then, did not lie with linguists alone; different types of users would provide important input as well; and teachers too would have valuable information to contribute. According to Valdman, minimum requirements for teaching included, among other things, "some insight into the learning process" and "a working knowledge of the structure of both the native and the target languages" (1966: 157). Consistent with the theory of contrastive analysis favored at the time, the implication here is that overlaps or divergences in linguistic structure between learners' native and target languages might have an impact on the stages through which learners progress in the acquisition process. In a dynamic pedagogical norm, these stages, which guide acquisition from early attempts to advanced use, would be sensitive to criteria of learnability, as well as efficiency.

The term "*norme pédagogique*" (pedagogical norm) first appeared in Valdman's writings in 1967, in the title of an *IRAL* article devoted to teaching French interrogative structures.[2] As Valdman explained in detail in this article and subsequent papers, questions can be formed in a variety of ways in French, the most common of which for teaching in the 1960s were inversion of the subject and verb, *est-ce que*, and the *n'est-ce pas* (isn't it?) tag. Applying the "objective criteria" of "frequency [of usage], complexity [of the structure], and extensivity [of environments in which the structure is found]" to this polymorphic feature suggested that *est-ce que* be chosen as a "pedagogically primary interrogative structure" because "it can be applied without exception to all types of kernel sentences" (1967: 3). Other structures can be introduced in a "spiraling progression, i.e., at first for passive recognition only and only later for active drill when the most extensive structure has been internalized by the learner" (1967: 3). As the term "kernel sentences" signals, Valdman looked to transformational grammar to shape his argument, postulating that learners could begin with the *est-ce que* form and apply a series of transformations, or new pedagogical rules, to it in order to acquire progressively more complex interrogative structures. Transformational grammar reflected, it was believed, the intuition of native speakers, and thereby its use paralleled well the reliance on native judgments and intuitions about acceptability. To the criterion of acceptability to native speakers and naive laymen, he added the qualification that native speakers might have different expectations for foreigners than they do for themselves. Indeed, native speakers might find it shocking to hear foreigners with inadequate linguistic control use forms that are considered familiar (1967: 10). Where this is the case, a pedagogical norm might select features that would be more acceptable to native speakers.

This initial, specific description of a pedagogical norm showed that pedagogical choice determines pedagogical progression and suggested already the notion that receptive and productive learning proceed at different tempos, with the former informing the latter. A pedagogical norm should initially select features of (a) high frequency or acceptability, (b) wide extensivity or use, and (c) low complexity for learning, and gradually modify itself to less frequent, less extensive, and more complex variants (Valdman 1967). How were we to apply these criteria in order to reduce the mass of complex features of a naturally occurring language? Valdman (1967: 4) suggested that we look in two directions to determine that reduction: objective principles residing in the nature of language itself and pedagogical considerations. But at the close of the 1960s, did we have the linguistic descriptions and the learning process data needed in order to make informed selections?

Realizing that we did not, Valdman made the first of many calls for a research base on which to establish a pedagogical norm: "*Cette norme, il faudrait l'établir en partant d'une description minutieuse du style soutenu des Français cultivés*" (This norm, we must establish it from a highly detailed description of the careful style of cultivated French speakers, *translation ours*) (1967:10). A tremendous research effort was obviously needed, but that effort, as Valdman recognized, might be equaled by the challenge of getting teachers to accept to teach a reduced language version, especially in the throes of audiolingualism with its behaviorist underpinnings and idealization of the native, orthoepic norm.

Building on language use data in the 70s

The 1970s saw a turn toward communicative language teaching, influenced by sociolinguistic principles of interaction, which were sensitive to greater ranges of linguistic variation than recognized in the past. Not only was the linguistic environment of an utterance important, its social circumstances were as well: the relationship between speakers, the context of the interaction, and the purpose of the exchange. Teachers needed to make sure their students could express their own meaning with language, interact in a wider variety of situations than in the past, and be sensitive to, if not capable of producing, sociolinguistic markers that convey both essential elements and subtleties of meaning.

Still looking to generative grammar for a rationale for the early teaching of interrogatives with forms such as *Jean va où?* (John goes where?), Valdman (1973) pointed out that a linguistic theory postulating underlying structures failed to explain the frequent use of this interrogative form or its sociolinguistic connotations. In 1976, he expressly acknowledged that this structure is traditionally considered non-standard and that students, who nonetheless might begin their learning with this form, should be told of the sociolinguistic constraints associated with its use. Why teach a sociolinguistically restricted form then? Valdman had explained that in order to carry out the selection and pedagogical ordering associated with pedagogical norms, "it is often necessary to make decisions that may offend linguistic authoritarians and purists" (1976a:122) and that these sociolinguistically devalued forms could be eliminated later from careful speech. Valdman would later change his opinion about teaching sociolinguistically stigmatized forms explicitly (2000:661). In the early 1970s, however, the innovation was to bring sociolinguistic notions into the arena of pedagogical discussion and, as a direct result, to widen the range of language forms considered for teaching beyond the orthoepic norm.

The study of deviance from the traditional norm aligned well with the growing interest of researchers who focused attention on learner systems and who recognized that deviations were often signs of learners' progressive stages of language acquisition. Following on the criterion that pedagogical norms should reflect learner processes, Valdman suggested that error analysis could be a highly fruitful source of language data on which pedagogical norms could be based:

> Periodic observation and analysis of errors as individual learners progress in their L2 learning task [and] comparison of similar groups of learners at different stages in the L2 learning process promises to be a useful procedure in guiding both the selection and the ordering of L2 linguistic features so that they do not interfere with the various states of a learner's replica of the L2 grammar as it evolves toward closer approximation to that of the adult L2 native speaker. (1976a: 109)

Once again, he turned to French interrogatives, this time to a pilot study (1976a) that he conducted at Indiana University in which students produced interrogative forms, such as *wh*-fronting, which were not present in their textbooks. He concluded that learners struggling to speak resort to using simplified forms whose source may arise from "internal relationships among L2 structures to which they have been exposed", as well as "universal principles of linguistic organization and processes of language learning" (p. 116). A pedagogical norm, then, recognized a natural language learning process and built upon it.

A study of errors as windows into the learning process was accompanied by studies of perception and evaluation of errors later in the decade and in the early 1980s (for a review, see Eisenstein 1983; Ludwig 1982). These studies corresponded to Valdman's suggestion in 1975 that

> …in the elaboration of efficient pedagogical sequences an important criterion should be the perception and evaluation of errors on the part of naïve native listeners. Errors that native listeners fail to notice need minimal correction or they may even find their place in pedagogical sequences if they lead to more rapid acquisition. (1975a: 426)

True to earlier normative definitions, native speakers were the judges, as well as the models. Recognizing the individual nature of native perceptions and the need for learners to acquire features that native speakers value, Valdman (1987: 140) evoked Bourdieu's (1977) concept of "linguistic capital", which promoted the learning of features that offered the greatest potential for communicative return. Pedagogical efficiency was important to a profession coming out of audiolingualism into the era of teaching for communicative competence.

Given the political, social, and sociolinguistic factors inherent to classroom teaching, Valdman (1976c) accused a profession that purported to provide students with true communicative ability of being guilty of, at best, "*optimisme naïf*" (naive optimism), and at worst, of "*mauvaise foi*" (bad faith) (p. 62). His solution was to set more accessible goals, which would be characterized by the pedagogical norms for each stage of instruction. The norms would reduce language complexity and variation to neutral, readily learnable forms. Speculating that these reduced learner languages might have certain parallels with immigrant languages or pidgins, Valdman (1975c) boldly suggested looking at pidgins for examples of features to include in pedagogical norms. However, recalling the criterion of acceptability to native speakers, he cautioned that "pedagogical norms do not involve the use of forms considered deviant or highly stigmatized by native speakers" (p. 248).

For example, acceptable forms of reduction in French might include eliminating optional *liaison*,[3] redefining as synonymous constructions with partial semantic overlap such as the *futur proche* (near future) — *je vais aller* (I am going to go) — and the *futur simple* (simple future) — *j'irai* (I will go), and generalizing the use of the interrogative *est-ce que* or *wh*-fronting constructions such as *Où tu vas?* (Where you going?) (1975c: 248). The latter example of *wh*-fronting posed a dilemma that Valdman would struggle with for some time. This form is sociolinguistically stigmatized and, therefore, by Valdman's own definition, should not be used in pedagogical norms. And yet, because this form is easy to learn, its use is expedient for meeting instructional goals of communicative teaching in which learners are to express themselves as early as possible in instruction. Most importantly, because communicative teaching encourages learners to experiment with language (in contrast to audiolingual methods where only repetition and slight modification of the instructor model were permitted), learner's use of *wh*-fronting was likely unavoidable, given the structure's natural occurrence in learner speech even when not expressly taught. In fact, in Valdman's study at Indiana University (1975c, 1976a), *wh*-fronting occurred in high proportion in students' questions, despite the fact that this variant was absent from the input to which they were exposed. To resolve the conflict between the criterion of learner processing and the criterion of acceptability in describing a reduced variety of French for teaching, Valdman focused on the dynamic nature of the pedagogical norm. He suggested that the criterion of acceptability might be temporarily suspended, at early stages of instruction in order "to permit learners to express themselves as early as possible in the course despite that fact that native speakers consider the construction stylistically inappropriate, if not

downright incorrect" (1975c: 248–249). When in conflict, the criterion of acceptability would thus give way to the criteria of learning efficiency and learning processes. Learners would temporarily be taught, or at least allowed to use, forms such as *wh*-fronting that occurred in native-speaker talk, but were sociolinguistically stigmatized by some native speakers. The dynamic nature of the pedagogical norm assured that learners' use of sociolinguistically stigmatized features would be temporary. Features were to be presented through cyclical ordering: select features could be refined with each reintroduction and less acceptable ones slowly eliminated. The assumption from the pedagogical norm is that early use of a stigmatized structure would not inhibit subsequent acquisition of the more acceptable variant, in fact, it might facilitate it (1976b).

Valdman put his pedagogical norm about French interrogatives into practice in his first college textbook, *Langue et culture* (1975b). *Wh*-fronting is the early norm; the very first dialogue contains the question without inversion "*Comment il s'appelle?*" (What's his name?) (p. 3). One of the first grammar explanations presents "*Comment* – subject – predicate" as the way to form information questions (6). Anticipating a negative reaction from teachers to the stigmatized form, he advises that the *wh*-fronting form, although somewhat "substandard", is frequently used and will reduce learner errors (Valdman and Moody 1975: 28). In this textbook, the more accepted way of forming questions through subject–verb inversion appears initially only with verbs and nouns (*Comment s'appelle le monsieur?* [What's the man's name?] (p. 19) or in lexical items (p. 51); it is presented for active use with subject pronouns very late in the book (p. 457). The most neutral way to ask questions (*est-ce que*) first appears in expressions to be memorized (p. 65); *est-ce que* was not to be learned as a grammatical principle until much later (p. 127 with *wh*-words, p. 172 with *yes/no*-questions). Valdman's acceptance of a stigmatized *wh*-fronting form places a high value on learning variables and takes into account his research showing that the structure is easier to learn (Valdman 1976c: 61). His use of the most neutral variant in the subsequent learning cycle respects the pedagogical norm's criterion of teaching forms with broad usage and acceptability.

As the textbook presentation of French interrogatives shows, cyclical presentation is essential to the dynamic nature of pedagogical norms, even when stigmatized features are not involved. For example, French adjectives, which agree with nouns in gender and number, have many patterns of alternation between masculine and feminine forms. Traditionally, the masculine form is taught as the base form and the feminine is derived from it, most typically by adding a final written *e* (ex. *grand* → *grande*, *petit* → *petite*), with a few exceptional

categories that require additional changes (ex. *heureux* → *heureuse*). From the point of view of the spoken language, however, this seemingly simple rule leaves much unexplained. In French final letters are typically not pronounced; the alteration in the proceeding examples are thus (*grã* → *grãD*, *pəti* → *pətiT*, *hørø* → *hørøZ*). How does the learner know which final consonant sound to add when pronouncing the feminine? A pedagogical norm based on the spoken language must resolve this problem. Valdman (1975c) looked to generative morphology of French adjectives to suggest that, if the spoken feminine forms, which contained the various consonants, were taken as the base forms, then the spoken masculine forms could be simply derived from them by dropping the final consonant sound whatever it may be (ex. *grande – grand* [*grãD* → *grã*], *petite – petit* [*pətiT* → *pəti*], *heureuse – heureux* [*hørøZ* → *hørø*]). The different patterns of adjectives would then regularize; the rule could be re-entered with each subsequent cyclic presentation of adjective variation. He put this pedagogical suggestion into practice in his second manual intended for teachers, *Introduction to French Phonology and Morphology* (1976b), and later in his language textbooks *En Route* (Valdman et al. 1986) and *Chez nous* (Valdman and Pons 1997, Valdman et al. 2002).

In these textbooks, he also developed the cyclic presentation and practice of phonological features that he frequently cited to exemplify the dynamic nature of pedagogical norms: the *loi de position*[4] for French mid vowels (1972); *liaison* (see note 3; 1976b: 57–59); elision of unstable *e*[5] (1976b: 124–125); and semi-vowels[6] (1976b: 77). In each case, he opted to reduce variation by presenting the most generalizable rules and most widely used variants first and then slowly introducing more refined rules and a greater range of naturally occurring variants. Criteria for linguistic authenticity were thus balanced against constraints of learnability. Both were based on descriptions of language, particularly from the point of view of the spoken form.

For example, in his college textbook, *Langue et culture*, he introduced the mid vowels as very tense (1975b: 22, 28), then applied the *loi de position* as vowels that occur at the end of a word or before a consonant sound, avoiding exceptions such as *chaude* and *heureuse* (p. 41, pp. 46–47, pp. 102–103). In suggestions to teachers, Valdman and Moody pointed out the variation between /e/ and /ɛ/ in final, open syllables (*fait* = /fe/ or /fɛ/) and recommended that teachers pronounce all these words with /e/ because it simplifies the variation to the *loi de position* (1975: 40). Much later in the textbook, he described variation between /e/ and /ɛ/ in words such as *fait* (Valdman 1975: 307), in non-final syllables such as *arrêter* (p. 309), and in final syllables spelled -*et* (*poulet*) (p. 309).

He followed with the exception for /o/ in syllables checked by /z/ (*rose*) and the *au* spelling (*pauvre*) (p. 330). Exceptions with /ø/ are not treated in *Langue et culture*. His treatment of the *loi de position* thus adheres to his pedagogical norm: it reduces variation to the most widely used variant and slowly introduces variants that native speakers would likely most expect in speech.

The same textbook also reduces variation in its treatment of the phonological phenomenon of *liaison*: only required *liaisons* and the most frequently occurring optional *liaisons* are presented. Combining lexical and structural approaches, the text mentions *liaisons* when a grammatical structure requires it: numbers (Valdman 1975b: 67); the conjugation of *aller* (p. 42), *avoir* (p. 67), and *être* (p. 84); and prenominal adjectives in the singular (pp. 253–54, p. 267) and the plural (pp. 346–47). It also summarizes *liaisons* in three consecutive pronunciation sections when required instances of *liaison* are grouped according to the latent consonant: Z (p. 386), T (p. 414), and N (p. 438), which are also the only three frequent *liaison* consonants in French. The text adheres to the principle of simplification with respect to frequent optional *liaisons* (Valdman 1976b: 106–07), recommending *liaison* with only three forms of *être* (*suis, est, sont*) (Valdman 1975: 84) and one third-person plural verb form ending in *-ont* (*faire*, p. 192).

The selection and order of linguistic features in the textbooks constitute priorities for instruction. Priorities for error correction also help mediate among conflicting criteria for pedagogical norms. In 1975 Valdman specified that, when deciding when to correct student mistakes, teachers should consider (a) the effect of the error on the intelligibility of the message in situation, (b) the degree of stigma attached to the error by native speakers or the degree to which they find it irritating or embarrassing, and (c) the relationship between the error and the state of the learner system (1975c: 255–256). An error such as using an American *r* instead of a French *r* would have low priority for correction because the error rarely affects intelligibility, is generally tolerated by French native speakers (1975a: 426), and occurs naturally in early stages of learning. These priorities for correction reflect Valdman's growing notion of the pedagogical norm concept; they parallel criteria he was developing and already beginning to put into practice in his own instructional materials.

By the close of the 1970s the following principles to guide the development of pedagogical norms for spoken French had been articulated and illustrated in Valdman's instructional texts:

1. The norm describes a more uniform pronunciation than that of natural speech.
2. It is … easier to learn.
3. It does not offend educated native speakers.
4. It will not inhibit the acquisition by learners of the orthoepic norm or the full range of features used by educated native speakers at a later date (1976b: 61).

Language data from native speech in a variety of social contexts and from language learners had helped formulate and, especially, exemplify these norms in the practice of teaching French to American learners.

The sociopsychological elaboration of the 1980s

Referring frequently to the linguistic examples put forth in the 1970s, Valdman's writings in the 1980s focused on the sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic aspects of language variation and suggestions for a pedagogical norm that came from them. Set against the back-drop of the national proficiency movement in the United States and its educated native speaker norm, these writings stressed the multi-norm character of natural language, which reflects the fact that native speakers have several norms at their disposal and select which to use according to social relationships and communicative intent. Of course, Valdman had long looked to sociolinguistic variation in describing choices available for pedagogical norms. What is striking in the 1980s was his insistence on a multi-target model, reflective of the multi-normative nature of natural language. A multi-target norm stood in opposition to the proficiency movement's assumed goal of educated native speech, a goal that Valdman deemed "unrealistic and ill-founded" (1992: 79).

In his report to the ACTFL Professional Priorities Conference (1980b), he argued that the traditional definition of the linguistic target for teaching was too restrictive, and that, instead, attainment of near-native proficiency in a foreign language should entail the capacity to perceive the total repertoire of target speakers rather than a particular norm. This total repertoire includes not only geographic and sociolinguistic differences, but also differences between written and spoken discourse (Valdman 1980b) and between planned and unplanned discourse on a continuum from a highly vernacular speech to careful, monitored style (Valdman 1982, 1987, 1988, 1989a, 1989b). It implies a legitimization of non-standard linguistic varieties (Valdman 1987), and it requires a fuller

view of what language is than in the past (Valdman 1988). These demands posed a serious challenge to the proficiency movement, with its insistence on a sole norm of the educated native speaker and its associated oral proficiency interview, which involve, according to Valdman (1987), a limited range of discourse types.

By explaining how each norm represents different groups of speakers in different social circumstances speaking with different groups of other native speakers for different purposes, Valdman (1988) noted how certain norms become associated with power and prestige and then, through gradual process of uniformization, gain the status of standard. It is within this multi-faceted and fluid vision of language that Valdman positioned his pedagogical norm by describing it as a vector that is "orientated toward a particular target language norm by filtering input and controlling feedback" (Valdman 1988: 225). Seeing the pedagogical norm as a vector helped Valdman respond to the dilemma he had posed for himself previously about the status of pidginized features for pedagogical use. The vector was to be a neutral form that cut through competing, naturally occurring variants of native language. Therefore, Valdman made it clear that, by following pedagogical norms, teachers were not teaching pidgins or errors: "It should be stressed that this approach does not involve the teaching of a pidginized version of the target language. The features that constitute the pedagogical norm do not have their origin in learners' interlanguage approximations; they are drawn from variants occurring in a composite of actual native speech" (1987: 145). True to the dynamic nature of pedagogical norms, the vector would change as learners' speech progressed along the interlanguage continuum.

Another look at French interrogatives, this time in Valdman's high school series, illustrates how the target vector might change as learners' linguistic systems develop. In *Son et sens* (Valdman et al. 1984a), Valdman initially presents question formation only as declarative word order with a question mark, indicating rising intonation (e.g. p. 23, p. 47, p. 59, p. 67) and then introduces *est-ce que* on page 77. The only exceptions are two *wh*-questions, *Où est…?* (Where is…?) and *Qui est…?* (Who is…?), which follow English word order (Valdman 1976b: 60). The introduction of *est-ce que* is accompanied by interrogative words such as *comment* (how), *avec qui* (with whom), *combien de* (how many), and *pourquoi* (why) (Valdman et al. 1984a: 77). This pairing is logical given that these interrogatives often do not allow for simple subject–verb inversion (*Où est Jacques:* Where is Jack?), and because pronoun subject–verb inversion is not to be introduced in the early stages of instruction (Valdman 1976b: 62). Until inversion is presented as a structure, pronoun subject–verb

inversion occurs only in set expressions such as *Quelle heure est-il?* (What time is it? p. 107) and *Quel âge avez-vous?* (How old are you? p.214). When inversion is presented, it is described as a written structure also suitable for formal uses such as speeches (p. 229). The norm for inversion continues in the second- and third-year high school textbooks. The second-year book, *Scènes et séjours* (Valdman et al. 1984b), uses intonation, *est-ce que*, and inversion of verb and noun when the *wh*-question allows it (*Où va M. Dupont?* [Where is Mr. Dupont going?]) (e.g., pp. 189, 228, 389). In the third-year book, *Promenades et perspectives* (Valdman et al.1984c), inversion is reintroduced into exercises and alternates with primarily *est-ce que* and occasional rising intonation (e.g., Valdman et al. 1984c: 222, 230, 278). Inversion is more frequent in the second half of this book as language becomes more formal.

The widespread use of this high school series in the United States reveals a certain acceptance by the French teaching profession of pedagogical norms, with their sometimes nontraditional sequencing of linguistic features. Still, the issue of stigmatized or other substandard usage remained, and was brought to the fore in the 1980s by the Proficiency Movement's discussion of fossilization. Valdman acknowledged the fear of some proficiency-oriented advocates that features characteristic of unplanned and non-standard vernacular models could become fossilized in learner speech. In defense of the pedagogical norm, he said: "I would respond to this type of objection by underscoring the distinction between interlanguage features that fall outside of the construct I have labeled TL_0 (target language zero) [in the multi-variant norm] and those within it" (1987: 144). A look at his second college textbook, *En Route* (Valdman et al. 1986), might suggest that *wh*-fronting was moving to a position at the edges of the construct. Behnsted's 1973 study had provided strong proof that *wh*-fronting is stigmatized by educated native speakers. In *En Route*, the very first *wh*-question that is not an idiomatic expression is "*Comment est-ce qu'elle s'appelle?*" (What is her name?) (p. 5). The *est-ce que* form is taught as a grammatical rule, not on page 172 as before (Valdman 1975), but on page 11. Noun — verb inversion is taught specifically with *comment* (how) and *combien* (how much), the *est-ce que* form being considered "awkward" (p. 13). Questions with *est-ce que* alternate with intonation until inversion is introduced formally in the second half of the book (pp. 342–43). In comparison to his 1975 *Langue et culture*, there is less use of stigmatized *wh*-fronting and more expanded use of neutral *est-ce que*. However, in comparison with other first-year college French textbooks published in the United States, the delayed introduction of the valorized inverted forms is striking. This delay is supported by Valdman's own

research with first-year learners and native speakers (1976a, 1976c). Research data were guiding the application of his theoretical norm into practice as the profession challenged basic notions such as what constitutes an acceptable norm for instruction and should fear of fossilization underline instructional decisions.

Understanding the multi-faceted nature of norms and the dynamic nature of the vector reduces the fear of fossilization, which is most likely to occur when the norm is static and when it is inappropriate to the speech situation attempted by the learner. Implying that the Oral Proficiency Interview does not always demand natural, conversational language, Valdman (1987) suggests: "It may be that learners afflicted with the so-called terminal 2/2+ syndrome might perform with greater grammatical accuracy in test situations that more closely model situations requiring the production of planned discourse" (p. 144). The Oral Proficiency Interview, which is limited by its adherence to a single, educated speaker norm associated with planned discourse, is contrasted then, with multi-target norms that increasingly take into account sociolinguistic variation, and with shifting pedagogical norms that move learners ever closer to the full range of actual native speech (1989a): "As instruction progresses, and as learners become more capable of processing the more complex syntactic features characteristic of planned formal discourse, the pedagogical norm must increasingly take into account sociolinguistic considerations" (p. 276).

During the 1980s Valdman also more aggressively confronted the difficulty of teaching natural language in the unnatural setting of the classroom. On several occasions he referred to the Labovian Observers' Paradox (1987, 1988, 1989b, 1992): "we seek in the classroom to teach people how to talk when they are not being taught" (1988: 221). In fact, believing that the answer to the paradox did not lie in a specific instructional approach, he tried to separate his notions of pedagogical norm from any particular teaching methodology.

> The approach I am advocating takes a neutral stand with response to current debates about suitable classroom activities — communicative practice or modeling of a set of selected structural features — and about appropriate syllabus design — notional-functional or structural … [L]earners should be led to attain minimal communicative competence as quickly as possible but in a manner that permits, in the long term, the development of language-specific marked linguistic devices that make decontextualized discourse possible (1987: 145).

The answer to the pedagogical dilemma was to be found in an understanding of sociolinguistic variation and psychological factors affecting language use and learning. "A pedagogical norm, like all norms, is an abstraction. Its distinguishing

feature resides in the fact that it is an artificial construct reflecting the special conditions of classroom foreign language learning" (Valdman 1989a: 272).

By the close of the 1980s, then, Valdman had further exemplified his concept of pedagogical norm in both high school and college materials. Both levels of textbooks follow the same pedagogical norms for presenting key features. However, the college textbooks, taking into account the increased cognitive abilities of more mature students, provide more information about realistic usage of French, including variation and exceptions. This detail is consistent with the fourth criterion for a pedagogical norm, attention to learning factors (Valdman 1988: 230). He offered a refined version of his four principles. It is this set of principles for pedagogical norms that is most often cited today:

1. They should reflect the actual speech of target language speakers in authentic communicative situations.
2. They should conform to native speakers' idealized view of their speech use.
3. They should conform to expectations of both native speakers and foreign learners concerning the type of linguistic behavior appropriate for foreign learners.
4. They should take into account processing and learning factors (1989a: 272).

By suggesting a sequence of instruction for linguistic variants, the pedagogical norm became a key component of teaching for minimal communicative ability regardless of the particular teaching methods used. Appropriate sequencing promoted efficient learning. Following Bourdieu's (1982) notion of the linguistic market or investment, the pedagogical norm proposed to teach the fewest number linguistic features that would have the greatest payback in the widest linguistic and social use. In line with the national trend to "trim down" syllabuses in order to make foreign language study more manageable (e.g. Valdman 1978, 1980a), Valdman and Warriner-Burke (1980) suggested eliminating "[g]rammatical features that contribute little to the attainment of minimal communicative ability or that may be replaced by lexical elements or other structures" (p. 266). To achieve the necessary reduction and simplification of target speech, a pedagogical norm uses lexical reduction, analytic replacements for semantic features, invariance of form, elimination of redundancy, and simplification of transformational apparatus. It promised "to lead to [a] mutual adjustment between language form and language use". It "comprises target language variants that involve the simplest syntactic machinery and that form the most regular pattern. Where social or geographical diversity exists, sociolinguistic factors will be abandoned in favor of psycholinguistic ones: those

variants will be selected that are most easily processable by second language learners" (1987: 145). Clearly evident here are Valdman's criteria of simplification and reduction and of sociolinguistic factors of native expectation and psycholinguistic factors of learner processing. What is also apparent is that true application of these principles would result in "a drastic overhaul of the linear structurally oriented syllabus that underlines most current teaching, including those that claim to be 'proficiency-oriented'" (1988: 235). Indeed, Valdman's most radical example of sequencing French interrogatives might be only a conservative start.

Beginning in the 1980s, other textbooks authors used their linguistic research to develop pedagogical norms for other grammatical features. For example, Walz (1981a) surveyed native speaker use of relative pronouns and found that *qui, que,* and *où* were used most frequently. Studying foreign language learners, he found that those below the advanced level were not able to analyze syntax well enough to predict the preposition that might introduce relative clauses (1981b). Therefore, in his co-authored textbook (Walz and Piriou 1997), he used only the three frequent pronouns. Magnan (1981, 1982) investigated the relative tolerance of grammatical errors among native French speakers and found that errors in verbs were the least acceptable; she later included extensive recycling of verbs in her co-authored college textbook *Paroles* (Magnan, et al. 2002).

Valdman's work on pedagogical norms, and its implementation by other textbook authors, typifies the purposeful relationship between applied linguistics and language teaching. His statement in 1989 reveals the self-actualization of Applied Linguistics as a discipline: "one of the responsibilities of applied linguistics is to formulate special norms suitable for learners who acquire a foreign language by means of formal instruction" (1989a: 276). The pedagogical norm constitutes a major contribution toward meeting that responsibility.

A sociopragmatic turn and view toward receptive competence: 1990s onward

As the fields of sociolinguistics and applied linguistics supplied more extensive and detailed data on language use in varying contexts, Valdman broadened his discussion of pedagogical norms to focus on sociopragmatic and sociostylistic variation. Data revealing rhetorical patterns, register changes, and pragmatic differences suggested linguistic variants that might be targeted for different

stages of the dynamic pedagogical norm. The key question became: What does it mean to be a native speaker of a language or to speak like a native? The answer: the ability to speak with multiple, context-sensitive norms, to understand speech in those varied forms, and to have a metalinguistic awareness of how norms serve to mark sociocultural difference. Particularly these last two components of native-speaker knowledge offered new challenges and directions in the 1990s for the concept of pedagogical norm. How should a pedagogical norm for receptive knowledge differ from the norm for productive knowledge? Should a pedagogical norm direct students toward curricular goals of sociolinguistic awareness? In his comparison of standard French and popular French, Valdman (1982) had suggested that students need to understand features of popular French even if they were discouraged from producing them. By the 1990s it appeared that the teaching profession, which was beginning to emphasize meaning, function, and context, would be more open than in the past to accepting modest variation in the foreign language classroom (Valdman 1996, 2000).

A pedagogical grammar showing explicitly the relationship between linguistic features and semantic notions and sociopragmatic functions would foster the development of metalinguistic awareness, specifically an understanding of the way language functions in different situations to construct linguistic and sociopragmatic meaning (Valdman 1992: 94). For example, citing the conversational analysis of Wieland (1990), Valdman pointed out how expectations for dinner-time talk are different in France and the United States, and suggested that awareness of this difference might be a pedagogical example of the metalinguistic awareness needed for learners to match form, function, and pragmatic constraints successfully (Valdman 1992).

To anchor his multi-dimensional view of language variation as it relates to language learning, Valdman (1992) refocused his four now widely-known criteria for a pedagogical norm into three dimensions:

1. Linguistic: the actual variable production of targeted native speakers in authentic communicative situations.
2. Sociopsychological: native speaker's idealized views of their speech and the perceptions both native speakers and foreign learners have regarding expected behavior of foreign users.
3. Psycholinguistic: relative ease of acquisition and use.

Beginning in 1992 and progressively thereafter, he refined and relabeled these three series of criteria as: sociolinguistic (most frequent and usable of variants); epilinguistic (what members of the target culture consider appropriate for

foreigners and attitudes of learners themselves); and acquisitional (approximations corresponding to various stages in learning) (Valdman 1992; 1998; Auger and Valdman 1999; Valdman 2002).

Application of these three criteria and careful examination of language data allowed Valdman to revisit and develop further his primary example of a pedagogical norm: the case of French interrogatives with its four major variants, (*in situ*, *wh*-fronting, *est-ce que*, inversion [see note 2]). Whereas he had once advocated early instruction of the *in situ* and *wh*-fronting variants for sociolinguistic and acquisitional reasons (Valdman 1976c), and even had employed these forms in his textbooks (Valdman 1975b; Valdman et al. 1984a, b, c), in 1999 he evoked epilinguistic criteria to advise against teaching them: "teachers of French as a foreign language should avoid the two most frequent informal style variants [*in situ* (*Vous allez où?* [You're going where?]) and fronting (*Où vous allez?* [Where are you going?]), because they are somewhat stigmatized. Instead, they should opt for *est-ce que* because it is sociolinguistically neutral and, in addition, has fewer syntactic constraints than inversion" (Auger and Valdman 1999: 410).

In 2000, he nuanced his recommended instructional progression by clearly separating goals for speaking and writing and expectations for receptive and productive control:

> Because it appears easiest to process, fronting is introduced as the initial target. But because it is stigmatized, it is progressively replaced by the more neutral *est-ce que* construction. Concurrently, inversion is introduced for written production and more formal oral discourse. In later stages of instruction, all four variants are introduced for recognition and active control, but information is provided about the various sociolinguistic and syntactic restrictions that govern their use. (p. 664)

According to Valdman, this separation of productive and receptive norms was implemented in his third introductory college textbook, *Chez nous* (Valdman and Pons 1997; Valdman et al. 2002): "*Son incorporation, en partie, dans un manuel introductif (Valdman et Pons) apporte la preuve que cette stratégie prudente est réalisable*" (Its incorporation, in part, in an introductory text offers proof that this prudent strategy can be implemented, *translation ours*) (Valdman 2000: 664). In *Chez nous*, Valdman also linked the syntax of interrogatives with social conventions. The question *Comment tu t'appelles?* (What's your name?) is described as informal and contrasted with *Comment vous appelez-vous* (What's your name?), which is called formal (Valdman and Pons 1997: 16). The use of

social conventions alters the application of the pedagogical norm from that of previous textbooks: *est-ce que* is taught much earlier in *Chez nous* (50) than in previous books, and inversion is not taught at all, at least for productive control.

Consistent with his recommendation that teachers inform students of the sociopragmatic constraints of expressions they are learning, in 2002, Valdman expanded the interrogative example further to consider the rhetorical and pragmatic values of the four interrogative variants. Referring to the research of Coveney (1996), Valdman pointed out that rhetorically, interrogatives in French serve a wider range of functions than just asking questions. They can be used, for example, to make suggestions, extend invitations, ask for advice, introduce a new theme, echo what someone said, or as rhetorical questions (2000: 662). In 2002 Valdman situated these and other pragmatic functions in a three-part taxonomy: (a) propositional content of the question; (b) relationship between the speaker, the utterance, and the content, and (c) relevant aspects of the knowledge, beliefs, and assumptions of the speaker. To take these sociopragmatic considerations into account, Valdman suggested teaching *est-ce que* and *fronting* for rhetorical and self-questions and *in situ* or *est-ce que* for information-eliciting questions to a colocutor (2002).

In addition to grammatical structures, such as interrogatives, a productive-receptive distinction was applied to variations in phonology and the lexicon. Calling upon his other classic example, the *loi de position* for French mid vowels, and on lexical differences in France and Québec, Valdman stressed that sociolinguistic authenticity and geographic variety could be provided by helping students hear the varied voices of Francophony, but that presenting variants for understanding did not necessarily imply introducing them for production as well: "*La présentation de documents authentiques, qui sert d'ancrage aux approches actuelles de l'enseignement du FLE ne requiert-elle pas que l'on fasse écouter les voix réelles de la francophonie aux apprenants sans toutefois — et j'insiste là-dessus — leur demander de les imiter*" (Doesn't the use of authentic documents, which serve as a base for current approaches to the teaching of French as a foreign language, require us to have learners listen to the real voices of Francophony, without — and I insist on this point — having them imitate them?, *translation ours*) (1996: 2). *Chez nous* (Valdman and Pons 1997) includes some key Québec expressions (e.g., *déjeuner, souper* [p. 143]) and *Bien entendu* (1993a), a phonetics manual for advanced undergraduate American learners, presents a variety of phonetic features from regions other than France (e.g. 1993a: 144–146) and offers listening activities in which students identify the provenance of speakers by their accents (e.g.1993b: 98). In this manual, he also adheres strictly to the *loi*

de position to present the relaxed variant of high vowels in closed syllables, noting later that even conservative teachers should not object to this usage as a pedagogical norm (Valdman 2000). In a pedagogical note for *Chez nous,* Valdman and Pons (1997: 372) point out that metropolitan French speakers do not maintain the future (*je parlerai*)/conditional (*je parlerais*) distinction as commonly taught, with the implication that teachers should be tolerant of student variation with /e/ et /ɛ/ in open syllables. Pedagogical norms thus apply to decisions about how to respond to student interlanguage as well as about how to sequence instruction. It may seem contradictory to accept or especially to introduce variation, even for listening and reading comprehension, to a norm that is founded on the notion of reducing variation. For Valdman (2002), the possible contradiction is dispelled by the argument that refusal to acknowledge variation constitutes linguistic purism or its pedagogical correlate, hypercorrection. The concept of a pedagogical norm originated in the recognition of linguistic variation and in an attempt to provide a satisfactory pedagogical response to that complexity. From his earliest writings Valdman has insisted that variation is natural and that language varieties other than the most accepted ones should not be considered inadequate or erroneous. Consistent with that belief, he now encourages students, as well as teachers, to recognize and appreciate the variation that exists among language varieties and within their different social and pragmatic uses. Recognizing that today's foreign language students might well be language planners in the future, he hopes that an acceptance and appreciation of language variation will guide them in their work (Valdman 2002).

Conclusion: What pedagogical norms offer for the future

The importance of pedagogical norms is not limited to French. In fact, in the near future, the greatest need for them might well be in Spanish, a language that is spoken natively in many different parts of the world and that, consequently, has many standard dialects. Discussions with a sociolinguistic orientation that relate to notions of pedagogical norms have taken place with regard to Spanish (Moreno Fernandez 2000). In the United States, the situation of many heritage language speakers, particularly acute in Spanish, but significant in other languages as well (e.g. Chinese, Hmong, Korean), may call for pedagogical norms to facilitate instruction while taking into account language variation especially of a transplanted generation. As a growing number of heritage

learners fill foreign language classrooms, discussions as to “allowable” forms (e.g., household or colloquial Spanish) are appearing frequently (e.g., Hidalgo 1997; Lipski 1997, Valdés 1997).

Although much work has been done on both pedagogical norms and the linguistic bases underlying them, more data are clearly needed, particularly of the sociopragmatic and rhetorical functions of specific languages. In terms of teaching, more information is needed on acquisitional processes, for, as Valdman (2000) pointed out, these criteria for a pedagogical norm remain the hardest to apply. Foreign language education has embraced the notion that receptive learning prepares productive learning; the pedagogical norm is an appropriate concept to undertake this challenge. The goals of foreign language instruction are, again, being reconsidered to suggest greater focus on metacognition and on intellectual mediation between languages and cultures. In his reference to future language planners in his most recent article, Valdman (2002) recognizes this possible opening of goals for language study. Both descriptive linguistic and acquisitional research are therefore needed in order to develop specific pedagogical norms for a variety of languages, and then to apply them to teaching through instructional materials and in classroom practice. As greater numbers of students enter foreign language classrooms and as they elect to study a greater number of languages for a wider variety of goals, pedagogical norms become even more important. They offer a pedagogical response to naturally occurring language variation. Taking into account how languages are learned, they promise more effective and efficient means for guiding learners toward communicative ability.

Notes

1. Mid vowels in French consist of three pairs of vowels that show neither high nor low tongue position. The members of each pair contrast in slightly higher (below left) or lower (below right) tongue position:

/e/ as in *fée* (fairy)	/ɛ/ as in *faire* (to do)
/ø/ as in *peu* (little)	/œ/ as in *peur* (fear)
/o/ as in *pot* (pot)	/ɔ/ as in *porte* (door)

The problem for classroom learners is that there is often no orthographic distinction (except with some accent marks and certain spellings) between the two vowels of a pair, making the correct choice difficult. Furthermore, there is considerable variation within each pair among native speakers due to geographical origin and social class, leading to the possibility of learners’ making a stigmatized choice.

2. French has several ways of asking a question; while each may have unique pragmatic functions, all can be used to elicit information. Syntactic difficulty increases for learners with *wh*-questions and with nouns. Four common structures in order of increasing familiarity between speakers and frequency of use (Behnsted 1973) are the following:

Inversion: The subject and verb are inverted. A noun must be repeated with a pronoun:

Où va-t-il? (Where is he going?)
Pourquoi ton frère fait-il cela? (Why does your brother do that?)

A problem for learners is that some interrogative adverbs allow for a direct inversion of nouns and verbs, while others require a pronoun:

Où va Jean? (Where is John going?)
but
Comment Jean prend-il son café? (How does John take his coffee?)

Inversion is a formal style of French, sometimes limited to written contexts.
Est-ce que: This is an interrogative element with the literal meaning "is it that?" It is placed at the beginning of *yes/no*-questions or after the interrogative element of *wh*-questions:

Est-ce que tu veux du café? (Do you want coffee?)
Quand est-ce que tu arrives? (When are you arriving?)

The style of questions using *est-ce que* is neutral and appropriate for all contexts.

Intonation: It is possible to ask *yes/no*-questions with declarative syntax and a rise in intonation:

Tu viens avec nous? (Are you coming with us?)

The style is familiar, but not stigmatized. An equivalent *wh*-question would require one of the following two structures:

In situ: The sentence maintains declarative word order with the interrogative element at the end and rising intonation:

Tu vas où? (You're going where?)

This form is very frequent in spoken French, but is devalorized (Behnsted 1973).

Fronting: The interrogative element appears in initial position, followed by declarative syntax:

Où tu vas? (Where're you going?)

This form is a very familiar style used by most French speakers, but is associated with working class speech and is therefore stigmatized.

3. *Liaison* is a phenomenon of French in which a written (i.e. latent) consonant at the end of a word, which is normally silent, is pronounced when followed by a word beginning with a vowel. It is similar to the *a/an* distinction in English:

vous dites /vudit/ (you say) but *vous avez* /vuzave/ (you have)

Additionally, some consonants change voicing when a *liaison* occurs:

grande /grãd/ (tall) *grand homme* /grãtɔm/ (tall man)

The phenomenon is quite variable and depends on syntactic rules as well as, in some cases, on stylistic or demographic conventions. For example, on the one hand, pronoun subjects

followed by a verb must show a liaison when possible, hence the name *liaison obligatoire* [obligatory *liaison*]:

vous arrivez /vuzarive/ (you arrive) *ils existent* /ilzɛgzist/ (they exist)

On the other hand, a break in syntax precludes a *liaison* (a *liaison interdite* [forbidden *liaison*]):

Donne-les à Marie. /dɔnleamari/ (Give them to Mary.)

Problems for learners increase with the third category, *liaisons facultatives* [optional *liaisons*]. Some *liaisons* are left to the choice of the speaker and reflect style, social class, and region. More frequent *liaisons facultatives* indicate a more formal style or higher social class:

pas encore /pazɑ̃kɔr/ or /paɑ̃kɔr/ (not yet)

4. The *loi de position* is a linguistic rule that attempts to describe the distribution of French mid vowels (see note 1). It states that high mid vowels occur in open syllables:

/e/ *fée* (fairy) /ø/ *peu* (little) /o/ *pot* (pot)

and low mid vowels occur in checked syllables:

/ɛ/ *faire* (to do) /œ/ *peur* (fear) /ɔ/ *porte* (door)

Unfortunately, this "law" is not very accurate. Many exceptions exist, some indicated by accent marks (*pôle* [pole] is a checked syllable, but the word is pronounced with /o/ as the *ô* indicates) or spelling (*fait* [fact] can be pronounced /fɛ/ or /fe/, but *fée* [fairy] can be pronounced only /fe/ as the *é* spelling allows only /e/). Additionally, there are generalizable rules for exceptions: the suffix *-euse* is a checked syllable, but pronounced /øz/. Finally, isolated words violate the law and must be memorized (e.g. *grosse* [big] /gros/). Thus, to present French mid vowels to students, teachers are faced with the difficult choice of teaching the pronunciation of most words as discrete items or using the *loi de position*, which, without its numerous exceptions, describes only the speech of natives of Southern France, a pronunciation that is highly stigmatized when used by nonnative learners.

5. Unstable or mute *e* is an example of elision in French. Unstressed *a* in Latin became unstressed *e* in modern French. An unstressed *e* can be dropped completely or pronounced, depending on the environment:

samedi /samdi/ (Saturday) *mercredi* /mɛrkrədi/ (Wednesday)

In fact, an unstable *e* may occur or disappear in the same word depending on the sound of the word preceding or following it:

la pelouse /lapluz/ (the lawn) *une pelouse* /ynpəluz/ (a lawn)

Many rules exist that allow learners to predict with varying degrees of certainty as to whether a native speaker would pronounce a given *e* or not, but they are complicated and too involved to implement easily during conversation. Valdman proposed having students drop the vowel systematically, since cases of retention are fewer in number and frequent realization of unstable e mimics southern French speech, a stigmatized accent when adopted by foreigners (1976b: 124–125).

6. French has three semivowels, which correspond to high vowels:

/j/ as in *lions* /ljɔ̃/ (let's tie) can alternate with /i/ /liɔ̃/
/ɥ/ as in *suer* /sɥe/ (to sweat) can alternate with /y/ /sye/
/w/ as in *nouer* /nwe/ (to knot) can alternate with /u/ /nue/

The problem for learners is that some words, for etymological reasons, do not allow for both a semi-vowel and a vowel sound. For example, the verb *lions* can be pronounced with the vowel or semivowel (/liɔ̃/ or /ljɔ̃/), but the feline *lions* [lions] must be pronounced with the semivowel (/ljɔ̃/). To simplify this variation, Valdman proposed requiring the pronunciation of the semivowel in all cases because that pronunciation is always correct (1976b: 77).

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Norms, native speakers, and reversing language shift

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Norms in language teaching

Formal language teaching had its origin in the teaching of the language of sacred texts. In Judaism, teaching was one of the principal responsibilities of the Levites before the Romans destroyed the Temple in Jerusalem, passed on after the destruction and the subsequent dispersion to religious schools that kept alive knowledge of Hebrew among Jews for seventeen centuries. In Hinduism, concern for sacred texts led to the continued teaching and study of Sanskrit (which has only recently been granted renewed status by a plan for a Sanskrit medium university). In the western Christian Church, religious instruction was for centuries concerned with the teaching of Latin and Latin versions of the Bible; similar attention was paid to texts in Greek and Old Church Slavonic and Armenian by the eastern branches of the Church. Islam continues to work to spread its beliefs and the Classical Arabic of its sacred texts to believers and non-believers. In all these cases, it was accepted as axiomatic that the language of the sacred text was the norm to be taught.

This normativism was carried on by Western secular educational systems, which saw their task as the teaching of Classical high-culture literatures. Whether it was Greek literature taught in Rome, or Latin literature taught in the medieval western world, or Latin (and sometimes Greek) in the early modern West, the text of the best written literature provided a model and a norm. Given that the texts were written in varieties of language that were no longer spoken, it was natural to assume that the norm to be taught was a fixed variety, protected from any challenge by native speakers and defended by puristic grammarians, who, once they had established their rules, saw it as their duty to correct or account for

grammatical lapses in the texts. As national vernaculars like Italian and French and English and Spanish slowly replaced Latin in Western European schools, the same notion of a high standard language was preserved as the goal of instruction.

To bring them to the desired standard, the major Western languages went through several hundred years of cultivation and standardization. For English, the process began with the changeover to English in the written legal documents sent out by scribes of the Royal Chancery in Westminster in 1430 (Fisher 1977). It was crystallized with the beginning of printing in 1476 and localized by the fact that most books were printed in London (Gorlach 1999). London usage soon became accepted as the norm. It must be noted that French and Latin remained school languages in England and helped establish English norms for many centuries after; it was not until the 17th century that English dictionary writers like Johnson (1755) and grammarians like Lowth (1762) started to lay down correct usage for English. The codification of English usage, Finegan (1998) argues, was the work of "a band of independent entrepreneurs" (p. 536) who took on the task. Lacking any officially constituted and authorized academy,[1] the task of codification left the "slow and sure" decisions of time rather than the "often hasty and injudicious" ruling of established bodies.[2] For English, what did emerge as the basis for the standard language was a "consensus … of what educated speakers accepted as correct" (Greenbaum, 1990: 18). It was this laissez-faire policy, assuming and even requiring a standard but leaving its definition to consensus rather than to legislative or regulatory fiat, that guaranteed English the flexibility and expandability that is no doubt one of the main reasons for its attractiveness as a world language. For languages with an academy, their dictionaries and grammars set out precisely (if not always effectively) the rules to be followed for correct usage.

Despite the fact that, as Ferguson (1968) noted, there have been many paths to standardization, four factors occurred commonly with the standardization of Western languages. First, the standard was based on the educated speech and writing of the middle class in a major urban center (Paris for French, London and the Home Counties for English, Castilian for Spanish). Second, the new national standard language displaced another language (Latin, for example) as the normal medium for writing. Third, a small group of writers constituted the best models. Fourth, the standardizing language became the symbol of religious or national identity, so that as Samuel Johnson (Boswell 1746) noted, by the late 18th century, languages had become "the pedigree of nations".

When the Western vernaculars like Italian and English and German and French started to replace Latin as the language of both elite and popular

education, one of the main activities called for was what Prague School linguists called language cultivation (Garvin 1973; Neustupny 1970; Prague School 1973). The same process was called on for other vernacular, often previously unwritten languages when they became the medium for school instruction. In each case, one major issue was the acceptance of an appropriate model for the standard language. In Norway, for example, there was a long struggle that culminated in the legal acceptance of two written norms, Riksmål and Nynorsk for written Norwegian (Haugen 1966) at the same time as maintaining the local dialects for speech. The second issue was the development of terminology to handle the new concepts and products of modernization; here the dispute was generally over the source of new words, whether to use internal creation through native processes of word formation (as Hungarian chose and the Language Academies favor) or to borrow (as Japanese did)[3] words usually from English (Ferguson 1968).

Norms in foreign language teaching

The same issues were faced in foreign language teaching, when, a century ago, it replaced the teaching of Latin and Greek in Western education. Foreign language teaching, especially when it was associated with Western schooling with its focus on literacy and written texts, naturally took as its goal the teaching of the correct standard form of the literary language. The Prague school of linguistics, with its key concern for language cultivation and the standard language, assumed that it was the written language that should be standard. Quirk and Stern (1990) similarly argues that standards apply only to the written language.

Challenged briefly at the beginning of the 20th century by the interest in teaching the spoken language that was associated with the Direct Method, an acceptable resolution to this conflict was found in accepting a prestige dialect (the Parisian standard for French, Castilian for Spanish, Received Pronunciation for English) as the appropriate spoken norm. For a long time, even books for teaching conversation in a foreign language remained very formal and literary. The intensive spoken language courses developed by the American Council of Learned Societies in the Second World War (Cowan and Graves, 1944) were a first major effort to teach anything but standard written languages. Their "authority" was a native-speaking informant, protected from normativism by the efforts of a structural linguist who believed in the primary position of the spoken language. Ferguson (1968) notes what a major step this assertion was,

going against the nearly universal folk belief in communities with regular use of a writing system "*that the written language is the 'real' language and speech is a corruption of it.*" (p. 30, italics in original.)

Schools looked for guidance on the correct form of the language and once committed to correctness and standard language, they did not welcome any questioning of norms. Note for instance the discomfort that was caused educators by the liberal linguistics of Webster's 3rd edition, or the fact that British applied linguists find little public support for their concern over the teaching of prescriptive grammar and Standard English.

Challenging the norms

In the early 1960s, even when we asked how pedagogical grammars might differ from scientific grammars (Spolsky 1966), we still commonly assumed that the norm was undebatable. This naive position soon began to be challenged in English mother tongue teaching when questions were raised about the effects of the school's failure to take into account sociolinguistic variety and the existence of social dialects (Labov 1970; Stewart 1964). Why couldn't schools recognize, as many linguists did, that the standard language was only one among a large number of social and local dialects, and not the same as the vernacular language children brought from home? And what should be the consequences of such recognition?

Soon, the same questions were raised about international and national Englishes (Kachru 1986): why should only standard British and American versions of English be acknowledged as norms? Davies (1999) provides a useful survey of the "counter-view" that developed to acceptance of the standard language. One force was the radical relativism of postmodernism: why should the standard variety be privileged over others. Another was the various political (Marxist, Feminist, Critical) positions on the power implications of Standard English. A third was the recognition of the existence of localized standards for English (Canadian, Australian, Jamaican, etc.) outside the original select two. A fourth was the continuation of the 1950s structural linguists' claim that all varieties of language are in some sense "equal". If teachers of English become tolerant of other norms and standards, why shouldn't teachers of other languages?

The question of a norm has become a critical issue with school language teaching, even when the variety being taught is far from standardized. This is no doubt because schooling has come to be associated with major standardized

literary languages — languages with an established body of secular and religious texts, with a consensus on correctness, with accepted grammar books and official or semi-official dictionaries to make clear what is and what is not correct. Those colonial language policies (like British 19th century policy in Africa) that included the idea of teaching primary schooling in the vernacular before switching to the metropolitan language in secondary education (still a common pattern in former British colonies) necessitated the standardization of orthography (a complex issue when faced with dialectal complexity), codification of grammar and modernization of terminology.

The kinds of problems faced are described by Zima (1968) in the case of Hausa, a language serving native speakers in the original Hausa area and in wide dispersion throughout Western Africa and serving nonnative speakers as a *lingua franca* over large areas of West Africa.[4] As well as a wide range of dialects — three major dialects, each with a number of sub-dialects, plus a pidgin — there are several established writing systems. One is in Ajami (Arabic) script; the others, locally developed and with different orthographies, use Latin script and various modifications. Further confounding the issue was the fact that orthography in Nigeria was influenced by English and in Niger by French. Following independence and the inclusion of Hausa as one of three "major" languages, there was a tendency for a spoken norm to emerge, but controversy continued over a written norm. Concerns like these over a norm for vernacular contributed to the growing role of English in postcolonial Africa. Bamgbose (1996) notes the overwhelming dominance of English in government, administration, official transactions, and mass media.

The problems were exacerbated, Valdman (1968) pointed out, in a situation of diglossia like Haiti, where the sociolinguistic situation includes both standard French and unstandardized Haitian Creole. Only the educated elite, he points out, command both varieties. He saw little chance of finding the resources to teach standard French to all citizens, so that the only practical solution is to start using Creole in more formal circumstances. This requires the development of a standard dialect, with an agreed orthography. One early attempt at this made the mistake of selecting a rural dialect basis rather than the higher prestige urban variety. The orthography was inconsistent, attempting (under the influence of structural linguists) to capture the phonetic realization rather than attempting to preserve underlying morphophonemic relations (thus, the third person singular clitic appears in five different forms). Without normalization and standardization, he predicted, it would be impossible to raise the status of Creole. Valdman (1986) traces later stages of the process.

Norms in reversing language shift

The issue of norm also now occurs regularly with reversing language shift activities (Fishman 1991, 2001). The term "reversing language shift" (RLS) was coined by Fishman to group together the activities of supporters of minority, previously powerless, or endangered languages to slow down or reverse the process by which their speakers move to a more powerful or more attractive standard language. It includes both the political activities of now-powerful Québec supporters of French or Catalonian supporters of Catalan (both languages with well established standardization) and the more modest language teaching and learning of New Zealand Māori or North American Indian communities, where the languages are still largely vernacular and lack a long tradition of standardization and cultivation. In these cases, one of the corollaries of an effort to preserve a language by moving it into the formal domains associated with public use and schooling is tackling the issue of the need to cultivate the language and to provide it with the norms and standards that seem basic to prestige and recognition. Under the former Māori language Commissioner, Timoti Karetu, the main work of the Commission was concerned with activities to preserve the traditional language.[5]

The same issue continues to plague bilingual speakers of minority languages who lack the control of prestige registers in their home language. For most students, the language spoken at home is quite different from that desired by the school system (Spolsky 1974, 1986). Special cases of this problem are produced when students have learned at home a nonstandard version of a standard language to be taught in school. Valdés (1998) presents the problem of Chicano students enrolled in university Spanish courses. The teachers of Spanish, themselves often second language speakers of standard Spanish, refuse to recognize the varieties spoken by their students, condemning them as incorrect and unacceptable. While one can understand and even accept the desire of the school to teach the standard form, the refusal to build on the already established basic control of another variety is inefficient and counterproductive, turning heritage language speakers away from a chance to cultivate their home languages. A related phenomenon led Israeli teachers of Arabic, themselves trained in the Classical variety and commonly unable to speak any variety of Spoken Arabic, to reject out-of-hand the spoken Arabic (such as Egyptian or Maghrib or Iraqi) of their students whose parents had immigrated from Arabic-speaking countries (Spolsky and Shohamy 1999). They thus emphasized the gap between home and school, and alienated their pupils from

the traditional language their parents had brought with them. Ormsby (2001) has shown that those who wish to develop tests for indigenous languages face similar problems.

In programs whose goal is to teach a threatened language to people who no longer speak it, one might expect to be forgiven for assuming that the question of norm, even in a modified form of a pedagogical norm (Valdman, 1989) justified as simplifying teaching, might be an unwanted luxury. Surely it should be enough to restore knowledge and use of any variety of the language, without worrying about accuracy or appropriate pronunciation or selection of a standard!

In practice however, it is commonly reported that one of the first concerns expressed by people working in programs teaching minority or heritage languages has to do with the selection of a dialect variety as norm. During the early happy days of government support for bilingual education in the United States, linguists were often asked by supporters of Spanish-English programs to advise them which of the several dialects of Spanish their school should teach. In the early Māori-English bilingual programs in the 1980s in New Zealand, many schools had long and heated debates about whether to hire Māori-speaking teachers who were fluent but whose dialect was that of another tribe (Spolsky 1989).[6]

Valdman (2000: 128) provides further evidence of this phenomenon and a possible explanation for it. He describes the ethnic revival movements connected with Occitan and other languages that were challenging the 500-year effort to establish a single acceptable variety of French (Ager, 1999); they were all seeking diversity and authenticity.

> In Brittany, the Basque region, and throughout the Occitan-speaking regions of southern France bilingual schools have sprung up whose primary goal is the maintenance and revitalization of local languages, for example the *calendretas* of Occitania and the *diwan* of Brittany; recently, the teaching of Corsican, a set of Italian dialects, was made obligatory in the primary schools of Corsica.

Valdman (2000) records a similar concern in the support for Cajun in the RLS activities in Louisiana in the late 1980s. A group of young Cajuns, university students and teachers, argued that the language programs should be teaching the local vernacular, still spoken by adults, rather than the standard French more easily handled by schools. Working against their efforts for a local Cajun-based norm was a parental preference for the prestige international variety of French. Bolstering this was the fact that so many Louisiana French teachers are not local but speakers of the standard variety. Early work by Lambert et al. (1960)

showed the higher status of Parisian over Québec French even among Québecois students. Here too, Valdman (2000: 136) makes clear, schools must take into account outside views:

> Schools by themselves cannot reestablish the use of minority language. To maintain themselves and to be revitalized these must have access to effective domains of language use: either home and hearth, if they are to endure as vernaculars, or the domains that generate prestige and social, economic, and political power, if they are to regain administrative and educational functions.

The need for standardizing vernacular languages then sets a problem when it is determined, for whatever reason, to teach the vernacular in school, whether as part of a program for language revival or as a heritage language. Compounding the problem is the question of source for the norms. For a written language, or a language with established written high or religious literature, the task is simplified. But when the only source of authority for the vernacular is the speech of native speakers, there is a further major complication to be resolved.

The role of native speakers in establishing norms

The very existence of native speakers with recognizable variation in their usage from some imagined norm or standard sets special challenges to those conducting reversing language shift programs. The issue is more complex than that faced in teaching modern foreign languages. Whenever one is teaching students to speak a modern language, there is a choice to be made between the spoken language and the standardized norm of the school grammar book. In reversing language shift programs, there is added to that dilemma the even more challenging problem of selecting among a series of recognized dialect varieties of the spoken language.

Dorian (1978) was one of the first to draw attention to this problem. Often the teacher does not control the dialect, and seldom knows how to write it down. And the school, probably not enthusiastic about teaching a minority language, will be even less happy at teaching a dialect.

Clearly, what is happening in all of these cases is the power of language as a pedigree of the nation, to revert to Dr Johnson's term. Communication is only one part of the role of a language; an equally powerful one is its role as a mark of political or religious or national identity.[7]

To understand why participants take the issue so seriously, it is important to recall that campaigns to reverse language shift are commonly associated with

movements to restore or strengthen group identity. Commonly, the identity is ethnic (Fishman 1999), but it is quite logical that people should want a program to focus on and support even more local identity. The identifying community may be local (defined by a village or town or part of a town or a region, for instance) or descent (caste or tribal, for instance) or place of origin. I vividly remember the New Mexico state legislator who was shocked that the funds he wanted to vote for bilingual education might be used to buy textbooks written for Cuban-Americans in Florida. His concern, he claimed, was with New Mexican bilingual education, not Floridian. The Cajun educators, Valdman reported, argued that in restoring Louisianan culture, one needed to choose Louisianan French or Cajun and not standard French.

Similarly, in current Māori medium instruction programs in New Zealand, associated with an ethnic revival movement that places emphasis on traditional *iwi* (tribe) or *hapu* (sub-tribe) groupings, educators constantly ask how to handle dialectal variation, limited though experts claim it to be. The current Māori Language Commissioner accepts this argument for dialects:

> Ngaitahu, like all other Māori *waka* (confederation), *iwi* (tribe), or *hapū* (sub-tribe), do identify their members genetically through genealogical descent from their founding ancestor *Tahū-pōtiki* and want the dialect they nurtured as their preferred language. That is how it should be. (Hohepa 2000)

To achieve this end, the Commission has agreed to help the Ngai Tahu *iwi* from the South Island, where language loss hit the small isolated communities even faster than in the North (Benton 1991), to regenerate the virtually extinct dialect from its few remaining speakers.

In actual fact, in reversing language shift programs, it appears that the leveling of dialectal variation in the case of second language speakers is a common phenomenon. Jones (1998a), in a detailed study of changes in the use and form of Welsh in two communities in Wales, provides detailed evidence showing that children in bilingual schools speak a regionally-unmarked variety quite different from the community dialects that their parents speak. This suggests the greater influence either of the school, or if we follow Harris (1995, 1998), of the peer group, than of the home. Jones (1998b) reported that the language used by Neo-Breton second language speakers is similarly different from the marked dialectal varieties of native speakers, with the result that the two groups can often not communicate with each other.

Native speakers in reversing language shift programs

The very existence of surviving native speakers who maintain traditional dialect varieties turns out to pose a special problem in the selection of a pedagogical norm for programs intended to reverse language shift. Valdman's solution is to take the standard language as a pedagogical norm, but to allocate some time to developing passive understanding of and sympathetic appreciation of the vernacular varieties. Another solution was offered by a Māori elder whose proposal ended a two-day public meeting on the topic: she suggested that the school should teach Māori, and the home teach the dialect.

Jones (2000) does however report what she considers an exception to this problem of teaching the local dialect. In the case of Jèrriais, the barely surviving Norman variety spoken by a few thousand older residents of Jersey, but taught since 1999 in some 20 schools to a couple of hundred pupils, one of the local dialects has been accepted. The program so far seems to be slowly winning approval from the native speech community.

Activities to reverse language shift turn out to have greater freedom of choice where there are no native speakers. Cornish is a good example, one in which language revitalization started two centuries after the last native speakers died. Those concerned with revival had to reconstruct a modern language from place names and from medieval texts. In practice, they were able to borrow words and supplement grammar from continuing related languages such as Irish, Welsh, and Breton. There remained controversy among scholars over the selection of a source language,[8] but no argument over which dialect to choose.

Freedom from native speakers in Hebrew revitalization

This freedom from the existing models of native speakers was particularly marked in the case of the revitalization and revernacularization of Hebrew (Spolsky 1996). Hebrew had continued to flourish as the language for literacy, study, and prayer during the 17 centuries when it was not spoken. During this period, its lexicon had continued to be enriched and its syntax to be modified. But, as Blanc (1968:237) pointed out, there were no native speakers to claim that the new generation should follow their usage and no competing dialects to choose among. "It is by no means clear", he added, "whether, on balance, the non-native and heterogeneous character of the first speakers of Hebrew was a handicap or an advantage."

The result is that Modern Hebrew is a completely changed language, so much so that some Hebrew language scholars objected to any efforts to describe it. The language had not yet jelled sufficiently, they argued: all we can do is describe the various "correct" written forms of Biblical, Talmudic, medieval, and enlightenment Hebrew. As the pioneering descriptions of Modern Hebrew show, there have been major changes not just in the lexicon but also in the grammar (Blanc 1968: 239 remarks on strong Indo-European influences on syntax).

The development of patterns of pronunciation of Modern Hebrew without native speakers to check them is instructive. Not surprisingly, before the language was revernacularized, Jewish communities in Diasporas throughout the world had developed their own particular way of pronouncing Hebrew.[9] This pronunciation reflected the pronunciation of either the co-territorial vernacular or of the local variety of a Jewish language. To oversimplify, pre-revernacularized Hebrew might sound like Yiddish or like Judeo-Italian or like Ladino or like Judeo-Arabic, depending on the linguistic background of the speaker. The lack of models or of uniformity presented a quandary for the teachers in the first Hebrew-medium schools in Palestine at the beginning of the 20th century. They saw the major choice to be between the pronunciation of East European Yiddish speakers (Ashkenazi) and that of speakers of Judeo-Arabic languages (Sephardi). They chose the latter, assuming that closeness to Arabic asserted the Semitic character of the language. This involved choosing pure vowels over diphthongs, maintaining pharyngeals and glottals, and selecting the stop form of certain pairs of phonemes. At the same time, they decided to use the more easily legible Ashkenazi cursive script than the more flowing Sephardi variety.

In spite of their decisions, the Hebrew pronunciation of the new generation of native language speakers went its own way, dropping from General Israeli Hebrew the more Semitic consonants and reintroducing diphthongisation in several long vowels. (In fact, the more markedly Sephardi variety continues as an ethnic marker, to be heard in the speech of immigrants from Arabic-speaking countries; now, in native-born speakers, it has become a class marker.)

The grammar of modern Israeli Hebrew has changed too. Schwarzwald (2001) points out that although the revivers of Hebrew tried to base the revived language on the grammar of Biblical Hebrew and classical periods, the language has changed considerably, with very few modern speakers following the norms laid down in prescriptive grammars. She points out that Hebrew is now a SVO language, although the VSO order of Classical Hebrew also occurs. There is decreasing use of the rich morphology that preserved its Semitic origin. Clearly,

it has been strongly influenced by the fact that its first speakers were second language speakers whose first language was Yiddish.[10] She further notes that the lexicon of Modern Hebrew consists of original Hebrew words from all the historical periods together with loan words from many sources. Summing up the development, Glinert (1990: 2) says:

> By high-pressure innovation and historical restoration (here the lexicographer Ben-Yehuda should be mentioned), by the prescriptive efforts of individuals and organizations such as the Israel Defense Forces and the Hebrew Language Academy, and above all by popular conformity and sheer intensive use, Hebrew has now evolved into a cohesive, standardized Israeli Hebrew, with its own distinctive pronunciation, grammar and lexicon, at all levels of usage — but still recognizably a direct outgrowth of the previous stage of Hebrew.

But not by emulating the usage of native speakers, for there were none. Fishman (1991), in his pioneering study of Reversing Language Shift, sets the need to reconstruct a language from "vestigial users" of the language as signifying the lowest stage on the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale,[11] where a language is at the final stage of becoming extinct. Cases like Cornish where there are no native speakers, but where reconstruction must be made from written records of a no longer spoken language are right off the scale. The absence of native speakers who might serve as norms for teaching a language being revived appears then to be a serious handicap. That is clearly so when the goal of reversing language shift is to restore a language to its pristine state.

But on deeper analysis, it may in fact turn out, as Blanc speculated, to have some advantages as well. In the first section of this paper, I noted how the existence of native speakers sets a challenge in developing an appropriate pedagogical norm. A second problem has to do with the status of the native speakers: although they are to be admired as custodians of the language, the fact that they are likely to be "socially isolated old folks" (Fishman 1991: 88) has serious effects on the status of the language. Studies of the revival of Irish draw attention to the social gap between the status of the poverty-stricken Gaeltacht and the effort to revive Irish in the cities (Ó Riagáin 1997).

Working with native speakers

Even when the native speakers are socially respected, new troubles may occur. Efforts to revitalize or regenerate the Maori language in New Zealand started in

the 1970s, when there were very few children still learning it as their first language and when the average age of fluent speakers was growing steadily older (Benton 1991). The first revival programs were in fact aimed at adults but many of them reported the frustration that they felt when older native speakers heaped scorn on the stumbling efforts they made to speak a language they were learning in first-year university courses or in other adult education contexts. Significantly, the breakthrough came with a movement called Te Ataarangi, which based its pedagogy on Gattegno's Silent Method (Mataira 1980). It was not the little Cuisenaire rods that were so attractive to the adult learners, but rather freedom from the embarrassment of being forced to display their inadequate language skills.

There continue to be reports of adult dissatisfaction with the quality of Māori being spoken by children in the preschool *kohanga reo* (language nests) and in the Māori-medium *Kura Kaupapa* Māori. One might speculate that it is the existence if not the attitudes of these older native speakers that helps account for the fact that very few of the many thousand Māori children in preschool and school immersion programs are reported to be speaking the language outside the classroom and the school. Wider language use is reported in a school where parents had promised that one of them would speak Māori to the children, even though they themselves were all second language speakers. It could well be that the children were more willing to speak when they recognized they were more fluent than their interlocutors. After all, that was the situation with Hebrew language revitalization, resulting in the popular myth that the children taught the language to their parents.

With North American indigenous languages, there are reports of the attitudes of native speakers working against reversing language shift activities. Hinton and Ahlers (1999: 62) reports that "Just about all younger speakers of Native American languages everywhere have been criticized by elders for mistakes." Burnaby (1997: 299) says that she spoke to many people whose use of their heritage language has been inhibited by fear of the ridicule they receive from native speakers. Only when the language is in its dying phase, as among Californian Indian languages, are elders pleased to hear the language even mis-spoken.

Wong (1999) analyzes this phenomenon further in the case of Hawaiian language revitalization efforts. The imperfect speech of learners upsets native speakers not just for its mispronunciation, wrong lexical choices, and inaccurate grammar, but also because of its cultural status as translation of another language. In Hawaii, because there are so few native speakers, the struggle has become one between competing second-language learner norms, based either

on 19th century literature or on existing *kupuna* (elders). A self-appointed language committee attempts to prescribe and control lexical choice, and there has been controversy over lexical matters at several schools.

Native speakers who no longer use the language with their children are not necessarily an unalloyed good for reversing language shift. The absence of competing models makes the choice of a pedagogical grammar simpler, and avoids the discouragement provided by critical reactions to the stumbling efforts of beginning second-language speakers. Of course, one would not propose waiting until there are no native speakers to start reversing language shift activities. It should be easier to show native speakers how to encourage rather than discourage the new second language learners than it is to create new native speakers. Similarly, in the case of Jersey, Jones (2000) suggests the value, when there are native speakers, of selecting an existing dialect as the basis rather than attempting (as with Breton) to build a new amalgam.

Conclusion

While it is attractive to many to reject norms of any kind, they serve a vital function in permitting language to be used for communication and to be learned more efficiently. Language learners tend to generalize and regularize. School language programs, as Valdman (1989) recognized, must take steps towards bringing potential chaos under control by establishing a pedagogical norm, a target language for the learner that delays the need to deal with the complex richness and variety of a language in its natural use. But it is equally misguided for a school language program to refuse to recognize the existence and special meaning of varieties. Valdman's concept of a pedagogical norm for language teaching allows for mediation between the need to simplify language in order to facilitate teaching and a recognition of multiple language varieties and ideologies associated with them. Such mediation is the core of sociolinguistically-informed language pedagogy. Through his work in this complex area, Valdman has made a major contribution to applied and educational linguistics.

Notes

1. Jonathan Swift's (1712) suggestion to emulate the Italian foundation of an Academy in 1582 and the French replica set up in 1635 fell on unsympathetic ears.

2. Finegan (1998: 539) is here citing Priestley (1761), who argued that language, like goods in the market place, would slowly improve.

3. See Coulmas (1990).

4. *Ethnologue* (Grimes 2000) estimates there are 39,000,000 speakers, 24,2000,000 of them first language speakers.

5. The new commissioner is moving in a more activist language diffusion direction (Hohepa 2000).

6. One such debate, I was told, was the topic of a two-day *hui* (meeting) and was only resolved when a Māori elder came up with a formula: "Let the school teach Māori", she said, "and let the home teach our *iwi* dialect."

7. As I write this paper, there is still fighting in Macedonia in a dispute the solution of which is said to be recognition of the status of the minority Albanian language.

8. I narrowly and regretfully missed attending what I was told would be an exciting public meeting of a score of Cornish enthusiasts at which an Irish scholar would present a paper complaining that spoken Cornish is favoring Breton sources over Gaelic.

9. These were carried with them to new dispersions, and maintained in synagogues whose members came from same town or country.

10. This can be noted in topicalization and word order shifts, and in the use of Ashkenazi penultimate syllable stress in intimate forms of personal names.

11. Each level or stage sets different challenges for reversing language shift. The most critical is widely assumed to be natural intergenerational transmission, where parents pass the language to their children.

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Standard, norm, and variability in language learning

A view from foreign language research

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> *Just as specialists of the language sciences need to develop an all-inclusive, rigorous theory that encompasses linguistic and communicative competence, so applied linguists and methodologists need to devise pedagogical grammars that help learners perceive how the TL links meaning and form, how its speakers construct whole messages that enable them to achieve communicative ends and texts that enable them to narrate events and to organize their experience.* (Valdman 1992: 94).

Both second and foreign language learning ultimately aim at enabling speakers of one language to "organize their experience" and communicate it to others in another language, but they go about it in different ways. Foreign language (FL) learning, which typically occurs in L1 environments and instructional settings around the world, has traditionally been characterized by a high degree of institutional power, based mostly on the written language and on academic forms of discourse, where language learning and testing centers around grammar, and on the critical analysis and interpretation of text. (Kramsch 1998, Mitchell 2000). The norm in FL learning has historically been represented by the *standard forms* of written language as encountered in canonical works of literature (Kramsch and Kramsch 2000, Train 2000). In most countries, this standard is officially spelled out by State guidelines issued by the respective Departments or Ministries of Education (Kramsch 1991).

By contrast, second language (SL) learning, which typically takes place in L2 environments and in natural or instructional settings, is more linked to the social conventions of communities of practice than to dictates of academic institutions. It emphasizes the acquisition of spoken and written communication

skills, information-processing strategies, discourse management techniques, and L2 socialization skills outside of the academy. Instead of a national standard, Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research has introduced the notion of *native speaker norm* in language study, based on native-speaker use, pragmatic appropriateness, 'real-world' tasks and activities, 'natural' and 'authentic' forms of input and interaction (Ellis 1997).[1]

These two approaches to language learning can easily be seen as reflecting two different disciplinary philosophies: On the one hand, the age old tradition of the humanities, with its hierarchical levels of knowledge, from the macrolevel of the Académie Française to the microlevel of grammatical subordination and syntactic trees; on the other, the new disciplinary domain of the social sciences, with their more symmetrically distributed sources of knowledge, emerging out of interaction, dialogue, and negotiation of meaning among users of the language.

Since the seventies, the findings of SLA research have progressively subverted FL methodology, both liberating and enriching, but at the same time shortchanging FL learning. By focussing on an authentic native speaker norm, it has highlighted the rich social context of language use and measured learners' progress according to how well it conforms to the economy of verbal exchanges on the native speaker linguistic market. But in so doing, it has tended to reduce the FL to its currently realized communicative uses in situations of everyday life, in approximation to and conformity with stereotypical native speakers, thus often silencing other, FL-specific forms of language potential. Valdman (e.g., 1992) has untiringly advocated developing a *variable pedagogical norm*, that would be neither the idealized standard of the Académie Française (*où vas-tu?*), nor one idealized iteration of NS use (*tu vas où?*) but a linguistically reflective, variable potential, contingent upon the circumstances and the perception of one's role in given contexts of use, and based on one's unique experience as a non-native speaker. I want to expound on Valdman's injunction above and explore what such a potential would look like for both SL and FL learners.[2] For this, I extend the notion of linguistic norm that Valdman had in mind to all the criteria against which language learner performance is taught, measured, and assessed in various educational systems.[3]

I first review briefly the norms upon which SL and FL research have been predicated in the last thirty years. I then discuss what applied linguistics can contribute to the discussion of a variable pedagogical norm in language learning, and how it can shift the spotlight away from both the *literate standard* and the *native speaker norm,* toward the discovery of the *variable meaning making potential* of the multimodal speaker.

SL vs. FL research: Native Speaker Norm vs. Foreign Language Standard

In the seventies, SL and FL research were quite separate endeavors. SL research, born of the needs to teach English around the world in the wake of WW II (Pennycook 1994) was mainly psycholinguistic in nature. It sought to explain and predict the acquisition of English by immigrants to English-speaking countries, both teachers and learners were only loosely affiliated with national academic institutions, learner motivation was mostly functional in nature, the focus was on the development of communicative competence, taking as a model native speaker behavior. By contrast, FL research around the world was humanistic and educational in nature.[4] Its goals were subordinated to the general educational goals pursued by the respective national school systems at academically sanctioned institutions. Student motivation was, as in all academic subjects, driven by the desire to succeed academically, the focus was on the development of linguistic and cognitive competencies, social and cultural awareness, moral and civic virtue, and humanistically critical literacy skills (see Section 2 below). It took its model, not from the native speaker (NS), but from the standard national language itself, its grammar, its paradigms, its written texts (see Mitchell 2000). The norm against which a learner's performance was measured was the standardized grammar and spelling of the nationally recognized linguistic code, the received pronunciation of national radio broadcasters, the formal register of academic prose, and, at the advanced levels, the analytical and interpretive reading skills of the literary critic. It also included the knowledge of facts of the well-educated citizen, whether these facts be linguistic, historical, social, or cultural. FL learning as a school subject was expected to conform to the norms of the well-educated elite among a country's citizenry.

In the eighties, under the influence of SL research, the growth of the social sciences and the progressive demise of the humanities, the norms of FL learning came to be seen as the same as those of L2 learning — and in comparison with SL learners, FL learners were found lacking. At the first conference devoted to FL learning held at the U. of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, VanPatten, Dvorak and Lee defined FL learning as the poor cousin of L2 learning (VanPatten, Dvorak, and Lee 1987).

> FL learners, as a group, are qualitatively different from L2 learners. Most of them have not chosen to study another language because they are interested in the target language or culture, and many of them do not consider language learning a particularly valuable or enjoyable experience and are often resentful of the time and energy demanded to master a skill they do

> not want and never intend to use. L2 learning, by definition, takes place within the environment of the target language, while FL learning is essentially limited to a classroom within the L1 environment. That means that the quality and amount of input available to the L2 learner is much richer than that available to the FL learner. For the same reason, the kind and quantity of opportunities for real language use are considerably greater for the L2 learner. Each of these differences helps explain the differences in outcome between L2 and FL learning: the former tends to result in higher levels of proficiency than does the latter. (pp. 2–3).

This statement provides a negative definition of FL learning in terms of what it is not, and what it is lacking. It reflects the ardor of the young scientifically grounded field of SLA vis-à-vis the old humanistic elite and its pre-theoretical methodologies. The authors go on to ask research questions that are clearly aimed at establishing the universal validity of SLA research, at showing the limitations of a "strictly formal environment" like academia, and at reinforcing the view that all language learners are autonomous individuals ultimately in charge of their own learning. In trying to move FL research beyond its concerns for methodology, and give it scientific validity, VanPatten et al. assume that the purposes, goals, and symbolic value of language acquisition are the same for SL and FL learners. Most of all, they suggest replacing the traditional elitist norm for FL learning by a more democratic norm, based on what native speakers of the language actually say and do in real contexts of language use.

Indeed in the 80's in the US, under the influence of the growing prestige of SLA research, FL and SL teaching started operating in many respects under the same set of norms, where a premium was placed on usable skills and on spoken interpersonal communication. FL teaching started to espouse the same norms as SL teaching: primacy of spoken proficiency over ability to analyze words and sentences, importance given to the ability to retrieve information from texts rather than interpret texts critically, ability to perform the various functions of everyday life rather than memorize du Bellay sonnets. The globalization of the textbook publishing industry and of teacher training programs further served to extend the NS norm from SL to FL learning.

Based on this NS norm of ultimate attainment, FL research in the last twenty years has contributed to the SLA research agenda with studies that have focussed on topics common to SL and FL, for example:

– the acquisition of FL grammatical and lexical forms (e.g., Terrell, Baycroft, and Perrone 1987, Kaplan 1987, VanPatten 1987, 2000, Lee 2000), based on

the standardized written language, itself a norm for the well-educated native speaker;
- the role of input and interaction in the FL classroom (e.g., Brooks, Donato, and McGlone 1997, Kinginger 2000) and how well they facilitate the acquisition of forms and referential meanings used by native speakers;
- the discourse of teachers and pupils in FL classrooms (e.g., Wing 1987, Edmondson 1985, Kramsch 1985), and in virtual environments (e.g., Kern 2000, Lam 2000, Kramsch and Thorne 2002), and how well it approximates real-life communicative discourse;
- FL learners' strategies for reading authentic texts (Lee 1986, LoCoco 1987, Barnett 1989, Bernhardt 1991, Swaffar, Arens, and Byrnes 1991) to retrieve the information a NS would retrieve from texts in everyday life.

Because the majority of FL learners in the US are concentrated at the beginning or low intermediate levels, the data have been comparable, in level of proficiency, to many of the data used by SLA researchers. They too have served as a basis for pedagogical recommendations to teachers.

The results of twenty-five years of SLA research were summarized recently by Lightbown (2000) in ten research generalizations, such as: "Knowing a language rule does not mean one will be able to use it in communicative interaction", "Isolated explicit error correction is usually ineffective in changing language behaviour" or "Practice does not make perfect". The first eight items on this list are predicated on L2 linguistic norms.The norms of usage and accuracy are those of the national standard established by native speaking grammarians and lexicographers. The norms of use are those of the (ideal) native speaker engaged in "communicative interaction". The norm for language learner development is the native child's acquisition of his/her native language.

Items 9 and 10, however, strike a different tone. Item 9 reads: "The learner's task is enormous because language is enormously complex", item 10 reads: "A learner's ability to understand language in a meaningful context exceeds his/her ability to comprehend decontextualized language and to produce language of comparable complexity and accuracy". These last two generalizations implicitly suggest that the learner has to go beyond norms of usage and norms of use and deal with the e-*norm*-ous, or 'outside-the-norm', complexity of human intentions, needs, and meanings in variable and changing contexts.

The pedagogical application of the norms of use implicit in Lightbown's list to FL learning in various educational cultures has raised some problems. Because of the prestige associated with SLA research, whenever SLA researchers

make recommendations for teaching practice, it is often assumed that FL learning ultimately fulfills the same goals as SL learning, namely, *to socialize learners into a target language community of which they strive to become members, or to make them able to communicate and negotiate with native or near-native speakers of the language.* But this is not necessarily the case for the majority of FL learners around the globe who learn the language quite removed from any L2 community of practice. True, many learners want to use the L2 for professional advancement, but their dream is not necessarily to assimilate into another community than their own, or even to communicate with speakers of the language. In Sri-Lanka (Canagarajah 1999), South Africa (Chick 1996), Hong-Kong (Lin 1999), Vietnam (Sullivan 2000), or Turkey (Clachar 2000), most FL students just want to pass the institutional exam and get the academic grade granted by their educational system according to their own cultural criteria of excellence. They wish to show evidence of schooling, i.e., that they are well-educated and have what Bourdieu calls a "profit of distinction" (Bourdieu 1991: 18).

In many institutions around the world, learning a FL means learning to *communicate in* the L2, but also *talk about* the L2, and *acquire information on* the language and the culture of the people who use the L2. As Mitchell (2000) shows, FL teaching is characterized by (national) standards, accountability (to tax payers) and the quest for effective pedagogy. Hence, as she shows, the particular importance of form, notably **grammar** as a linguistic, disciplinary, and educational symbol, and of critical language awareness. These norms for FL teaching are expressed most clearly in the states' guidelines at the governmental level in various countries.

FL norm in three educational systems: US, France, Germany

It is interesting to compare Lightbown's (2000) list of research findings in SLA with the norms implied by the Guidelines published in recent years by the Departments of Education in various nation-states.

United States

In the 1996 *Standards for Foreign Language Learning,* the goals of FL learning in the United States are expressed in the forms of "assumptions" or beliefs expressed in the indicative:

> Competence in more than one language and culture enables people to:
> Communicate with other people in other cultures in a variety of settings.
> Look beyond their customary borders
> Develop insight into their own language and culture
> Act with greater awareness of self, of other cultures, and their own relationship to those cultures
> Gain direct access to additional bodies of knowledge, and
> Participate more fully in the global community and marketplace.

This preamble leads to five "standards" for FL learning, i.e., "what students of foreign languages should know and be able to do at the end of high school", namely:

> 1. Communicate in languages other than English
> Engage in conversations, provide and obtain information, express feelings and emotions, and exchange opinions.
> Understand and interpret written and spoken language on a variety of topics
> Present information, concepts and ideas to an audience of listeners or readers on a variety of topics.
> 2. Gain knowledge and understanding of other cultures
> Demonstrate an understanding of the relationship between the practices/products and perspectives of the culture studied
> 3. Connect with other disciplines and acquire information
> Reinforce and further their knowledge of other disciplines through the foreign language
> Acquire information and recognize the distinctive viewpoints that are only available through the foreign language and its cultures.
> 4. Develop insights into the nature of language and culture
> Demonstrate understanding of the nature of language and the concept of culture through comparisons of the language and cultures studied and their own.
> 5. Participate in multilingual communities at home and around the world
> Use the language both within and beyond the school setting
> Show evidence of becoming life-long learners by using the language for personal enjoyment and enrichment.
> (Standards 1996: 23)

Within these five standards, the Guidelines mandate the development of several learning and communicative skills, for example, communication and learning strategies, critical thinking skills, in various communicative modes.

The norms underlying these Standards are linguistic (1 and 4), social and cultural (2 and 5), and cognitive (3), but no mention is made of approximating

the native speaker. The implicit linguistic norm is the national standard L2 grammar and vocabulary. However, the implicit cognitive, social, and cultural norms of behavior for "gaining knowledge", "acquiring information", "developing insights", and "participating in multilingual communities" are, one must assume, the learner's own, not those of any NS community. While most SLA research emphasizes the *acquisition* of standard linguistic forms and meanings, the U.S. National Standards seem to put the emphasis on their *communicative use*, but it is not clear which norm regulates that use. We find a similar state of affairs with FL instruction in Germany, albeit with different educational priorities, which I italicize in the text.

Germany, State of Hessen

At the Junior High School level, the goals of FL instruction in the state of Hessen are as follows:

> Language helps people to orient themselves in the world, it enables them to understand and communicate human experience, it is the means for personal and *esthetic creativity…*

This preamble leads to four goals of FL instruction:

> "[FL instruction]
> – must awaken a *constructive curiosity* in the students and *foster their willingness* to immerse themselves into the daily life and culture of other countries and communicate with speakers of other languages … [it must] include ways of raising students' interests, pleasure and creativity, and of giving them the space to discover, explore and find answers by themselves.
> – it must give them multifarious and authentic insights in the realities of life in other countries … Students should *discover anew aspects of their own culture, … establish a distance to their own views and beliefs and question their own society …* [and] approach foreign cultures with *empathy, tolerance, and a critical perspective.*
> – It must enable students to meet their communicative needs …
> – It must foster those values and behaviors that strengthen *the will and the ability to communicate* and to behave in a responsible manner, e.g.: desire to understand and communicate with speakers of other languages, *courage to stand up for one's convictions, willingness to take responsibility for self and others*, and to act both *cooperatively and autonomously.*"
> (Rahmenplan 1996, my emphasis, my trsl.)

At the high school level, the tone is somewhat more abstract.

> "By preparing learners for the realities of the 21st century, foreign language education contributes eminently to the character development of our students and to their education in *social responsibility*… It enables them to encounter people from other cultures with empathy and to shape interpersonal relations along *principles of respect and tolerance, justice and solidarity.* It should give *them insights into Christian and humanistic traditions,* to behave according to *moral principles and to respect religious and cultural values* … Knowledge of a foreign language fosters cultural and *intercultural competence* … In the study of spoken and written texts, students should learn in particular:
>
> – to seek out information
> – to use that information critically, i.e., to form their own personal opinion and to assess critically those of others
> – to develop skills of perception, sensibility and self-expression, that promote creativity and personal initiative
> – to develop their willingness to learn for themselves and for others and to achieve
> – to develop an ability to work together for the social good
> – *to settle conflicts reasonably and peacefully, but also to accept dissent and conflict.*"
>
> (Rahmenplan 1998, my emphasis, my trsl.)

The norms of language learning, in these German guidelines, are primarily moral and cognitive, social and political, and only secondarily linguistic. The native speaker is viewed as "the Other, the Foreign" and FL learning as "a primary component of the learners' search for their own identity as well as their growing openness to [that] Other." (Rahmenplan 1998: 3). FL learning in Germany serves the general educational goals of the local state eager to promote the democratic ideal of an enlightened, informed, and open-minded citizenry, that is willing and able to view itself and others critically within the 18th century spirit of tolerance and respect, and that upholds the classic humanistic values of rational debate, aesthetic fulfillment, and moral virtue. As in the US Standards, there is little concern here with an approximation to any NS norm of language use. Instead, the German educational institution imposes its values on all learners under its purview.

France, National Guidelines

Unlike Germany and the U.S. that have decentralized educational systems, France has one National Ministry of Education that issues binding national standards for all schools. Here are excerpts from the most recent guidelines, in

which I have italicized the statements that differ from both the German and the US American.

> "At the junior high school (collège) and the high school (lycée) levels, foreign language instruction has a triple objective: communicative, cultural and linguistic… As instrument of communication, *as linguistic sign*, and as the cultural expression of the countries where the language is spoken, a modern foreign language is also *the means and the object of a specifically linguistic reflexion.*" (Ministère de l'Education Nationale 2000a, my emphasis, my trsl.).

More specifically, at the junior high school level:

> "Learning a foreign language … gives students *access to other linguistic usages, other ways of thought*, and other values. To learn a foreign language is to learn to respect the Other in his difference, it is *to acquire a sense of the relative* and the spirit of tolerance. These values are all the more necessary today as school communities tend to become increasingly multicultural.
> – The learning of a foreign language *involves a progressive reflexion on the nature and functioning of language proper. This language awareness includes also an awareness of French.*
> – It contributes *to the development of the students' intellectual capacities* and fosters their *autonomy* in self-expression.
> – Finally, the use of new technologies … and of their interactive potential offers an additional incentive to learn a foreign language, while enhancing the *autonomy* of the foreign language learner."
> (Ministère de l'Education Nationale 2000a: 14 my emphasis, my trsl.)

The high school level guidelines reinforce the standards applied at the junior level by aiming at

> – the consolidation, extension and deepening of FL comprehension skills and skills of *autonomous* personal expression in the spoken and written modalities
> – an increasingly nuanced study of texts of increasing complexity, deepening of a *reasoned understanding of culture*
> – *the deepening of a metalinguistic reflexion on the target language and on language in general.*
> (Ministère de l'Education Nationale 2000b: 19, my emphasis, my trsl.)

The French guidelines offer a complex blend of linguistic, cognitive, moral, and esthetic norms. However, as in the two other cases, no mention is made of NS norms of use, or of NS communicative styles. Like the German guidelines, the French educational system imposes on its pupils what it considers to be the best education for all its citizens, whatever their religious, ethnic, cultural backgrounds.

Unlike the American and German standards, the focus is primarily on the linguistic code and linguistic relativity, on rationality and intellectual reflexion. Its goal is not "intercultural competence", but, rather, the French Enlightenment view of the ideal citizen of 1789. Their call for student *autonomy* is strikingly similar and yet historically strikingly different from the autonomy called for by the VanPatten, Dvorak, and Lee statement cited in Section 1 of this paper. Where "autonomy" in SLA parlance means freedom from institutional constraints, and in the German guidelines, moral courage and responsibility, "autonomy" in the French document means freedom from the pressure to conform to the dominant discourse of the community.

The discrepancy between the insights gained through SLA research as reflected in Lightbown (2000) and the goals of FL instruction in the US, France, and Germany is so large that a comparison may seem unwarranted, indeed unfair. In fact, one could argue that I am comparing apples and oranges, i.e., language learning and language study. The norms and expectations, one could argue, are quite different, and so are the demographics, the purposes, the motivations of learners and teachers. Immigrant SL learners, for example, need to be socialized into the host society, and to have the unfamiliar rendered familiar, since they have presumably immigrated in order to become "one of us". FL learners, by contrast, need to experience the thrill of the exotic and to have their familiar world rendered unfamiliar through contact with the unfamiliar "them". Seemingly opposite goals.

But are they really such opposites? In both cases, learning another language puts into question one's usual frames of reference, one's well-known universe of signs. In both cases, learners tend at first to underestimate the extent to which language, as Halliday says, "is at the same time a part of reality, a shaper of reality, and a metaphor of reality" (Halliday 1990, cited in Valdman 1992: 80). An awareness of the link, for example, between register and social class, or between grammar and facework in speech act realization, should be beneficial to both SL and FL learners. Such an awareness can be useful not only on the microlevel of human interactions, but also on the geopolitical level of diplomatic relations, as in the recent case of apologies between the United States and China in May 2001. Becoming aware of the way language positions speakers and writers within the social order, how it shapes their thoughts and perceptions, how it embodies their memories and their community's history, is a task that is relevant to both SL and FL learners, because in both cases, as Lightbown wrote, "language is enormously complex".

Pedagogical norm as variable meaning potential

Both language learning and language study, SL and FL research, can benefit from Lightbown's call to recognize the "enormous complexity of language". Yet, most current SL or FL pedagogies don't value anything much beyond the achievement of [standard] communicative ability. Despite its claims to make language learning more relevant to real-life communicative needs, the grammatical, lexical, phonological norm has remained the standardized, codified form of the national linguistic variety, the pragmatic norm is still that of the idealized NS in standard communicative situations. It is as if the standard written norm of literary texts had been replaced by the standard spoken norm of a standard NS without doing justice to the linguistic and pragmatic variations of real speakers in real situations of use.

To get out of the arbitrary constraints of the norms imposed both by the ideal standard L1 code and its gate keeper, the L1 institution, and by the ideal L2 community, Valdman proposed a pedagogical norm, based on what he calls "epilinguistic" and "metalinguistic" observation and analysis: "[t]he handling of linguistic variation within the TL and the integrative approach to syllabus design advocated here should contribute to the attainment of metalinguistic and epilinguistic outcomes to which we assign as high a value as to the achievement of a minimal communicative ability" (1992: 94). Epilinguistics has to do with the observed degree of convergence (or divergence) between attitudes of NSs toward speech and observable NS performance, i.e., with an awareness of language variation; metalinguistics has to do with "an awareness of the way language functions to construct linguistic and sociopragmatic meaning" (1992: 94). Both epilinguistic and metalinguistic awareness should, Valdman argues, form the basis for a pedagogical norm of language learning that would accommodate the inevitable variation inherent in both NS norm and language standard. This variation should be the object of observation and analysis within an integrated syllabus that explicitly links grammar, semantics, and sociopragmatics, and that supplements learning the language with learning about language in use, i.e., how form and meaning variably construct one another.[5]

One could argue that, in tutored learning, "pedagogic norm" and "variability" are contradictions in terms. How can any kind of norm, imposed by the teacher and used as a basis for evaluating one student against another in a classroom, be fairly conceived as a variable norm, even if that norm is not that of the ideal native speaker, but a more realistic norm adapted to the learner's needs and abilities? Valdman makes in this respect the crucial distinction

between "minimal communicative *ability*", which is all that learners can hope to achieve in the artificial environment of the classroom, and *awareness* of language variation (epilinguistic awareness) and of the relations of form and meaning (metalinguistic awareness), an awareness that can best be developed in the reflexive environment of an academic setting. Thus, the minimal communicative ability of the learner might include the ability to use the informal French interrogative *où tu vas?* or *où est-ce que tu vas?,* selected by teacher and students for its appropriateness to the pedagogic authenticity of the classroom, itself based on realistic goals of learnability and sociolinguistic suitability. But the learner's language awareness will include the ability to know why this variant was chosen rather than the more localized vernacular *où c'est qu'tu vas?*, or the more written form *où vas-tu?*, that native speakers do not use as frequently as *où tu vas?,* despite their belief to the contrary (Valdman 1992). This awareness must be made a part of communicative ability. If Valdman can dare state, "in the FL classroom many aspects of communicative ability can be learned without students actually producing FL discourse" (80), it is not because he wants to go back to "talking about" language rather than "using the language". It is only that the FL proficiency orientation in the early nineties did not leave enough space, in his view, for reflexion on the link between linguistic form and cultural meaning. Talk, in the classroom, should not emulate the native speaker, it should lead to talk about talk.[6]

Expounding on Valdman's plea to do justice to diversity and variation in the teaching of language and language use, we could envisage a beneficial cross-fertilization between FL standards and SL norms. On the one hand, the idealized native institutional standard or national code could be diversified by an epi- and metalinguistic awareness of the "enormous complexity" of language and meaning making practices, both among and within users of the language, whether they are native or non-native users. On the other hand, native community norms of an idealized NS use could be diversified by institutional demands for learner intellectual autonomy, critical language awareness, moral and aesthetic development.

If FL and SL research were to develop such a variable pedagogical norm, it would have to ask different questions about language learning in instructional settings. Not: How well or through which processes do learners approximate the standard national language norms of usage and the NS norms of use, but: *How much choice do learners have in selecting one grammatical or lexical form over the other and how aware are they of the meaning potential of each choice?*

The adoption of a variable pedagogical norm would make *linguistic, semantic, and pragmatic variation* the primary feature of pedagogic norms; it would build on some of the existing research in applied linguistics and language methodology, as Valdman recommends. Besides sensitizing learners to the multiple linguistic varieties of English, French, or German around the world and within individual nation-states, one can also envisage highlighting variability in areas that are not usually viewed from a variability perspective, namely: Forms of use, Levels of meaning, Modalities of input, and Contexts of use. I take each one in turn.

Variable forms of use

The canonical form of SL use in SLA research has been non-reflexive communicative practice, from informal conversations to task-based communication. The recent reflexive turn in SLA toward the development of more language awareness (cf. Kowal and Swain 1994, van Lier 1996, Anton 1999) is applied more to an awareness of the linguistic norm and to language in general than to relativity and variability *per se*. By contrast, a variable pedagogic norm would lead researchers to explore the value of highlighting relativity in language use as a language learning strategy. For example:

- What is the value of translation from and into the mother tongue for language acquisition? Kern (1994) found that learners not only routinely use mental translation when they read a FL text, but that the L1 serves to anchor memory, thus increasing the reader's ability to predict meaning based on prior understandings. One could add that, by problematizing the commensurability of referential meanings, such translation processes heighten the learner's awareness of the gap between L1 and L2, and of the variable matches between form and meaning.
- What is the value of non-referential forms of language use, such as linguistic playfulness, rituals, parody? Language play has been shown to have an indirect effect on SLA, either by destabilizing the learner's interlanguage (Broner and Tarone 2001) or by serving as a rehearsal process in the development of inner speech (Lantolf 2000). Both hypotheses, however, are predicated on a NS norm of performance. As Cook (2000: 48ff) and Sullivan (2000) have shown, idle playfulness with language can direct learners' attention to linguistic variation and to the slippage between signifier and signified in the creation of meaning.

Variable levels of meaning

Both SL and FL research have focussed almost exclusively on referential, literal meaning in SLA. This makes it difficult to have the semantic distance necessary for the development of critical skills called for by the educationists' guidelines. The variable pedagogic norm envisaged here leads researchers to ask such questions as:

How important is attention to the meaning of the form (and not just to the form itself or to the meaning itself) in the development of critical reading skills? For example, FL researchers like Swaffar et al. (1991) and Hanauer (2001) have explored the cognitive effects of a focus on narrative or poetic form for the development of language awareness, itself a condition of reading comprehension.

To what extent do FL students imbue forms with meanings that go beyond the referential meanings of everyday NS use? In his study of adolescents in British high schools, Rampton noticed that students of German spontaneously used German phrases with each other in the schoolyard and in the cafeteria, partly in jest, partly to show off or align themselves with more powerful peers, partly to parody the unpopular drills conducted by their German teacher. In all instances the use of German occurred for highly symbolic reasons that went far beyond the usual communicative intentions attributed to NSs (Rampton 1999).

What symbolic/ritualistic value are FL learners likely to attach to the foreign words and structures, when, under what circumstances? Learners' testimonies found in language learners' memoirs (Pavlenko 2001) yield insights into the multiple levels of meaning accessible to non-native speakers. Even if they use the same words and phrases as NSs, non-native users of the language might mean something slightly different, because of their unique distance to the language. In their review of non-native writers who publish in a language that is not their own, Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000) found that words which might sound genuine for a NS are imbued by non-native writers with an additional layer of unexpected metaphorical meaning (see also Kramsch in press). SLA research would do well to ask: What is the relationship between the acquisition of linguistic forms and the "appropriate" cultural schemata, and what are the appropriate meaning schemata for FL learners?

Variable modalities of input

FL and SL methodologies have focused to various degrees on spoken and written input. A variable pedagogical norm directs researchers' attention to the

multiple modalities of meaning making practices that currently characterize language learning. This could lead to asking the following questions:

How do learners process various modes of input (spoken, written, virtual) and various "technologies of the word" (face to face, handwriting, print, telephone, e-mail, internet) in language acquisition? Kramsch, A'Ness, and Lam (2000) found that the electronic medium foregrounds presentation of self and agency rather than authorship and authenticity in L2 communication, and that it problematizes the notion of communication and negotiation of meaning as we know it from the SLA literature. Kramsch and Thorne (2002) show that e-mail communication across various languages and cultures gives rise to problems of genre that are not addressed by traditional SLA research on communicative competence. Here too, language learners can be made aware of the way norms of language use vary with the medium and the mode of communication.

What is the effect of written input vs. spoken input in the development of grammatical or discourse competence? It is now commonly accepted that one learns to speak by speaking, but at more advanced levels, oral proficiency might improve through reading, rather than through small talk.

How do multiple semiotic codes, e.g., calligraphy, combination of visual and musical modalities, as well as other linguistic systems (Ln) the learners might already know, affect their language development? Kress (2001) and Lemke (1998) have highlighted the fact that language learners nowadays are experienced makers of meaning in a multiplicity of codes. Code-switching is becoming more acceptable than it used to be in language learning as it can lead to a healthy metalinguistic reflexion on the link between form and meaning in language use (Blyth 1995, Belz 2002).

Variable contexts of use

Finally, a pedagogic norm that focuses on variability confronts the researcher with a fundamental question that strikes at the heart of the SL/FL debate: How does socialization into an institutional educational culture differ from socialization into a community of practice? or: when is a discourse community a community of practice, when is it an institution? and how does each type of socialization define and affect the kind of language acquisition that goes on in each environment?

Mainstream SLA research has usually considered the language learner as an autonomous individual, unimpeded by institutional and other societal constraints.

If we acknowledge variability in pedagogic norms, we have to acknowledge that different contexts call for different norms. Learners in traditional academic settings are expected to abide by the literate norms of academia, those in mundane everyday settings have to respect the norms of interaction and interpretation of the target discourse, while learners in global business contexts have to conform to a global style of business transaction. Relativizing the very context of learning is the ultimate consequence of the adoption of a pedagogic norm focused on variability and change.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have extended the notion of language learning 'norm' to include all explicit or implicit language awareness and communicative competencies against which learner performance is measured, assessed, and judged either by communities of NSs or by academic institutions. This has enabled me to examine with a common yardstick both SL and FL research and practice. I have suggested that both have adopted a pedagogic norm that ignores the variation in usage and use that Valdman has been advocating throughout his career. I have made suggestions as to how SL and FL research could reinstate variation as a core research domain in SLA through the kind of data they collect, the questions they ask, and the analyses they offer.

While SLA research rightly denounced the excesses of a FL pedagogy that taught how to speak about the language rather than speak the language, the time might have come for FL research to return the favor and to warn against the dangers of speaking the language without reflecting upon it. Valdman's notion of a variable norm highlights the value of sensitizing learners to the multiple and shifting meaning potential of language and to the increasing demands of a global economy to move in and out of various codes and modes of meaning.

Notes

1. For English, the distinction between ESL and EFL is notoriously controversial. Following Richards, Platt, and Weber (1985), Nayar refers to EFL as "the role of English in countries where it is taught as a subject in schools but where it has no recognized status or function". (1997: 13). According to Clachar (2000), EFL is English "as it is used for situations or countries where there is no history of prolonged British or U. S. political occupation, where English has no special functional allocations in the society, and where its communicative use

has no high priority" (p. 96). Whatever the definition, it is clear that EFL is in many ways not comparable to other FLs on the global market of linguistic exchanges.

2. Valdman's injunction quoted at the beginning of this paper was addressed originally to an audience of FL and ESL teachers at a conference on language study at Cornell in 1990, that brought together SL and FL researchers. I feel therefore justified in understanding this quote as applying to both SL learning and FL study.

3. I understand with Valdman that a "pedagogical grammar" is, by definition, based on some pedagogic norm, but, as I argue in the remainder of this paper, I understand this norm to be both a (measurable) *awareness* of language variability and of the relation of form and meaning, and based on that awareness, *a choice of language variant* appropriate for the learner's proficiency level and sociolinguistic position.

4. I am grateful to Henry Widdowson for reminding me that in the '70s, SL and FL educators across Europe joined efforts to develop a common communicative core curriculum for the teaching of various national languages within the European community. Indeed, those remarkable efforts are sustained to this day. However, such a curriculum has been adopted mostly for the teaching of SLs within a European, professional, framework, not for the teaching of these languages as FLs within state educational systems. As I show below, the educational objectives of local educational systems are rather different from those of larger, global frameworks.

5. I understand the notion of pedagogic norm to include but not to be limited to communicative competencies, the achievement of communicative goals, or even success in communicating. In its epi- and metalinguistic aspects, it includes also knowledge and understanding of variability in communication, discourse, and style.

6. The question arises, of course, as to which language such metatalk should be conducted in. In the same manner as grammatical knowledge is taught to a progressively ever greater degree in the target language, so should pragmatic and sociolinguistic awareness, and awareness of language variation be given ever increasing attention in the target language.

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French immersion in Montréal

Pedagogical norm and functional competence

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Introduction

When researchers specializing in second language (L2) acquisition think of Canada, the first idea that comes to mind is probably French immersion. This program for teaching French to non-francophone students was developed in the 1960's in response to requests from English-speaking parents living in St. Lambert, a suburb of Montréal, who were seeking programs that would enable their children to learn French better than those in which they had been enrolled. Indeed, the traditional programs of French as an L2 that were used in Québec at the time had proved largely ineffective, as many anglophones who studied French in such programs, including this group of St. Lambert parents, found themselves incapable of carrying on a conversation in French or dealing with the demands of using French in stores or for other services.

> Immersion is a form of bilingual education in which students who speak the language of the majority of the population receive part of their instruction through the medium of a second language and part through their first language. Both the second language and the first language are used to teach regular school subjects, such as mathematics, science, or physical education, in addition to language arts. … Generally speaking at least 50 percent of instruction during a given academic year must be provided through the second language for the program to be regarded as immersion. (Genesee 1987: 1)

The main objectives of the St. Lambert program and, as Genesee (1987) notes, most French immersion programs, are the following:

1. To provide the participating students with functional competence in both written and spoken aspects of French;
2. To promote and maintain normal levels of English language development;
3. To ensure achievement in academic subjects commensurate with the students' academic ability and grade level; and
4. To instill in the students an understanding and appreciation of French Canadians, their language and culture, without detracting in any way from the students' identity with and appreciation for English-Canadian culture.

(Genesee 1987: 12–13)

As is well known, the St. Lambert experimental program was highly successful. What started out as a single kindergarten class turned into a full-fledged program that spans grade and high school. Many schools in the Montréal area and in other Canadian provinces have adopted similar programs. The number of students registered in French immersion programs in Canada increased from 40,000 in 1977 to almost 312,000 in 1997 (more up-to-date figures on immersion can be obtained from the Office of the Commisioner of Official Languages, or from Canadian Parents For French (CPF) in Ottawa, Ministry. Ministry of Canadian Heritage official site). But most importantly, many studies have shown that the proficiency of anglophones who have learned French through immersion far exceeds that of anglophones who have studied French in traditional core programs (Genesee 1998) and that it sometimes matches that of native speakers. Specifically, immersion students generally score as high as comparable native speakers in both written and oral comprehension tasks, but somewhat lower than them in both written and oral production tasks (Genesee 1987, 1998). However, it should be added that,

> [immersion] students demonstrate high levels of functional language proficiency in reading and writing, and they are effective communicators in both oral and written language, even though there are often linguistic errors in their phonology, vocabulary, and grammar. Their evident linguistic deficiencies do not appear to be a serious impediment to their effective functional use of French for academic or interpersonal purposes. (Genesee 1987: 60)

Given the success achieved by French immersion programs in Canada, we can now turn to their limitations and see how we could make these excellent programs even better. In this paper, I address a particular complaint that was brought to my attention while I was teaching at McGill University in Montréal in the mid-1990's. On a number of occasions, students who had graduated from French immersion programs in the Montréal area would share with me their

frustration at trying to use, in real-life settings, the language that they had spent so many years learning in school. Quite interestingly, their problem was not limited to production but also involved perception, as they reported often having difficulty understanding what coworkers would say to them. Thus, it seems that the first goal of immersion programs had not been met for these students, as their functional competence did not really allow them to communicate in French in some everyday settings. While this problem has been noted by other researchers, including Genesee (1978, 1981), Thibault and Sankoff (1993), and Tarone and Swain (1995), it has not, to my knowledge, been addressed in any detail in the literature. What I propose to do in this paper is examine the kind of French that immersion students are exposed to in their textbooks, see to what extent this "school French" mirrors the French used by francophones from Montréal, evaluate the legitimacy of trying to remedy this problem in the context of immersion programs, and propose a strategy to enable immersion students and graduates to better communicate in everyday settings involving native francophones.

Characterizing French in Québec

The comprehension problem described above comes as a surprise in view of the reported findings that perception skills exceed production skills among immersion students. We can wonder, indeed, why we observe such a discrepancy between the experts' evaluation of the linguistic skills of immersion students and the self-evaluation of those same students. The answer to this puzzle is actually quite simple: the kind of French that is evaluated by specialists is not the same kind that is commented on by students. As Genesee (1987: 46) stresses, the language skills that are tested in school settings all deal with "school French" rather than "street French". Many observers, including immersion students themselves, report that the French taught in immersion programs differs from that of Montréal francophones. For instance, Bibeau (1982: 169) notes that "les classes d'immersion ont quelque chose de faux qui, aux yeux des francophones, les rend … ridicules … parce que non seulement le français qui y est appris n'est pas le français naturel du milieu, mais parce qu'il n'est pas fait pour communiquer immédiatement ni à court terme avec le milieu".[1] (1) below contains two testimonies from anglophones living in Montréal.

(1) a. *Je trouvais que le français dont je parlais était très différent de le français qu'ils parlaient* (Bruce, quoted in Thibault and Sankoff 1993: 215)
'I found that the French that I spoke was very different from the French they spoke'

b. *Les mots dans le québécois sont différents le mot des — en français que je suis — j'ai appris à l'école.* (Ross, quoted in Nagy, Moisset, and Sankoff 1996: 112)
'The words in Québécois are different the word of-the — in French that I am — I learned in school'

Why is Québec French (QF) so different from school French or, as I will refer to it in the rest of this paper, Reference French (RF)? The French language was brought to what is now known as the Province of Québec by French settlers in the seventeenth century. While the use of French quickly generalized to the entire population in New France, at a time when only a small minority spoke French in France, it should be noted that the French that arose in the new world was more similar to the French spoken by artisans, merchants, and peasants than to the French of the court. As time went by and the link between the colony and its home country was definitively cut in 1763, the differences between QF and RF gradually increased. That is, some changes took place in QF that did not affect French in France, while other changes took place in France that remained unknown (until recently) in Québec. Thus, QF now contains many words, pronunciations, and grammatical constructions that differ from what is found in RF.[2]

What kind of French is taught in French immersion programs in Montréal?

The existence of a distinct variety of French in Québec raises the issue of what type of French should be taught in Québec schools. The answer to this question is, in the minds of many people, simple and obvious: only standard French should be taught. However, this issue is, in the context of French immersion in Québec, much more complex. First, there is the difficult question of determining what is considered to be standard French in Québec. Second, the social context which characterizes French immersion differs greatly from that which characterizes the teaching of French as a native language and raises the question of whether only standard French need be taught in this context. Each question will be addressed in turn.

The question of what constitutes standard French in Québec has been the object of much debate in the past forty years or so. While there are, in principle, three possible answers to this question, only two have been seriously considered by the Québécois. The three candidates are: (a) French from France, or RF, (b) a local standard, and (c) the speech that is typical of a large segment of the population and that can be considered unique to the Québécois. The third variety, which is frequently referred to as *joual* and which constitutes a sociolect associated with working class speakers from Montréal (cf., e.g., Auger and Valdman 1999), contains numerous elements that are considered to be archaic in France, some local innovations, as well as many words and expressions borrowed from English. Because *joual* greatly differs from RF, it is not difficult to see why some Québécois view it as a symbol of their identity. However, this form of French has never really been considered a viable form of French for use in the press, in academic writings, in literature — other than in monologues and dialogues — and in formal oral settings such as newscasting and lecturing. Instead, the real debate in Québec has been concerned with the question of whether a local standard that is worthy of teaching our children and printing exists or whether RF plays that role.

Over the past few decades, a consensus has developed among francophones in Québec, teachers of French, many linguists (cf., e.g., Martel and Cajolet-Laganière 1996, Cox 1998, and Poirier 1998), and the Ministry of Education (www.spl.gouv.qc.ca/publication/rapport/rapport3_4.html) concerning the existence and the nature of a local form of standard French. This standard, which is what most parents want to see taught to their children (Bouchard and Maurais 1999), is described as follows by Verrault (1999: 35):

> De toute évidence, la société québécoise n'attend pas de ses maîtres de français qu'ils tiennent rigueur à leurs élèves ou étudiants d'employer des mots comme *banc de neige, mitaine, tuque, ustensile* au sens d'instrument (cuiller, couteau, fourchette) dont on se sert pour manger', *ratine* …, *dépanneur* …, *borne-fontaine* …, *espadrille* …, et *voiture* (ou encore *panier*) …, sous prétexte qu'ils ne sont pas usités en France. En revanche, elle s'attend à ce que les maîtres ne laissent pas passer des emplois tels *bicycle* 'bicyclette', *char* 'automobile', *brake* 'frein', *le fun* 'plaisant, agréable', ni, selon les régions, *shoe-claque, sneak* ou *running* …, lesquels ne sont pas davantage usités en France mais qui, contrairement aux précédents, sont marqués dans l'usage québécois.[3]

If we recognize this distinct standard for Québec, it makes perfect sense to think that this is the variety of French that students learning French in immersion programs in the Montréal area are learning and that this variety should pose

no problems to them. For one thing, as most of their teachers are native speakers of QF (Genesee 1987), students hear a QF accent, words, and constructions. For another, we are about to see that the textbooks which they use contain many features of standard QF (cf. also Nemni 1998, who cites an M.A. thesis by Pitois 1997).

In order to ensure that standard QF is not what poses problems to immersion students and graduates, I have reviewed a sample of textbooks currently used in primary and high school French-immersion programs in Québec (cf. the list of textbooks used at the end of the paper).[4] The elements typical of QF, or *québécismes*, which are found in these textbooks belong to different categories which will be presented separately.

The first type of *québécisme* found in the textbooks examined are elements that authors could hardly have avoided using, as they are the only words available in French for describing realities that are unique to Québec or North America. Table 1 below contains a few such examples.

Table 1. Québécismes in immersion textbooks

Source	QF word	Gloss
J'enrichis mes lectures	*l'Action de grâces*	'Thanksgiving'
	maringouin	'mosquito'
	tourtière	'meat pie'
	tuque	'woolen cap'
Parlons français!	*sirop d'érable*	'maple syrup'
En français S.V.P.	*vente de garage*	'garage sale'

Note: In this table and in all following tables, I am providing only one source for each word. This must not be interpreted as meaning that the textbook that is cited is the only one using this *québécisme*, as most words are used in many of the textbooks surveyed.

In other cases, however, authors have a choice: they can use a word that belongs to RF or a *québécisme*. The textbooks surveyed in this study reveal that authors often prefer the QF word over the alternative from RF. Table 2 presents a sample of optional *québécismes*. While some of the words included in the QF column are, as far as I know, unique to this variety, others also exist in RF and are listed in *Nouveau Petit Robert*. The latter words are nevertheless considered as *québécismes*, as they are used more frequently in Québec than in France, sometimes because the words used in Québec are considered to be archaic or regional in France, other times because they have different meanings in the two

Table 2. Québécismes in French immersion textbooks

Source	Québec French	Reference French	Gloss
Ricochet 1	*soccer*	*football*	'soccer'
	épinglette	*pin's*	'pin'
	craquelin	*cracker/biscuit salé*	'cracker'
	canot	*canoë*	'canoe'
	casse-tête	*puzzle*	'puzzle'
	beurre d'arachide	*beurre de cacahuète*	'peanut butter'
	dîner	*déjeuner*	'lunch'
	espadrilles	*tennis/basket*	'sneakers'
	chandail (de hockey)	*maillot*	'jersey'
J'enrichis mes lectures	*magasiner*	*faire des courses*	'to shop'
	mitaines	*moufles*	'mittens'
	se chicaner	*se disputer*	'to argue'
	crème glacée	*glace*	'ice cream'
	chandail	*pull*	'sweater'
	napperons	*set de table*	'placemats'
	foulard	*écharpe*	'wool scarf'
Je grandis en français	*boîte à lunch*	*gamelle*	'lunch box'
	fin de semaine	*weekend*	'weekend'
J'aime le français	*sac d'école*	*cartable*	'school bag'
	chandelle	*bougie*	'candle'
Parlons français!	*corridor*	*couloir*	'hallway'
	gomme	*chewing gum*	'chewing gum'
	bâton de hockey	*crosse de hockey*	'hockey stick'

varieties of French.[5] An example of a word which is more frequently used in Québec than in France is *chandail* (sweater), as many young and urban people in France tend to prefer *pull* over *chandail. Espadrille, déjeuner*, and *dîner* constitute three examples of words with different meanings on the two sides of the Atlantic: an *espadrille* is a sneaker in Québec but a rope-soled shoe in France, *déjeuner* refers to breakfast in Québec and lunch in France, whereas *dîner* refers to lunch in Québec and dinner in France.

Immersion textbooks also contain some expressions which are unknown in RF and which may be unique to QF. A few examples are provided in (2):

(2) a. *Ne pas avoir les deux pieds dans la même bottine* (Ricochet 1)
NEG not to-have the two feet in the same boot
'to be resourceful'

b. *Avoir des papillons dans l' estomac* (Ricochet 1)
to-have of-the butterflies in the stomach
'to have butterflies in one's stomach'

c. *Se sucrer le bec* (Volet sur le français)
self to-sweeten the beak
'to eat something sweet'

As can be expected based on Verrault's (1999) quote above, immersion textbooks do not include *québécismes* that are considered to be too colloquial for the classroom. Table 3, which presents a list of colloquial *québécismes* that have not been found in the textbooks consulted for this study, confirms that words like *bicycle, char,* and *shoe-claque* are not taught to French immersion students. It also shows that a variety of phrasings are used in places where the phrase *être le fun* would be expected to occur in colloquial QF.

Table 3. The use of standard Québec French words in immersion textbooks

Source for the Standard QF word	Standard QF words used in the textbooks	Colloquial QF words not used	Gloss
Ricochet 1	*espadrilles*	*shoe-claque/sneak/runner*	'sneakers'
	ennuyant	*plate*	'boring'
	pomme de terre	*patate*	'potato'
	beurre d'arachide	*beurre de pinotte*	'peanut butter'
	motoneige	*skidoo*	'snowmobile'
	un 'a.MASC' *autobus*	*une* 'a.FEM' *autobus*	'a bus'
Ricochet 1	*j'aime bien ça*	*être le fun*	'it's fun'
	on s'amuse bien		
	je m'amuse beaucoup		
	c'était super		
	j'adore cela		
	nous aurons une belle journée		
Je grandis en français	*bicyclette*	*bicycle*	'bicycle'
En français S.V.P.	*dollar*	*piasse*	'dollar'
Parlons français	*ce matin*	*à matin*	'this morning'
	voiture & automobile	*char*	'car'

The data presented in Tables 1–3 make it clear that French immersion students are exposed to many features of standard QF and that these features

are unlikely to pose problems to them and that the communication problems that immersion graduates experience in communicating with Montréal francophones must involve colloquial QF rather than standard QF. Table 3 reflects the efforts of textbook authors to avoid the use of words and expressions considered too colloquial. Table 4 reveals the presence in immersion textbooks of a few words which are not very strongly stigmatized in Québec and grammatical "errors" which are very commonly made by many speakers of QF. However, it is important to note that examples of this sort are very limited in number. Clearly, then, these materials do not constitute appropriate tools for familiarizing immersion students with colloquial QF. If immersion programs want to improve the functional competence of their students, they will have to make use of a different type of pedagogical material and/or activity.

Table 4. The use of colloquial Québec French words in immersion textbooks

Source for the Standard QF word	Colloquial QF words and phrases used in the textbooks	Standard Colloquial QF equivalents	Gloss
J'enrichis mes lectures	*tannant*	*espiègle/taquin*	'mischievous'
	cadran	*réveille-matin/réveil*	'alarm clock'
	fine	*gentille*	'nice'
	visiter quelqu'un	*rendre visite à quelqu'un*	'to visit someone'
	amener un goûter	*apporter un goûter*	'to bring a snack'
Volet sur le français	*ont eu fini*	*ont fini*	'have finished'
	qu'avez-vous donc besoin	*de quoi avez-vous besoin*	'what do you need'

Should French immersion programs in Montréal teach colloquial Québec French?

But is it legitimate to expect immersion programs to teach colloquial QF to their students? This question will be considered in light of the concept of pedagogical norm that was proposed by Valdman (1976) to guide the development of curricula for second-language teaching. A pedagogical norm helps language teachers determine which linguistic forms should be taught, which should not, and the order in which they should be taught, taking into account the variation that characterizes the target language, the social values that are

attached to different linguistic forms, and the learning process in which the students are engaged. In this approach, as in many others, stigmatized forms of speech should, as a general rule, be avoided; however, their use is tolerated if they can serve as a stepping stone for the acquisition of other target forms which are more widely accepted by members of the target community.

In the course of his career, Valdman has applied the concept of a pedagogical norm to the teaching of French and Haitian Creole in various settings, and he has put this concept in practice in his own French language textbook, *Chez nous* (Valdman and Pons 1997). Valdman (1998) uses the context of the Cajun community of Louisiana to discuss the role of schools in teaching or promoting nonstandard language varieties and concludes that schools should not use such nonstandard varieties as pedagogical languages. Valdman (2000) broadens the scope of the discussion, as he considers the teaching of French as a second language in the United States. In his conclusion, he states that it is utopian to think that language learners can learn to master the complex patterns of stylistic variation that characterize the speech of native speakers and that foreign language learners must target a general standard rather than any local standard form. Thus, while he recommends exposing French students to different varieties of French for comprehension purposes, he prescribes adopting RF as a target for production purposes (cf. also Auger & Valdman 1999). With respect to Haitian Creole, Valdman (1989) concludes that even though the goal of many students of Creole is to be able to communicate with speakers who live in rural or poor urban areas and speak only the most basilectal, that is, least standard version of Creole, it is preferable to teach learners a more mesolectal or standard form of the language. In his own terms,

> monolingual Haitians would view foreign learners more favourably if they spoke 'better' than they, that is, if they were oriented toward the more prestigious mesolectal norm. For rural and lower class urban monolinguals, foreigners are associated with the bilingual middle classes of the country, and they would be expected to share the same norm orientation. (Valdman 1989: 30)

Could Valdman's notion of a pedagogical norm be applied to French immersion in Québec? There appears to be a consensus in the literature, in the Ministry of Education, and among educators that the role of immersion programs does not differ from that of regular programs and that its pedagogical language should be standard QF. Reasons for rejecting the use of *joual* or, more neutrally, any form of colloquial QF for pedagogical uses are numerous. As

Valdman (1989: 21) reports, native speakers generally expect learners of French as a second language to use "good" French and even to speak "better" than them. Later on the same page, he adds that "[t]he learning of a [foreign language] may be viewed as an economic investment whose value increases in direct proportion to the status conferred by variant forms: the higher the social status associated with a variant, the more remunerative the investment". Parents who enroll their children in French immersion programs may do so to improve communication between anglophones and francophones, but also because they want their children to have access to good jobs (cf., e.g., the preface of *Parlons français!*) and francophone culture, two goals which require mastery of standard French. This means, concretely, that parents do not expect the school to teach their children to speak like factory workers or truck drivers.[6] In addition, most teachers would probably deny speaking any nonstandard form of French – even if they do – and refuse to teach it explicitly to their students. Finally, in view of this consensus for the use of standard French in the classroom, it is not surprising that no or very few pedagogical tools are available in anything other than standard French.

A pedagogical program along the lines sketched above teaches immersion students to speak standard QF and to understand the different varieties of French spoken in Québec. This is obviously easier said than done, as this program, which has been advocated by the Ministry of Education for at least the past fifteen years (cf. Ministry of Education of Québec 1985), is precisely that which graduated so many students who report being unable to communicate effectively with native francophones from Montréal. Thus, we must wonder what could be done to improve the functional competence of immersion students and graduates.

What can we do?

Since the problem at issue here involves learning a nonstandard, colloquial language variety, the classroom cannot fully solve this problem. The only way a colloquial language can really be learned is through interactions with its speakers. However, most immersion students rarely use French outside of school, as most of their friends are anglophones and their activities take place in English. Furthermore, anglophones appear not to seek opportunities to speak French, and their use of French tends to be "reactive", that is, in response to francophones addressing them in French, rather than active (cf. Genesee 1987).

This is, I think, what needs to be changed. We must wonder why immersion students make such little effort to use French outside of school. One possibility is that immersion students feel hesitant to seek out French-speaking friends due to the fact that their knowledge of French does not equip them for conversing in French with friends their own age and talking about topics that are unrelated to school. This idea, which is inspired by similar hypotheses developed in Tarone and Swain (1995), might help us understand a very puzzling paradox that is reported by these authors: namely the fact that children and adolescents use less and less French as they get older, in spite of the fact that their L2 competence is improving. Tarone and Swain (1995) point out that during preadolescent and teenage years, questions of identity take a very central place in the lives of students, and "preadolescents and adolescents need a vernacular style as a way of signaling their identities" (Tarone and Swain 1995: 168). If this hypothesis is correct, we can expect that if students had access to a wider stylistic range in French and increased opportunities to practice using the language in more varied types of settings, they might become more active in their use of French and would stand a better chance of becoming truly bilingual.

Methods inspired by the communicative approach may greatly help increase the stylistic abilities of immersion students. Lyster (1993, 1994) proposes using different activities, including role plays, that place students in situations that mirror nonacademic settings. For instance, acting as DJ's for rock radio shows, as suggested in Tarone and Swain (1995: 175), or a first meeting between an immersion student and a new francophone college roommate (cf. Sax 1999) would give students opportunities to use colloquial vocabulary. But how do they acquire the vocabulary needed for such activities in the first place? What I would like to propose here is that we use some of the time reserved in the curriculum for the study of literary texts to discuss Québécois novels and plays which put colloquial words and expressions in the mouths of their characters. Specifically, I disagree with Bibeau and Germain (1983: 538), who estimate that Michel Tremblay's works containing dialogs written in *joual* are not appropriate for L2 classrooms, and share Ossipov's (1994) stance that these texts provide us with a great opportunity for introducing L2 learners to the literature and the language of francophone Québécois. In the remainder of this section, I will illustrate with a few examples from *La grosse femme d'à côté est enceinte* the usefulness of this approach.

One major source of difficulty for L2 learners not familiar with colloquial QF certainly lies in the large number of words that are commonly used in everyday settings by native Montréal francophones but are never taught in a

"normal" classroom setting. As Tremblay's novels use many of these words, his works can serve to familiarize students with this vocabulary. (3) below contains three examples of such words. *Liqueurs* and *tannée* are words that are known in RF but with different meanings; *paqueté* is unique to QF, according to the *Nouveau Petit Robert.*

(3) Vocabulary I

1. *encombré jusqu' au plafond de caisses de bouteilles de liqueurs*
   cluttered up to-the ceiling of cases of bottles of soft-drinks
   'cluttered up to the ceiling with cases of soft drink bottles' (p. 16)
2. *T' es pas icitte pour être tannée ou non*
   you are not here for to-be bothered or not
   'you've got no business being bothered or not bothered here' (p. 19)
3. *un enfant perdu ou un mari paqueté*
   a child lost or a husband drunk
   'a lost child or a drunk husband' (p. 17)

Colloquial QF also contains many words borrowed from English. While anglicisms are much less numerous in this variety of French than many would expect them to be (cf., e.g., Ossipov 1994), these words may prove difficult to understand for learners who are not familiar with their use in colloquial QF. Indeed, I have observed that these words often fail to be accurately recognized by anglophone learners who do not expect to find words from their own language in a French-speaking context. (4) below contains a few such examples.

(4) Vocabulary II: anglicisms

1. *chus dumb* (p. 20)
   I-am dumb
2. *phosphorescentes ou non, peinturlurées ou plain* (p. 16)
   phosphorescent or not painted or plain
3. *d'où s' échappaient des paquets de bobby pins* (p. 16)
   from-where self came-out of-the packs of hairpins
   'from which packs of hairpins came out'

Poirier (1997) estimates that what is most likely to make QF difficult to understand is its phonology. Indeed, while the pronunciation of standard QF differs relatively little from that of RF, the stronger accent which is characteristic of many working-class and older speakers may sound quite foreign to L2 learners whose experience with QF is limited to the classroom setting. Some features of this accent are illustrated below. (5) contains three words in which the /ɛ/ of RF is realized as [a] before an /ʁ/. (6) illustrates the tendency to

pronounce word-final consonants in colloquial QF. Finally, (7) presents various phenomena which affect very common everyday words: the [we] pronunciation for words in *oi*, the closing of /ɛː/ before /ʁ/ in the words *mère* (mother), *père* (father), and *frère* (brother), and the pronunciation of *maman* (mom) with an [ɔ] instead of an [a].

(5) Phonology I: opening of /ɛ/ before /ʁ/
  1. *pardre* 'to lose' (cf. RF *perdre*) (p. 20)
  2. *travarsent* 'they cross' (cf. RF *traversent*) (p. 20)
  3. *farmer* 'to close' (cf. RF *fermer*) (p. 24)

(6) Phonology II: pronunciation of final consonants
  1. *litte* [lɪt] 'bed' (cf. RF *lit* [li]) (p. 35)
  2. *nuitte* [nɥɪwt] 'night' (cf. RF *nuit* [nɥi]) (p. 39)
  3. *prête* [prɛt] 'ready.MASC' (cf. RF *prêt* [pʁɛ]) (p. 31)

(7) Phonology III: various
  1. *moé* 'me' and *toé* 'you' (pp. 21 & 19)
  2. *mère* 'mother', *père* 'father', and *frère* 'brother' (pp. 30, 27, and 31)
  3. *moman* 'mom' (p. 22)

The pronominal, verbal, and determiner systems of colloquial QF are characterized by many particularities. Some result from morphophonological processes limited to these categories, while others involve some grammatical simplifications or complications unknown in RF. In all cases, they are likely to make comprehension difficult, as they affect elements which are very commonly used. (8) exemplifies some of these particularities in the pronominal system. It shows that the 3SG.FEM subject pronoun is commonly pronounced [a] in QF, and that it is possible not to pronounce it at all when used in combination with *être* (to be). We also see that in this variety, *y* tends to replace *lui* as a dative 3SG pronoun. Finally, the plural strong pronouns *nous* (us) and *eux* (them) are commonly replaced by the compound forms with *autres*.

(8) Morphology I: pronouns
  1. *a va venir* 'she will come' (p. 14)
  2. *Est deboutte* 'she-is up' (p. 21)
  3. *tu y as répond* 'you have answered her/him' (p. 21)
  4. *nous autres* 'us' and *eux autres* 'them' (pp. 14 and 20)

Some verbs in colloquial QF are conjugated differently than in RF. For instance, we see in (9) below that *chus* is often used in place of *je suis* (I am); that the subjunctive of two very common verbs, *être* (to be) and *avoir* (to have), is

pronounced with a final [j]; that, for some speakers, the past participle of *teindre* 'to color' is *teindu* instead of *teint;* and that for them 3pl *i crisent* [ikʁiz] (they call) is distinct from 3SG *i crie* [ikʁi] (he calls). Finally, the verb *haïr* (to hate) is conjugated as a regular *-ir* verb like *finir* (to finish) rather than an irregular verb: cf. QF [ai] vs. RF [ɛ].

(9) Morphology II: verb
1. *chus* [ʃy] 'I am' (p. 16)
2. *soye* 'come.SUBJ' and *aye* 'have.SUBJ' (pp. 19 and 20)
3. *teindus* 'colored.PPLE' (p. 19)
4. *i se crisent* 'they call each other' (p. 21)
5. *Haïs-tu ça?* 'hate you that' (p. 20)

The definite determiners *la* (the.FEM.SG) and *les* (the.PL) are often weakened and may even disappear in colloquial French due to the fact that in this context, intervocalic /l/ is often deleted. This tendency is illustrated in (10) below.

(10) Morphology III: definite determiner
1. *dans' cuisine* 'in (the) kitchen' (p. 21)
2. *à' verge* 'to (the) yard' (p. 26)
3. *tou'es deux* 'both of them' (p. 47)

Even though few syntactic constructions are unique to QF, the frequency with which structures typical of colloquial speech and not taught in classrooms are used in everyday conversations may, once again, make it difficult for non-native speakers to understand simple messages. (11) below illustrates some of these differences. In (11-1), we have an example of the interrogative particle *-tu* which can be added to any finite verb in order to turn a declarative sentence into a question; this sentence also illustrates the use of left dislocation and the expression *à matin*, (this morning). (11-2) contains the complex question marker *que c'est que* (what) and an instance of right dislocation. Finally, (11-3) shows that in colloquial QF, negative *ne* can be omitted in negative sentences (it is, as a matter of fact, almost never pronounced in colloquial QF; cf. Sankoff and Vincent 1980) and that negative imperatives behave like positive imperatives and that object clitics occur in postverbal rather than preverbal position.

(11) Syntax
1. *Le chat, à matin, c'tait-tu le chat de Marie-Sylvia?* (p. 14)
the cat at morning it-was-INT the cat of Marie-Sylvia
'The cat, this morning, was it Marie-Sylvia's cat?'

2. *Que c'est qu' tu faisais, d'abord, toé, avant la guerre* (p. 20)
   what it-is that you did anyway you before the war
   'Anyway, what were you doing before the war?'
3. *inquiétez-vous pas* (p. 47)
   worry you not
   'Don't worry'

The examples provided above are representative of many more lexical, phonological, morphological, and syntactic particularities of colloquial QF which are found in *La grosse femme d'à côté est enceinte*. Thus, we can see that studying this book, or any other book by Tremblay in which *joual* plays such a prominent role, would allow immersion students to become familiar with major works of francophone literature in Québec while learning to recognize and understand many linguistic features that are not normally taught in French-language classes.

Conclusion

The problem addressed in this paper is far from unique: What role should a nonstandard or colloquial variety play in the education system? This problem arises with respect to both first language and second language teaching, in many different settings: for example, the teaching of French as a native language in Québec, the teaching of French in Louisiana (cf. Valdman 1998), the teaching of Haitian Creole as a second language (cf. Valdman 1989), the use of Swiss German in schools of German-speaking cantons in Switzerland or African-American English (or "Ebonics") in the school district of Oakland, in California, etc. However, the situation concerning the teaching of French in immersion programs in Québec comprises many elements that distinguish it from other such situations, such that the solution advocated in this paper may not apply to any other similar situation. Let us summarize these elements in this conclusion.

First, we are dealing with the teaching of a second language rather than a native language. This is a crucial distinction, as pupils who start out school in their native language already possess a well-developed colloquial style and come to school to learn the standard variety of their native language. French immersion students typically arrive in school with no or little knowledge of French and have, while they are in school, few opportunities to acquire a colloquial style. Consequently, although the question of whether colloquial French should

be taught does not normally arise in regular L1 classrooms, this setting appears to be the only opportunity for many immersion students to acquire it or to give them the motivation to seek out opportunities to learn it and practice it.

Second, we are dealing with the teaching of French as a second language in a setting with a sizeable French-speaking population rather than as a foreign language. This fact clearly distinguishes the teaching of French in Canada and in the United States. Indeed, while francophone populations can be found in parts of the United States, mainly in Louisiana and New England, the status of French in this country differs greatly from that of French in Canada. French is not an official language anywhere in the United States, and its French-speaking communities have been declining significantly. In spite of revival efforts in Louisiana and New England to save their French language and culture, the role of French continues to decrease, and no regional or national standard has achieved a status comparable to that of standard QF in Canada. As we saw earlier, Valdman (1998) estimates that, in this context, Cajun French does not constitute an appropriate variety for the teaching of French in Louisiana and he proposes instead the promotion of a variety of French that is close to standard (European) French with a Cajun accent. With respect to the United States in general, Valdman (2000: 652) similarly concludes that learners should learn a neutralized form of French that does not coincide with any local native norm. Given the existence of a standard form of QF that is now relatively well documented (cf. Martel and Cajolet-Laganière 1996), recorded in dictionaries (Poirier et al. 1988, Boulanger 1992, Meney 1999, and Martel and Cajolet-Laganière 2002), and widely accepted (cf., e.g., Ossipov 1994, Poirier 1998, Verrault 1999, and Valdman 2000), it seems perfectly legitimate to teach this local standard to anglophones learning French in Québec and in the rest of Canada, as this form of French will contribute to marking their identities as Canadians and/or Québécois while still enabling them to communicate with and be understood by francophones and francophiles from other countries. Evidence that a non-Québécois accent may disfavor integration into the francophone community is provided by the following quotes from an unpublished corpus of bilingual anglophones from Montréal (collection by Sankoff and Thibault). Louisa, who speaks French fluently, nevertheless remarks that the fact that her French is different from that of her former francophone classmates prevented her from really fitting in, as we can see in (12) below.

(12) a. *I did not fit in. My accent was different.* (Louisa, 33B 26.1)[7]
b. *It's just obvious in my speech* [*that I'm not French-Canadian*]

(Louisa 33B 19.19)

Third, immersion students in Montréal are learning the language of a community to which they have direct access. Although there may not be many French speakers living on their block or in their neighborhood, opportunities abound for them to hear French and communicate in French if they seek them out. They can listen to the radio and watch television in French, see French movies, make French-speaking friends, and speak French with francophone coworkers. This is an important characteristic of this specific setting, as it makes it possible for learners of French to develop a range of styles and registers that far exceed what learners can do in other L2 settings. They even have the possibility of acquiring native-like sociolinguistic competence if their lifestyle includes a significant portion of activities which take place in French (cf., e.g., Sankoff 1997 and Sankoff et al. 1997).

Francophones and anglophones in the Montréal area are already, in a sense, members of the same community. Even though, until recently, there was relatively little communication across linguistic boundaries, members of both communities share many characteristics, including a great love for their city and the opportunities it offers them. Francophones and anglophones who leave Montréal tend to miss the same things, which I take to be an indication that there exists a large community that transcends linguistic boundaries. If French-immersion programs in the region can help instill in the many English-speaking children and adolescents enrolled in them a stronger sense of comfort with the French they are learning, one can only hope that this will increase their desire to communicate with French-speaking children and teenagers, thus beginning to erode the linguistic boundaries that continue to divide the two linguistic communities. Now, it would be nice if the French-speaking school system improved its programs of English as an L2 for francophone children so that more of them could become comfortable speaking English. But this is a different story…

Notes

1. "Immersion classes have a false ring to them that, in the eyes of francophones, makes them […] ridiculous […] because not only the French that they learn in them is not the natural form of French from the surroundings, but because it is not meant to allow them to communicate with people around them immediately nor in the short term" (translation: JA). I thank to Roy Lyster for pointing out this quotation to me.

2. Specific examples of lexical, phonological, and grammatical particularities will be provided throughout this paper.

3. "Evidently, Québec's society does not expect its French teachers to hold it against their students if they employ words like 'snow bank', 'mitten,' 'wool hat,' 'utensil' in the sense of 'instrument (spoon, knife, fork) used for eating,' 'ratine,' 'convenience store,' 'fire hydrant,' 'running shoe' and 'cart' (or else 'basket'), because they are not used in France. However, it expects that teachers will not tolerate uses such as *bicycle* 'bike,' *char* 'car,' *brake* 'brake,' *le fun* 'pleasant,' nor, depending on the region, *shoe-claque, sneak*, or *running* [for 'sneaker'], which are not used in France either but which, contrary to the preceding words, are marked in Québécois usage." (translation: JA)

4. I thank Layla Khanji from Westmount High School and Martine Pouline-Peters from UQAM for helping me identify textbooks which are used in French immersion programs in Montréal.

5. I thank Iskra Iskrova for helping me identify elements that are truly unique to QF and finding RF equivalents.

6. See, for example, Thibault and Sankoff (1993: 214), who quote a passage from one of their interviews about parents who withdrew their daughter from a French-speaking school and transferred her into a French immersion program because they did not like the fact that she was learning to speak *joual* at the French-speaking school.

7. I thank Naomi Nagy for providing me with these examples and Gillian Sankoff for granting me permission to use them in this paper. According to Nagy (personal communication), Louisa is not only aware of the fact that her accent in French is different from that of her classmates and that this accounts for the fact that she "did not fit in", but she is also proud of it. This attitude is particularly interesting, as it is associated with someone who went to a francophone high school and thus had ample access to the local variety of French. On the one hand, Louisa's attitude shows that not all anglophones want to speak French like the Québécois. On the other, her comments confirm that those who want to interact with francophone Québécois may find it easier to integrate into French-speaking groups if their speech identifies them as Québécois or Canadian rather than as individuals with no connections to this community.

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Section II

Applying Pedagogical Norms

Communicative classrooms, processing instruction, and pedagogical norms

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How are pedagogical norms constructed in foreign language instruction in the United States? What is the relationship between these norms and what we understand about the psycholinguistic processing mechanisms that learners take to the task of acquisition? These are fundamental questions that seldom receive discussion in the professional literature (see Valdman 1987 and elsewhere). Of course, a more fundamental issue may be the nature of a focus on the formal code of language (i.e., grammar) in the foreign language classroom and to what extent the profession has found some way of reconciling the tension between a focus on communication and a focus on form (see, for example, Garrett 1986). In order to address the issue of pedagogical norms and language processing by learners, we cannot ignore the current state of affairs in language teaching in the United States.

The focus of the present paper is explicit instruction in grammar as a component of contemporary approaches to language instruction in the foreign language classroom. In the first part of this paper, I will identify five major tenets of communicative and proficiency-based language instruction that over several decades have attempted to inform pedagogical practice. Next, I will outline a number of relevant findings from second language acquisition (SLA) research on the acquisition of grammar in and out of the classroom. These two initial overviews will be important in order to show that certain current and widespread practices in foreign language grammar instruction are psycholinguistically and pedagogically questionable. In a subsequent section I will briefly outline work on what is called processing instruction, an approach to grammar

instruction that is rooted in knowledge about second language acquisition. Subsequently I will relate processing instruction to the issue of pedagogical norms in order to address the question of processing and acquisition.

General communicative language teaching

There is no one communicative method, as most scholars of language teaching would concur. The Natural Approach, content-based language teaching, most applications of learning across the curriculum, immersion, task-based instruction, and interactive learning are all examples of communicative language teaching. However, all communicative approaches share some fundamental tenets. In this section, I list the major tenets of communicative language teaching common to all approaches. These are based on readings from Canale and Swain (1980), Lee and VanPatten (1995), Nunan (1989), Omaggio (1986, 1993), Rivers (1987), Savignon (1997), and others.

1. *Meaning should always be focus.* In general communicative language teaching, the expression, interpretation, and negotiation of meaning within the classroom context is the primary focus. Meaning itself may vary depending on the type of method or approach (e.g., the Natural Approach focuses on concrete here-and-now meaning whereas content-based instruction focuses on subject matter material such as geography or history). Also, the relative importance of expression, interpretation, and negotiation (of meaning) may vary depending upon level of the learner and focus of the curriculum.
2. *Learners should be at the center of the curriculum.* This tenet implies two things. The first is that the needs and interests of second language learners should inform the curriculum about relevant topics and themes whenever possible. The second implication is that research on how languages are acquired should inform methodology and materials development. In this case, it is more appropriate to say that *learners* and *learning* are at the center of the curriculum.
3. *Communication is not only oral but written and gestural as well.* Thus, communicative language teaching should use a broad set of materials (audio, visual, video) and should encourage the development of skills appropriate to learner interests and needs.
4. *Samples of authentic language used among native speakers should be available from the beginning of instruction.* This tenet does not restrict itself to

conversations but is intended to include written and oral texts from magazines, newspapers, television, and so on. Tasks will determine what students are to do with these samples (i.e., the task defines the level of difficulty of the activity not the text/sample of language).

5. *Communicative events in class should be purposeful.* Display questions (e.g., "Is my hair blond or brown?") although meaningful in nature do not lead to the interpretation, expression, and negotiation of new meaning. Instead, tasks that foster the learning of new information about members of the class and the world that surrounds them should predominate or at the very least serve as goals for instruction.

Again, these are the most salient aspects of CLT, those that are most relevant in examining grammar instruction. Purposefully omitted from the present discussion are issues related to the development of skills (listening and reading — or better yet, literacy — , for example), cultural knowledge and its interface with communicative competence, the development of strategic competence, and others. To be sure these facets of language learning and teaching are important for general communicative language teaching but they are not immediately relevant to a discussion of what we can call "psycholinguistically motivated focus on form" and have thus been omitted from the present discussion.

Some accepted findings from SLA research

One of the tenets of CLT listed above suggests that learning should be at the center of the curriculum. This statement implies that grammar instruction or any kind of focus on form (Doughty and Williams 1998) should be informed by what we know about the acquisition of grammar itself. To this end we will review several relevant findings from SLA research that need to be considered as we discuss appropriate approaches to grammar instruction. As in the case of the tenets of CLT, these findings are selective, representing the most relevant to the present discussion. They are based on Ellis (1994), Gass and Selinker (2001), Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991), Long (1990), Lighbown and Spada (1999), Pienemann (1998), Towell and Hawkins (1994), Schmidt (1990, 1994), Swain (1985, 1998) among others.

1. *Learners develop underlying competence through their interaction with comprehensible, meaning-bearing input.* Acquisition is not a result of output practice but instead the result of consistent and constant mapping of

meaning onto form during comprehension. This does not mean that comprehension guarantees acquisition; the finding means that acquisition does not occur in the absence of a certain kind of input. This also does not mean that output plays no role in fostering the development of competence; but its role is not to induce the competence but to push learners vis à vis more input processing, more noticing, to foster metalinguistic knowledge that may influence how they perceive language, and to stretch their communicative abilities.

2. *Verbal and nominal inflections are not acquired in paradigmatic form.* From current research, it would appear that paradigms are an artifact of structural linguistics and Latin grammars. Morphological inflections are bound to lexical items and current theory suggests that what exists in a speaker's head is a vast and complex network of connections between lexical items and meanings of components of these lexical items, not a list of forms beginning with first-person singular and ending in third-person plural. Acquisition of inflections is influenced by a variety of factors: frequency in the input, transparency of meaning, amount of meaning (whether there is a one-to-one correspondence between meaning and form or not), learner-internal strategies for processing data (working memory constraints), relative degree of communicative value for comprehension, among others.
3. *Syntactic rules are not acquired as whole rules.* By syntactic, we mean rules that operate at the sentence level, for example, placement and movement of lexical items such as negation and use of *do*, adverb placement, verb-final placement, *wh*-question formation, *yes/no*-question formation, placement of object clitic pronouns, and so on. Instead, many syntactic rules are acquired in stages with intermittent stages not necessarily conforming to grammaticality in the L2. In short, the underlying linguistic competence of a learner "restructures" itself as new data are accommodated into the learner's developing system. To be sure, not only are syntactic rules acquired in this way; rules related to the acquisition of particular morphological structures such as past tense and plurality also exhibit a stage-like acquisition.
4. *Although restructuring of the developing system happens outside of awareness, learners must notice new forms in the input in order for them to be processed by the mechanisms responsible for language acquisition.* This finding means that acquisition of grammatical form involves some minimal level of attention and that, as Schmidt (1990) says, there is no such thing as subliminal learning of language. Although restructuring generally happens outside

of awareness, lexemes and forms involved in grammatical rules must be noticed in the input.

5. *The effects of explicit instruction and practice of grammar are severely limited.* It is accepted that explicit instruction can neither alter nor circumvent the natural processes involved in the internalization of grammatical form and syntactic rules. The research is clear that stages and orders of acquisition are immutable. Instruction may help rate and ultimate attainment, but it is not clear whether attainment is due to instruction itself or the more complex and marked discourse that in part comprises the input of classroom learners.

Recent work by VanPatten (1996 and elsewhere) has led to a shorthand schema for depicting different processes involved in second language acquisition and use. VanPatten suggests that three sets of processes can be isolated: (i) input processing; (ii) accommodation and restructuring; (iii) access. Input processing refers to those psycholinguistic mechanisms that mediate the connection between meaning and form during comprehension. These mechanisms also assign initial syntactic structure to a sentence. The result of input processing is a filtered set of the input called "intake". Accommodation and restructuring refer to those processes that either incorporate or reject intake data into the developing system. If incorporated, depending on the nature of the datum at hand, an underlying hypothesis may be questioned leading to a restructuring of the system. Access refers to those mechanisms responsible for retrieving grammatical form and syntax for use during the creation of output. This is the least understood aspect of second language acquisition (pace Pienemann, 1998).

Problems with current foreign language approaches to grammar instruction

If there is one thing that is common to all post-elementary language teaching, especially *foreign* language teaching, it is grammar instruction. The following features characterize such instruction in grammar. First, it tends to follow a scheme by which instructors or materials first present explicit information to learners about how a structure or set of forms works in the second language. This may be called the explanation phase. Following the explanation phase is usually a set of mechanical practices, often called "drills". Typical drills are substitution, transformation, and fill-in-the blank practices. Subsequent to these are practices in which learners may use the new structure or forms to

express some kind of meaning, usually in a restricted context. This hierarchy is described in Paulston (1972) and reviewed in Lee and VanPatten (1995: Chapters 5 and 6).

The tenets of CLT and the findings of SLA reviewed earlier call into question a number of aspects of this widespread current grammatical instruction.

1. *Rote practice is questionable if not unfounded.* Because rote practice does not push learners to link meaning with form, but instead to practice form devoid of either referential or social meaning, it cannot help learners to develop an underlying competence.
2. *Practicing paradigms and rules is suspect.* As we saw earlier, paradigms are an artifact of structural linguistics and many syntactic rules are metalinguistic shorthand for what linguists believe to observe in human language. Given that learners acquire inflectional morphology in piecemeal fashion, it does not seem beneficial to force them to practice paradigms.
3. *Explicit knowledge about how grammar works does not bring about competence.* Recall that comprehensible meaning-bearing input is the initial building block of acquisition. One study that isolated explicit knowledge from structured input showed that explicit information played no role in learner performance after the instructional period and that interaction with structured input alone caused significant gains in competence (VanPatten and Oikennon 1996).
4. *Forced production does not lead to competence.* Again, given the role of comprehensible meaning-bearing input in the acquisition of grammar, requiring students to produce language either as a drill or as some other kind of output task does not directly cause acquisition. Current thinking is that output practice leads to the development of procedural abilities with an already internalized system (Schmidt 1992; Pienemann 1998) or leads learners to notice more in the input and/or to reflect on how the language works which may subsequently get them to see more as they interact with input and other speakers (Swain 1998).

These observations are not necessarily new in their entirety (see Musumeci 1997) and some of them have been voiced in one way or another during the latter half of this century (e.g., Corder 1967; Krashen 1982; Terrell 1986; Garrett 1986). But they are still timely given the strong empirical research that has emerged since the early 1980s. These observations suggest, then, that claims by some professionals for a return to old-fashioned grammar practice are baseless. The type of grammar practice outlined in Omaggio (1986, 1993) and reviewed

in Musumeci (1997) is likewise without psycholinguistic foundation. Finally, the types of presentations and grammar practices in the vast majority of contemporary language textbooks, especially foreign language textbooks, are untenable as far as causing acquisition or even promoting it.

Processing instruction

VanPatten (1993, 1996; Lee and VanPatten 1995) has developed an approach to grammar instruction called Processing Instruction (PI). What VanPatten claims is that the first necessary step in the internalization of language is the processing of input. Learners must somehow map meaning onto form or form onto meaning during the act of comprehension. However, just because a learner "comprehends" an utterance does not mean that a complete form-meaning mapping has occurred. Using the constructs of attention, effort, and capacity from cognitive psychology along with the way in which grammatical forms encode referential meaning, VanPatten has constructed a set of principles that describe second language input processing.

P1. Learners process input for meaning before they process it for form.
  - P1 (a). Learners process content words in the input before anything else.
  - P1 (b). Learners prefer processing lexical items to grammatical items (e.g., morphological markings) for semantic information.
  - P1 (c). Learners prefer processing "more meaningful" morphology before "less" or "nonmeaningful morphology".

P2. For learners to process form that is not meaningful, they must be able to process informational or communicative content at no (or little) cost to attention.

P3. Learners possess a default strategy that assigns the role of agent to the first noun(phrase) they encounter in a sentence. We call this the "first noun strategy".
  - P3 (a). The first noun strategy can be overridden by lexical semantics and event probabilities.
  - P3 (b). Learners will adopt other processing strategies for grammatical role assignment only after their developing system has incorporated other cues (e.g., case marking, acoustic stress).

Using this model of input processing, VanPatten makes predictions about the nature of intake — the filtered and sometimes altered subset of input that

results from initial processing. It is intake that is made available for internalization, not input, and thus VanPatten is able to account for the partial nature of acquisition as well as some of the difficulties in establishing stages of acquisition based on UG (see Towell and Hawkins 1994). For example, P1b would suggest that learners may not process verb endings for tense if sentential or discourse structure includes lexical information (e.g., adverbial phrases related to time) that also encodes temporal information. P3 would suggest that learners might incorrectly tag preverbal noun phrases in OVS and OV structures (frequent structures in languages other than English and French), thus delivering wrong information to the developing system. Such predictions are supported by research on both input processing and interlanguage development.

Using input processing as a starting point, VanPatten claims that grammar instruction might be more useful if it attempted to affect input processing. If grammar instruction worked at altering the less than optimal way in which learners process input, a richer grammatical intake would result — thus enhancing acquisition. What has distinguished PI from other input-based approaches to focus on form (e.g., text enhancement, input flood,) is that *it identifies a processing problem and then activities are constructed to lead students away from that problem* (see VanPatten 1993 and VanPatten and Cadierno 1993). For example, if the processing problem is P1b, that learners are relying on a lexical item such as a temporal adverbial instead of a grammatical form such as a verb inflection that indicates tense, PI uses activities in which the "crutch" of the temporal adverbial is removed to push learners to rely on form to grasp tense. If the problem is P3, then PI uses activities in which word order is varied and correct response relies on correct interpretation of word order.

In a series of studies, VanPatten and his colleagues have compared traditional instruction, consisting of explanation plus drills and communicative activities, to PI, consisting of explanation plus *structured input activities.* Structured input activities are those in which learners hear and see a grammatical feature in the input and must use it to process the utterance for meaning. In one experiment on past tense (Cadierno 1995), adverbials were absent from all structured input activities. Learners had to rely on the grammatical inflections to get tense when comprehending the utterances. In another experiment (VanPatten and Cadierno 1993) learners were taught not to rely on a processing strategy of "first noun = subject" and had to correctly interpret pre-verbal objects and object pronouns as well as post-verbal subjects. During processing instruction, learners are not required to produce anything; only to respond to input utterances in some way. For example, learners might respond by indicating

true/false, possible/impossible, applies to me/doesn't apply to me or using some other binary options. Learners might add information to an input utterance (fill in a name, a time, a place, and so on). They might match some kind of visuals to input utterances or match input utterances with logical follow-up utterances (see Lee and VanPatten 1995, Chapter 5). In these experiments, both traditional instruction and processing instruction were compared to a control group that was not instructed on the items in question. The results showed that PI is superior to traditional instruction (see the summary of research in VanPatten, 1996: Chapter 4 as well as VanPatten, in press). Since these early investigations, other studies (both published and unpublished), support the superiority of PI over traditional instruction for a variety of structures (e.g., Cheng 1995; Buck 2000; Benati 2000; VanPatten and Wong forthcoming). No claim is made about PI versus other types of instruction.

In other research, the positive results of PI are observable in more discoursal and spontaneous types of output (e.g., video narration — see VanPatten and Sanz 1995) and that the major variable underlying the positive effects is structured input itself and the activities that learners perform (VanPatten and Oikennon 1996). In other words, explicit information is not a major causative variable in PI.

The work on PI is encouraging. Because PI is meaning-based, it falls squarely within the realm of communicative and proficiency-based approaches to grammar instruction. Because it is input-based and motivated by research on psycholinguistics, it is compatible with current theory about SLA. Still, a number of problematic areas are not addressed in PI. First, it ignores the role of output in language development. VanPatten's framework can help us understand how language is internalized and how instruction might intervene during internalization, but it does not address how that competence is to be tapped or accessed to make output. In addition, the research on PI is limited in that perhaps other output-based approaches to form that are not traditional (i.e., that exclude mechanical work and non-meaningful practice) might be just as effective or at least better than traditional instruction. Initial work by Farley (2000) suggests that this may be so. He compared PI with a meaning-based output instruction (MOI). What he found was that both types of treatment led to significant improvement with no difference between the two. It is not clear whether the improvement by the MOI group is due to the output and meaningful-based nature of the instruction or due to the fact that as they interacted to create meaningful output, learners also create input for each other in a very focused way (See Lee and VanPatten 1995, Chapter 6 for some discussion of "structured-output" also

serving as input). This is the suggestion that Farley offers but without further research that teases apart the variables, it remains a hypothesis.

A second problem within PI is that it is not immediately evident that the framework can handle abstract syntax where there is no meaning to be mapped on to form. Some aspects of syntax, for example the differences in adverb placement between languages like Spanish and French compared to English, do not seem teachable within a PI framework. It may well be that the benefits of PI are limited to surface features of language, but if certain triggers to UG-based parameters are to be found in surface features of language, then PI might be useful in getting learners to process those triggers (see, for example, the discussion in VanPatten 1996: Chapter 5, on the verb-movement parameter).

In spite of the limitations just outlined, it appears that PI is a viable alternative to grammar instruction for foreign language instructors. Compared with traditional instruction, PI leads to more improved performance and may very well be causing real changes in the mental representation of the grammar in learners' minds. Given that the vast majority of foreign language textbooks still employ a fairly traditional approach to grammar instruction and practice, PI is a welcome addition to the profession if it wishes to move beyond what some instructors call "drill-and-kill". We now turn our attention to pedagogical norms.

Pedagogical norms and PI

According to Valdman (1987 and elsewhere), a pedagogical norm is an "artificial construct reflecting the special conditions of classroom FL Learning" (p. 141). He identifies four principles for the elaboration of pedagogical norms. They should:

1. Reflect the actual behavior of TL speakers in communicative contexts;
2. Conform to native speakers' idealized views of their linguistic behavior;
3. Match both target language speakers' views on what is appropriate for educated non-native speakers and the perspectives of learners themselves;
4. Take into account processing and learning factors.

Assuming that 1–3 are actually considered by materials developers and instructors (a big assumption, to be sure), it is the fourth principle that is of concern in the present discussion. An examination of present-day foreign language teaching materials will show that processing and learning factors are the one principle that are never considered. On the one hand, as elaborated in previous

sections, how grammatical structures are internalized does not appear to inform instruction on those structures. Although materials and instructors may have insight into *what* to teach, there appears to be less regard for *how* to teach. The problem of course being that no matter how one chooses the forms and structures to teach, development of grammar instruction for communicative language teaching will always be at odds with the acquisition of grammar if the way in which grammar is presented and practiced is not changed.

By its nature, PI does address the how of both processing and instruction. By identifying a processing problem during comprehension that then serves as the basis for the creation of particular structured input activities, PI is in line with Valdman's fourth principle. What is missing from PI is the consideration of the other three principles. However, this is not a problem in that the principles are not at odds with the spirit of PI and it must be recalled that PI is not a method for language teaching in and of itself; *it is meant as an option for any communicatively-oriented approach to language that might want to incorporate some type of focus on form.* In VanPatten, Lee, and Ballman (2000), for example, we have borrowed from PI in the elaboration of pedagogical materials that are task-driven in nature. The point is that PI can be used with any communicative approach to language and with any set of pedagogical norms once the processing problems of the latter are identified.

Conclusion

What I have attempted to outline in this chapter is the discord between, on the one hand, what we believe communicative language teaching to be and what we know about acquisition, and on the other what current foreign language pedagogical approaches to grammar instruction/focus on form look like. I then briefly outlined an approach that is more consistent with both communicative language teaching and acquisition and then attempted to show how it can be used with pedagogical norms that are developed following Valdman's four principles. This discussion should not be construed as a suggestion that only PI is compatible with communicative language teaching or that it is the only option in focus on form/grammar instruction that meshes with Valdman's considerations about pedagogical norms. Indeed, other approaches as outlined in Doughty and Williams (1998) are clearly options. The only claim made here is that so far, PI is the only approach that conforms to Valdman's fourth principle about processing and learning. As PI develops (and any other approaches to

grammar instruction for foreign language classes) what remains to be seen is to what extent the concept of pedagogical norms becomes part of the discussion of what to teach.

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The initial impact of reading as input for the acquisition of future tense morphology in Spanish

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Introduction

When readers engage a text their primary task is to extract meaning from the text, to comprehend it. Readers do not simply find meaning in a text, they construct it based on their individual characteristics, knowledge, and experiences. Because the interaction between reader and text is so dynamic, as well as creative, we define comprehension as the process of making or creating meaning from the propositional content in the input for the purpose of interpreting a message (Lee and VanPatten 1995: 96). Reading for comprehension has more than just an informational outcome; it has linguistic outcomes as well. Research has confirmed that reading in either a first (L1) or second (L2) language has a positive impact on language development, an impact that has been referred to as the power of reading (Krashen 1993). Whatever language development that occurs as a result of reading is said to occur incidentally (or secondarily) in that the reader's primary task is to make meaning from the text not learn new words or learn to spell better. Language development is an additional benefit of reading; it is the bonus readers receive. The indisputable linguistic gain readers receive from reading is new vocabulary, be it partial or complete knowledge of word meanings (for L1, see Nagy, Anderson, and Herman 1987 and Nagy, Herman, and Anderson 1985; for L2 see Pulido 2000 and Rott 1999).

Second language (L2) readers are also language learners who, by definition, possess an incomplete second language linguistic system. The task of language

learners is to continually construct, reconstruct, and add to their second language linguistic systems. They do so by interacting with comprehensible, meaning-bearing input. By processing the meaning of the input via the forms that encode this meaning, they expand their second language linguistic systems. We can define input processing as the process of making form-meaning connections from the linguistic data in the input for the purpose of constructing a linguistic system (Lee and VanPatten 1995: 96). Words not only have meaning, they have form and form can affect meaning as the differences between *walk* and *walked*, *general*, *generalize*, and *generally*, and *hablo* (I speak), *habló* (s/he spoke), and *hablará* (s/he will speak) demonstrate. Research has shown that L2 readers can comprehend a word's meaning correctly without formal knowledge of its form (Lee 1987; 1998) and yet recognize the forms they were exposed to (Lee 1998; Lee and Rodríguez 1997). L2 readers can gain greater knowledge of known forms through reading (Leow 1997; Shook 1994) and can use form to infer word meaning (Lee and Wolf 1997; Lee 1999; Rott 2000).

The present research builds on this data base by examining both the comprehension and acquisition of a new form that encodes a particular meaning. Early stage language learners will read a passage that contains a form that they have never learned or been exposed to, specifically, the third person singular form of the future tense, which in Spanish is an orthographically accented *á* attached to the end of an infinitive (e.g., *depender-dependerá*, *influir-influirá*, *mandar-mandará*). Spanish future tense morphology has several characteristics that make it a desirable form for empirical investigation. First, it can have high communicative value when the morpheme contributes to overall sentence meaning due to its inherent semantic value and when it is not made redundant by lexical adverbs (VanPatten 1996: 24). It is also orthographically, and hence perceptually salient, in that the morpheme occurs at the end of a word and carries a written accent mark (Barcroft and VanPatten 1997; Rosa and O'Neill 1998). Finally, the third person singular form of the Spanish future tense is perfectly consistent across all verb classes (specifically, *-á*) and not variable as third person preterite (*ó*, *-ió*, *o*) and subjunctive morphemes are (*-e*, *-a*) (Lee 1998). Despite all these factors that make the morphological future tense desirable from a research perspective, the typical pedagogical practice for Spanish language instruction in the United States is not to teach the morphological future until late in a first year curriculum but rather to teach early on the paraphrastic future, which in Spanish is a form of the verb *ir* "to go" followed by *a* followed by an infinitive. Additionally, the practice is not to expose, via readings or teacher talk, classroom learners to forms that they have not studied formally.

Learners would not, therefore, be provided materials containing morphological future tense forms until such time as these forms were first formally presented in class. Research has demonstrated that acquisition can take place without explicit instruction, for example, Spanish interrogative word order (Terrell, Gomez, and Mariscal 1980) and third person object pronouns (VanPatten and Oikkennon 1996). Can we add future tense morphology to the list? The overall question that guides this research is whether L2 learner/readers will connect the word-final accented *-á* with the future meaning it encodes. If they can make this connection, then we must reevaluate the above mentioned pedagogical practice in terms of what Valdman (1987) has called a pedagogical norm.

Review of literature

The following schematic review of literature serves only to motivate the selection of independent variables used in the present study. These variables are Frequency, Lexical Cues, and Orientation. Frequency refers to the frequency with which a morpheme occurs in the input. Lexical Cues refers to the presence or absence of adverbials in the input that would render the future tense morphology redundant, hence lowering the morphology's communicative value. Orientation refers to explicitly directing learner/readers' to a task while reading.

Frequency

The concept of "frequency of occurrence in the input" has been used to partially explain the results of morpheme acquisition studies (see the discussion in Chapter 4 of Larsen-Freeman and Long 1991), incidental vocabulary acquisition through reading in a second language (Rott 1999, 2000), and the intake of various grammatical forms from written input (Leow 1997, 1998). The present study builds on this data base and seeks, therefore, to control learners' exposure to the targeted linguistic form, third person singular Spanish future tense morphology (*-á*). The frequency of occurrence of the form will be either six, ten or sixteen exposures embedded in a reading passage.

Lexical cues to temporal reference

Natural language systems often offer listener/readers many, if not redundant, cues to meaning. The following sentence from the passages used in the present

study demonstrates this point in that the adverbial phrase provides the same temporal framework as the verb form.

> *Muy pronto en el futuro se practicará el teletrabajo con mucha más frecuencia.*
> Very soon in the future telecommuting will be practiced much more frequently.

The presence or absence of adverbials in otherwise matched versions of passages has had an effect on the comprehension and identification of the tense of targeted linguistic forms, specifically, third person singular Spanish preterite morphology (*-ó*) (Lee, Glass, Cadierno, and VanPatten 1997). Lee (1999) showed that using adverbs as cues to meaning is a consistent behavior for some readers, but sporadic for others, and that some readers utilize an adverb alone to establish temporality while others use an adverb in combination with verb forms. In the absence of adverbs, learners rely either on their knowledge of forms or on background knowledge to establish temporality. Since adverbs have been shown to affect both comprehension and input processing, the present study seeks, therefore, to control for cues to meaning in the passages learners read.

Orientation

Research on reading in a second language has explored the effects of various pre-reading treatments on comprehension. The intention of the various treatments has been to alert readers to the content of the passages so that they activate the appropriate schema that would allow them to comprehend better. The following treatments have been shown to be effective (that is, enhance comprehension), albeit under a wide variety of conditions: providing readers a picture relevant to the content (Carrell 1983; Hudson 1982; Lee 1986; and Omaggio 1979); providing readers a vocabulary list (Hudson 1982); and, providing readers prefatory statements on the main idea of a passage plus its rhetorical organization (Lee and Riley 1990).

Research on input processing has taken a somewhat different approach to orienting learners to the task by providing learners secondary tasks to perform while comprehending in order to determine whether learners can attend to form and meaning at the same time. The research has shown that, in general, orienting learners toward formal features in the input is detrimental to comprehension whereas orienting them toward meaningful items is not (VanPatten 1990; Berne 2000, Greenslade, Bouden, and Sanz 1999). None of these studies examined a specific linguistic form but addressed the question of whether

learners can attend to form and meaning at the same time. Hulstijn (1989) found that in measuring both comprehension and form retrieval for interrogatives that a form orientation is beneficial to form retrieval while being detrimental to comprehension and that a meaning orientation is beneficial to comprehension while being detrimental to form retrieval. Since the present study utilizes a reading passage, the learners will have a natural orientation to read for meaning. Additionally, learners will be oriented toward the specific targeted form in the input or even more strongly toward meaning to determine the effects of orientation on both comprehension and input processing of the targeted form.

Research questions

The present study is guided by the following research questions.

1. Does the frequency with which a targeted form occurs in the input affect comprehension and/or processing of that form?
2. Does the presence or absence of adverbs as a cue to meaning affect comprehension and/or processing of a targeted form?
3. Does orienting learner/readers to attend to meaning or to form, in addition to reading a text for meaning, affect comprehension and/or processing of a targeted form?

Research design and methodology

Participants

The study began with 283 participants, all of whom were enrolled in either second semester Spanish or in the review of first year Spanish course at Indiana University. Approximately two weeks before gathering data, the participants performed a twenty-four item verb conjugation test. They were asked to conjugate six verbs in the first person singular form in the present indicative, preterite, subjunctive and future. Only those participants who indicated absolutely no knowledge of the future tense forms and who completed all experimental tasks were included in the study. Shook (1994) used learners who did as well as did not know the forms he investigated and so used gain scores from pretest to posttest in his analyses. Leow (1997) also used a pretest/posttest design to measure gains in formal knowledge. Leow and Shook's studies can not speak to the effects of learners *initial* exposure to a form.

Not all 283 participants who began the study were used in the final analyses. Participants were not included in the present study for any number of reasons: any participant in the form orientation condition who did not place an x over the target items; any participant in the meaning orientation condition who did not complete the multiple choice questions prior to reading; any participant who skipped the recall or who did not complete all items on the recognition or production test. The total number of participants who have been included in the analyses is, therefore, 181.

Materials

All participants first encountered one of the three orientations (the exact wording of these is provided in Appendix A). One group of readers was directed to the meaning of the passage by completing multiple choice questions as a prereading exercise. They were told that when they read the passage they would find the correct answers. They were also told that these multiple choice questions were the same ones they would have to answer after they read. The number of questions corresponded to the frequency of occurrence of the morpheme in the input (6, 10, or 16). In order to direct another group of readers to the forms in the passage, they were told that the passage contained words that ended in *á* (an accented *a*). They were instructed to put an x over each of these words as they encountered them in the passage. Finally, a third group was told to read the passage and that afterwards they would be given comprehension tasks to do. This orientation is considered a neutral one. Packets containing the research materials were prepared and randomly distributed during a regularly scheduled class session.

Participants then encountered one of three versions of the passage. The passage used in this study was adapted from an authentic text *El hogar electrónico* which appears in the students' regular textbook, *¿Sabías que…? Beginning Spanish* (VanPatten, Lee, and Ballman 2000). Three versions of the text were prepared such that the texts contained six, ten, or sixteen future tense verb forms. Then, for each of these three texts, two other versions were constructed. One contained adverbs as additional cues to meaning and the other did not. The adverbs included the passage title "*En el futuro*" (in the future), *en la próxima década* (in the next decade), *para el año 2020* (by the year 2020), and *¿Qué nos espera en el futuro?* (What awaits us in the future?) The other passage contained neither adverbs nor a title (see Appendix B).

Assessment tasks

The present study assesses learner/readers' comprehension of what they read as well as their processing the input for future tense morphology. Samples of the assessment tasks used in the study appear in Appendix C. Three versions of each assessment task were prepared, corresponding to the three versions of the input passage. Additionally, the number of items and the highest score possible on each assessment task corresponded to the number of exposures to the target forms in the input, that is, six, ten, or sixteen.

Comprehension

Two measures of comprehension were used: free written recall and multiple choice questions. Both measures of comprehension were taken in the participants' native language, English, so that their indication of the meaning of what they read would not be obfuscated by their limited L2 systems (Lee 1987; Shohamy 1984; Wolf 1993) and, more importantly, so that the measures of meaning would be independent of the measures of form. Reading in Spanish but having comprehension checked in English was an instructional technique used in the first half of the learners' textbook. Immediately after reading the passage, learner/readers were asked to write in English everything they could remember from the passage. They were encouraged to write as much as they could. Recalls were scored only for the number of target verbs correctly recalled in the future tense; they were not scored for global comprehension of the passage.

Following the recalls, the learner/readers completed multiple choice questions in English. Each question had a blank in it and underneath the sentence the learner/readers found four choices. Each blank corresponded to a target verb. The choices rendered the verb in the past, present perfect, present or the future, and the correct answer was distributed among a, b, c, and d options. In other words, if learner/readers wished to employ a "same-tense" selection strategy, they would have to search for that particular tense. The correct answer to each question was the future tense of a target verb.

Input processing

After completing the multiple choice comprehension test, half the learner/readers then completed a form recognition test while the other half completed a form production test. The form recognition test required the learner/readers

to select the form of the verb that appeared in the passage they had read. They were given sentences in Spanish with the verb deleted. Underneath each sentence were four forms of the target verb: present indicative, preterit, present perfect, and future. The forms were not presented in the same order but in a varied order so that if learner/readers wished to employ a "same-form" selection strategy, they would have to search for that particular form. The form recognition test was scored for the number of correct future tense selections.

The form production test consisted of a modified cloze passage in Spanish in which the target verbs were replaced with a blank line followed by the infinitive form of the verb. Learner/readers were instructed to fill in the blank with the form of the verb that appeared in the passage they had read. The form production test was scored using an exact criteria for accurate future tense forms. For the verb *depender*, for example, only the form *dependerá* (accented) was accepted, not any variation such as *dependera* (no accent mark), *dependá* (no infinitive morpheme), or *dependó* (a preterite-like form).

Results

The independent, between group variables in all analyses were Input Frequency (6, 10, or 16 exposures), +/− Adverbs, and Orientation (neutral, form, or meaning). A summary of all the means for all independent and dependent variables is provided in Table 1. All measures of comprehension and input processing were submitted to separate 3 × 2 × 3 Analyses of Variance (ANOVA). The results are presented below and a summary of the results of the various ANOVA is provided in Table 2.

As seen in Table 2, the variables selected for examination in this study affected both comprehension and input processing, although the results were not consistent across all the assessment tasks. These factors are, then, important to examine while at the same time, they are sensitive to task effects. The variable that emerged as the most significant was the frequency with which the morphemes occurred in the reading passages because it significantly affected performance on both comprehension measures and on one of the processing measures. Greater exposure to the forms in the input yielded greater comprehension and processing scores. The presence or absence of lexical cues to temporal reference affected performance on both comprehension measures but not on either of the processing measures. The presence of temporal adverbs aided learner/readers to comprehend more of the passages. Orientation to the

Table 1. Summary Table of the Means, Standard Deviations, Standard Errors and Subjects per Cell for Each Independent and Dependent Variable

	Target Recall	**Multiple Choice**	**Future Form**	**Recognition**
Input Frequency				
6	M= .738	2.462	.533	2.543
	D= .940	1.855	1.548	1.873
	SE=.117	.230	.283	.310
	N=65	N=65	N=30	N=35
10	1.483	6.138	.667	5.581
	1.740	2.599	2.201	3.253
	.228	.341	.424	.584
	N=58	N=58	N=27	N=31
16	1.224	9.914	2.067	8.786
	1.590	4.014	4.913	5.364
	.209	.527	.897	1.1014
	N=58	N=58	N=30	N=28
Adverbs				
+	1.587	6.620	.979	5.356
	1.577	4.156	2.967	5.095
	.165	.433	.433	.760
	N=92	N=92	N=47	N=45
–	.663	5.416	1.250	5.449
	1.196	4.250	3.692	3.748
	.127	.451	.584	.535
	N=89	N=89	N=40	N=49
Orientation				
neutral	.864	6.379	.333	4.861
	1.149	3.624	1.826	4.667
	.141	.446	.333	.778
	N=66	N=66	N=30	N=36
form	.509	6.164	1.833	7.774
	.879	4.529	3.985	4.357
	.119	.611	.814	.782
	N=55	N=55	N=24	N=31
meaning	2.000	5.517	1.273	3.407
	1.804	4.586	3.727	2.721
	.233	.592	.649	.542
	N=60	N=60	N=33	N=27

task affected both comprehension and input processing, in the expected direction, but only on the recall and recognition assessment tasks. Those with a meaning orientation comprehended (recalled) more whereas those with a

form orientation recognized more forms. These results are explained in greater statistical detail in the sections that follow.

Comprehension: Target recall

The first measure of comprehension was the number of target verbs (correctly rendered with future meanings) present in the free written recalls. The results of the ANOVA revealed significant main effects for Input Frequency ($F[2, 163] = 8.368$, $p = .0003$), +/− Adverbs ($F[1, 163] = 33.980$, $p = .0001$), and Orientation ($F[2, 163] = 32.834$, $p = .0001$). There was also a significant interaction between Input Frequency and Orientation ($F[4, 163] = 5.207$, $p = .0006$). To explore these main effects further, the Fishers PLSD was used. In terms of Input Frequency, the significant differences lie in six versus ten (M = .738 and M = 1.483, respectively, $p = .0004$) and six versus sixteen exposures (M = .738 and M = 1.224, respectively, $p = .0199$); there was no significant difference between ten and sixteen exposures. The effect for +/−Adverbs is due to the higher mean for +Adverbs (M = 1.587 versus M = .663, $p = .0001$). For Orientation, signficant differences exist between neutral and meaning orientations (M = .864 and M = 2.00, respectively, $p = .0001$) and between form and meaning orientations (M = .509 and M = 2.00, respectively, $p = .0001$), but not between neutral and form.

Let's examine the interaction between Input Frequency and Orientation again using Fisher's PLSD. Of three Input Frequencies, significant differences between the Orientations are found only with ten and sixteen exposures but not with six exposures. Specifically, at ten exposures there are significant differences between neutral and meaning Orientations (M = 1.111 and M = 2.947, respectively, $p = .0002$) and between form and meaning (M = .476 and M = 2.947, respectively, $p = .0001$) but not between neutral and form Orientations (M = 1.111 and M = .476, respectively, $p = .1639$). The same pattern of performance exists for sixteen exposures; there are significant differences between neutral and meaning Orientations (M = .917 and M = 2.600, respectively, $p = .0005$) and between form and meaning (M = .526 and M = 2.600, respectively, $p = .0001$) but not between neutral and form Orientations (M = .917 and M = .526, respectively, $p < .3597$).

Now let's examine the interaction from the Orientation perspective. Of the three orientations, the only significant differences between the various Input Frequencies are found in the meaning Orientation: six versus ten (M = .962 and M = 2.600, respectively, $p = .0001$) and six versus sixteen (M = .962 and

Table 2. Summary of the Results of the Statistical Analyses

	IF	+/−A	O	IF x +/−A	IF x O	+/−A x O	IF x +/−AxO
Recall N=181	sg 10>6 16>6 10=16	sg +>−	sg M>N M>F F=N	n	sg 6:F=M=N 10:M>N 10:M>F 10:F=N 16:M>N 16:M>F 16:F=N N:6=10=61 F:6=10=16 M:10>6 M:16>6 M:10=16	n	n
Multiple Choice N=181	sg 10>6 16>6 16>10	sg +>−	n	n	n $p=.0589$ 6:M>N 6:F=N 6:F=M 10:F=M=N 16:F=M=N N:10>6 N:16>6 N:16>10 F:10>6 F:16>6 F:16>10 M:10>6 M:16>6 M:16>10	n	n
Production N=87	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
Recognition N=94	sg 16>6 16>10	n	sg F>M M=N	n	n	n	n

IF= Input frequency; +/−A= +/−adverbs; O= orientation; F= form orientation; M= meaning orientation; N= neutral orientation; sg= significant; n= not significant

M = 2.600, respectively, $p = .0022$) but not ten versus sixteen (M = 2.947 and M = 2.60, respectively). Input Frequencies are not significant at the neutral and form Orientations.

Comprehension: Multiple choice

The second measure of comprehension was the multiple choice questions. The results of the ANOVA revealed significant main effects for Input Frequency ($F[2, 163] = 101.227$, $p = .0001$) and +/−Adverbs ($F[1, 163] = 10.228$, $p = .0017$). There were no significant interactions although the interaction between Input Frequency and Orientation almost reached a level of significance ($p = .0589$). The results of Fisher's PLSD on the main effects revealed the following significant differences: six versus ten exposures (M = 2.462 and M = 6.138, respectively, $p = .0001$), six versus sixteen exposures (M = 2.462 and M = 9.914, respectively, $p = .0001$), and ten versus sixteen exposures (M = 6.138 and M = 9.914, respectively, $p = .0001$). The significant effect for adverb is due to the mean for +Adverb being greater than that of −Adverb passages (M = 6.620 and M = 5.416, $p = .0051$).

Input processing: Producing future forms

The first measure of input processing was that of exactly producing the future tense form the learner/readers encountered in the passage. The results of the ANOVA revealed no significant effects for or interactions among any of the variables. The means, presented in Table 3, show, however, that the pattern of performance is in the expected direction. These means did not reach a level of significance probably due, in part, to a great deal of individual variation in the responses as indicated by the standard deviations being larger than the means. Overall we can say that the lack of significant effects suggests that extracting and storing the exact form from the input even when presented sixteen times, after only one reading, is too demanding a task for these early stage learner/readers.

Input processing: Recognition of forms

The other measure of input processing is how many forms learner/readers recognized from the input to which they were exposed. The results of the ANOVA revealed significant main effects for Input Frequency ($F[2, 76] = 15.020$, $p = .0001$) and Orientation ($F[2, 76] = 9.028$, $p = .0003$). There were no other

Table 3. Means and Standard Deviations for Producing Future Forms

		Means	SD
Input Frequency	Six	.500	1.465
	Ten	.773	2.2429
	Sixteen	2.222	5.219
Adverbs			
	+	.821	2.389
	−	1.433	4.133
Orientation			
	Neutral	.556	2.357
	Form	2.294	4.407
	Meaning	.739	2.927

significant main effects or interactions. The Fisher's PLSD for Input Frequency revealed the following significant differences: those who had sixteen items in the input recognized significantly more of them than those who had ten (M = 8.786 and M = 5.581, respectively, $p = .0005$), those who had ten items recognized significantly more of them than those who had six (M = 5.581 and M = 2.543, respectively, $p = .0001$), and that those who had sixteen items recognized significantly more items than those who had six (M = 8.786 and M = 2.543, respectively, $p = .0005$). In terms of Orientation, the Fisher's PLSD revealed that those with the form orientation recognized significantly more items than those with the neutral orientation (M = 7.774 and M = 4.861, respectively, $p = .0007$) or those with the meaning orientation (M = 7.774 and M = 3.407, respectively, $p = .0001$). There was no significant difference between the neutral and meaning orientations.

Discussion

The results of this study question the pedagogical practice that restricts learners' exposure to grammatical items until after these items are explicitly taught and practiced. The results strongly indicate that learners can make meaning out of forms they have never formally studied as well as make connections between the forms and their meanings. They can not, however, produce the target form correctly even after sixteen exposures, which would perhaps be the benefit

gained from explicit instruction.

The first research question addressed the role that the frequency of occurrence of a linguistic form in the input might have on comprehension and/or input processing. The results strongly and consistently demonstrated the impact that frequency of occurrence has on both comprehension and input processing and, importantly, across mutiple measures of comprehension and input processing. It is fair to make the following generalization: by increasing exposure you increase learner/readers' comprehension of the meaning expressed by the targeted linguistic item. Learner/readers make meaning from the form better when they have more opportunities to process the form in the meaningful context of reading a passage. Also, by increasing exposure you increase learner/readers' processing of the form. They may not produce exact target forms but they do recognize more of them as they process more of them in the input. The absolute effects of input frequency are, however, mediated by orientation to the task for comprehension but not for input processing. This finding will be discussed below.

The second research question addressed the effect that lexical cues to meaning (adverbs) would have on comprehension and/or input processing. The presence of adverbs significantly enhanced comprehension of the meaning of the target forms as future, a finding consistent with previous research on the Spanish preterit (Lee et al. 1997). There was no significant effect for adverbs on either measure of input processing. While the means are very close, they do show that more forms were produced and recognized when no adverbs were present in the texts. These data suggest, albeit quite tentatively, that the adverbs may help learner/readers uncover future meaning but not connect that meaning with the form that encoded it. As VanPatten (1996) has proposed, the temporal adverbs make the morphology redundant and therefore not useful to learners as they allocate limited attentional resources. This finding did not reach a level of significance but this relationship between input characteristics and comprehension and input processing should be further explored.

The third research question addressed the role that orientation to the task might have on comprehension and/or input processing. Overall, we can say that orientation emerges as a significant variable for both comprehension and input processing, but is mediated by other effects for both comprehension and input processing. The main effect for orientation on recall demonstrates that a meaning orientation enhanced comprehension of the future meanings of the target forms. We found, however, interactions between orientation and input frequency, a signficant one for recall and one that approached significance for

multiple choice. Yet the patterns of performance are distinct across the two comprehension tasks making any generalization quite difficult. For recall we find that only those with a meaning orientation demonstrate an effect for input frequency. Only those who received ten and sixteen exposures demonstrate an effect for orientation. For multiple choice, we find the effect of input frequency across all three orientations and find only the slightest effect for orientation on those who received six exposures. While these data offer no definitive effect for orientation on comprehension, they do suggest strongly that it is an important factor to consider.

An effect for orientation to the task on input processing was found with the form recognition data and the results indicated that those with a form orientation recognized more correct forms than those with either of the other two orientations. A form orientation does, therefore, enhance form recognition. Learner/readers can successfully be directed to extract meaningful forms.

Valdman (1987 and elsewhere) advocates establishing pedagogical norms that reflect the special conditions of classroom foreign language learning. One of these conditions is the relative absence of meaningful input outside the classroom, a consequence of which is the need to create input rich classrooms. The research presented in this chapter underscores one of Valdman's four principles for elaborating pedagogical norms, that of taking into account processing and learning factors (1987: 141). Learners can process and learn meaningful forms incidentally as a result of reading. This finding calls into question the pedagogical practice of delaying learners' exposure to such forms until after the forms are presented formally.

The data point to rather obvious task effects. More important than establishing statistically significant task effects will be a future examination of individual learner/readers' performance across tasks that will explore in depth the relationship between form and meaning. Both the recall and multiple choice tasks provide us information about learner/readers conception of the meaning of the passage. Their performance on the form production or form recognition test gives us information about their concept of the forms that encode meaning. There are, for example, learner/readers who recognized all the forms correctly but did not correctly recall or choose future tense on the comprehension test. On the other hand, there are learner/readers who correctly recall and choose future tense on the comprehension tests, but then select or produce present tense forms on the input processing tests. While the present study has established patterns of performance, the data are rich with information regarding individual variation in relating forms with their meanings.

Limitations and conclusions

All empirical investigations are subject to limitations in generalizing the findings. The results of this study are generalizable only to forms that share the same characteristics that future tense morphology has. It encodes a single meaning and is not conceptually a complex construct. The findings may not be generalizable, for example, to Spanish imperfect morphology in that this encodes both tense and aspect. Future research could seek to expand on the forms examined.

Although the ANOVA is a powerful analytical tool, some cells in the interactions, particularly the triple interactions have small n sizes, a limitation that future reseach could address. Only one passage was used in the present study so that it is impossible to determine if the results are byproducts of a passage effect. Future research could incorporate more reading passages, perhaps manipulating content familiarity or other reader-text factors, and hopefully corroborate the findings of the present study. The means for recall of target forms are very small and reflect the difficulty learners have with free recall. Future research might incorporate a cued recall, providing learners with some of the propositional content of sentences that contain the target verbs, but not the target verbs themselves, in order to stimulate recall. The decision was made to place adverbs at the beginning of paragraphs as general cues to the temporal framework (Lee 1999). Future research might use an alternative approach (as in Lee et al. 1997) and place an adverb in each sentence that contains a target verb so that the adverbs become localized or specific cues to meaning. If this alternative is used, care should be taken to create "natural-sounding" discourse in that it would be rare to find an authentic text in which sixteen occurrences of the future tense were accompanied by sixteen temporal adverbs. And, finally, future research can address whether the effects of these variables on comprehension and processing are merely immediate or if they are durative (Lee 2002).

Despite the limitations, the data lead to the following conclusions regarding reading as input for the acquisition of future tense morphology, noting that future tense morphology has a high communicative value. Input Frequency and Orientation to the task, singly and in combination, are two factors that significantly affect both comprehension and input processing. The greater the number of exposures the greater are the recall, multiple choice comprehension, form recognition and form production. When learner/readers are oriented to the meaning of a passage, they score better on the comprehension tests. When

learner/readers are oriented toward the forms in a passage they score better on both the form recognition test. And, finally, the presence of adverbs helps learners create meaning from the future tense morphology but neither helps nor deters learner/readers from making form-meaning connections. Acquisition of meaningful forms has to start somewhere and the data presented in this study demonstrate that it can start with encountering them in a reading passage.

Appendix A: Orientations

Neutral
Read the following passage at your own rate. You don't need to read it through more than once. When you are done with the passage, turn the page. We have a couple of tasks for you to do. You can now turn the page and begin reading.

Form
Words that end in *á* (*a* with an accent mark) appear throughout the passage you are about to read. Each time you encounter one of these words put an X over it. When you are done reading the passage, turn the page. We have a couple of tasks for you to do. You can now turn the page and begin reading.

Meaning
Read the following questions. The answers to these questions can be found in the passage you are about to read. At this moment, even though you have not read the passage, select an answer to each question so that you get some idea of what might take place in the passage. After you answer the questions, turn the page and read the passage. When you are done with the passage, turn the page again. We have a couple of tasks for you to do. You can now turn the page and begin reading.

Appendix B

Sample Passages: sixteen, ten, six.
Note: The title and the adverbs in italics were removed from the −Adverb versions. The verbs did not appear in bold in the versions provided to participants but appear so here for the benefit of the reader.

+Adverbs/16
En el futuro

En la próxima década, es decir, dentro de diez años, dicen que el 60% de la población de los países desarrollados **dependerá** de las telecomunicaciones. Por ejemplo, para entrar en lo que se llama la casa inteligente el propietario no **necesitará** ni llaves ni tarjeta magnética. La puerta se **abrirá** al reconocer su voz y compararla con un código grabado.

Muy pronto en el futuro se **practicará** el teletrabajo con mucha más frecuencia. El profesional liberal **participará** en videoconferencias sin salir de su casa o su oficina. **Mandará**

el trabajo a cualquier parte del mundo con las tecnologías telemáticas (teléfono, computadora, fax, la red, etc.).

Dentro de diez años, en la cocina la tostadora **incluirá** un mando a distancia por infrarrojos. En el baño, la báscula **señalará** el peso actual, **recordará** también el del día anterior y **anunciará** el peso ganado o perdido de la última semana.

Para el año 2020, a través de la pantalla de alta definición, alimentada por la televisión por cable y los satélites, cada persona **recibirá** toda transimisión que quiera. **Asistirá** a clases de piano o de cerámica a distancia, por ejemplo. **Participará** en juegos de aventura por todo el mundo electrónicamente.

¿Qué nos espera en el futuro? Algunos sociólogos se preocupan porque, según ellos, todo esto **generará** aislamiento social e **influirá** en las necesidades de contacto personal. El hombre, *Homo sapiens*, se **convertirá** en el *Homo electrónicus.*

+Adverbs/10

En el futuro

En la próxima década, es decir, dentro de diez años, dicen que el 60% de la población de los países desarrollados **dependerá** de las telecomunicaciones. Por ejemplo, para entrar en lo que se llama la casa inteligente el propietario no **necesitará** ni llaves ni tarjeta magnética. La puerta se **abrirá** al reconocer su voz y compararla con un código grabado.

Muy pronto en el futuro se **practicará** el teletrabajo con mucha más frecuencia. El profesional liberal **mandará** el trabajo a cualquier parte del mundo con las tecnologías telemáticas (teléfono, computadora, fax, la red, etc.).

Para el año 2020, a través de la pantalla de alta definición, alimentada por la televisión por cable y los satélites, cada persona **recibirá** toda transimisión que quiera. **Asistirá** a clases de piano o de cerámica a distancia, por ejemplo.

¿Qué nos espera en el futuro? Algunos sociólogos se preocupan porque, según ellos, todo esto **generará** aislamiento social e **influirá** en las necesidades de contacto personal. El hombre, *Homo sapiens*, se **convertirá** en el *Homo electrónicus.*

+Adverbs/6

En el futuro

En la próxima década, es decir, dentro de diez años, dicen que el 60% de la población de los países desarrollados **dependerá** de las telecomunicaciones.

Muy pronto en el futuro se **practicará** el teletrabajo con mucha más frecuencia. El profesional liberal **mandará** el trabajo a cualquier parte del mundo con las tecnologías telemáticas (teléfono, computadora, fax, la red, etc.).

¿Qué nos espera en el futuro? Algunos sociólogos se preocupan porque, según ellos, todo esto **generará** aislamiento social e **influirá** en las necesidades de contacto personal. El hombre, *Homo sapiens*, se **convertirá** en el *Homo electrónicus.*

Appendix C

Assessment Tasks for the 6 exposure passage version

Recall
Recall as **much** of what you just read as you can. Write in English. The emphasis is on how much you can remember.

Multiple choice comprehension questions
Please answer all of the following comprehension questions by selecting the answer that was given in the passage you read.

1. Sixty percent of developed countries _____ on telecommunications.
a. will depend b. already depend c. do not depend d. used to depend

2. Telecommuting or teleworking _____ frequently.
a. is not practiced b. is already practiced c. used to be practiced d. will be practiced

3. A professional _____ work to any part of the world using telematic technologies.
a. already sends b. can not yet c. will send d. has been able to send

4. Some sociologists claim that these technologies _____ social isolation.
a. generate b. can not generate c. will generate d. have already generated

5. Some sociologists claim that these technologies _____ the human need for personal contact.
a. will influence b. already influence c. can not yet influence d. have influenced

6. Man, *Homo sapiens*, _____ *Homo electronicus.*
a. is already b. has become c. can not become d. will become

Form production test
Conjugate the verb in parentheses in the same form as it was given in the passage.

Dicen que el 60% de la población de los países desarrollados ____________________ (depender) de las telecomunicaciones.

Se ____________________ (practicar) el *teletrabajo* con mucha más frecuencia. El profesional liberal ____________________ (mandar) el trabajo a cualquier parte del mundo con las tecnologías telemáticas (teléfono, computadora, fax, la red, etc.).

Algunos sociólogos se preocupan porque, según ellos, todo esto ________________ (generar) aislamiento social e ____________________ (influir) en las necesidades de contacto personal. El hombre, *Homo sapiens*, se ____________________ (convertir) en el *Homo electrónicus.*

Form recognition test
Select the form of the word that appeared in the passage you read.

1. Dicen que el 60% de la población de los países desarrollados ____________________ de las telecomunicaciones.
depende
dependó
dependerá
ha dependido

2. Se ____________________ el *teletrabajo* con mucha más frecuencia.
ha practicado
practicó
practica
practicará

3. El profesional liberal ____________________ el trabajo a cualquier parte del mundo con las tecnologías telemáticas (teléfono, computadora, fax, la red, etc.).
Mandará
Manda
Ha mandado
Mandó

4. Algunos sociólogos se preocupan porque, según ellos, todo esto (4.) ____________________ aislamiento social e (5.) ____________________ en las necesidades de contacto personal.

4.	5.
ha generado	influyó
genera	influirá
generará	influye
generó	ha influido

6. El hombre, *Homo sapiens*, se ____________________ en el *Homo electrónicus.*
convertirá
convirtió
ha convertido
convierte

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Treating French intonation

Observed variation and suggestions for a pedagogical norm*

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Pedagogical norms for teaching foreign languages guide those of us who work with second language (L2) learners on a daily basis. Knowing a language well, or being a native speaker (NS), can complicate the teaching task if we focus on the complexity and reality of the language represented in our own minds. By reducing the variation inherent in native speech, a pedagogical norm presents a simplified but acceptable version of the language. By building on psychological processes of language learning, it allows for speedier progress on the part of learners as they move into a new mode, communication in a second language (Valdman 1989a).

Pedagogical norms have been proposed and used in textbooks in several areas of language, primarily vocabulary, grammar, and pronunciation, as well as for ideas about politeness and levels of discourse (Valdman 1989a). To illustrate how a pedagogical norm may apply to teaching French pronunciation, Valdman (1976b: 61) suggests that the complicated system of mid vowels be simplified according to the "*loi de position*", which says that [e], for example, generally occurs in open syllables and [ɛ] in closed syllables. In the orthoepic norm, the final /e/ can, in fact, be heard as closed [e] or open [ɛ] depending on orthography or morphological endings, but because the final [e/ɛ] distinction is rarely noticed by educated speakers of French, it might be considered nonessential in this context for beginning students.[1] Later, when learners' perception of French sounds has become more attuned to the language, teachers may present a more complex system, including final [ɛ], and guide students toward the standard French pronunciation of these endings. An

important point in choosing a pedagogical norm is the assurance that sanction by "educated native speakers" will not arise due to use of the altered form (Valdman 1976b: 61). In this case, a generalized [e] does not normally hinder communication, nor does it shock native speakers.

Chumbow (1983) and Valdman (1993) offer other suggestions for presenting a simplified system of French pronunciation in class. However, intonation has not heretofore been a major focus for researchers exploring pedagogical norms. Part of the reason for this lacuna is the complicated nature of intonation itself. Pitch within a sentence depends first on the range of each individual speaker. Pitch is also relative within each utterance, from initial to final, with possible rises on stressed syllables of emphasized words (Grover, Jamieson, and Dobrovolsky 1987). In fact, there are several overall tendencies in intonation across languages. One important universal is F_0 declination, which is an overall, gradual fall in pitch in declarative sentences (Pike 1945, Cohen and 't Hart 1967, Maeda 1976, Vaissière 1983). Cruttenden claims that rises and falls are intonational universals, and that each tune carries meaning. Falls typically signal finality, closed lists, *wh*-questions, and assertiveness; whereas rises signify continuity, openness, *yes/no*-questions and conciliation (1981: 81). Along with simple rises and falls, flat contours and multidirectional contours are also often produced in utterances (Ramsey 1996). In addition to these factors, which complicate the perception of intonation, it is also difficult to measure intonation mechanically since pitch interplays with length and intensity in face-to-face communication. Computer models of smoothed-out fundamental frequency curves are now becoming available, thanks in part to the Internet.[2] All of these considerations make the study of intonation a particular challenge and explain, in part, the lack of a developed pedagogical norm for this aspect of a second language.

One might ask if it is essential to ascertain what intonation from real speech sounds like and if it is at all important or realistic in the development of competent language learners. Early researchers and pedagogues (see Barker 1923, Delattre 1951, Guberina 1965, Léon 1976, and Neufeld 1977, for example), in arguing that it is possible even for adult learners to acquire accurate L2 intonation, encourage the treatment of intonation early on and suggest useful exercises to achieve this goal. Renard's (1971) verbo-tonal method uses intonation to facilitate the accurate production of L2 segments. The fact that intonation also relates to the discursive impact of one's sentences (declarative vs. interrogative), as well as one's emotional state (openness vs. finality, tone of voice, attitude), means that accurate intonation can play a significant role in communicative competence in a L2.

The present article first presents results from an empirical study on French intonation. Valdman (1989b and 2000) sets forth some important principles on which one should base pedagogical norms, which, he claims, should be anchored in real speech, interlanguage data, and the variations inherent to both. The present study serves to provide a new database for French intonation and its variations, particularly in the context of declarative sentences, *yes/no*-questions, and *wh*-questions. Guiding the establishment of new pedagogical norms in this article will also be Valdman's four criteria, the first of which is that a norm "should reflect the actual speech of target language speakers in authentic communicative situations". In addition, it should reflect "native speakers' idealized view of speech use" and match expectations that native and foreign speakers have of learners' speech. Finally, norms "should take into account processing and learning factors" (Valdman 1989b: 21).

The learners' speech in this study informs us about the approximative systems of intonation, which tend to shift toward native patterns as learners progress in their acquisition of French. The importance of this type of interlanguage development is highlighted by Valdman (2000: 658); data on interlanguage can serve as guideposts for mid points of pedagogical norms. This article will present a series of mid points in the acquisition of French intontation based on the variations in intonation observed in these data, which correspond to information about the French language called for by Valdman as early as 1967. These guidelines then serve as a basis on which to elaborate a pedagogical norm for this underrepresented feature of the French language. The data show that just as one can describe the grammar and segmental phonology of a learner's interlanguage, there also exists a suprasegmental interlanguage.[3]

A study of variation in French intonation

Participants and methodology

The study was conducted at Indiana University with nine monolingual English speakers (a control group whose data served as baseline L1 intonational contours), seventeen beginning learners of French, eighteen advanced learners, and twelve native speakers of French. All were undergraduate or graduate students at the time of recruitment and ranged from seventeen to thirty-eight years of age. The English data served as a benchmark for what the learners' intonation might have sounded like before beginning their study of French. If, in

fact, learners simply impose American intonational patterns on L2 segments, then there exists no interlanguage intonation. If, on the other hand, the learners have a novel intonational system in French, unlike English and not yet like French, then we have proof that learners are creating intermediate intonational patterns. Participants were recorded[4] as they completed three elicitation tasks: (a) reading a dialogue aloud, (b) describing and narrating a series of pictures, and (c) participating in a conversation with the researcher.[5] In order to elicit similar types of sentences in the three tasks, the themes of academic life, leisure activities, and travel were chosen as a common thread. However, in the conversations, the participants were not limited to these topics and could ask any question of the interviewer, who was the researcher. The three tasks were designed in hopes of collecting a range of controlled to free speech even though it was recognized that each task posed specific problems to the type of speech it would initiate. Reading a dialogue, although predictable, can be a more natural task than reading isolated words, phrases, or sentences aloud. The picture description did not elicit a significant number of questions, so only declarative sentences were taken into account in the data analysis of that task. Conversational intonation was the most difficult of the three tasks to analyze because of quick and overlapping turn-taking, hesitations, incomplete sentences, and occasional hard-to-hear utterances. Consequently, only the first twenty complete sentences (defined as having at least a subject and verb) were counted in the analysis of declaratives taken from the conversation, but all questions posed in the form of a complete sentence were counted. The syntactic structure of sentences, because it is related to prosodic structure, naturally guided the researcher in the marking of intonational contours in the speech from each of the three tasks.[6]

The utterances were transcribed and categorized as declaratives, *yes/no*-questions, or *wh*-questions. Each sentence was then divided into rhythmic groups (determined in large part by pauses). The researcher marked by hand the intonational contour of each rhythmic group. Contours were described with the terms "rising", "falling", "flat", and "complex"; these words relate to patterns perceived by ear by the researcher. Satisfactory checks for reliability and correspondence with computer-generated fundamental frequency curves were inherent to the study (Ramsey 1996: 173, 178). Contours ending a sentence were categorized as "final", and all others as "medial". A sample of a declarative, a *yes/no*-question, and a *wh*-question from the dialogue-reading task is found in Table 1.

Table 1. Examples from the dialogue-reading task

Declarative		*Yes/no*-question	*Wh*-question
Je vais aller à la plage	si je vais à Nice.	Tu as aimé ce film?	Quel film est-ce que tu as vu?
I'll go to the beach NS #9	if I go to Nice.	Did you like this movie? NS #7,8	What movie did you see? NS #2
(two rhythmic groups)		(one rhythmic group)	(one rhythmic group)

All of the marked utterances were subjected to a quantitative and a qualitative analysis. The dialogue-reading task yielded 1904 utterances; the picture-description, 210 declaratives; and the conversation, 861 declaratives and questions. The quantitative analysis revealed the main differences between native and learner speech, and demonstrated the presence of an intonational interlanguage in the latter. These results respond to Valdman's call for empirical evidence of variation in native speech and an appreciation of how learning factors influence learners' speech (Valdman 1989b: 21). The qualitative analysis, and its examples of many possible intonational contours in native French, will help to identify the elements most crucial in developing a pedagogical norm given that the norm derives from some of the most frequent intonational patterns in the data. These patterns lead to an abstraction and generalization of the most important features to present in the classroom, following Valdman's idea that a pedagogical norm is an "artificial construct reflecting the special conditions of classroom foreign language learning" (1989a: 272).

Quantitative results

One of the significant results of the quantitative analysis concerns the total number of rhythmic groups among the groups of participants. Table 2 below illustrates the findings.

Native speakers of English and French produced fewer rhythmic groups per sentence than learners. This finding means that NSs of both languages grouped more syllables and words under each intonational contour. For example, whereas a French NS produced two rhythmic groups in the *yes/no*-question, "*Tu pars | avec une seule valise?*" (NS #10), a beginning learner produced three rhythmic groups in "*Tu vas | être | un professeur?*" (Beginning learner #7). What inherently increases the number of rhythmic groups seems to be the slower rate

Table 2. Average number of rhythmic groups per sentence: dialogue-reading task

	Monolingual English speakers	Beginning learners of French	Advanced learners of French	NSs of French
Declaratives	1.5	2.7	1.8	1.4
Yes/no-questions	1.2	2.2	1.3	1.1
Wh-questions	1.1	2.2	1.5	1.3

of the learners' speech and their tendency to pause frequently. From Table 2 above, we see that beginning learners averaged 2.7 rhythmic groups per declarative as opposed to 1.8 for the advanced learners and 1.4 for the NSs. Likewise, when asking questions, learners produced twice as many rhythmic groups (2.2) as NSs (1.1 or 1.3). In addition, we can observe in the data a reduction in the number of rhythmic groups produced by advanced learners. Although this study is cross-sectional, one might presume that the learner's movement from twice as many rhythmic groups to a number closer to the native norm is a sign of progress. Advanced learners are able to speak with more ease and flow than beginners, and this manner of division of sentences already reflects a mid-point characteristic of a prosodic interlanguage, which, one assumes, develops over time.

Another calculation shows similar results, this time in the raw number of different intonational patterns produced by each group. These numbers take into account, for example, how many realizations of one particular sentence were produced as a flat-rise or a rise-fall. Each version of each sentence was counted as a pattern, and the totals are presented in Table 3.

Again, we can see the same proliferation of intonational contours within the group of beginning learners, a reduction for the advanced learners, and relative similarity across English and French NSs. These figures mean, in essence, that variation was omnipresent in both languages; many different possible intonational patterns can be produced in both English and French. The extent to which learners perceived and imitated native French intonation will be addressed in some of the examples given in the qualitative analysis below. In any case, it seems that one task that learners face is limiting their wide range of contours to those that are most native-like in the L2.

A last table of global calculations shows an important finding of this study, that is, the number of intonational patterns among the learners that actually match patterns produced by NSs. Table 4 concerns the number of native-like patterns produced.

Table 3. Number of different whole-sentence patterns produced in the dialogue-reading task

		Monolingual English speakers	Beginning learners	Advanced learners	NSs of French
Total number of different patterns produced per sentence	decl	155	354	314	195
	y/n	41	77	54	30
	wh	18	61	41	30
Average number of patterns per sentence within each subject group	decl	6.5	14.8	13.1	8.1
	y/n	6.8	12.8	9.0	5.0
	wh	4.5	15.3	10.3	7.5
Average number of patterns per subject	decl	17.2	20.8	17.4	16.3
	y/n	4.6	4.5	3.0	2.5
	wh	2.0	3.6	2.3	2.5

Table 4. Percentage of patterns matching those of NSs: dialogue-reading task

		Beginning learners	Advanced learners
Declaratives	Medial contours	10.8	23.4
	Final contours	23.5	42.4
	Whole sentences	8.6	27.3
Yes/no-questions	Medial contours	4.2	5.6
	Final contours	36.3	54.6
	Whole sentences	20.6	49.1
Wh-questions	Medial contours	8.5	30.3
	Final contours	23.5	48.6
	Whole sentences	5.9	36.1

These figures show two principal trends. One is that final contours seem to be learned more easily than medial or whole-sentence patterns. One possible explanation is that English and French patterns show basic and universal similarities: rises at the end of *yes/no*-questions and falls at the end of declaratives and *wh*-questions. However, if learners were simply following L1 English patterns, then the percentage of native-like French patterns should actually be higher for final contours. Another generalization that we can glean from the results above is that advanced learners make progress in all areas except medial contours of *yes/no*-questions, although even beginning learners produce a relatively high percentage of native-like contours at the end of *yes/no*-questions.

If one were to use the data presented in Table 4 to establish an order of difficulty based on the figures for beginning learners and on the relative amount of progress from the beginning to the advanced stages, then the order might look something like Table 5.

Table 5. Order of difficulty in acquiring intonation contours

Easiest (1)			Least progress (1)
1	Final contours	*yes/no*-questions	3
2	Final contours	declaratives and	3
	Final contours	*wh*-questions	5
3	Whole sentences	*yes/no*-questions	6
4	Medial contours	declaratives	2
5	Whole sentences	declaratives and	3
	Medial contours	*wh*-questions	4
6	Whole sentences	*wh*-questions	7
7	Medial contours	*yes/no*-questions	1
Hardest (7)			Most progress (7)

The apparent ease with which beginners acquired certain intonational patterns did not correspond exactly to the amount of progress made by advanced learners. However, the frequency of certain patterns in the data suggests that final contours were acquired earlier than medial and whole-sentence patterns and that declarative patterns were acquired before questions. The most difficult context for learners was the medial contour in *yes/no*-questions. Acquisition order as well as ease or difficulty of acquisition relate to Valdman's admonition that we account for learning factors in establishing pedagogical norms. This idea will be further developed below in the section on pedagogical norms.

Qualitative results

The quantitative analysis discussed above does not convey the full nature of the intonational patterns observed in the data. Figures 1 through 4 in the Appendix show examples of the amount of variation possible for the four groups of participants in the dialogue-reading task. Figure 1 shows a short, declarative sentence and Figure 2, a longer one. Figure 3 represents a *yes/no*-question and Figure 4, a *wh*-question. First, a comment about the English data: note that there is less variation in the English sentences than in the NS French sentences.

For example, Figure 1 shows English speakers producing only two variations of the short, declarative sentence, "*I didn't do a thing*", whereas native French speakers used six patterns for the equivalent sentence, "*Je n'ai rien fait*". Since Figures 2 through 4 show similar results, I would conclude from this result that American English as produced at least by these midwestern speakers is either more monotone or less variable than French spoken by native speakers. This is important information since American learners of French might consequently be expected to produce few variations in their production of French speech. This is in fact not the case. Figure 1 bears out this generalization. It is clear from Figures 1 through 4 that learners were not simply using American intonation when they speak French. An interlanguage intonation therefore exists according to these data.

Moving on from the English data, we can now compare the learners' French sentences and questions with those of the native speakers. We see that there was more variation among the learners than among the native speakers of French. For example, in Figure 1 beginners and advanced learners produced 11 distinct patterns in the short declarative, "*Je n'ai rien fait*". Despite the equal number of variations, the beginners' productions resembled the native French speech less than did the advanced learners' utterances. For example, in "*Je n'ai rien fait*", four productions in the beginners' speech (participants #5, 8, 13, and 14) matched native patterns; whereas, there were 12 matches among the advanced learners (participants #2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15, 16, and 17). Similar results are shown in Figures 3 and 4 for the questions. In the *yes/no*-question in Figure 3, beginners produced 12 variations; whereas advanced learners produced only six, as compared with seven variations in the NS utterances. Figure 4 shows sixteen different patterns in the beginners' speech; 11 in the advanced learners' data, and eight in the NSs' question. These observations show that learners are developing their own system of French intonation and that they are gradually moving toward more native-like speech.

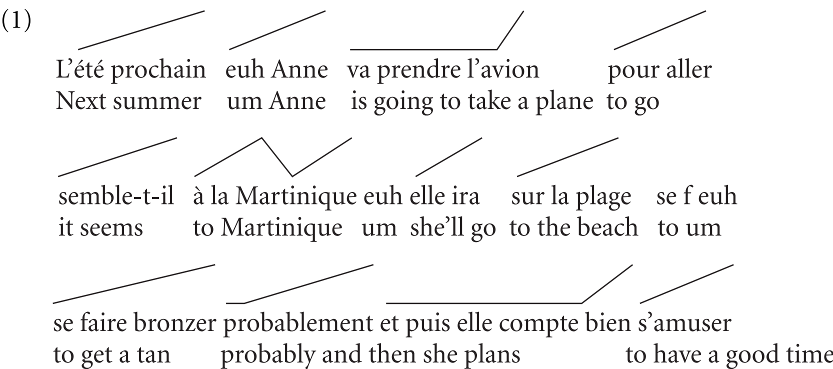
We now turn our focus to the nature of the native French speech in Figures 1 through 4, which will serve both as a model for learners and as a basis for developing pedagogical norms. First, some generalizations may be drawn about the declaratives in Figures 1 and 2. There is generally some kind of fall in the final contour. The final contour may begin high and gradually fall (see NSs #4, 6, and 10 in Figure 1 or NS #2 in Figure 2), or there can be a rise within the final contour, followed by a fall, as for NSs #3, 5, 9, 11, and 12 in Figure 1. This is not to say that a rising or flat contour cannot appear in final position, since NSs #5 and 8 did produce a rise at the end of "*Je vais aller à la plage si je vais à Nice*"

(Figure 2) and four other patterns concluded with flat contours. Medial contours present a more complex situation. In short declaratives (1 to 7 syllables), native speakers generally had no medial curve (all NSs in Figure 1), but in longer sentences (7–14 syllables, in the dialogue-reading task), their medial contours were generally all complex, as attested by all NSs in Figure 2. These complex native contours generally had a rise-fall-rise (NSs #3, 7, 8, and 12) or a flat-rise pattern (NSs # 2, 5, 6, and 9), but there are several variations within these parameters.

For the *yes/no*-question in Figure 3 ("*Tu as aimé ce film?*"), all of the native speakers showed a rise at the end of the utterance. This final rise can be preceded by a flat (NSs # 2, 7, and 8) or complex curve (NSs # 6 and 11). Because this is a short question, most native speakers did not pause; consequently, most did not produce a medial contour. For the three speakers who did (NSs #4, 5, and 12), the medial contour also had a rise, either a simple rise or a fall-rise pattern. In the *wh*-question in Figure 4, which is a long utterance, more variations are possible. In the final contour, only three native speakers produced a fall (NSs #1, 7, and 9), but in the rest of the data in the study, falls were more typical in this position. Here, to the contrary, we see rising, flat, and complex contours at the end of the question. In medial position, there tended to be a rise (NS #11), flat-rise (NSs #4, 5, 6), or fall-rise (NSs #7 and 8).

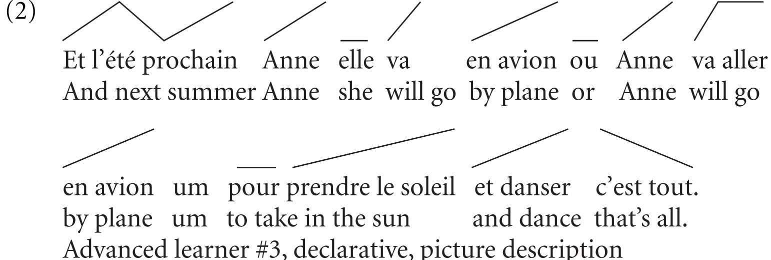
Native speakers tended to produce a more limited variety of contours in the picture descriptions than in the dialogue-reading; this is important information for learners because recounting experiences, narrating past events, and describing people and things are common tasks at the intermediate and advanced levels of language learning. An example of such a description is given in (1) below.

(1)



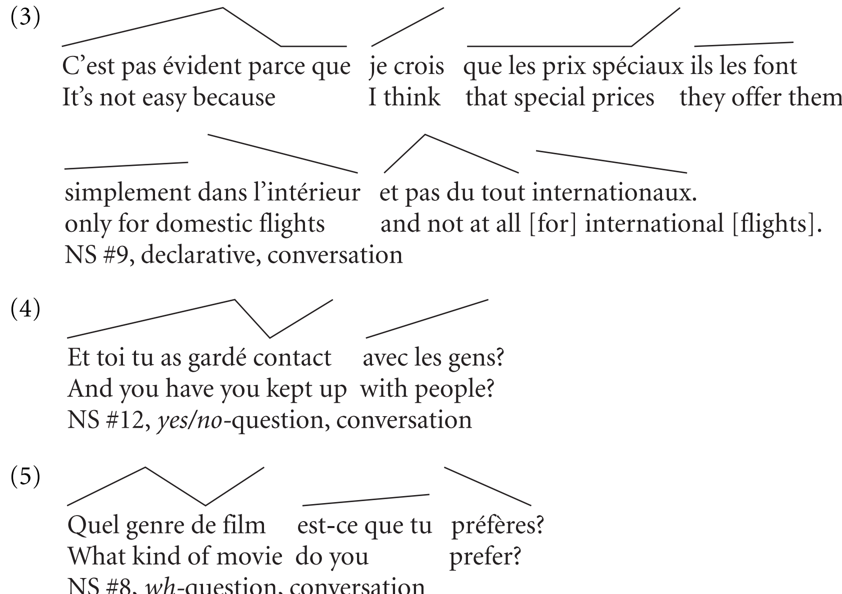
elle espère trouver un mari elle ira danser euh à la discothèque.
she's hoping to find a husband she'll go dancing um at the club/disco.
NS #7, declarative, picture description

Judging from the manner in which this utterance was produced, it was intended as one long sentence with many medial contours that are, for the most part, simple rises and flat-rises. The monolingual English speakers' productions had a similar ratio of medial to final contours, but the medial contours were almost all complex, with rise-falls often produced on the accentuated words of the sentences. The intonation of beginning learners' picture descriptions in French did not resemble that of English. Their speech was so slow that they produced more medial contours than the NSs. Sometimes their rhythmic groups consisted of an article and noun only. The advanced learners were sometimes able to group together longer phrases. Example (2) illustrates advanced learner speech in this task:



The data from the picture description task reinforce the notion that learners of French were indeed producing an intonational interlanguage and that advanced learners' intonation resembled that of NSs to a greater extent than that of beginning learners.

The data from conversations is also informative as to the nature of native French intonation. Here we can see that medial flat and complex contours occur in free speech to a greater extent than in more structured speech, as in (3), (4), and (5).



In conversation, the learners' speech, compared with native speech, tended to have more medial contours (due to the slower speech rate), and also more flat curves.

The examples from the data in this study and both the quantitative and qualitative analyses have revealed some of the intonational patterns present in the speech of both native speakers and learners in real speech, meeting Valdman's first criteria for constructing a pedagogical norm. Because the data were produced in different tasks and will, together, guide us to an abstract and simplified form of French intonation, one might also argue that the suggestions below will at first lead to an idealized version of French intonation. Because the data show that beginners can gradually move toward more native-like patterns, the pedagogical norms discussed in the next section will respond to the issue of the expectations of learners' speech. Beginning learners of French will not be expected to produce native-like intonation; however, advanced learners will be exposed to more of the variations possible in native speech. Lastly, the developing prosodic interlanguage of the beginning and advanced learners, as seen in the data, has given us a window through which to view the learning process, at least for the classroom context. These data, then, follow Valdman's criteria for establishing a pedagogical norm, which will be explored in the next section.

Toward a pedagogical norm for French intonation

Given that the data in this study show that an intonational interlanguage exists for learners of French and that features of this interlanguage seem to evolve toward nativeness, I would contend that establishing a pedagogical norm for French intonation is a worthwhile enterprise. Outlining a few general principles of French intonation can be helpful to teachers and students, especially if these principles lead to more accurate pronunciation of French consonants and vowels (as Renard 1971 suggests). In addition, presenting a simplified system of French intonation should give students tools that would enable them to reduce their nonnative variations more quickly than if they were left to acquire intonation on their own, as the learners in this study did. Because the present study includes only two groups of American learners, the suggestions that follow may be limited to the context of American classroom learners of French.

A three-tiered approach to teaching intonation is proposed in accordance with Valdman's view of pedagogical norm as a dynamic concept. Beginning learners should be exposed to the most regular patterns and to those native patterns that seem the easiest to acquire. Then, as learners' speech develops, advanced and students with near-native language competence can benefit from exposure to increasingly more complex patterns (see Valdman 1989a: 276). The results of this study provide basic information necessary for developing a progressive treatment of intonation: empirical data on the most common intonational patterns in native speech, and data on which patterns learners acquire at the beginning and the advanced levels. As learners become more capable of reproducing native-like intonation, the concepts presented take into account more of the variation observed in the native speech.

To reiterate Valdman's four criteria for the establishment of pedagogical norms, he says first that a norm "should reflect the actual speech of target language speakers in authentic communicative situations". Next, it should reflect "native speakers' idealized view of speech use" and should match expectations that native and foreign speakers have of learners' speech. Finally, norms "should take into account processing and learning factors" (Valdman 1989b: 21). The present study has already shown some characteristics of French intonation in sentences and questions taken from the speech of native speakers. Of course, the sentences from the picture descriptions and the conversations are clearly more communicative in nature than those from the dialogue-reading task. Nevertheless, the suggestions for a pedagogical norm derive from real speech data and therefore meet Valdman's first criterion. Because the norms are

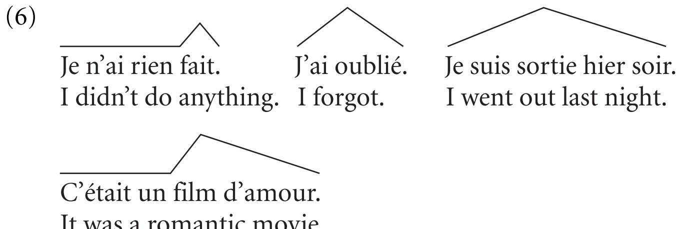
also based on the most frequently occurring intonational patterns in the data, one might also say that they respond to the requirements of idealized speech and expectations of learners. A caveat is offered here: no information on native speakers' judgment of learners' intonation is available from this study, so an assumption of what is acceptable in foreign speech is based only on the variations observed in the data. Lastly, since the dynamic pedagogical norm proposed here takes into account the intonational patterns produced by beginning and advanced learners, one can argue that the norm takes into account learning factors; that is, it treats differently the intonational patterns acquired at two distinct levels. In the next sections, I will outline what I believe to be realistic expectations for three levels of French learners.

Teaching beginning and intermediate learners

From the first day in a French class, learners should be exposed to simple prosodic patterns, and because input at this level is syntactically simple, in general, the resulting intonation will be as well. Valdman suggests the use of native and learner speech in the development of pedagogical norms (1967, 1976a), and the results of the present study showed that beginning students already produce some native-like patterns in specific contexts. However the study also showed that beginners naturally exhibit certain tendencies, one of which is producing nonnative rhythmic groups, resulting in an intonational interlanguage far from a native patterns (see Tables 2, 3, and 4). Consequently, in adhering to Valdman's principle of accounting for learning processes and as a first step in a pedagogical norm, it would greatly improve beginners' prosodic development if they understood that native-like pauses in speech occur between logical semantic and syntactic divisions and that the final syllable of the resulting rhythmic groups contains a lengthened vowel. Some in-class practicing of the production of short rhythmic groups could raise the consciousness of learners and help them be aware of French prosodic patterns. Beginning learners have some command of native-like intonation in final contours of both declaratives and *yes/no*-questions. This first phase of this pedagogical norm relates, then, to ease of acquisition.

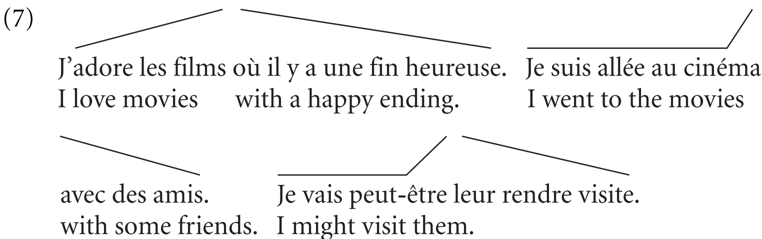
In introducing French intonation to learners, one can present the simplest possibility, that is, a declarative sentence whose contour starts high and falls gradually. Because this study discovered that native speakers produce many sentences that occurred with complex contours though, students should also

know that before the final fall, there can be a rise, generally on a syllable near the end of the sentence, as in (6) below.



By presenting the contours above, the pedagogical norm pushes slightly beyond what the learners at this level have probably already acquired and makes them aware of several simple native French patterns. If the learners then produce more contours of this type, their nonnative variations might be limited, and they could move a little more quickly toward native French intonation. This movement would certainly be judged "linguistic behavior appropriate for foreign learners" (Valdman 1989b: 21).

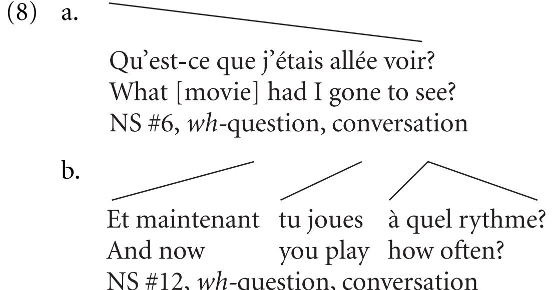
Because medial contours in declaratives are at a mid-point in the acquisition curve (see Table 4), a pedagogical norm including a few of these native patterns would potentially lead to more and quicker progress among beginners. Two patterns based on common native speaker data above would be easy to treat in class: a simple rise and a flat-rise, as in (7).



The patterns above for declarative sentences are the most common in the data across tasks in this study, thereby meeting Valdman's criteria on native speech. Even if students do not master these contours, they might begin to perceive crucial segmenting patterns that are important in developing listening comprehension skills.

As for *yes/no*-questions, the whole-sentence patterns and final contours are acquired well enough even by the beginners in this study to warrant not spending a lot of time teaching them at this level. Teachers could simply

mention that a *yes/no*-question either has a gradual rise from beginning to end or a flat contour and a rise at the end. These two possibilities account for over 70% of the NS data in the dialogue-reading task. The intonation in *wh*-questions is acquired late, according to the data in Table 5. A pedagogical norm, taking into consideration learning processes, would suggest, then, that teachers could emphasize the two most crucial points found in the data. Beginning learners should accentuate the *wh*-word, wherever it occurs in the question, and try to produce a fall at the end of the question, as in (8) below.



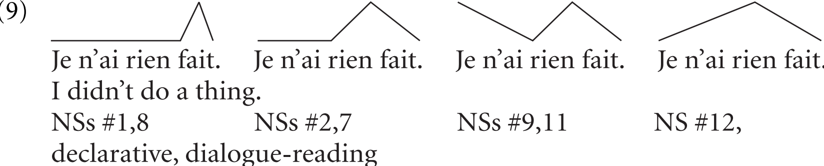
By guiding beginning learners with the simple suggestions above, a teacher's goal is to focus attention on certain highly common patterns, thereby increasing the number of native-like patterns (see Table 3) and somewhat limiting the total number of different intonational contours produced (see Table 2). The major emphasis in the pedagogical norm at this first stage is therefore reducing variation.

Teaching advanced learners

Most advanced learners, identified here as students in the fourth and fifth year of high school or the third and fourth year in college, are probably already strong students of French and could be French majors or minors at the university level. The data in the present study from advanced learners generally corresponds to this level. The goal of a pedagogical norm at this level is to expose these students to more native French intonational patterns so that their already advancing intonational interlanguage continues to move toward native-like production. Expectations of these learners are higher, and this second level of a pedagogical norm reflects these expectations. The first concept that could vastly improve these learners' prosody is rhythmic in nature: learning to group together more syllables under each intonational contour and thereby reducing the total number of medial contours. Advanced students could also vastly

improve their intonation overall by reducing the number of flat contours and by substituting rises in medial position, thereby rendering the speech more native-like, especially in questions. The introduction of more complex intonational patterns becomes a valuable enterprise at this level if the learners wish to sound more native-like. I suggest that certain complex contours be presented to enrich the advanced learners' developing intonational interlanguage and to supplement the native-like patterns already acquired naturally. For example, in short declaratives, four complex patterns are common in the native speaker data from this study, as seen in (9).

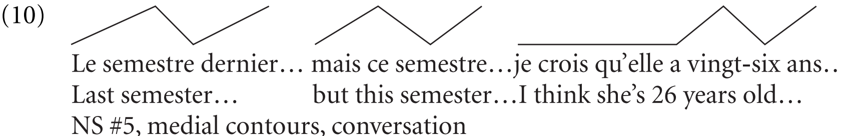
(9)



The pattern in the first version is worth noting, as it is prevalent in the data. There seems to be a tendency among NSs to produce a short rise-fall on the last syllable of a phrase or sentence. One possible explanation for this tendency involves the universal phenomenon of declination, or the gradual lowering of pitch from the beginning to the end of a sentence. Perhaps when speakers reach their lowest natural pitch too early, they compensate for the low pitch with a sudden, pre-terminal rise. In any case, this kind of pattern is well worth presenting to advanced learners, due to its common occurrence in native intonation, and hence its adherence to Valdman's criterion for authentic native speech.

As for complex medial contours in this second level of the pedagogical norm, teaching the rise-fall-rise pattern, either on its own or with a preceding flat curve would serve these students well because this pattern would move them toward more native-like intonation. These two patterns are illustrated in (10).

(10)



With regard to the intonation in questions, final contours of *yes/no*-questions are acquired early, so they do not merit much practice at this level. However, because, according to the data, medial contours in questions are not yet acquired at this level, and because advanced students likely wish to render their speech more native-like, the advanced level would be a good time to address

this issue. The most common medial contours in native *yes/no*-questions are complex, but rises are also possible, as in (4) above or (11) below.

(11)

Et là est-ce que tu es contente du travail où tu vas aller?
So are you happy with the work where you're going?
NS #9, *yes/no*-question, conversation

As for *wh*-questions, whose medial contours also pose problems for advanced learners, several guidelines are worth teaching. The first principle to be taught is that the intonational pattern depends on the kind of question being asked. The placement of the *wh*-word within the sentence determines the highest pitch of the sentence. If this word is at the beginning of the question, a learner could start at a high pitch on the *wh*-word and fall toward the end, as in (12).

(12)

Qu'est-ce que j'étais allée voir?
What [movie] had I gone to see?
NS #6, *wh*-question, conversation

For other medial patterns, one can refer to Figure 4, in which two possibilities seem salient: a fall-rise and a flat rise. Adding these two patterns to the advanced learners' prosodic inventory would help render their intonation more native-like, but covering all of the variations heard, especially in the *wh*-questions from this study, seems to be a task more appropriate for near-native speakers. In this second level of a pedagogical norm for intonation, more complex patterns have been proposed as crucial for advanced learners' progress toward native-like speech. The goals were to expose these learners to more of the acceptable variations in native speech while reducing their own nonnative intonational habits, as seen in the data from the study. As expectations rise for advanced learners, intonation plays a greater role in their speech.

Teaching near-native speakers

The term "near-native speakers" refers to the expected proficiency of graduate students of French, foreign service officials, and other professionals. It is only at this level of competency that a pedagogical norm that nearly mirrors native speech might safely be presented to learners. Since native speakers expect accurate linguistic behavior from this type of nonnative speaker, it would now

be profitable to expose learners to most of the variations of French intonation available in the study, and especially those variations perceived in conversation. These learners have already achieved a certain level of fluency, and improving their conversational intonation or at least increasing their linguistic awareness of it can only enhance their communicative and pragmatic competence. The data from the conversational task, then, could be particularly helpful to this type of learner. In addition, the complex contours in the picture-descriptions would be useful, because recounting events and telling stories are likely occurrences when these learners interact with NSs. Specifically, the medial patterns seen in examples (1) and (3) above could serve as models (simple rise, flat-rise, rise-fall-rise, and rise-fall). At this point in the acquisition of intonation, learners would benefit from intensive work in the language laboratory or with advanced technological tools that teach and test intonation via computers.

With near-native learners of French, the pedagogical norm has come through its dynamic cycle. It began with the simplest final contours in declarative sentences when teaching beginning learners, and it has ended with exposure of highly competent learners to the subtleties of French intonation in open conversation, complete with all of its possible sociolinguistic variations. The norm has adhered to Valdman's criteria for developing an abstract, simple system that remains dynamic and flexible as interlanguage develops over time.

Implications for classroom practices

This article is not the place to make extensive suggestions as to how this pedagogical norm might be applied in the American French class. However, a few comments might be appropriate at this point if teachers are wondering how the dynamic pedagogical norm could be put into practice in the classroom, leading students gradually to develop native-like French intonation.

As with any treatment of segmental pronunciation in language classes, it is a sound pedagogical practice to have students listen to French speech and recognize patterns before attempting to produce these patterns themselves. It is quite possible that learners cannot "hear" appropriate L2 intonation; therefore, exposure to authentic French speech is crucial. Video sources would be ideal because students could see expressions and gestures in addition to hearing the intonation of native speakers. Another effective technique in beginning classes is practice in the lab with software that enables students to hear a NS's utterance, see the intonational contour on the screen, say the same sentence themselves, and then compare their own contour with that of the model (see note 2).

One technique to treat medial contours does not rely on computers, but depends on the voice of the teacher or French on videotape, since authentic speech is preferable to scripted material. Students listen to longer sentences (those that contain more medial contours). Using written transcriptions and pen and paper, students mark where each rhythmic group begins and ends. Next, they could begin the practice of imitating the rises they hear at the end of the medial contours.

At the advanced level, learners need to form longer rhythmic groups and therefore longer intonational contours. In one teaching technique used well by Di Cristo (1971), students start with a short sentence and gradually add elements to force themselves to pronounce longer and longer phrases within sentences. Any software that allows advanced students to hear their own intonational contours and compare them with native speech is helpful at this level.

For near-native learners, one goal might be to develop expressive intonation so that emotions can be conveyed through one's contours. One appropriate laboratory resource is Callamand's (1973) book on expressive intonation in French, which presents intonational patterns necessary to communicate different tones of voice such as irony, indifference, and surprise. The most helpful computer programs, those that show a model intonational contour and compare it with the intonation of a learner's repetition, are available on the market, and various researchers (Neufeld 1977; De Bot 1983; and James 1976, for example) have demonstrated that audio-visual methods of teaching intonation are in fact the most effective. Given budgetary restrictions in many classrooms, teachers may have to seek funding in order to provide better tools to facilitate their students' development of accurate pronunciation. If a demand arises, then surely advanced technology will become more accessible and will benefit learners interested in the acquisition of L2 intonation.[8]

Conclusions

This article offers a sampling of the results of a study of French intonation, as produced both by NSs and beginning and advanced learners. By also providing some equivalent data from monolingual English speakers, we have seen that learners of French develop an intermediate system of intonation in French, or an intonational interlanguage. Based on the observed variation in intonational contours, this article has suggested which intonational contours are appropriate to present as a pedagogical norm at three different levels of acquisition. The proposed

norm, in its three-level realization, reflects Valdman's notion of pedagogical norms as dynamic systems that develop alongside learners' interlanguage (1989a: 276).

Moreover, the proposed norm follows his four criteria that guide the establishment of pedagogical norms (Valdman1989b: 21). First of all, the intonational contours chosen for the pedagogical norms are based on the real speech of native speakers, and in the picture description and conversational tasks, this speech is indeed communicative. In choosing the most frequent native patterns from the data to serve as the basic contours for beginning and advanced learning, the norm seeks to limit deviant variations and render learner speech more regular and native-like. If these learners produced only these contours, they would, in effect, be realizing a simplified and idealized version of French intonation. Their speech would most likely represent an acceptable L2 intonation, although information on subsequent native speaker judgments of this intonation would be necessary in order to test this claim. By proposing that near-native speakers learn the complexities of native French intonation, the norm moves toward sociolinguistic variation. Finally, in proposing norms for three levels of instruction, each based on data from an acquisitional study, the pedagogical norm takes into consideration learning factors in the domain of L2 intonation.

To reiterate the pedagogical norms proposed in this article, at beginning and intermediate levels, emphasis should be placed on the medial rise and the final (rise-)fall patterns in declaratives, as well as the high pitch of *wh*-words in *wh*-questions. Advanced learners are capable of producing quicker speech and therefore more native-like rhythmic groupings and intonational patterns. Consequently, some of the typical complex contours can be introduced, both in final and medial positions at this level. Advanced level learners would also benefit from work on the late-acquired patterns in *wh*-questions. For near-native speakers, who have already fluent language skills, teachers could concentrate on the variations present in the conversational data of this study. The development of appropriate expressive intonation should also be a priority for speakers at the near-native level.

This article is not the venue for outlining the specific methodology necessary to carry out all of these suggestions, but it is clear that the teaching resources currently available for intonation are not yet satisfactory. Either there is no gradual treatment of intonation from the beginning through the advanced levels, or most materials fail to take advantage of the latest technologies. At the very least, students should listen to real speech, distinguish rises and falls, and notice patterns before they are required to produce those patterns. Sentences should be shorter for beginners and more complex for advanced learners.

Lastly, while this study shows a rich inventory of intonational contours in French, the analysis is limited given that it is based only on the researcher's perception and not on a computer analysis of the fundamental frequency of each intonation pattern. It is quite possible that in order to sound like a native, one must control not only the general direction of intonational contours (rising, falling, complex), but also produce an appropriate slope for each contour. The analysis of fundamental frequencies would then be an essential element to understanding and producing native-like pitch patterns in an L2.

Obviously, much work remains to be done in the study and teaching of intonation across languages and learners. A possible next step would be a study of spontaneous native French speech using an instrumental analysis of fundamental frequency contours. Such research, if it included many more native speakers than the present study, would be very useful in pinpointing the nature of and variations in French intonation. One might choose to concentrate on speakers in metropolitan France, or the study could also include francophone speakers in other countries. A widening of the geographical scope would respond to Valdman's idea that "a pedagogical norm must increasingly take into account sociolinguistic considerations" (1989a: 276). Since information about conversational intonation is so rare in research today, I would suggest that future studies fill this gap by recording mainly free speech. As for learners' speech, the data missing in this study are those of near-native speakers. A study of the intonation of fluent L2 speakers could inform a further development of the third stage in the pedagogical norm proposed here. If such research does continue, many teachers and learners stand to benefit from the search for a pedagogical norm in the treatment of L2 intonation.

Appendix

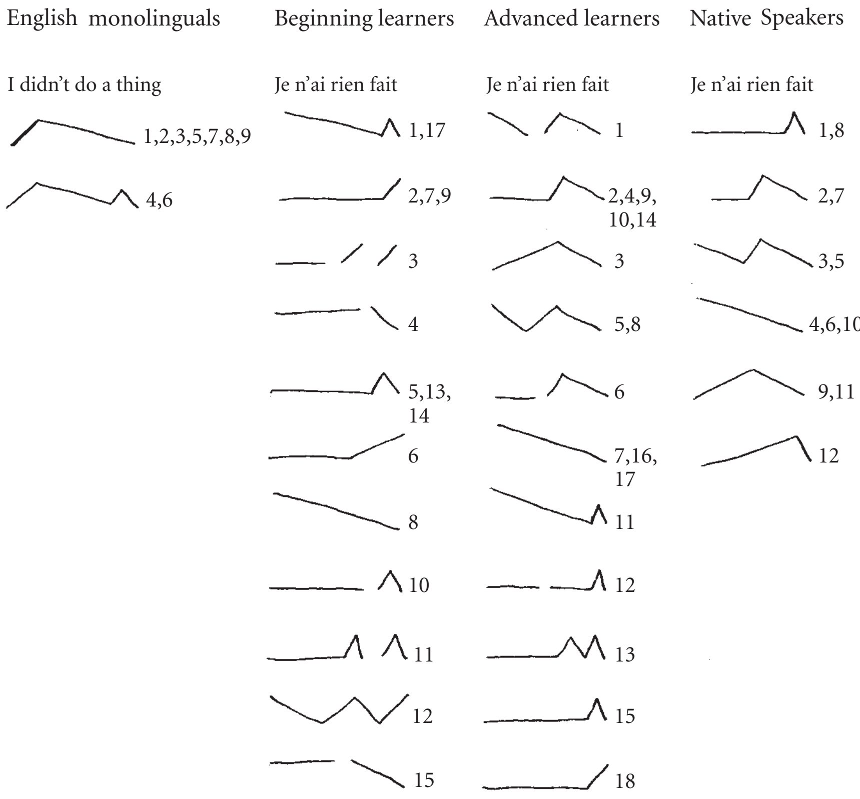


Figure 1. Short declarative sentence

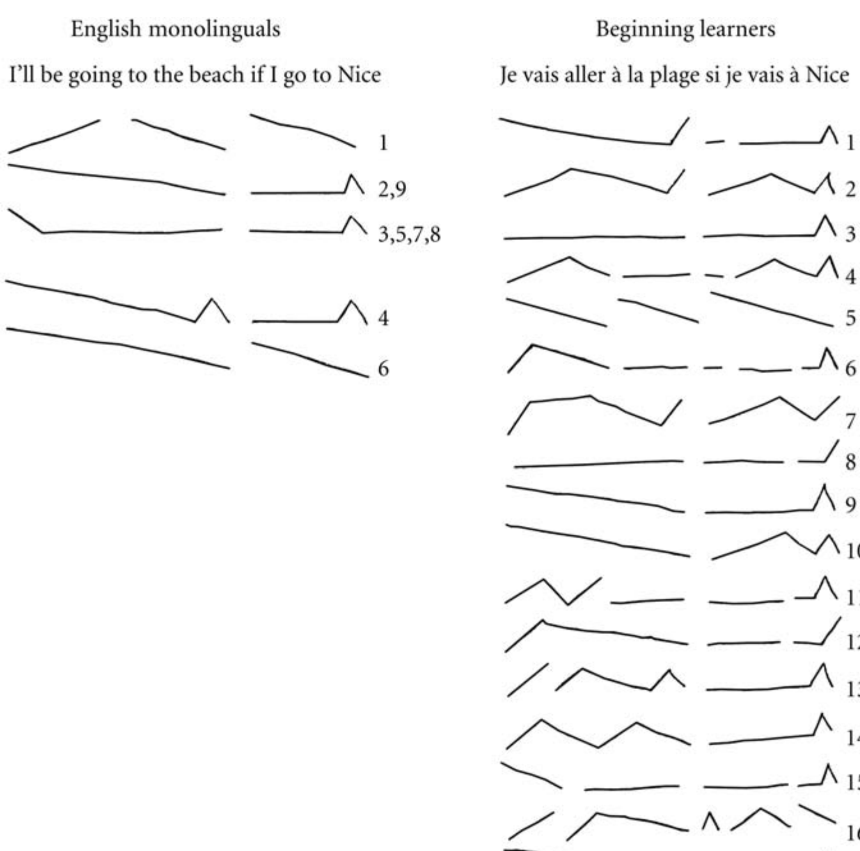
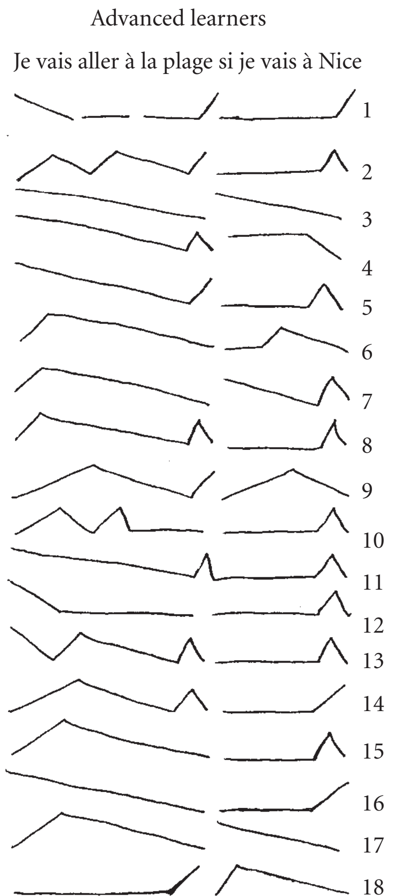


Figure 2. Long declarative sentence


Advanced learners
Je vais aller à la plage si je vais à Nice
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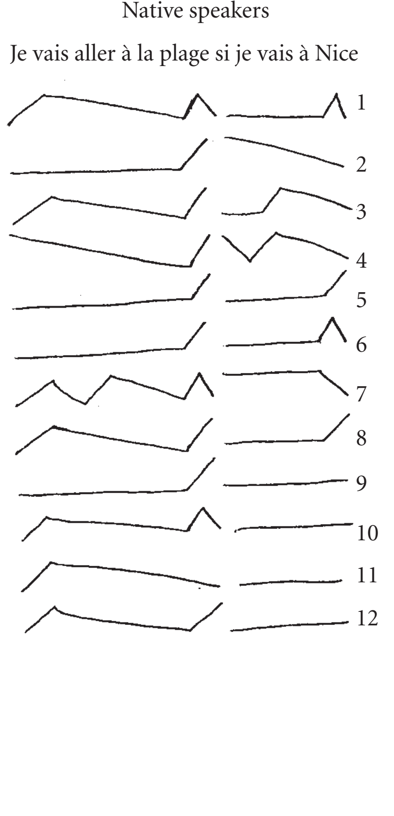
Native speakers
Je vais aller à la plage si je vais à Nice
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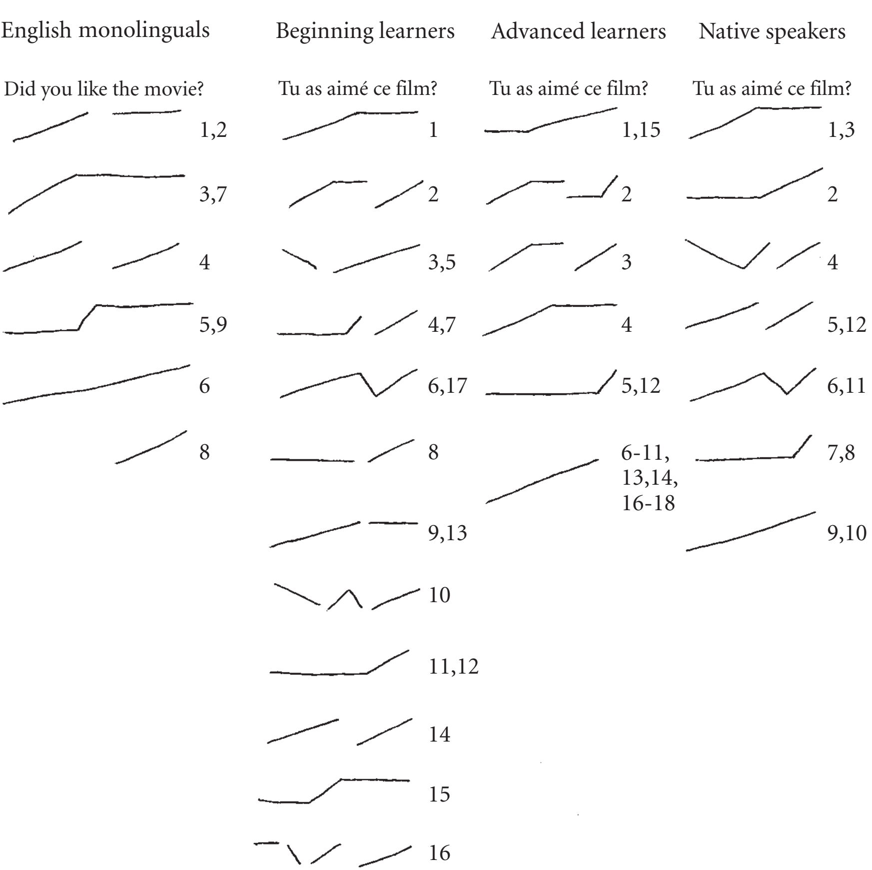
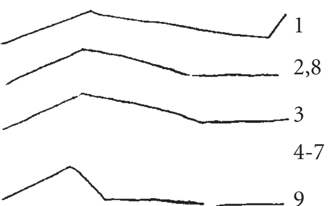


Figure 3. *Yes/no*-question

English monolinguals

... what are you going to do on vacation?



Beginning learners

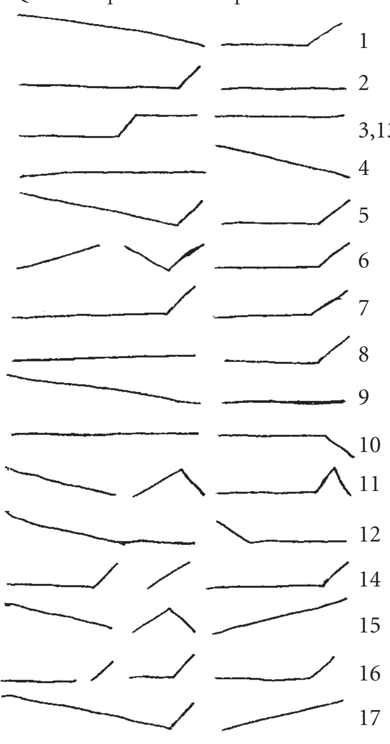
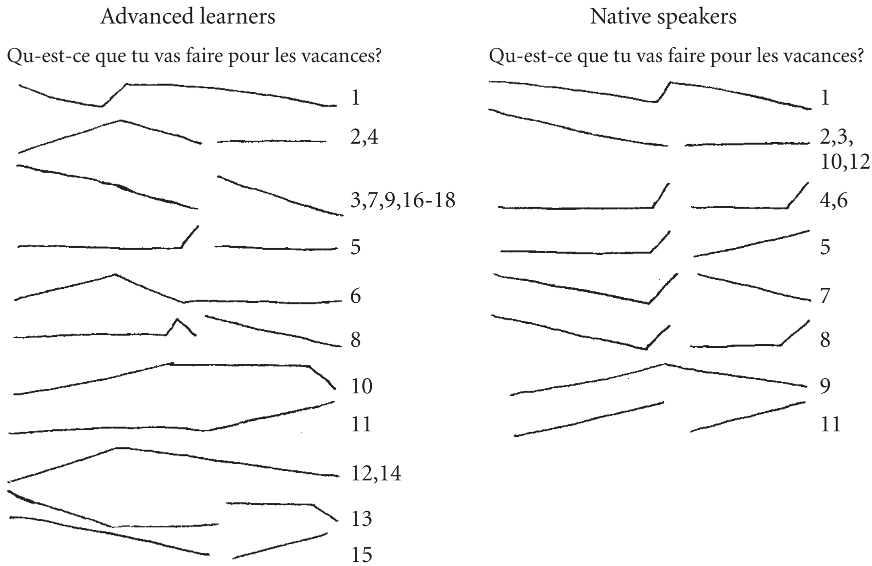


Figure 4. *Wh*-question



Notes

* The author and editors would like to thank Daniel Lepetit, Clemson University, for his helpful comments on this paper.

1. As an illustration of the two possibilities, in standard French, the verb "*écouter*" (to listen) has two distinct pronunciations of the final /ɛ/ of the first-person future, "*j'écouterai*" [ʒekutʀe], and the conditional, "*j'écouterais*" [ʒekutʀɛ]. However, a large segment of the population, and especially people living in the south of France, pronounce both endings as [e]. It is worth noting that Gueunier, N., Genouvrier, E, and Khomsi, A. (1996:25) found that even among natives of Tours, considered one of the centers of standard French speakers, only 53% of the realizations of [e] and [ɛ] followed these prescriptive norms.

2. Two programs not yet available to the general public are used at Lucent Technologies (Bell Labs) and at the Université d'Aix-en-Provence. One that is available at ⟨www.winpitch.com⟩ for a reasonable price has been used since the 1980s at the University of Toronto.

3. Some aspects of the nature of intonational interlanguage have been addressed by Lepetit (1992).

4. The researcher used a Sony TCM-86V cassette recorder and did not utilize the voice-activation feature in order to avoid the resultant clicks in the recordings.

5. The participants in the English control group completed only the dialogue-reading and picture-description tasks.

6. For more discussion on the relationship between syntax and prosody, see Martin (1987).

7. See Wioland (1982) for good pedagogical ideas on teaching rhythm. He argues that concentrating on short rhythmic groups leads to more native-like prosody among learners.

8. This trend is not entirely evident in textbooks published in the United States, in which pronunciation practice, in fact, plays a relatively minimal role.

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Dislocated subjects in French

A pedagogical norm

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Introduction

This paper addresses the issue of dislocated structures in French. These structures (exemplified below) are quite common in the spoken language and can often be found in the written language. They do not have the same "non-standard" connotation as in English. Because of that connotation in English, many language teachers do not teach them actively. However, they are very much a part of the French language and students hear them quite often. In this paper, I will focus on dislocated subjects and discuss how using these[1] in three situations can facilitate the acquisition of French.

(1) Les dislocations et le redoublement$_i$, c$_i$'est pas facile.
the dislocations and the doublings it is not easy
'Dislocations and doubling, it's not easy.'

(2) Moi$_i$, j$_i$'ai du mal à voir la différence.
me I have of the bad to see the difference
'Me, I have a hard time seeing the difference.'

Sentences like the above are very much a part of the spoken language and exemplify dislocated or doubled structures, in which a noun phrase is echoed by a pronoun within the sentence. In sentence (1), the dislocated NP *Les dislocations et le redoublement* is echoed by the pronoun *ce*. In sentence (2), the dislocated NP *moi* is echoed by the pronoun *je*.[2]

Although there has been some suggestion that the dislocated constituent must be definite (the Definiteness Constraint; see Roberge 1986, 1990), Ossipov (1990) shows some sentences in her corpus with indefinite NP's in that position:

(3) En tout cas, une fille$_i$, elle$_i$ s' était saoûlée.
in all case a girl she herself was drunk
'In any case, a girl got drunk.'
(Ossipov 1990: 37)

(4) Mettons quelqu'un$_i$ il$_i$ te dit que tu vas mourir.
let's.put someone he to.you says that you go.to die
'Let's say someone tells you that you're going to die.'
(Ossipov 1990: 36)

Finally, the dislocated constituent is not necessarily always an NP:

(5) Parler français$_i$, j'aime ça$_i$.
to.speak French I like that
'Speaking French, I like that.'

This paper will be organized as following: first, I will discuss three corpora[3] of French dislocations (two examining Metropolitan French, one examining Québécois French), noting the usage of dislocations in three corpora. I will then suggest a pedagogical norm for teaching these structures in beginning and intermediate language classes.

Corpora

Ashby

Ashby's (1982, 1988) corpus consists of 100 interviews he conducted in and around Tours in 1976. The interviews lasted approximately an hour and took place in the interviewee's home or workplace; thus, "[t]he resulting data reflect spontaneous, yet probably somewhat guarded, conversational style." (Ashby 1982: 32)

In his 1988 study, Ashby analyzed the speech of 25 speakers. The results of that study which are pertinent here are as follows: of 862 tokens of LD structures, 55% consisted of a tonic pronoun while 44% consisted of an NP. LD clauses or infinitives made up the remaining 1%. Both LD pronouns and NP's were overwhelmingly co-referent with subject clitics: 85% of the pronouns and 73% of the NP's co-occurred with subject clitics. Furthermore, Ashby analyzed the choice of clitic for the NP's: of the 281 LD NP's in question, 170 (60%) were co-referent with the clitic *ce/ça* (see sentence 1 for an example) and 111 (40%) were co-referent with a third-person personal clitic *il* (masculine) or *elle* (feminine) or their plurals. Ashby did not analyze the clitics that co-occur with

third-person LD pronouns. It should be noted that while NP's can only be third-person, tonic pronouns can be in all persons.

Ashby also looked at the pragmatic functions of dislocated constituents. He found that topic shift was the most common use (53% of LD pronouns and 73% of LD NP's) followed by contrast (24% of LD pronouns and 21% of LD NP's). Third were those LD pronouns (18%) and NP's (6%) that showed weak pragmatic motivation. Finally, 5% of LD pronouns and no LD NP's were used to signal turn-taking.

Barnes

The Barnes (1985) corpus consists of a total of six hours of conversation (three recordings of two hours each). The conversations took place in the early to mid 1980's and therefore less than 10 years after Ashby's corpus. Her participants were three female teaching assistants between twenty-one and twenty-seven years old, from France, who were teaching at a University in the American Midwest. The recordings took place in Barnes's home. The conversation was casual and covered a broad range of topics.

The data from this corpus shows trends similar to Ashby's: of 1033 tokens of LD constituents, 644 (62%) are pronouns, 389 (38%) are lexical NP's. Again, the LD constituent was overwhelmingly co-referent with a subject clitic: 525 (82%) of the pronouns and 308 (79%) of the lexical NP's. Of the 308 lexical NP's co-referent with a subject clitic, 227 (73%) took *ce/ça* (third-person, singular, neuter) as the anaphor while 81 (27%) took the third-person masculine/feminine *il/elle* or their plurals as the anaphor. Furthermore, Barnes also analyzed the choice of subject anaphor for the LD pronouns: of the 525 LD pronouns co-referent to a subject clitic, 115 (22%) took *ce/ça* and 410 (78%) took a personal clitic. However, of these 410, 364 (89%) were in the first-person (moi), leaving 46 (11%) second and third person pronouns.

Barnes noted that the overwhelming majority of NP's with subject anaphors took the clitic *ça* or *c'est* (third person singular neuter + is) as the anaphor. Of the 308 sentences that contain left-hand NPs doubled with anaphors, almost three-quarters of them (227) took *ça* as the anaphor. Only one quarter of them (81) took a personal clitic as the anaphor. She concludes from this that *ça* has become grammaticalized; in other words, if a Noun Phrase can take *ça* as an anaphor, it must do so.

Although Barnes analyzes in great detail the pragmatic and discursive functions of left-dislocations, she does not give any statistics on their uses.

However, she does state:

> The principal remaining cases of LD with subject anaphors are those with detached NP and subject pronouns *il(s)/elle(s)*. Interestingly, the majority of these cases can be interpreted as having one of the transparently pragmatic functions referred to above, i.e. comparison, emphasis, or introduction of a new referent. Cases where one of these descriptions is not plausible account for only about one-fourth of the LDs of this type. (Barnes 1985: 25)

Beauchemin

The corpus collected by Norman Beauchemin in the Sherbrooke region of Québec Province in the mid-1970's (Beauchemin and Martel 1977) is similar to Ashby's. This corpus also consists of interviews, lasting from one to three hours in the subjects' homes. Because they did not know the interviewer personally, Ashby's *caveat* also applies: the style is spontaneous, but somewhat guarded. Ossipov (1997) used the corpus to analyze the use of subject dislocations by six participants, all highly-educated young women. In that way, the participants are comparable to Barnes's.

The Beauchemin corpus shows that, of 143 LD constituents, 78 (55%) are pronouns, while 65 (45%) are lexical NP's. Of these, 59 (76%) of the pronouns and 45 (69%) of the lexical NP's are co-referent to subject anaphors. And of the lexical NP's, 82% are doubled by *ça/c'est* and 17% by *il/elle*. Ossipov did not examine the pragmatic uses of these dislocations.

Summary

Table 1 summarizes the findings of the three corpora discussed in the previous sections. This survey shows that, whether in France or in Québec, there are certain similarities as far as LD is concerned:

Table 1. Comparison of the three corpora

	Ashby	**Barnes**	**Beauchemin/Martel**
LD NP or pronoun	NP: 44% Pro: 55%	NP: 38% Pro: 62%	NP: 45% Pro: 55%
co-referent to subject clitic	NP: 73% Pro: 85%	NP: 79% Pro: 82%	NP: 69% Pro: 76%
co-referent to *ce/ça*	NP: 60% Pro: not available	NP: 73% Pro: 22%	NP: 82% Pro: not available

– The preferred LD constituent is either an NP or a tonic pronoun,
– The LD constituents are overwhelmingly co-referent to subject clitics,
– The clitic pronoun is more often *ce/ça* than *il/elle*,
– Although most LD's are pragmatically motivated, some have only weak pragmatic motivation.

A pedagogical norm

There have been several studies done on the pragmatics of LD structures (Ashby 1988, Barnes 1985, Lambrecht 1981), which conclude that these structures are used primarily to signal a shift in topic, to make a contrast (6), or to claim the floor (7):

(6) Moi$_i$ j$_i$'aime les chiens et Pierre$_j$ il$_j$ aime les chats.
me I like the dogs and Peter he likes the cats
'Me I like dogs and Peter likes cats.'

(7) Moi$_i$ en tous cas j$_i$'ai été à un cours de claquettes mercredi …
me in all case I have been at a course of taps Wednesday
'Anyway, I was at a tap-dance class on Wednesday …'
(from Barnes 1985: 39)

In (7) the LD pronoun *moi* does not indicate that the speaker is going to talk about herself, but rather is taking the floor to make her contribution to the conversation. However, there are also some LD's that are weakly motivated, that is, it is difficult to discern why the speaker chose the construction. In (8), the motivation for using the *c'est* construction is not clear; the sentence would be equally good without it (9).[4]

(8) Le grand défi de Montréal$_i$, ce$_i$ n' est pas seulement l' élection
the big challenge of Montreal it not is not only the election
d' une administration capable de bien gérer la ville.
of an administration capable of well managing the town.
'The big challenge of Montreal is not only the election of an administration capable of managing the town well.'
(from Lettres des Lecteurs, L'Actualité, 6 mars, 2001 www.lactualite.com)

(9) Le grand défi de Montréal n' est pas seulement l' élection d'
the big challenge of Montreal not is not only the election of
une administration capable de bien gérer la ville.
an administration capable of well managing the town.
'The big challenge of Montreal is not only the election of an administration capable of managing the town well.'

Antes (1995) suggests that beginning students be taught the pragmatically correct conditions for using dislocated structures, such as when introducing a new topic or when making a contrast. However, she does not distinguish between LD and RD (see note 2) (which differ in usage as well as in syntax), or between LD's coreferent to subjects or objects. And, as mentioned above, there are many dislocated structures that have weak pragmatic motivation. Students should be made aware of both LD and RD structures, but it might be unrealistic to expect them to use them productively, especially in the beginning language classes. Rather, students in lower-division French classes should be encouraged to produce those sentences that in actual use are the most frequent: LD structures where the LD constituent is co-referent to a subject clitic, used to introduce a new topic or to make a contrast. I would go further and suggest that LD subject constructions should also be encouraged in the following types of sentences:

– When the subject NP is a "heavy NP" or a complex NP;
– When the subject NP is a coordinate structure;
– When the NP — *c'est* construction can be used.

It has been argued (Sankoff 1982) that subject doubling is very frequent when the subject NP is "heavy", that is, when it is long or contains a relative clause. Sentence (10) (from Ossipov 1990: 36) gives an example of a heavy NP:

(10) L' $autre_i$ qui est moins belle, $elle_i$ va se contenter de peu.
the other who is less pretty she goes herself make.happy of little
'The other one who is less pretty will be happy with less.'

In this sentence, the LD constituent contains an NP followed by a relative clause. The relative clause comes between the head NP and the verb, possibly causing confusion to the learner about verb agreement. Repeating the clitic pronoun is a natural way to recall the subject NP.

Similarly, coordinate structures in subject NP's can cause confusion to the learner, especially in those structures that coordinate NP's with different values for person. A sentence such as (11) is fairly common among learners, who make the verb agree with the last NP mentioned rather than with the whole NP:

(11) *Après un mois, ma peau et mon âme a guéri.
after a month my skin and my soul have-3SG healed
'After a month my skin and my soul healed.'
(student paper)

In this case, the student made agreement with the closest NP, which is third-person singular, rather than with the coordinate NP, which is third-person plural. As with heavy NP's, repeating the clitic pronoun will help the student make agreement properly.

The last case involves sentences that Barnes (1985) considers grammaticalized, that is, those that can take the anaphor *ce*:

> The data of this corpus strongly suggest that the use of LD with lexical subjects of *être* is quasi-obligatory where *ce (c-)* is an appropriate anaphor. Inspection of the cases of lexical subjects of *être* without LD reveals that the majority of these are in contexts where *ce* is not an appropriate anaphor. That is, for the most part, the subject is an animate noun, and the constituent following *être* is an Adjective Phrase … (Barnes 1985: 49)

Barnes continues to specify that *ce* is also not an appropriate anaphor when the NP in question is a plural inanimate and does not have a collective meaning. In essence, then, *être* as a main verb can almost always take *ce* as a subject (as shown in sentence (8) repeated here as (12)):

(12) Le grand défi de Montréal$_i$, ce$_i$ n' est pas seulement l' élection
the big challenge of Montreal it not is not only the election
d' une administration capable de bien gérer la ville.
of an administration capable of well managing the town.
'The big challenge of Montreal is not only the election of an administration capable of managing the town well.'

This phenomenon can also have a pedagogical advantage: because *ce* is neuter, or at least always masculine singular, students do not need to worry in those cases where the number of the NP is not clear (i.e., if the subject is a VP or an adjective or a whole proposition). This structure could be used when reviewing vocabulary, for example, as in the following possible exchange showing sport vocabulary:

(13) Q: Quel est ton sport préféré?
what is your sport preferred
A: Mon sport préféré$_i$, c$_i$'est le jogging.
my sport preferred it is the jogging

Q: 'What is your favorite sport?'
A: 'My favorite sport is jogging.'

(14) Q: Qu' est-ce que le tennis?
what is it COMP the tennis
A: Le tennis, ça se joue avec des raquettes.
the tennis it itself plays with some raquets
Q: 'What is tennis?'
A: 'Tennis, it's played with racquets.'

(15) Q: Que penses-tu du golf?
what think you of.the golf
A: Le golf, c' est un sport ennuyeux.
the golf it is a sport boring
Q: 'What do you think of golf?'
A: 'Golf, it's a boring sport.'

As Valdman (1989) defines it, a pedagogical norm should reflect actual language use, while conforming to native speakers' idealized view of their speech use. Ideally, a pedagogical grammar should also allow students to eventually acquire the full range of grammatical and pragmatic rules of the target language.

Conclusion

The above discussion shows that dislocated constituents are frequently used in the language, written as well as spoken. Although Barnes (1985) and Carroll (1982a, b) state that dislocations are typical of unplanned discourse, sentences such as (8) show that they can also occur in written speech. It is also clear that the most common LD's are co-referent to subject NP's. Therefore, a pedagogical norm for teaching dislocations in the beginning and intermediate classes would focus on those constructions, allowing students to use structures that occur commonly in French while acquiring object LD's and also RD's as they progress in the language. Students should also be encouraged to use LD structures in a way that will allow them to construct grammatically correct sentences in just those instances where they have difficulty making subject-verb agreement: when the subject is a relative clause or a heavy NP. And then after a while, French, it won't be a problem at all.

Notes

1. Here a word must be said about terminology: the terms *dislocation*, *detachment*, and *doubling* are all used for these constructions, although with some differences in meaning. Ossipov (1997) argues for the use of the term *doubling* as the most neutral, since the other terms imply that the LD or RD constituent is outside the sentence although it is not clear that that is in fact the case. *Dislocation*, however, seems to be the term used most often and it is the term that will be used in this paper. It is not the aim of this paper to take a stand on whether the LD or RD constituent is inside or outside the sentence. (Although see Auger 1994, Carroll 1982a, 1982b, Ossipov 1997, and Roberge 1986, 1990 for discussion.)

2. In the sentences given, the dislocated constituent corresponds to a subject pronoun; however, it is also possible for dislocated constituents to correspond to objects, as in the following sentences:

(i) Les dislocations$_i$, on les$_i$ utilise en français.
the dislocations we them use in French
'Dislocations, we use them in French.'

(ii) Les dislocations$_i$, on en$_i$ parle beaucoup.
the dislocations we of.them talk much
'Dislocations, we talk about them a lot.'

(iii) Les étudiants$_i$, on ne leur$_i$ apprend pas les dislocations.
the students we not to.them teach not the dislocations
'Students, we don't teach them dislocations.'

The above sentences exemplify left dislocation (LD), where the dislocated NP is to the left of the sentence. However, there also exist right dislocations (RD), where the dislocated NP is to the right of the sentence:

(iv) J$_i$'ai du mal à voir la différence, moi$_i$.
I have of.the bad to see the difference me
'I have a hard time seeing the difference.'

As with LD, the right-dislocated constituent may correspond to object clitics as well as to subject clitics:

(v) On les$_i$ utilise en français, les dislocations$_i$.
we them use in French the dislocations
'We use dislocations in French.'

Both LD and RD constituents can be in embedded clauses:

(vi) Je sais que les dislocations$_i$, on les$_i$ utilise en français.
I know that the dislocations we them use in French
'I know that we use dislocations in French.'

(vii) On m$_i$' a dit à moi$_i$ que les Français utilisent les dislocation
they to.me have said to me that the French use the dislocations
'They told me that the French use dislocations.'

However, LD constituents do not need to be in the same clause as the resumptive pronoun, but the same is not true for RD constituents:

(viii) Les dislocations$_i$, je sais qu' on les$_i$ utilise en français.
the dislocations I know that they them use in French
'I know that they use dislocations in French.'

(ix) *On m$_i$' a dit que les Français utilisent les dislocations à moi$_i$.
they to.me have said that the French use the dislocations to me
'They told me that the French use dislocations.'

3. All of the corpora examined here were collected within 15 years, from the early-1970's to the mid-1980's.

4. Although (9) is grammatically correct, it does not sound as "natural" as (8).

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Variant word-order constructions

To teach or not to teach? Evidence from learner narratives*

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Introduction

Pedagogical materials have often been criticized for the unnatural nature of the language they present, that is, for their conformity to a more formal written style when presenting language presumably intended for use in a fairly informal context particularly in the oral mode. This critique is reiterated with respect to French-language materials in Blyth (2000), where the criticism is couched in terms of the superiority of a discourse-oriented vs. a sentence-based pedagogical grammar. Pedagogical materials in French have largely retained as their principal model the canonical-order sentence, as illustrated in (1):

(1) Marie aime PIERRE.[1]
'Marie loves PIERRE.'

Generally not treated in textbooks are the pragmatically motivated sentence types typical of French conversation, of which that known as Left Dislocation (LD) is the most common:

(2) MARIE, elle aime PIERRE.
'MARIE, she loves PIERRE.'

Other such pragmatically based constructions include *c'est*-clefts and *ya*-clefts, illustrated in (3) and (4) respectively:[2]

(3) C'est MARIE qui aime Pierre.
'It's MARIE that loves Pierre.'

(4) (Il).y.a PIERRE qui ARRIVE.
there.is Pierre who is.coming
'PIERRE'S coming.'

Blyth attributes the lack of movement in the direction of a more discourse-oriented pedagogical grammar to the difficulty of arriving at a satisfactory discourse-based description of grammatical forms (2000: 184). I will argue on the other hand that the adoption of the canonical-order sentence as a pedagogical model is entirely appropriate at the beginning and intermediate levels of foreign language study, and that this position can be justified by reference to the criteria contained in Valdman's notion of a pedagogical norm (Valdman 1989, 1998). I will also make use of empirical data contained in a small corpus of oral narratives by American L2 French learners.

In Valdman's primary illustration of the application of a dynamic pedagogical norm, that of syntactic variants of French interrogative structures, it is a socially stigmatized variant formed by anteposition of the interrogative adverb that is proposed for the initial stage, since such forms are reportedly spontaneously produced by learners (Valdman 1975):

(5) Où tu vas?
where you are.going
'Where are you going?'

These are to be replaced in subsequent stages by the more acceptable variants with the interrogative marker *est-ce que* or inversion:

(6) a. Où est-ce que tu vas?
where is it that you are.going
'Where are you going?'
b. Où vas-tu?
where go you
'Where are you going?"

But the final goal is the ability to understand (including sociolinguistic connotations) and use appropriately all of the various forms that occur regularly in native formal and informal discourse. In the case of the variant sentence constructions enumerated in (2)–(4) above, I would argue that the canonical sentence construction, though it does not represent the full variety of possible sentence types in all registers, does present an appropriate model for the beginning stages. It simply happens that in this case, the variant selected as an initial model is the socially prestigious variant rather than a stigmatized variant.

Too often, of course, the final goal of competence with respect to all the variant structures is not attained because the repertoire of sentence types is not expanded to include those which are characteristic of less formal registers.[3] However, I will argue that this expansion is best delayed until the latter stages of the acquisition process, and that the canonical sentence type is an appropriate model until that point.

Selection of the canonical sentence type as an initial model is defensible with respect to all three of the principles proposed by Valdman (1998: 178–180).[4] First, it does reflect the actual speech of target language speakers in authentic communicative situations, inasmuch as it is common in more formal speech as well as in writing. It also is not excluded from informal speech, even though it may be relatively infrequent. Second, the canonical sentence certainly conforms to native speakers' idealised view of their speech use, as well as to their expectations of foreign learners, as the constructions of (2) and (4) above are both marked as belonging to the colloquial register.[5] As Trévise (1986: 192) notes, "Everyday informal French is not only **not** taught in schools but it is (still?) forbidden in academic spoken language by the prevailing norms, and this holds true even in the case of the subject anaphoric or cataphoric pronoun use (as in *Jean il aime les pommes* [Jean he likes apples] or *il aime les pommes Jean* [he likes apples Jean]), not to mention more drastic non-syntactic word order dislocations" (emphasis is Trévise's).

The final principle for the elaboration of pedagogical norms suggests that they should take into account processing and learning factors. Here I will draw on data from a corpus of oral narratives produced by adult learners of French as a second language at various levels of instruction and with varying experience abroad. I believe that these data provide evidence that learners do not possess certain speech production skills which are a necessary prerequisite to the production of the variant word-order constructions of colloquial French discourse until fairly advanced levels of proficiency. Moreover, the data also suggest that learners usually acquire the ability to use the variant constructions in native-like fashion, presumably without any explicit instruction in their use, provided they have attained a sufficient level of morphological and syntactic competence and have been exposed to a certain range of authentic speech styles in the target language. Readiness to learn is a well-accepted concept in second language learning (see Pienemann and Johnston 1987; Mackey 1999).

Background

The data reported here are part of a larger study that sought to investigate the validity of the hypothesis that the type of communication used by adults learning a second language is largely of the pragmatic mode as opposed to the syntactic mode. Keenan (1977) and Givón (1979) propose that pragmatic strategies for structuring discourse which are evident in L1 acquisition are retained in the adult repertoire and are called upon in situations of extreme communicative stress, such as the need to communicate in an only partially acquired L2. Keenan also associates the pragmatic mode with unplanned as opposed to planned discourse, suggesting that the source of communicative stress may be either conceptual demands, as in L1 or L2 acquisition, or situational demands, as those imposed by participation in spontaneous conversation.

Formal correlates of the distinction between the pragmatic and the syntactic modes enumerated by Keenan and/or Givón include the following:

A. Pragmatic mode	B. Syntactic mode
1. Topic-comment structure	1. Subject-predicate structure
2. Loose conjunction	2. Tight subordination
3. Pragmatically-governed word order: old information precedes new	3. Word order signals semantic case functions
4. Noun-to-verb ratio approximately 1 : 1	4. Noun-to-verb ratio > 1 : 1
5. Less use of explicit semantic connectors to link propositions	5. More use of explicit semantic connectors to link propositions

The variant constructions of examples (2)–(4) all have clear consequences for at least features 1, 3, and 4. LD (example [2]) is one type of topic-comment structure (feature 1), and it follows the order: old information before new (feature 3). All three of the variant word-order constructions may be seen as decreasing the noun-to-verb ratio (feature 4), as the nouns counted for this purpose include only lexical expressions within clauses. Since these constructions have the effect of removing an NP outside of the main proposition, or of doubling the number of propositions while the number of noun arguments remains constant, they have the effect of decreasing the noun–verb ratio.[6]

The constructions under consideration here are also manifestations of what Du Bois (1985) calls Preferred Argument Structure, a principle which applies to a certain number of different languages and, in particular, to the variety of these

languages represented by spontaneous oral discourse. Studying this same phenomenon, Lambrecht has formulated the Principle of the Separation of Reference and Role (Lambrecht 1994: 185), which pertains particularly in the case of LD and *ya*-clefts, where the first NP is either entirely new to the discourse (*ya*-clefts) or newly promoted to the status of discourse-topic (LD). Both of these constructions create an articulation of the utterance into two parts, of which the first part poses the identity of the referent about which something is to be communicated, and the second conveys its syntactic and semantic role in the event which is expressed by the utterance. The hypothesis is that this separation of the two aspects of the communcative act serves to simplify the cognitive task; and the motivation for this facilitation comes back to that proposed earlier by Keenan, namely the greater cognitive demands of spontaneous oral communication, compared, for example, to those of written communication.

The following excerpts from one pair of narratives (L2 and L1) will illustrate the quality of greater or lesser noun-to-verb density that results from different ways of 'packaging' the same information.

(7) a. (L2) …et il y a un homme là, il avait, il y avait un homme là, qui qui jouait et, pendant que l'homme jouait, *le garçon regarde les poissons qui, qui étaient le prix pour le jeu …*
'… and there's a man there, he had, there was a man there, who who was playing and, while the man was playing, the boy is looking at the fish that, that were the prize for the game …'

b. (L1) …and there's this guy there, who is playing the game, and *the prizes, are fish* and *there's this big bowl of fish there* and *he is watching the fish*

The first part of the L2 utterance is parallel to the L1 version, except for the self-corrections relating to tense choice (*a* [present] to *avait* [imperfect] and lack of *y* in *il avait* self-corrected to *il y avait.* The first part of (b) highlights the fact that *there*-clefts occur in English unplanned discourse with the same function as the *ya*-cleft, that is, to introduce a referent which is new to the discourse. In the subsequent italicized portion of each utterance, we see the difference in compactness which typically characterizes planned vs. unplanned discourse: what is expressed in (a) in two clauses, of which one is a relative embedded in the other, is spread out in (b) over three independent clauses coordinated by *and* (with a slight addition of information concerning the presence of the fishbowl, which remains implicit in [a]). Though in this example the use of the *there's* presentative does not qualify as a cleft (given the absence of a following

relative clause), there is a similar principle at work in the use of a separate independent clause (*the prizes are fish*) to introduce a new referent (*fish*).

If in fact there is validity to the hypothesis that adult L2 learners make greater use of the pragmatic than of the syntactic mode in order to cope with the cognitive demands of communication in the L2 (and especially of spontaneous oral communication in L2), one would then expect that the LD and cleft constructions of (2)–(4) or similar structures would occur spontaneously in learners' interlanguage, which would in turn suggest the appropriateness of the selection of such structures as early models for these learners.

The present study

Method

Twenty-five volunteer participants, all native speakers of English, viewed a twenty-minute film without narration or dialogue, which recounts the story of a young boy and the goldfish he wins at a local carnival. Immediately thereafter, participants were asked to recount the story of the film in French to a French speaker, and in English to an English speaker.[7] This resulted in twenty-five L1/L2 pairs of narrative retells. Seven native speakers of French also performed the task in French only. L2 participants were grouped in the following four categories, according to their current or most recent level of instruction and/or type of learning environment:

Group 1: Early Classroom (7 participants). Average 2.2 yrs. total instruction (enrolled in 1st or 2nd-year university course); no immersion experience.[8]

Group 2: Advanced Classroom (6 participants). Average 7.25 yrs. instruction (enrolled in upper-level undergraduate courses); not more than 6 wks. immersion.

Group 3: Advanced Mixed (6 participants). Average 7.8 yrs. instruction (were or had been enrolled in upper-level undergraduate or graduate courses); at least 3 mos. immersion (average 16 mos.).

Group 4: Primarily Immersion (6 participants). Average instruction 2.5 yrs., followed by immersion (average 30 mos.).

Despite the relatively small number of participants in each group and a certain diversity of experience within each group, the data do show certain clearly discernible patterns with respect to the use of the variant sentence types shown above.

Results

Features of pragmatic and syntactic modes

As we shall see shortly, contrary to the expectation of greater reliance on the pragmatic mode as described above, both LDs and *ya*-clefts[9] are very infrequent in the narratives of the low-proficiency classroom learners. In fact, considering the list of features given above, the only ones with respect to which the present data are consistent with an increased use of the pragmatic mode are features 2 and 5: first, there is a lower frequency of syntactic subordination in early and intermediate stages of acquisition, as one would expect given the lack of control of syntactically complex structures; and second, there is a relatively low frequency of any clausal connectors in the early narratives, together with a predominance of the semantically unmarked connector *et* ('and') when a connector does occur.[10]

Interestingly, when the differences in the noun-to-verb ratios for the L1 and L2 narratives of each speaker were compared by means of an Analysis of Variance, Group 1 (Early Classroom) was shown to be significantly different ($p \leq .05$) from the other three learner groups, due to a marked increase in the noun–verb ratio of the L2 version compared to that of the same learner's L1 version. In fact, Group 3 (Advanced Mixed) is unique in showing a moderate decrease in the noun–verb ratio from L1 to L2.

*Left Dislocation and **ya**-clefts*

Tables 1 and 2 show the occurrence of LDs and of *ya*-clefts in the learner and NS narratives (only for those individuals who produced these structures). Note that Table 2 includes occurrences not only of *il y a NP qui …* ('there's NP who/that …'), but also of syntactically comparable cleft constructions employing lexical items related to the film context, most notably *on voit NP qui …* ('one sees NP who/that …'), which are pragmatically comparable to the *ya*-cleft, and which occur in the learners' narratives at the advanced levels (Groups 3 and 4).

The occurrence of LD and *ya*-clefts in Group 1 (Early Classroom) narratives is extremely limited, as they occur in the narrative of only one participant (the same narrative in each case), and then with only one or two tokens.[11] Group 2 (Advanced Classroom) shows a wider though still limited distribution of both LD and *ya*-clefts, which occur in 3 and 2 (out of 6) narratives, respectively. The number of tokens is low, but their relative frequency in each narrative where they occur is close to that of the NS narratives where they occur. Both constructions are used appropriately, often in contexts very similar to the NS occurrences. For

Table 1. Left Dislocation in the corpus of oral narratives

	Total clauses	Number of participants	Range[a]	Individual frequencies[b]	Avg. of individual frequencies	Global frequency[c]
Group 1 (n=7)	10– 65	1	2	(8%)[d]	(8%)	0.8%
Group 2 (n=6)	20–109	3	1–3	1–3%	2%	1.0%
Group 3 (n=6)	87–238	6	3–11	3–9%	5%	4.7%
Group 4 (n=6)	27–157	5	1–30	1–22%	12%	10.4%
NS (n=7)	25–203	5	3–12	2–6%	2%	1.7%

[a] Range of no. of tokens per participant.
[b] Range of no. of tokens/total propositions, for each narrative containing tokens.
[c] Total tokens/total prepositions, for all narratives in each group.
[d] Note that the frequency percentages for Group 1 in both Tables 1 and 2 are bracketed because of the fact that these percentages are inflated due to the very short length of some of this group's narratives (the narrative containing the LD and *ya*-cleft tokens contains 26 clauses); they should therefore not be compared to the relative frequencies for the other groups.

Table 2. *(il) y a NP qui …/on voit NP qui …* in the corpus of oral narratives

	Total clauses	Number of participants	Range[a]	Individual frequencies[b]	Avg. of individual frequencies	Global frequency[c]
Group 1 (n=7)	10–65	1	1	(3.8%)[d]	(3.8%)	0.4%
Group 2 (n=6)	20–109	2	1–2	1.2–2.4%	1.8%	0.7%
Group 3 (n=6)	87–238	5	3–14	1.4–13.5%	5.1%	3.1%
Group 4 (n=6)	27–157	6	1–4	1.1–5.0%	3.2%	2.7%
NS (n=7)	25–203	5	1–3	0.5–5.0%	1.9%	1.3%

[a] Range of no. of tokens per participant.
[b] Range of no. of tokens/total propositions, for each narrative containing tokens.
[c] Total tokens/total propositions, for all narratives in each group.
[d] Note that the frequency percentages for Group 1 in both Tables 1 and 2 are bracketed because of the fact that these percentages are inflated due to the very short length of some of this group's narratives (the narrative containing the LD and *ya*-cleft tokens contains 26 clauses); they should therefore not be compared to the relative frequencies for the other groups.

example, LD typically occurs in contexts where there are two thematic referents (two characters involved in the action), and often where there is intervening material such as an adverb or relative clause coming between the initial NP and the clause as in (8):

(8) et le l'homme qui .. qui euh … qui est le le patron de la jeu du jeu .. il ne peut pas le mettre dans- le mettre dans le […]
'and the the man who .. who uh … who is the the boss of the [f.] game of the [m.] game .. he can't put it in- put it in the […]'

Trévise (1986: 199) reports similar LD contexts in the L2 French data which she examined.

Group 3 (Advanced Mixed) shows a much wider distribution of both constructions, six and five out of six narratives, which is comparable to the NS distributions. Individual frequencies of each show a wide range of variation, and the average of the individual frequencies is more than twice as high as that of the NS narratives. The relatively frequent use of these constructions is consistent with the aforementioned difference in the noun–verb ratio of the L1 and L2 narratives of this group (L1 > L2), indicating that their L2 narratives have more features of unplanned discourse than their L1 versions. This group of learners fully and appropriately exploit the various means available to NSs for signalling differences in the pragmatic status of discourse referents.

In Group 4 (Primarily Immersion), the distribution of both constructions is similar to that for Group 3 (5 and 6 out of 6 narratives), but here we see a divergence in relative frequency of LD and *ya*-cleft constructions. A very high frequency of LD for certain Group 4 learners results in an average individual frequency which is six times higher than that of the NS group. The average individual frequency of *ya*-clefts, on the other hand, is intermediate between that of the NSs and that of Group 3 learners. This difference may reflect the fact that the *ya*-cleft (like other similar clefts) involves greater morphological and syntactic complexity than does LD. In addition, for those Group 4 speakers with the highest frequencies of LD, one can observe a few instances of apparent overgeneralization of the structure, as when the dislocated NP contains an indefinite determiner or occurs within a subordinate clause, neither of which usually occurs in NS discourse. These instances of overgeneralization of LD might be taken as suggesting that these learners are in fact making use of this pragmatic-based construction to simplify the cognitive tasks involved in spontaneous speech production. That this phenomenon occurs in Group 4 but not in Group 3, for example, is consistent with the generally lesser degree of fluency and morphosyntactic control exhibited by Group 4 speakers.

Discussion

The considerable increase in distribution and frequency of LD and *ya*-clefts in the narratives of Group 3 (Advanced Mixed) compared to those of Group 2 (Advanced Classroom) suggests that a major factor in their acquisition is the extent of the learner's exposure to authentic L2 discourse of the registers in

which such constructions are frequent. It is worth noting, however, that a small number of Group 2 learners, with only classroom experience, successfully used these constructions at the same rate as the NSs who used them in their narratives. Interestingly, Kumpf (1992) observes in her English L2 data a similar conformity to Du Bois' Preferred Argument Structure which is 'pervasive' and, in her view, a byproduct of the 'natural ways of speaking,' that is, a universal tendency. If this is so, she notes, 'it need not be especially attended to as part of the challenge of learning a second language' (p. 396).

Alternatively, the occurrence of these constructions with native-like frequency in advanced classroom learners' speech might be partially explained by the fact that LD and comparable cleft constructions exist in the learners' L1, with similar pragmatic functions (though LD in particular is considerably less frequent, and thus more marked, in English conversation than in French). However, it must be remembered that the presence of these constructions in the L1 is not sufficient to enable the low-proficiency Group 1 learners to use them. An obvious and plausible explanation for this inability is the fact that the use of these constructions requires the acquisition of a minimal level of complex morphology and syntax, since LD requires the use of pronouns, and *ya*-clefts call for subject relative clauses.

Following Trévise (1986: 192–3), we would posit a necessary distinction between two types of topicalization or pragmatic-based word order variants. The first, what Trévise calls "non-syntactic topicalization", corresponds to "the pragmatic mode juxtapositions which have been widely attested cross-linguistically (Givón 1979) in terms of topic/comment linear ordering …". The second, "syntactic topicalization", includes the kind of constructions studied here. What calls for an explanation, then, is why our Group 1 speakers do not make use of the non-syntactic type of topic-comment patterns. This may well be attributable to the instructed nature of their language learning experience and the institutional setting of the task performed: these speakers are clearly involved in a largely conscious metalinguistic activity involving a high level of monitoring for formal accuracy, which would favor the use of the canonical sentence patterns they know as models.

To return to the question of the absence of the syntactic type of word order variants in Group 1 narratives, we would argue that there is an additional factor besides lack of syntactic control which precludes their use on the part of these low-proficiency speakers. Namely, these speakers' speech production processes are such that their focus of attention is largely limited to the level of the sentence. We take as evidence for this limited focus the significantly greater

'density' of the Group 1 L2 narratives (noun–verb ratio higher for L2 than L1). This quality of 'denseness' may be attributed to a number of factors, including a failure to use cohesive devices such as pronouns and ellipsis, as well as a tendency toward 'hyperclarity' which manifests itself in the inclusion of greater detail in the L2 narratives than in their L1 counterparts.[12] The failure to use anaphoric pronouns in place of lexical NPs can be explained in some cases by the syntactic manipulations required for their use, as in the case of object anaphors, which require movement to preverbal position. However, the same nonuse of pronouns occurs with subject anaphors as well, where no movement is required. One can point to other instances in the Group 1 narratives which appear to suggest a general failure to mark referents according to their status in the preceding discourse. For example, sometimes a speaker uses a definite article where an indefinite would be appropriate, given that it is the first mention of the referent in the narrative. For these low-proficiency speakers, the cognitive demands of spontaneous speech production (together with the cognitive demands of the recall task employed in this study) are apparently such that they are not able to be sensitive to and take into account pragmatic considerations that go beyond the level of the sentence. This focus on the sentence level would also explain the relative lack of connectors in the early narratives which was noted above.

Another finding of particular interest is the fact that Group 3 (Advanced Mixed) learners use LD and *ya*-clefts with considerably greater frequency than the NS group. It was also noted that for this group only, the L2 narratives generally show more features of unplanned discourse than their L1 narratives. This reversal no doubt reflects the more developed L2 proficiency of this group compared to the others, but one can ask why the L2 narrative should be even more colloquial in character than the corresponding L1 narrative. Is this confirmation of the hypothesis that learners make greater use of the pragmatic mode because of the greater communicative stress involved in L2 production? If this were so, one could expect to see a similar effect in the Group 2 (Advanced Classroom) narratives, which is not the case.[13] Given the considerable differences in all results for Groups 2 and 3 , and the fact that the primary difference between these two groups is length of exposure to authentic speech, we favor instead a psycho/sociolinguistic explanation. Our Group 3 results are similar to the findings of Regan (1996) with respect to changes in the rate of *ne*-deletion[14] in both monitored and casual speech of advanced learners returning from an extended stay in France. As Regan (1995: 258) notes, learners tend to perceive colloquial speech features as "a badge of nativeness" and so overgeneralize their use:

> These speakers, young students whose general behavior values nontraditional mores, develop a resistance to the prestige norm during contact with native French speakers of their own age and values, precisely those speakers who have the highest deletion rates [of *ne*] in the native community; therefore, the non-natives do not reproduce the prestige variant. They affirm the non-prestige norm and reject the prestige ones, …

Implications for a pedagogical norm

French word-order variants

At the end of his presentation of numerous intriguing techniques for moving toward L2 grammatical instruction that is more discourse-based, Blyth (2000) states that "the question for language educators is no longer *whether* we should teach language as discourse, but *how*" (p. 220, italics are the original author's). Given the many excellent suggestions provided by Blyth and others, I would suggest that the relevant question now is not so much *how*, but *when*. Blyth concludes by asserting that discourse-based pedagogical materials should be "integrated into a fully articulated, discourse-oriented program, preferably aimed at the intermediate level in order to help our students move from producing sentences to producing discourse" (p. 222).

Though the study reported here involves a small number of participants and one particular classroom learning situation, I would nevertheless argue that this evidence suggests that it is very unlikely that most learners at the intermediate level (i.e., second year of university-level instruction) will have developed sufficient competence to be able to make use of such discourse-based features in spontaneous speech production. (Four of our Group 1 participants were near the end of the first-year course, and three were in the middle of the second-year course.) Blyth (2000) cites the presentation of LD contained in Valdman and Pons' (1997) first-year French text, which is no doubt a rare example of discourse-based grammar instruction at the beginning level. In my opinion, such a presentation would be more useful at the second-year level, but even then, most learners will probably not be able to go beyond imitation of certain simple fixed patterns. In addition, one must be careful to emphasize that such constructions are used primarily in speaking and not in writing. A pedagogical norm such as that proposed by Ossipov (this volume), which prescribes the use of LD in limited contexts where it is frequent even in writing, would be most appropriate at the intermediate level.

Given the findings of this study, together with the other considerations relating to the selection of a pedagogical norm outlined above, I believe that any systematic program of instruction in the use of such features as LD and *ya*-clefts is best delayed until the advanced level of language instruction (i.e., third year of university instruction or beyond). (Recall that our Group 2 speakers had already completed such advanced language instruction and were enrolled in subject matter courses in the language.) The preceding findings suggest that explicit instruction in such features may be most useful for learners who have not had the benefit of an extended period of immersion in a target-language culture. Such instruction should of course include or be accompanied by the study of lengthy examples of discourse of various oral and written genres which illustrate the features which are the object of instruction. For those learners who have already benefitted from immersion in an L2 culture, such instruction will serve to increase the learner's awareness of the sociolinguistic connotations of features they may have already acquired, a particularly crucial function, given the abovementioned affinity of such learners for more colloquial styles.[15] Such instruction would thus lead to attainment of the final goal of the pedagogical norm, namely, both a passive and active mastery of features that occur regularly in all registers of native-speaker discourse that the learner is likely to encounter.

Crosslinguistic principles

To conclude, we would like to suggest some general principles derived from the preceding discussion which could guide the selection of a pedagogical norm for other languages which display important variation in word order. Our recommendations entail a healthy blend of realism and optimism. On the one hand, one must take into consideration the level of morphosyntactic complexity involved in the production of any word order variants (unless the latter are such as to be acquirable as fixed expressions or chunks, but this is not likely to often be the case). Learners should be sufficiently advanced in their acquisition to be able to produce the relevant structures in the register and modality (writing or speech) in which they are appropriate, which will often be spontaneous, informal conversation. To the extent that variant word orders are correlated with differences in the status of referents in the preceding discourse, learners should not be expected to use these appropriately until their speech production has attained a certain level of facility that allows them to go beyond a focus of attention which is limited to the sentence frame.

On a more optimistic note, one should also consider to what extent the given variants actually need to be taught, inasmuch as they may be 'naturally' acquired in the course of normal instruction, given the attainment of the necessary level of proficiency and a certain degree of familiarization with authentic discourse. Instruction may be most effective when employed at the advanced level to increase the learners' conscious awareness of style differences. Instruction in the use of devalorized variants should probably be delayed until learners are able to differentiate their production according to register.

Notes

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1. Words in capitals are characterized by pitch prominence.

2. For detailed descriptions of all of these constructions and their pragmatic correlates, see Barnes (1985) and (1990), and Lambrecht (1988) and (1994).

3. It should be noted that the *c'est*-cleft is not marked as colloquial, occurring rather in both formal and informal, written and oral language.

4. In fact, there are two aspects of the canonical sentence as exemplified here that need to be considered, namely, the order of constitutents (subject–verb–object) and the fact that both argument positions are filled by full noun phrases rather than pronouns (*Marie aime Pierre*, vs. *j'aime Pierre* 'I like/love Pierre' or *Marie le déteste* 'Marie detests him'). In reality, I would venture to guess that much of the language proposed for learner practice in current materials includes a pronoun in subject position, typically of the 1st or 2nd person singular.

5. It should be noted that left dislocations also occur in formal written texts, though less frequently, whereas *ya*-clefts are restricted to the informal register.

6. The specific mention of the noun-to-verb ratio is from Givón (1979: 223). In a subsequent personal communication, Givón noted that our interpretation of this ratio is different from his, as his category of nouns is not limited to lexical expressions; thus, for Givón, it is rather a question of the argument structure of the verb, i.e. semantically simple vs. semantically complex verbs. Our interpretation, as will be shown below, overlaps with Keenan's notion that planned and unplanned discourse vary in their degree of compactness or the amount of discourse 'space' used to accomplish the same communicative act (1977: 29).

7. The order of retelling was not constant, due to personnel constraints. Of the twenty-five participants, thirteen did the task in French first, English second, while the other twelve did the reverse order. Within groups (which were only established after the performance of the task), the numbers are 4/3, 4/2, 2/4, 3/3 (French first/English first).

8. 'Immersion' here refers to a period of residence in a French-speaking culture, with or without simultaneous language instruction.

9. We will focus on these two constructions, leaving aside the *c'est*-cleft, which is much less frequent in both the NS and learner narratives, and, as noted above, is not specially associated with the colloquial register.

10. See Kerr-Barnes (1998) for further discussion of the data concerning acquisition of connectors.

11. There might be more occurrences of LD in all groups if the speech samples were first-person narratives, which would occasion the use of *moi je* … The fact that these are third-person narratives results in a relatively low frequency of LD, compared to other discourse genres, even for NSs. For data concerning LD occurrence in ordinary conversational discourse (of NSs), see Barnes (1985).

12. See Kellerman (1979).

13. We recall, however, our earlier suggestion that this hypothesis may offer an explanation for the extremely high frequency of LD in the Group 4 narratives.

14. French has a two-part negative, *ne* V *pas*, but the first particle (*ne*) is frequently omitted in the informal register.

15. Chapters 5 and 6 of Guillot (1999) contain some well-developed proposals for just this kind of instruction.

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Section III

Extending Pedagogical Norms

Incorporating variation in the French classroom

A pedagogical norm for listening comprehension

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Few would disagree that the most important development in French studies over the past one or two decades is the emergence of the idea that the field can — and should — be multinational in scope.[1] For example, the organizers of a recent international conference exploring the impact of this evolution of French studies point out that the francophone literatures of Africa, Canada and the Caribbean, which were once marginalized in the French departments of American universities, now have considerable impact on the undergraduate and graduate curricula, on dissertation research, and on the terms of literary debate. "Is 'French' no longer a cohesive field?" they ask, "or is a new 'French and francophone' field emerging — with a new coherence of its own?" (Yale 1999).

Similarly, about half of the sessions scheduled for the July 2001 convention of the American Association of Teachers of French (AATF) were devoted to cultural topics almost equally divided between the cultures of France (31) and of various French-speaking communities outside of France (27). Abstracts of these latter presentations provide two arguments for the incorporation of this subject matter into the French language classroom. First, francophone cultures have an intrinsic appeal that attracts and motivates students; second, familiarity with these cultures helps to emphasize the importance of French as an international language (AATF 2001). The extension of the study of French beyond the boundaries of France is thus meant to emphasize not just the "pleasure" but also the "utility" of learning the language (cf. Lantolf and Sunderman 2001; Magnan and Tochon 2001).

Despite these developments, the globalization of French classrooms in the United States remains only partially successful. Although the stage has been set

for students to learn a great deal about the literature, social habits, and cultural traditions of French-speaking peoples from outside the hexagon, the language variety that serves as the linguistic model and ultimate goal for American learners remains that of an educated native speaker from the northern part of metropolitan France, most specifically, from Paris. This variety has received many labels — *le français parisien cultivé* ("cultivated Parisian French"), *le français standard, le français standardisé* ("standardized French"), *le français commun* ("shared or collective French"), *le français international, le français de référence* ("referential French"), among others — each carrying some slight nuance in meaning. The term used here, Standard Metropolitan French (SMF), emphasizes the variety's prescriptive nature as well as its geographical provenance. Like any language variety, SMF differs in various ways from other varieties of the language; these differences occur on all levels of linguistic analysis: lexical, phonological, morphological, syntactic, and discourse.

In this chapter it is argued that, although SMF is a reasonable productive model for many American learners, attitudes about its purported linguistic superiority have worked to limit students' exposure to other varieties. This, in turn, has hindered the development of their listening skills, skills that are especially important if they are to use French in more than one francophone context. In order to remedy the situation, I suggest that instruction of French in the United States be expanded to include systematic exposure to non-SMF varieties. I offer a curricular example aimed at familiarizing students with the linguistic features of standard spoken Quebec French, a variety that may be especially useful to American learners because of its location in North America. The example is conceptualized around the notion of "pedagogical norms" (Valdman 1976b).

Pedagogical norms are "special classroom replicas of the target language" (Valdman 1988: 222) that attempt to facilitate language learning by reducing variation in ways that are acceptable to native speakers and sensitive to acquisitional sequences. Valdman has applied the notion primarily to the teaching of grammar for productive control (e.g. the selection and sequencing of French interrogative constructions [Valdman 1967, 1976b, 1988, 1989, 1992, 2000]); pronunciation (e.g., the distribution of mid vowels [e] and [ɛ] [Valdman 1976b, 1988, 1989]); and vocabulary (e.g., the introduction of terms for university life [Auger and Valdman 1999]). In this article, the notion is applied to the development of curricular sequences for teaching the comprehension of linguistic variants as they relate to the problem of "accent".

Although this article focuses on teaching French in American classrooms, the problem of how to provide students with the linguistic skills they need to

communicate successfully with French speakers from a variety of francophone cultures is not unique to the American context. Moreover, the prestige accorded SMF is not confined to the United States but is felt worldwide. It is assumed, therefore, that the selection of SMF as the appropriate norm to teach for productive control in classrooms of French as a foreign language would engender as little debate in other countries as it does within the United States.[2] It is expected, however, that the selection of a model for teaching for receptive control could engender considerable discussion. For example, it could be argued that exposure to the French of southern France might be of special interest to European learners, or that familiarity with an African variety would be useful to students anywhere planning a career in international business or diplomacy. The variety that serves as the example in this discussion, Standard Quebec French (SQF), is one of several having special relevance in the North American context. Besides being Canada's largest province, Quebec is the only area in North America where French is both the majority and the official language and where French speakers have been able to develop a certain political, economic, and diplomatic autonomy. Their number and status relative to those of francophone populations elsewhere on the North American continent and the province's importance on the international scene suggest that many American students of French as a foreign language could find the comprehension of SQF especially valuable. Quebec French is also the source dialect of numerous other North American varieties (e.g., Franco-Ontarian, Franco-Manitoban, Franco-Albertan, and at least some varieties of Franco-American) that share with it many general structural characteristics (Fox and Smith in preparation; Mougeon and Béniak 1989). Familiarity with SQF can therefore facilitate comprehension of several other North American varieties of French as well.

The ideology of the SMF standard

That SMF is considered the only worthy classroom target for American students is the legacy of France's potent normative tradition. In France, the ideology of the standard, or the belief that everyone should speak and write in the same way and that one particular way of speaking and writing is inherently better than all others (Milroy and Milroy 1985), fosters "prescriptive attitudes to language [that] seem to be more deeply ingrained [in France] than in many other speech-communities" (Lodge 1990: 93).

French attitudes toward the standard began to take shape with the codification of the language in the early part of the seventeenth century. The process of deciding which variants should be eliminated and which others preserved and promoted through the creation of grammars and dictionaries paralleled the consolidation of political power by the Crown. In the influential *Remarques sur la langue française* of 1647, for example, Vaugelas advises those who want to speak and write well to model their use of the language against that of "*la plus saine partie de la Cour conformément à la façon d'escrire de la plus saine partie des Autheurs du temps* (Preface: 3) ("the most refined part of the Court in accordance with the manner of writing of the best Authors of the times"). "*Le bon usage*" (good usage) is thus defined as the language variety used by those poised to win the struggle for the highest political, economic, and social status.

In the second half of the century, the absolute power of the Crown was firmly established in France. With this stability came the belief that French society, and with it the French language, had achieved a state of perfection. The publication in 1660 of Lancelot and Arnauld's *Grammaire générale et raisonnée de la langue française* (also known as the *Grammaire de Port Royal*), which argued that it was possible to uncover universal reason behind the forms of language, led the way for grammarians to assert a new link between the intrinsic properties of the prestige variety and the laws of Reason. "*Le bon usage*" was best, then, not because the best people used it, but because it was the language of logic and clarity (Lodge 1990: 104).

A third phase in the development of the ideology occurred during the French Revolution. Until then the language of the privileged few, French took on a new symbolic role as the vehicle for the promotion of democratic values and national solidarity. "Since French is the language of reason and clarity", the argument went, "everyone wishing to be called French and reasonable will speak it" (Lodge 1990: 106). Over the course of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, successive governments put into place official policies aimed at the political and ideological unification of the French people through their forced linguistic assimilation. These goals largely having been achieved, subsequent policies have endeavored to maintain the standard. Such is the intent, for instance, of legislation aimed at the elimination of English borrowings widely feared to threaten the integrity of the French language (Hagège 1987).

Not surprisingly, for non-SMF speakers within France and for speakers of non-hexagonal varieties of the language, the notion that SMF is the "best" French can represent a considerable psychological burden (Bourhis 1982). For example, Gueunier, Genouvrier and Khomsi (1983: 783) report that non-SMF

speakers from Lille "*expriment une infériorité qui conduit souvent les gens à renoncer à s'exprimer*" ("express an inferiority that often leads people to give up on expressing themselves"). Similarly, Francard (1993) notes that the single trait that unites the various francophone communities of Belgium is their linguistic insecurity. For instance, Belgian francophones manifest an acceptance of a linguistic subjugation with respect to France, the disparagement of ways of speaking they believe illegitimate, and a pessimistic view of the future of French (Francard 1993: 19). Finally, Fox (1995: 268) quotes a speaker of Franco-American French from Cohoes, New York who relates the loss of self-esteem she and her friends experienced as a result of the attitudes of their teachers: "*Aussi les maîtresses et les maîtres…disaient que notre français n'était pas le bon français. Nous parlons le français du Canada au lieu du français de la France et de Paris.*" ("Also the teachers said that our French was not the good French. We speak the French of Canada and not the French of France and of Paris").

In the United States, French linguistic purism is discussed in the print media by columnists who feign bewilderment; it is targeted for satire on television and in the movies. Nevertheless, as the evidence from Fox (1995) suggests, Americans appear to have internalized a belief in the preeminence of SMF. This is why, for example, proposals that North American varieties of French be taught in U.S. classrooms have not been made until relatively recently, as members of these speech communities have begun to assert their linguistic independence, and have only been made in areas such as Louisiana and Maine where native francophone populations are found. Even in these locales, though, the idea is not uncontroversial (Ancelet 1988; Jacobsen 1984).

Although faith in the superiority of SMF remains strong, linguists have been challenging the notion that the variety is monolithic or invariable. For example, the report of a phonological survey of French military officers held in a German prisoner of war camp revealed significant differences in pronunciation among "cultivated" speakers (Martinet 1945). Similarly, observation of the linguistic behavior of a group of seventeen educated Parisian speakers led Martinet and Walter (1973: 16) to conclude that

> *Ce qui* […] *caractérise la communauté linguistique française est le nombre et la variété des prononciations qui n'arrêtent pas l'attention. Tel lexicographe qui présente sa propre prononciation comme digne d'imitation n'a peut-être pas tort, mais il devrait avertir son public que, sur bien des points, d'autres usages sont aussi recommandables que le sien.*
>
> What characterises the French linguistic community is the number and variety of pronunciations that do not call attention to themselves. Any lexicographer

> who presents his own pronunciation as worthy of imitation may perhaps not be wrong, but he ought to warn his public that on many points other usages are as worthy of recommendation as his own.) (translation — C. Fox)

Valdman (1982: 219) goes so far as to argue that SMF is not a discernible variety at all, but rather a fiction, a notion "*ayant une base essentiellement idéologique*" ("having an essentially ideological base").

The demystification of SMF has occurred in parallel with the American foreign language teaching profession's embracing of communicative approaches to language teaching. These approaches seek to prepare students for face-to-face communication with members of a foreign culture and tend to place at least as much emphasis on speaking and listening as on reading and writing. Not surprisingly, then, researchers have begun to apply findings from empirical analyses to suggest modifications to traditional textbook descriptions that are based on an invariant, written form of French so that they more accurately reflect native-speaker use (DiVito 1991, 1992a, 1992b, 1997; Herschensohn 1988; Walz 1986). Although these suggested revisions deal with different linguistic levels, their common goal has been to provide more accurate models for student language production. It should be noted, however, that the ability to comprehend a wide range of variation is another characteristic of the linguistic competence of native speakers, and that classroom language learners appear to lack the ability to understand spoken linguistic variations as well as to produce them (Henrichson 1984). If a high degree of functional competence is the ultimate goal of communicative language teaching, then proposed modifications to the traditional syllabus in terms of language variation remain inadequate. Although the solution might appear straightforward — simply let students hear a greater variety of input — it is complicated by certain assumptions about the relationship between input and the acquisition of accent and by uncertainties about the role of accent in language comprehension.

SMF and the acquisition of accent

Besides imposing a single linguistic model for learners, the monocentrism of the French norm reinforces an assumption shared by many French teachers that learners should not be introduced even "passively" to more than one language variety. The strong version of the argument that supports this idea is that exposure to a single norm is necessary for students to achieve an acceptable, native-like pronunciation. The weak version is that an approach that does not

focus on a single variety will simply confuse learners and thereby complicate their task unnecessarily. These ideas are so powerful that they affect even those who advocate a more flexible, inclusive strategy for teaching French. For example, while arguing that Quebec French needs to be destigmatized in American classrooms, Salien states that in order to avoid confusion:

> The best approach is one that involves delaying the introduction of dialects until the college years, ideally after sufficient language skills have been attained… The best level for this introduction seems to be the fourth semester of college, preferably in a reading and conversation class (1998: 100).

Even Auger and Valdman (1999: 408), who favor "letting French students hear the diverse voices of francophony" from the earliest stages of language learning, are cautious about the use of oral samples of non-SMF varieties from the outset. They recommend that the introduction of particularisms of a non-hexagonal variety be limited "quite appropriately at the beginning" to the lexical level, with attention directed to phonological features "at a later stage" (1999: 409).

Not surprisingly, those involved in the teaching of other, less monocentric languages may not share the same assumptions about how accent is acquired. Indeed, in response to the question of which variety of English should serve as the target for learners of that language, MacCarthy (1978: 57) suggests a quite different approach:

> …the general intention should surely be to fit in as well as possible in one's environment. But it should be remembered that a non-native speaker of English is far more likely to be conspicuous *as a foreigner* than as a speaker of some variety of English not native to the locality. So let the average learner concentrate first on eradicating from his speech those features that make him most conspicuous as a foreigner, in whatever part of the world, while at the same time mastering those that apply to all forms of English. Having got his priorities right and done these things, he can then devote some attention to regional differences within the English-speaking world. By the time he has reached the advanced level… he may very well be capable of adapting his speech to his environment…

The phonetician's claim that native-like pronunciation is acquired in later stages of language learning provides an intriguing counter-argument to the notion that student production will be negatively influenced in the early stages of language learning by exposure to a particular accent. Moreover, the implication that early instructional emphasis should be on forms common to all varieties points the way to a curricular approach that allows students to be exposed to multiple varieties of a language from the outset.

Unfortunately, there seems to be little research to support either the single or the multiple-variety approach. While it is clear enough that familiarity with an accent alone does not guarantee its acquisition, we are still far from understanding how accent is acquired by second language learners (see, for example, Leather and James 1991). Likewise, research on the effect of accent on comprehension does not appear to have addressed the question of whether exposure to more than one language variety fosters or hinders understanding.

The role of accent in language comprehension

One question that has received attention, and that may ultimately shed some light on the problem of the role of accent in comprehension, is whether a particular type of accent facilitates understanding better than other types. For example, Tauroza and Luk (1997) examine research in English as a Second Language (ESL) that claims that second language learners comprehend English better when it is spoken with an accent that bears features of their own first language as opposed to British Received Pronunciation (RP) or General American. Instead of providing evidence for a "home accent advantage", however, they find that the studies demonstrate a "model accent advantage" whereby second language listeners "comprehend English better when it is pronounced in the accent that is used as a model when they are learning the second language" (Tauroza and Luk 1997: 58). Their own experiment comparing the ability of 63 Hong Kong (HK) ESL learners to understand HK-accented English versus RP-accented English confirms that it is more likely the degree of familiarity of an accent that determines whether that accent will cause problems for listening comprehension or not.

The idea that students will learn to understand accents to which they are exposed is also suggested, albeit indirectly, in an investigation of the effect of authentic, unedited native speech on student comprehension (Herron and Seay 1991). The experiment involved two groups of intermediate-level French students, a control group and an experimental group, that listened to unedited audiotapes of a French radio program as a supplement to the regular video-based course used for both groups. Each radio program featured a variety of formats (newscasts, special reports, interviews, etc.) and at least "four distinct but authentic types of authentic discourse: the sponaneous-sounding script of the program host; the fixed speech of guest reporters; the lyrical speech of singers; and the spontaneous free speech of the interviewer and guest (Herron

and Seay 1991: 490). The researchers found that the comprehension skills of the experimental group were superior to those of the control group as measured by two different aural tests of unedited native speech. Since the experimental group also received training in listening strategies, the exact cause for the improved performance is unclear (Rubin 1994). However, this weakness does not appear to detract from the observation that "students in the radio condition gained important practice in understanding French delivered with various native accents at different native speeds" (Herron and Seay 1991: 493). Herron and Seay concluded that adjustments in the level of speech, which would presumably include the regularization of accent, "while perhaps helpful to the beginning-and-intermediate-level foreign language student, might not be essential to improving listening skills" (1991: 494).

The findings reported in Tauroza and Luk (1997) and Herron and Seay (1991) do not provide the answer to the question of whether exposure to more than one language variety helps or hinders comprehension. Taken together, however, they do suggest that students will learn to comprehend the type of language to which they are exposed. Conversely, they will exhibit significantly less understanding of language to which they have not been introduced.

The concept of a pedagogical norm

The term "pedagogical norm" is an abstraction that has been used to define a language variety that is simpler and more uniform than that of the native speaker. It is not an end in itself, but rather the means to an end. It serves as an immediate target for the language learner and represents a step, or series of steps, that can lead to the eventual acquisition of the full range of native speaker variation.

Valdman, who has been instrumental in developing this notion and has promoted it in numerous publications (Valdman 1967; 1976b; 1988; 1989; 1992; 1993; 2000 *inter alia*), identifies four principles that should guide the elaboration of such a norm. Three are based on the linguistic and sociolinguistic behavior of native speakers: (1) the norm should reflect the actual speech of target language speakers in authentic communicative situations; (2) it should conform to native speakers' idealized view of their own linguistic behavior; and (3) it should conform to native speaker expectations concerning the type of linguistic behavior appropriate for language learners. To these principles, a psycholinguistic dimension is added: (4) the norm should take into account processing and learning factors. In practical terms, these principles mean that

variants should be among the most frequent or most characteristic of the target variety; they should not be negatively evaluated by target language speakers; and they should be easy to learn.

Although Valdman has suggested many applications of this concept to the teaching of French (see, for example, Valdman 1976a; 1993), two applications may be considered prototypical. The first involves the realization of the front unrounded midvowels [e] and [ɛ] (Valdman 1976b; 1988; 1989). In examples such as *je ferai* [ʒə fəʀe] (I will do) and *je ferais* [ʒə fəʀɛ] (I would do), the contrast is required in SMF, but realized variably, depending on an intricate set of geographical, social, and situational factors. In this case, Valdman suggests that the symmetrical distribution known as the *loi de position* serve as the pedagogical norm. This distribution is simpler than that of SMF; it corresponds to what is found in the unmonitored speech of the majority of French speakers; and it will not be negatively evaluated. Finally, it will not prevent the eventual acquisition of the SMF norm, which can be presented as a series of exceptions to the *loi de position.*

The second protypical application concerns the selection and sequencing of French interrogative constructions (Valdman 1967, 1976b, 1988, 1989, 2000). In France, a single question, "Where are you going?" may be formulated though pronominalization *in situ* (*Tu vas où?*), fronting of the interrogative particle (*Où tu vas?*), the use of the morphological marker *est-ce que* (*Où est-ce que tu vas?*) and variants thereof (*Où c'est-que tu vas? Où est-ce que c'est que tu vas?*), and by subject–verb inversion (*Où vas-tu?*). According to Valdman, inversion is the form that reflects native speakers' idealized view of their own linguistic behavior and corresponds to their expectations concerning the type of behavior appropriate for language learners, *est-ce que* is sociolinguistically neutral and syntactically simple, and fronting is stigmatized. In this case, he argues that despite its positive evaluation, inversion is unsuitable for beginning language learners because of its syntactic complexity and limited sociolinguistic range (1967, 1976b, 1988, 1989, 2000). He suggests fronting as the more appropriate preliminary target because, despite its negative evaluation, it has been shown to occur spontaneously in the speech of beginning language learners (Valdman 1976b). The learnability of fronting, then, makes it "suitable for transitional use in early stages of instruction" (Valdman 1988: 233), followed soon by *est-ce que.*

These applications deal with different levels of linguistic analysis and assign different weight to the sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic principles for selecting norms. They also help demonstrate that Valdman originally developed the concept as a dynamic series of targets for learner speech and that he has

continued to promote them in this way. Although he is a strong advocate for sensitizing students to geographically based linguistic variation (Auger and Valdman 1999; Valdman 2000), he has not offered a systematic application of the notion to understanding variation in accent.

The applicability of the concept of pedagogical norms to the development of listening skills is not obvious. When the concept is applied to speech production, features are introduced through progressive ordering and student exposure to the target is carefully controlled (Valdman 1992: 86–87). In the application of the concept to the comprehension of accent, on the other hand, it must be assumed that features that are specific to the variety targeted for comprehension only will always be present in any linguistic sample to which students are exposed; they cannot be eliminated even temporarily. However, the number of variants in the speech sample can be minimized if the variety selected for receptive control is one that shares many features with the variety being taught for full (i.e. productive and receptive) control. For example, the standard version of Quebec French will be more similar to SMF than a more socially marked version such as *joual*.[4] Once the variety for receptive control has been chosen, pedagogical norms will be elaborated through the careful selection and sequencing of the order in which student attention is drawn to or focused on features that vary between that variety and the variety being taught for full control. In this way, the application of the concept to the comprehension of accent calls for a fundamental change of perspective: language varieties must be approached in terms of the characteristics they have in common rather than those that distinguish them from one another. As a consequence of this change, the linguistic target, initially the set of core characteristics, not only becomes more abstract, but incorporates variation as one of its fundamental properties. In other words, an approach that treats features of non-SMF varieties as (more or less acceptable) deviations from SMF is replaced by one in which the target "French" contains certain features that will have variable realizations.

In the following section, I illustrate how the concept of pedagogical norm may be applied so that the comprehension of a second variety of French — in this case SQF — can be incorporated into language classes where SMF is the target for full control.

Applying pedagogical norms to the comprehension of accent: A curricular example

The definition of Standard Quebec French itself is not as straightforward as it might first seem. Linguists such as Martel and Cajolet-Laganière (1995) claim that the type of language used by Quebec francophones in situations where they speak or write their "best" French, such as radio and TV news, formal interviews, novels and essays, includes vocabulary and pronunciation features that are not part of SMF. They argue, therefore, that there is a distinct prestige variety that can be labeled SQF. Barbaud (1998: 19) disagrees. He believes that SQF is a myth:

> *Mythe parce que plutôt que d'être revendiqué comme un code linguistique adapté aux besoins langagiers du "village global" … de la francophonie aujourd'hui, le FQS se voit revendiqué plutôt comme un "symbole de distinction" … intégré à la "québécité" des nationalistes francophones.*
>
> Myth because rather than being called for as a linguistic code adapted to the language needs of the "global village" of today's francophony, SQF is being claimed rather as a "symbol of distinction" … integrated into the "Quebecness" of francophone nationalists. (translation — C. Fox)

Further discussion of the debate, which involves the reconciliation of the sometimes conflicting aims of various functions associated with standard varieties, is beyond the scope of this article. In fact, because it does not involve the status of individual linguistic items, resolution is not necessary for the present purpose. The discussion does serve to emphasize that the French of educated native speakers in France, in Quebec, and elsewhere in the francophone world share many characteristics. The acknowledgment of their commonalities represents a critical step toward legitimizing these non-metropolitan varieties in American classrooms. For the purposes of this discussion, SQF should be understood to mean the "best" French as described by Martel and Cajolet-Laganière.

When teaching comprehension of SQF or another non-SMF variety, there is a practical matter to address. Most U.S. French teachers are speakers of SMF and need to rely on recorded materials to incorporate samples of SQF into their listening activities. Such materials will be hardest to procure for the beginning levels of instruction, where most teachers prefer to use passages that have been simplified through editing or that have been created for a particular instructional purpose. Ideally, native speakers of SQF would be included on the audio

or video materials that are part of the textbook package, integrated in such a way that attention is not constantly being drawn to the fact that they speak the "other" variety of French. For example, instead of simply adding passages that feature speakers of SQF, dialogues that contain exchanges between speakers of SMF and SQF might be included.

As in any approach to developing listening comprehension, students should be taught specific strategies such as the use of background knowledge and contextual cues to help them develop the ability to use what they know in order to understand what is new. Instructional emphasis at this early stage should be on comprehension of main ideas. Particular care is needed to construct tasks that do not require the understanding of a linguistic feature found in one language variety but not the other. For instance, SQF maintains a distinction between an anterior /a/ and posterior /ɑ/ that has all but disappeared from SMF.[3] As a result, words such as *pâte* (paste) and *patte* (paw); which are pronounced quite distinctly by speakers of SQF, can be homonyms for speakers of SMF. Until the anterior/posterior distinction is targeted for comprehension, no SMF vocabulary item containing an anterior /a/ should be the specific focus of a listening task unless that item also contains the anterior /a/ in the SQF variety. As the course progresses and students begin to learn about features of pronunciation that distinguish French from English (as the native language of most American students), aspects of SQF that contrast with those of SMF with respect to those features can begin to be introduced. Like the features targeted for pedagogical speaking norms, these features should be chosen based on their frequency, their positive evaluation by native speakers, and their learnability (Valdman 1967; 1976b; 1988; 1989; 1992; 1993; 2000 *inter alia*).

In a recent study, Cox (1998) analyzed the frequency of occurrence of thirteen characteristic features of Quebec French found in a corpus of video recordings of thirteen television newscasters from francophone Canadian news sources. Since this speech sample can be considered representative of SQF, the features can be assumed to be positively evaluated by native speakers. Cox's results thus provide a starting point for the establishment of pedagocial norms for the comprehension of this variety. Since the question of the perceptual salience of these features would need to be examined before the issue of their relative learnabilty could be addressed, the selection of norms should be seen as provisional rather than definitive.

Cox's results suggest that when targeting SQF for comprehension, the affrication of /t/ and /d/ before high, front vowels /i/ and /y/ (e.g., [t^{s}y d^{z}i] *tu dis* 'you say' versus SMF [ty di]) should be introduced first. This prominent feature

appeared at least 90% of the time in the speech of all newscasters and was used 100% of the time by six of them. According to Dumas (1987: 8), affrication of /t/ and /d/ is so characteristic of Quebec speech in the minds of it speakers that when they do not hear it, they assume the speaker is either Acadian, European, or simply pretentious and pedantic. In a discussion of the articulation of French consonants, the SMF/SQF contrast should be noted and then highlighted in discrimination exercises in which students identify the language variety on the basis of the presence or absence of the feature. Subsequent to this introduction, questions based on passages for general comprehension need no longer avoid drawing attention to it. However, when completing pronunciation exercises, students should be reminded that their speech should be modeled on one or the other pronunciation, but not both. Since SMF is their productive target, they should produce unaffricated consonants in all contexts.

The second most frequent feature identified in Cox's study is the laxing of high, tense vowels (/i/, /y/ and /u/) in final syllables closed by a non-lengthening consonant: *six* (six), *butte*, (mound), and *pouce*, (thumb) are pronounced [sIs], [bYt], and [pUs] in SQF and [sis], [byt], and [pus] in SMF. This feature, which is also be found with a somewhat different distribution in varieties of French spoken in northern France and in Belgium (Dumas 1987: 92), occurred between 67% and 97% of the time in the speech of all newsreaders, and over 90% of the time in the speech of five of them (Cox 1998: 179). Similarly, then, the tense/lax contrast could be introduced in a discussion of the nature of French articulatory tension, identified in discrimination exercises, and included in passages for general comprehension. In productive exercises, students would be asked to produce tense vowels in all contexts.

Other traits of SQF identified by Cox include posterior [ɑ], nasal vowels [ẽ, œ̃, ã, ɔ̃] (vs. SMF [ɛ̃, œ̃, ɑ̃, ɔ̃]), phonemic [ɛː] ([bɛːt] *bête* ['beast'] vs. [bɛt] *bette* ['beet']) and the pronunciation of [e] as an unrounded vowel (1998: 188–189). As students become more advanced and have been exposed to more of these features, comprehension exercises based on unedited, authentic samples of QSF could be introduced. The availability of video, cable TV, and the Internet have made these samples increasingly easy to acquire.

Like the pedagogical norms that have been proposed for speech targets, a pedagogical norm for the comprehension of linguistic variation is an abstraction defining a language variety that is simpler and more uniform than that of the native speaker. It is not an end in itself, but the means to an end. It serves as an immediate target for the language learner and represents a step, or series of steps, that can lead to the eventual comprehension of a range of native

speaker variation. Although this example focuses on the comprehension of SQF, the norm could be applied to the comprehension of any variety that is different from the variety students are being taught to produce. Moreover, it can be progressively extended geographically, to incorporate comprehension of varieties spoken in other areas; stylistically, to include variants associated with less formal registers; and socially, to recognize variants characteristic of native speakers from less prestigious socio-economic groups.

The elaboration of comprehension norms is guided by the same principles as those Valdman has set forth for speech norms. First, the norms are characteristic of the language native speakers hear in authentic communicative situations. Second, because native speakers believe that they talk with one accent but understand many, they conform to the native speakers' idealized view of their own linguistic behavior. Third, since native speakers expect learners to be prepared to understand the careful speech of educated native speakers, the norms conform to their expectations concerning the type of linguistic behavior appropriate for these learners. Finally, the norm is sensitive to processing and learning factors. It takes as its starting point the idea that varieties of a language have a common base and that emphasis should be on features that they share rather than those that distinguish them from one another. Specific features found in both varieties are emphasized before frequently occurring, highly salient, variants are introduced. Thus students are always working to reinforce their understanding of language elements they already know, even as they learn that language is inherently variable.

Conclusion

In this paper it has been argued that, despite the promotion of the study of French as an international language within an overall context that emphasizes the development of communicative abilities, students are not being prepared to interact with much of the francophone world. Rather than simply replacing SMF as the target for learners, it is suggested that the notion of "pedagogical norm" heretofore applied to the progressive acquisition of linguistically accurate and sociolinguistically appropriate speech norms can be applied to instruction in the comprehension of other varieties of the language.

In French as a foreign language classrooms outside the United States, and in areas within the United States such as Louisiana, the comprehension of a variety of French other than SQF, the example offered in this paper, may be

more appropriate or useful to students. Indeed, although the discussion has focused on the introduction of a single alternate variety for comprehension, the model itself allows for the eventual introduction of any number of regionally-based varieties and, ultimately, for the social and situational variants within a particular variety. It paves the way for learners to interact with ease and confidence with French speakers from all over the globe.

Regardless of the variety selected as an initial target, failure to provide any organized exposure to a non-SMF variety undermines the usefulness of French as an international language. Furthermore, it reinforces the misperception that the French spoken in other parts of the francophone world is linguistically inferior, and it subverts the goals of the incorporation of the study of francophone literatures and cultures into the curriculum.

Notes

1. This paper owes much to Deborah Piston-Hatlen, who provided invaluable insight and advice at several critical stages of its development. Thanks also to Sally Magnan and Joel Walz for their extensive comments on earlier drafts, and for their patience.

2. Even in Canada, where approximately one fourth of the population is comprised of native speakers of French and where French enjoys official status, "*il est de rigeur dans les départments de français des universités anglophones* [...] *d'utilser comme norme le registre formel du français parisien (appelé 'standard' ou 'international')*" (it is *de rigueur* in the French departments of the anglophone universities ... to use as norm the formal register of Parisian French [called 'standard' or 'international']) (Cox 1998: 172).

3. For descriptions of Quebec French, see Dumas 1987; Ostiguy and Tousignant 1993; Paradis and Dolbec 1998; Walker 1984.

4. The term *joual* is used to refer to the speech of working-class speakers from Montreal.

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A pedagogical norm for circumlocution in French

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Introduction

The implicit goal in both communicative and proficiency-oriented language teaching is to enable students to communicate effectively in the target language. Given the institutional constraints which accompany the teaching and learning of foreign languages in classrooms, successfully reaching this goal depends on clearly articulating the goals of the course and mapping out strategies to get there. Although it may seem obvious, it bears repeating that before language teachers can plan and teach a successful course, they must have a clear idea of what to teach. Of course, students need to learn lexical items in order to express meaning and the appropriate syntactic structures to correctly express this meaning. Hence the typical syllabus for a first-year language course includes the words and grammatical structures necessary to describe and present familiar objects, family members, courses, occupations and household objects, to tell about events which have happened in the past, are occurring now and will occur in the future, and to ask and answer questions about a range of topics, to name just a few.

However, there are often many ways of accomplishing these functions. In fact, native speakers (NS) have a wide range of morphosyntactic structures and lexical items at their disposition to express these meanings. For example, in French, future events can be described with the periphrastic future, the analytic future, or simply through the use of adverbials such as *demain, plus tard, après* 'tomorrow, later, after' as shown in (1).

(1) a. *Je vais faire la vaisselle.*
'I am going to do the dishes.'
b. *Je ferai la vaisselle.*
'I will do the dishes.'
c. *On fait la vaisselle après le film.*
'We'll do the dishes after the film is over.'

To ask questions, French native speakers have an even wider range of choices as shown in (2) from Valdman (1976: 59). Each question is labeled and followed by a literal gloss, and they all mean 'Where is John going?' although there are clearly stylistic and register differences between them.

(2) a. *Wh*-final
Jean va où?
John goes where
b. *Wh*-fronting
Où Jean va?
where John goes
c. *Est-ce que*
Où est-ce que Jean va?
where is-it that John goes
d. Inversion
Où va Jean?
where goes John

This type of variety combined with the constraints on classroom instruction and learning make the question of which structures and lexical items to teach even more important. Should teachers follow the prescriptive norm set out in works such as *Le bon usage* (Grevisse and Goosse 1997) or should they teach contemporary spoken French? To further complicate matters, if they choose to teach spoken French, which dialect(s) and/or sociolect(s) should be taught? Valdman (1976) proposes the elaboration of pedagogical norms to respond specifically to the intertwined questions of which language features to teach and how best to teach them in a classroom setting. Crucially, a pedagogical norm is a dynamic norm which changes over time as students become more and more proficient with the target language. According to Valdman (1992: 84–85), pedagogical norms should be established based on a variety of criteria which he classifies as (1) linguistic, (2) sociopsychological, and (3) psycholinguistic. Each of these criteria can be illustrated with reference to the variety of interrogative structures presented in (2) above.

The first criterion refers to the actual linguistic production of a certain targeted group of NSs in authentic communicative situations. Typically in foreign language classes, the targeted NS is the so-called "educated" NS. In determining a pedagogical norm, it is crucial to take into account the variation in linguistic forms produced by such speakers. For example, actual NSs of French use all four of the interrogative structures listed in (2) above, albeit in different contexts and with different frequency. Valdman (1992: 85–86) cites data from Behnstedt (1973) which indicate that *wh*-final and *wh*-fronting are the most common interrogative constructions in vernacular spoken French. Based on the first criterion for a pedagogical norm, it appears that these structures should be targeted for instruction and use by second language (L2) learners of French.

However, before establishing a pedagogical norm for interrogatives, the second criterion must also be taken into consideration. The sociopsychological factors include the way NSs view their linguistic behavior, in other words their idealized views of their speech, as well as the expectations that NSs and L2 learners themselves have about how non-native speakers (NNS) should speak. As is often the case, the actual linguistic behavior of NSs with regard to interrogatives differs from their idealized perceptions about how they speak. Although *wh*-fronting and *wh*-final are the most frequently used constructions in vernacular, spoken French, these two forms are more stigmatized than constructions with *est-ce que* or inversion, which is the most highly valued interrogative structure. In fact, somewhat paradoxically, questions with *wh*-fronting are at the same time the most stigmatized interrogative construction and the most frequently used by NSs. Yet, given their lack of prestige coupled with the expectation that NNSs should use forms that are even more "correct" than those used by NSs (Valdman 1993: 98), *wh*-fronting appears not to be the most appropriate construction to teach L2 learners of French.

Finally, the psycholinguistic considerations which make up the third criterion must also be factored in. This criterion refers to the relative ease of acquisition and use of the structure or feature in question by L2 learners. Based on experimental data reported in Valdman (1975, 1976), *wh*-fronting appears to be the easiest construction for American learners of French to acquire. Therefore, Valdman (1975, 1976, 1986, 1992) argues that this structure should be part of the pedagogical norm for interrogatives and should be the first interrogative construction presented.

Weighing all three criteria, Valdman (1992) elaborates a pedagogical norm for *wh*-interrogatives in French which advocates initially presenting *wh*-fronting as an

interrogative structure but gradually fading this construction out in favor of the less stigmatized *est-ce que* structure while concurrently introducing inversion for written production and more formal discourse. The ultimate goal is for advanced students to master the four forms of interrogatives presented in (2) above and to have an understanding of when the various forms would be sociopragmatically acceptable.

Clearly, the notion of pedagogical norm is not only relevant in deciding which structures to teach but also in deciding when to introduce the various structures. In other words, the elaboration of a pedagogical norm is intrinsically tied to the establishment of instructional sequences as illustrated in the discussion above for interrogatives based on Valdman (1976, 1992).

Elsewhere, Valdman (1986, 1993) has sketched out pedagogical norms for liaison and various phonological features of French. In fact, Valdman (1976: 57) specifically defines the domain of pedagogical norms as the morphophonological and morphosyntactic aspects of the language. In this paper, we argue that there is merit in extending the application of pedagogical norms to the domain of communication strategies, namely the arena of circumlocution.

Circumlocution refers to a speaker's ability to compensate for the lack of a precise lexical item or control of a particular syntactic structure through a variety of strategies. We believe that circumlocution is a critical skill for L2 learners to acquire as it has the potential to increase significantly their communicative abilities. Unfortunately, it is an often overlooked aspect of L2 instruction. To that end, in this paper, we will develop a pedagogical norm for circumlocution and then demonstrate how that norm can help teachers organize instruction and help L2 learners progress through interlanguage stages toward NS ability in circumlocution for French.

The paper is organized as follows. In the first section, we define circumlocution and its classroom application, including a brief discussion of the ACTFL proficiency guidelines for circumlocution. In the following sections, we develop our pedagogical norm for circumlocution in French with respect to the linguistic and psycholinguistic criteria discussed above. In section two, we discuss data on NS production of circumlocution in French which relate to the linguistic criterion. In section three, we present instructional sequences for lexical choice and syntactic structures in circumlocution taking into account the psycholinguistic constraints on acquisition and use mentioned in criterion three. As little data exist on either NS idealized productions of circumlocution or NS expectations of L2 learners' circumlocutions, we will present our pedagogical norm for circumlocution without explicit reference to the sociopsychological criterion.

However, where appropriate in the discussion of the other two criteria, we will make speculative remarks about NS expectations, particularly with regard to the choice of lexical items to be used in circumlocution.

Circumlocution

Circumlocution can be broadly defined as the act of compensating for gaps in the linguistic repertoire. As such, it is a skill which is indispensable to the development of communicative competence. According to Savignon (1983:310), circumlocution can be viewed as "the effective use of coping strategies to sustain or enhance communication". What learners must "cope" with is the reality that they will frequently lack the precise lexical term or the desired syntactic structure to convey their intended message. If they wish to continue to communicate, they must compensate for their lack of vocabulary or grammar in some way. They are thus confronted with the need to circumlocute. Studies investigating communication strategies identify circumlocution as a key component in widely accepted taxonomies (Dörnyei 1995, Dörnyei and Scott 1997, Jourdain 2000, Liskin-Gasparro 1996, Paribakht 1985, Poulisse 1987, Poulisse, Bongaerts and Kellerman 1984, Poulisse and Schils 1989, Scullen and Jourdain 2000, Tarone 1983, Yule and Tarone 1990). These studies indicate that learners, notably learners at advanced proficiency levels, have acquired circumlocution skills. Some studies report further that learners may benefit from explicit instruction on the use of certain communication strategies, in particular circumlocution (Dörnyei 1995, Scullen and Jourdain 2000, Yule and Tarone 1990). Dörnyei (1995) for example examines whether raising student consciousness about communication strategies, as well as providing focused practice in their production, can improve the frequency and quality of their use. This study of 109 Hungarian EFL learners in the intermediate proficiency range, as measured by the Foreign Service Institute scale, finds that students who received explicit instruction show significant improvement in the quality, if not the frequency, of their circumlocutions as compared to control groups who received no such instruction. Here "quality" is defined as the effectiveness and comprehensibility of word definitions provided by students as rated by a panel of outside NS judges.

Scullen and Jourdain (2000) likewise have found that by explicitly teaching skills used in circumlocution, as well as providing opportunities for practice in strategy use, students make significant gains in the production of successful circumlocutions. In this study of twenty-five foreign language learners of

French, all enrolled in fourth semester college French courses, dyads of students were given the task of ordering unfamiliar items from a catalog. Over the course of a semester, students who engaged in this activity five times showed significant improvement in their ability to convey successfully their intended message to their partner by means of circumlocution. These studies point to the teachability of circumlocution as a communication strategy, but they provide neither clear instructional guidelines nor a pedagogical norm for the teaching of circumlocution.

For general guidelines and descriptions of learners' abilities to use communication strategies at varying levels of proficiency, we can look to the ACTFL (American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages) speaking proficiency guidelines (Buck, Byrnes, and Thompson 1989). These guidelines suggest, and intuitively it seems evident, that one measure of increasing language proficiency is the growing ability to circumlocute successfully. Within the ACTFL guidelines, Intermediate-level speakers are defined as those who "have difficulty… using communicative strategies, such as circumlocution". This difficulty contrasts with Advanced-level speakers who "may demonstrate a well-developed ability to compensate for an imperfect grasp of some forms or for limitations in vocabulary by the confident use of communicative strategies, such as paraphrasing, circumlocution, and illustration". These guidelines clearly imply that there are distinct stages in the development of circumlocution skills. What the guidelines do not address is how these skills develop or indeed how they could or should be taught. Furthermore, they do not provide a model for successful NS circumlocution.

A native speaker norm for circumlocution in French

The act of circumlocution is common to speakers of all languages and is used frequently by NSs as well as L2 learners. Yet, it is unclear whether the way this act is carried out demonstrates universal tendencies or indeed varies greatly from language to language. In fact, relatively few reports of native speaker norms of circumlocution exist.

One exception is Jourdain (2000) which examines NS norms for circumlocution in both French and English. As part of this small-scale study, three native French speakers and three native English speakers each described twelve objects selected for their propensity to elicit circumlocution. Each participant described six objects in her native language and six others in her second language. The six

items described in English by all participants were pruning shears, a riding crop, a bicycle stem (part of the handlebars), the breech of a saxophone, an aerator (on a faucet), and a cabriolet chair, while the six items described in French were a trowel, a bit (on a horse's bridle), a bike reflector, the crook of a saxophone, the bonnet (on a faucet), and a recamier sofa. Data were tape-recorded, transcribed, coded and analyzed according to a taxonomy of circumlocution strategies adapted from Liskin-Gasparro (1996), Yule and Tarone (1990), Paribakht (1985), and Bialystok (1983). Categories included use of terms designating semantic continuity such as superordinate terms, synonyms, analogies, antonyms, and metonyms and terms of description denoting size, shape, materials, features, locations, styles, and functions.

The three most frequently used strategies within the category of semantic continuity were, in order of decreasing frequency, those of superordinate terminology, synonymy, and analogy. The most frequent strategy of semantic continuity was the use of superordinate terminology, including words such as *une chose* 'thing', *une pièce* 'a piece', and *un outil* 'a tool'. The choice of terms varied widely among NSs of French, however, dependent largely on context. When describing a bridle bit, for example, descriptions started with expressions such as those in (3).

(3) *C'est une chose/quelque chose qui…*
'It's a thing/something that…'

More precise superordinate terms were used with other objects such as an aerator on a water faucet. Here descriptions included terms such as those in (4).

(4) *C'est une* ***pièce*** *qui…*
'It's a piece that…'
C'est une ***partie*** *qui…*
'It's a part that…'

Even more specific terms, though still superordinate in nature, were used in describing the recamier sofa and the trowel. The racamier is described in (5) with the term *canapé* 'sofa' and also simply as *un meuble* 'a piece of furniture' while the gardening trowel is described as *un outil pour les bulbes* 'a tool for bulbs.'

(5) a. *ce joli canapé… sur lequel on peut s'allonger*
'This lovely sofa on which one can stretch out'

Also appearing in the data, though from near-native speakers of French, is the use of more colloquial superordinates such as *truc* and *machin,* both equivalent

to 'thingamajig' in English (all examples from unpublished data, Jourdain 2000). Evident in these data is the wide range of variation possible in the use of such terminology. Because one of the goals of a pedagogical norm is to reduce the amount of variation that learners must confront in the initial stages of acquisition, we will propose a step-wise presentation of superordinate terminology, beginning with the most general and gradually introducing the more specific.

Also evident in the data from NSs is the use of synonyms and analogies. One NS of French, in describing the texture of a bike reflector makes the analogy in (6).

(6) *C'est fait en verre… coupé un peu comme ciselé, comme un diamant…*
'It's made of glass… cut a bit like chiseled, like a diamond…'

Another native French speaker, in describing a recamier sofa, uses the synonym *chaise longue* 'a lounge chair' (Jourdain 2000: 194). Clearly the skills involved in making an analogy and using a synonym are quite similar. Lexically, synonyms and analogies differ only in the presence or absence of an explicit lexical item stating a comparison. For example in describing a pitchfork one could say 'It's a large fork' thus making a synonym. Alternatively, one could say 'It's like a large fork,' the addition of 'like' transforming the synonym into an analogy. Because of their similarities, these two skills will be treated together in the instructional sequences proposed below.

Data from Jourdain (2000) indicate that within the category of semantic continuity, NSs only use antonyms occasionally. If they do not know what something is called, they avoid formulating their circumlocution in terms of what it is not. Only three instances of this occur in the data. For example one native English speaker in describing a riding crop (equipment used in horse riding) says, 'It's not a whip' (Jourdain 2000: 194). Also present, though infrequent, is the use of metonomy, employing a term related to, though not equivalent to, the target item, such as specifying a part for the whole, a cause for an effect, and so forth. When one says, for example, 'India was colonized by the British crown,' one is using 'crown' as a metonym to designate the British monarchy. Given the lack of frequency of antonyms and metonyms in the native speaker data, we conclude that these strategies should not figure within the initial stages of the instructional sequence for circumlocution but should instead be reserved for the final stage, elaborated below.

In addition to terms of semantic continuity, the other ubiquitous element in NS circumlocution data is descriptive terminology. Objects are often described in terms of their size, shape, style, material composition, and location

in relation to other objects as well as by their constituent features and their functions. These descriptions rely heavily on the use of appropriate adjectives such as *avec un joli petit coussin* 'with a nice little cushion' (Jourdain 2000: 195) describing the cushion on the recamier sofa, and from the English data, 'with very fancy stylish legs' describing the legs of a cabriolet chair. Descriptions of location necessitate the use of appropriate locatives as in the phrase in (7) which describes the location of the faucet bonnet (Jourdain 2000).

(7) *C'est* ***entre*** *la manivelle et le robinet propre.*
'It's between the handle and the actual faucet.'

Finally, functional descriptions call for adverbial phrases, typically headed by *pour* 'for' as in *cette pièce* ***pour*** *ajuster les vitesses* 'this piece to change gears' used in describing a bicycle part. Because the category *descriptive terminology* is so broad and encompasses many possible types of description, we will propose a gradual introduction of this terminology in the instructional sequences which follow.

Instructional sequence for lexical choice in circumlocution

As mentioned above, implicit in the third criterion for the establishment of a dynamic pedagogical norm is the development of instructional sequences for presenting the relevant lexical items and structures to L2 learners. In what follows, we will first present an instructional sequence for lexical choice in circumlocution for L2 learners of French and then for the presentation of syntactic structures relevant to this aspect of strategic competence. The instructional sequence for lexical choice, outlined in Table 1, is motivated by the description of the actual linguistic behavior of native speakers, as discussed in the previous section, and by processing and learning constraints inherent in a formal language learning situation, namely the classroom.

Circumlocution is such an important element in communicative competence that we believe the skills involved in its use should be introduced from the earliest stages of language learning. The first stage we propose focuses on general, simple descriptions, something which Novice-level learners who are quite restricted in both their vocabulary and structures may nevertheless accomplish successfully. (Here and below, all references to Novice, Intermediate and Advanced level learners refer to the levels of language proficiency described by the ACTFL proficiency guidelines [Buck, Byrnes, and Thompson 1989]). Novice-level learners should be encouraged to employ adjectives in the description

Table 1. An instructional sequence for lexical choice in French learners' circumlocution

Stage	Example
1. General description	*C'est grand* 'It's big.' ; *C'est orange* 'It's orange.'
2. Synonyms/Analogies	*C'est une sorte de…* 'It's a type of…'; *C'est comme…* 'It's like…' (+ optional adjective + noun)
3. General superordinates	*chose* 'thing' ; *C'est une chose qui…* (description) 'It's a thing that…'
4. Specific superordinates	*meuble, vêtement, outil, machine,* etc. 'furniture, clothing, tool, machine' *C'est un meuble que/pour…* 'It's a piece of furniture that/for…' (description/function)
5. Antonyms and metonyms	Antonym: *Ce n'est pas grand*, 'It's not big,' in place of *C'est petit* 'It's little.' Metonym: *La salle applaudit,* 'The room applauded,' in place of *Les spectateurs applaudirent,* 'The spectators applauded.'

of both familiar and unfamiliar objects (see Berry-Bravo [1993] and Salomone and Marsal [1997] for ideas on classroom games incorporating these types of circumlocution skills). In French the structure *C'est* + adjective, (It's…) is all that is required for the most basic of descriptions. A series of high frequency adjectives such as *grand* (big) and *petit* (little) and color adjectives, as well as some specific adjectives denoting shape such as *rond* (round) and '*carré* (square), can easily form the basic building blocks for Novice-level descriptions and emerging circumlocution skills.

The second stage involves the presentation of the skills useful in making analogies and using synonyms. The appearance of both of these linguistic forms is relatively frequent in the NS data, and the lexical range necessary to carry out these tasks, while greater than that needed for simple descriptions, is still fairly restricted. In French, the *c'est* structure presented in Stage 1 can be expanded by optionally inserting *une sorte de* (a sort of) or *comme* (like) in addition to an adjective and a noun. To get across the notion of a pitchfork for example, learners could use the analogy in (8a) or the synonym in (8b).

(8) a. *C'est* ***comme*** *une grande fourchette.*
'It's like a big fork.'
b. *C'est une grande fourchette.*
'It's a big fork.'

Clearly this stage requires an expanded vocabulary upon which to draw, but learners in the Novice-high to Intermediate-low range can begin to form such

basic analogies and synonyms if taught to do so. For example, in Scullen and Jourdain (2000: 242), students who were asked to generate analogies for a sundial and a recamier sofa during an in-class brainstorming session came up with the analogies in (9).

(9) a. Sundial
C'est comme une montre.
'It's like a watch.'
C'est comme une montre pour le soleil.
'Its like a watch for the sun.'
b. Recamier sofa:
C'est comme une chaise.
'It's like a chair.'
C'est comme un sofa.
'It's like a sofa.'
C'est comme la chaise de Cléopâtre.
'It's like Cleopatra's chair.'

Scullen and Jourdain (2000: 242) also propose the vocabulary building exercise using analogies in (10).

(10) **L'analogie.** Trouvez une analogie pour chaque objet.
Modèle: a soup ladle: *C'est comme une grande cuillère*
1. a pitchfork
2. a minute timer
3. a grapefruit

Analogies. Give an analogy for each object.
Model: a soup ladle: *It's like a big spoon*

In the final three stages, we propose that learners be encouraged to use the relative clause structure *C'est un/e X qui/que/pour…* (It's a X that/for…,) where the 'X' in question can range from a general superordinate term such as *chose* (thing) to a more specific superordinate dependent on context as in *meuble, vêtement, outil,* and *machine* (piece of furniture, piece of clothing, tool, and machine) to the colloquial superordinates such as *truc* and *machin* (thingamajig). Initially, Stage 3 calls for the introduction of only the most general superordinate term *chose.* This neutral term is characteristic of Standard French while less neutral general superordinates include *truc* and *machin.* As evidenced by the NS data on circumlouction above, these forms are widely used and should be part of the pedagogical norm for circumlocution. In fact, as shown in (11),

Valdman (1980: 91) advocates the use of lexically reduced words like *truc* combined with verbs from the earliest levels of language instruction to increase communicative abilities.

(11) Use of *truc* (from Valdman 1980: 91)
un truc pour boire (un verre) 'glass'
'a thing for drinking (a glass)'
un truc pour manger (une fourchette) 'fork'
'a thing for eating (a fork)'
un truc à manger (de la nourriture) 'food'
'a thing to eat (some food)'

The phrases in (11) are clearly examples of circumlocution combining the use of a superordinate term with a description of function (as suggested for Stage 4) and fit in solidly with the pedagogical norm for circumlocution developed here.

Yet the introduction of colloquial superordinates such as *truc* and *machin* may also be problematic with respect to NS expectations for L2 learners' circumlocutions. Our intuition is that NSs would react unfavorably to the use of these colloquial superordinates from less proficient speakers of French. For the moment, we leave as an open question NS reaction to these colloquial forms, while remaining committed to the inclusion of these forms in the pedagogical norm. If it turns out that NSs accept the use of these forms by lower-level learners, then we would advocate including these superordinates in Stage 3 for both recognition and production. If, however, NSs react unfavorably, we would still suggest presenting these forms in Stage 3 for receptive control so that students would understand them when used in circumlocutions by NSs or advanced-level learners, but we would suggest not introducing them for productive control until Stage 5.

In Stage 4 teachers should present more specific superordinate terms to allow learners to hone in more precisely on the category of object they are describing. This type of more specialized vocabulary is typically introduced at the Intermediate level of language learning. An activity which allows students to practice the use of more specific superordinates is given in (12).

(12) From Joiner, Duménil and Day (1994: 69)
C'est logique! Trouvez le terme générique qui englobe les objets cités à chaque ligne.
Modèle: un diamant, un saphir, une émeraude, un rubis = *des pierres précieuses*

1. une poupée, un ours en peluche, un clown, un yoyo =
2. une bague, des boucles d'oreilles, une alliance, un bracelet, un collier =
3. Noël, le Jour de l'An, la Saint-Nicolas, la fête du Travail =

That's logical! Find the generic term which describes the objects in each line.

Model: a diamond, a saphire, an emerald, a ruby = *precious stones*

1. a doll, a stuffed bear, a clown, a yoyo
2. a ring, earrings, a wedding ring, a bracelet, a necklace
3. Christmas, New Year's Day, Saint Nicolaus Day, Labor Day

Finally, we propose that strategies for using antonyms and metonyms be introduced at the final stage of lexical development. As noted above, antonyms and metonyms do occur in the NS data on circumlocution although less frequently than the strategies in Stages 1–4. Therefore, in order to reduce the amount of variation in lexical options for circumlocution, we recommend that these be reserved for Stage 5, corresponding to the Advanced-level of language learning, when learners have acquired a broader vocabulary base and greater linguistic sophistication.

These five stages form the basis of a pedagogical norm and accompanying instructional sequences for the presentation of lexical choice in circumlocution. Lexical choice, alone, however, cannot guarantee successful circumlocution. In addition, learners must be introduced to appropriate syntactic structures to carry out the task of circumlocution. Below, we present a complementary, five-stage sequence for the introduction of syntactic structures which, when combined with the sequence for lexical choice in circumlocution provides a complete, graduated norm for the teaching of this aspect of strategic competence.

An instructional sequence for syntactic structures in circumlocution

Table 2, below, outlines our five-stage approach for the presentation of syntactic structures necessary for circumlocution in French. Stage 1 introduces the basic presentative structure *C'est* + adjective, (It's + adjective) This structure is typically one of the first to be introduced in introductory French programs and is consistent with principles of Novice-level language development. At this level, students are able to make lists and provide simple descriptions without controlling all the nuances of agreement. Due to the generic nature of the pronoun *ce,* (it),

the adjective in this construction always takes the masculine form thus eliminating the need for control of adjective agreement. This stage parallels Stage 1 in the instructional sequence for lexical choice, calling for only a limited control of both lexicon and syntax, all the while allowing for the introduction of fundamental circumlocution skills.

Table 2. An instructional sequence for syntactic structures in French learners' circumlocution

Stage	Example
1. General description	*C'est* + adjective (It's + adjective…)
2. Synonyms/Analogies (adjective + noun)	*C'est une sorte de* … (It's a kind of…) *C'est comme une grande cuillère.* (It's like a big spoon.)
3. Relative clauses – qui (description)	*C'est une chose qui est grande.* (It's a thing which is big.)
4. Relative clauses – que (function)	*C'est une machine qu'on utilise pour…* (It's a machine that one uses for…)
5. Elaborated description (combinations of synonyms, analogies, relative clauses, and descriptions of constituent features)	*C'est comme une grande fourchette, avec un manche en bois, qu'on emploie dans le jardin pour retourner la terre. (*It's like a big fork, with a wooden handle, that is used in the garden for turning the soil.) (pitchfork)

Stage 2 in the presentation of syntactic structures, which likewise dovetails Stage 2 for the presentation of lexical choice, adds to the *c'est* + adjective structure by introducing the adjective + noun combination. For example, in using a synonym or analogy to describe a soup ladle, learners can be introduced to the structures in (13).

(13). a. *C'est une sorte de grande cuillère.*
'It's a sort of big spoon.'
b. *C'est comme une grande cuillère.*
'It's like a big spoon.'

This structure requires that students control agreement in the gender system of French adjectives since adjectives change form (masculine/feminine) to agree with the gender of the noun they modify. Typically, adjective-noun agreement is introduced at the Novice level of language learning, though students rarely begin to show mastery of this structure before the Intermediate level. Since we conceive of Stage 2 as corresponding to the Novice-high/Intermediate-low

proficiency level, we propose incorporating this structure, and the lexical forms necessary for creating analogies and synonyms, at this second stage.

Stage 3 introduces the relative clause structure so prevalent in NS data. We propose that in Stage 3 — which at the lexical level is characterized by the introduction of the neutral lexical referent *chose* — learners be taught the use of the relative clause headed by *qui*, ('that/which'). In French, the relative marker *qui* acts as the subject of the relative clause and is followed by a verb and an optional adjective or prepositional phrase, giving rise to structures such as the one in (14) which could be used as the beginning of a description of any large object.

(14) *C'est une chose qui est grande.*
'It's a thing which is big.'

At first glance, it might appear that the use of relative clauses such as *C'est une chose qui* at this level might not represent control of the syntactic structure for relatives, but rather constitute an example of formulaic language use similar to expressions such as *How are you?* or *I could easily do that* (where *could* does not otherwise appear in L2 learner speech [Weinert 1995]). We believe that this is not the case for relatives in French for two reasons. First, an utterance like *C'est une chose qui…* is not a high frequency item in French and cannot be compared to lexical chunks like those in (15) which Novice-level learners do appear to acquire and use as formulaic language.

(15) a. *Comment allez-vous?*
how go-2PL-you
'How are you?'
b. *Quelle heure est-il?*
what hour is-it
'What time is it?'

Second, the structure of the relative clause, *C'est une chose qui est …*, is fairly complicated in French requiring students to control agreement of the following adjective. Compare the two forms in (16). The feminine antecedent in (a) requires a feminine adjective while the masculine noun in (b) requires a masculine adjective.

(16) a. *C'est une chose qui est grande.*
'It's a thing which/that is big.'
b. *C'est un objet qui est grand.*
'It's an object which/that is big.'

Further, students also need to manipulate correctly the choice of the relative pronoun *qui* or *que* depending on the syntactic structure of the dependent clause. For these reasons, we believe that relatives should be introduced for syntactic control fairly late and be separated into two stages: Stage 3 and Stage 4.

Stage 3 includes the relative headed by *qui* and should be followed closely by Stage 4 which introduces the relative clause headed by *que,* 'that/which'. In this structure, the relative marker *que* acts as the object of the relative clause, thus the relative clause must contain at minimum both a subject and a verb. At this stage, learners should be encouraged to add descriptions of function to their skills. This addition can be easily accomplished by the use of relatives such as *C'est une chose qu'on utilise pour…* 'It's a thing which one uses for…' Because Stage 4 is characterized at the lexical level by introduction of more specific superordinate terms, learners should also be encouraged to replace the generic *chose* with more specific antecedents such as *machine* and *outil,* 'machine, tool.' Both Stages 3 and 4 are appropriate for Intermediate-level learners who need practice perfecting their communicative coping strategies. Similar to the activity for analogies discussed above, Scullen and Jourdain (2000: 243) report on an in-class brain-storming activity to practice the use of relative clauses in circumlocution that yielded the relatives in (17). An additional classroom activity from Scullen and Jourdain (2000: 243) for practicing the use of relative clauses is proposed in (18).

(17) a. **Function:**
C'est une machine qui est utilisée pour mettre les papiers ensemble. [stapler]
'It's a machine which is used to put papers together.'

C'est quelque chose qui sert à agrafer les papiers. [stapler]
'It's something which is used to staple papers.'

C'est une chaise qu'on utilise pour faire dormir un enfant. [rocking chair]
'It's a chair you use to make a child sleep.'

C'est une chaise où on peut dormir. [recamier sofa]
'It's a chair you can sleep in.'

C'est pour ouvrir les lettres. [letter opener]
'It's to open letters.'

b. **Description:**
C'est une chaise qui est longue. [recamier sofa]
'It's a chair which is long.'

C'est une chaise qui a huit jambes. [recamier sofa]
'It's a chair which has eight feet.'

(18) **Décrivez!** Donnez une description de chaque objet. D'abord décrivez sa fonction, ensuite décrivez un de ses caractéristiques.
Modèle: a soup ladle
Fonction: *C'est un objet qu'on utilise pour servir la soupe.*
Description: *C'est une cuillère qui est très grande.*
1. A pitchfork
2. A minute timer

Describe! Give a description for each object. First, describe its function, then describe one of its characteristics.
Model: a soup ladle
Function: *It's an object which is used to serve soup.*
Description: *It's a spoon which is very big.*

Finally in Stage 5 learners should be encouraged to provide more elaborated descriptions, including descriptions of the constituent features of items. Native and near-native speakers tend automatically to provide detailed, elaborated descriptions when faced with the task of circumlocuting. Learners, especially Advanced-level learners, have the linguistic skills necessary to provide such descriptions as well, though they may benefit from exposure to NS models to sharpen these skills.

Conclusion

These five stages in the instructional sequence for the presentation of syntactic structures indispensable to circumlocution, when combined with the five stages proposed as the instructional sequence for lexical choice in circumlocution, define a series of graduated steps in the teaching of this important communicative skill. Although we have focused our discussion on the teaching of French, the proposed norm and accompanying instructional sequences could perhaps be adapted to the teaching of other languages. For that to occur, a clearer picture of the NS norms of circumlocution in these languages would first have to be established. In the pedagogical norm outlined here for circumlocution in French, we have been able to draw on data that reflect native French speaker behavior when faced with the task of circumlocuting. We have also taken into consideration the learning constraints inherent in the classroom environment.

By doing so, we have developed a pedagogical norm for circumlocution accompanied by instructional sequences for the presentation of both the lexical items and the syntactic structures necessary for the development of circumlocution skills. Our five-stage model introduces learners to the basic skills necessary to implement their compensatory strategies at the earliest level of language learning, the Novice level, and gradually incorporates additional sub-skills throughout the Intermediate and Advanced levels of language learning. By establishing such a norm, we hope to encourage instructors to give greater consideration to this often overlooked aspect of language teaching, affording all learners the opportunity to develop more fully their ability to cope with the inevitable gaps in their linguistic knowledge.

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Between orality and literacy

Developing a pedagogical norm for narrative discourse

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Introduction

The importance of narrative is evidenced by its universality — people in all cultures and from all language groups tell stories. According to Fleischman (1990: 314) narrative is "one of our most basic and most powerful hermeneutic constructs for making sense of the data of experience". Given its importance and universality, it seems logical that narrative be accorded a place of privilege in foreign and second language curricula. But what kind of narrative? Consider these examples:

(1) When she said that, I said, "Well, is that in California?" 'cause I wasn't sure if it was in California.
And she goes, "Yes."
And I'm like, "Oh."
And I go, "Is that where the redwoods are?
And she goes, "No."
And I'm like, "Oh." (Blyth, Recktenwald, and Wang 1990: 215)

(2) This kid — Napoleon got shot. And he had to go on a mission. And so this kid, he went with Solo. So they went. And this guy, they went through this window, and they caught him. And then he beat up them other people. And they went and then he said that this old lady was his mother and then he — and at the end he say that he was the guy's friend." (Labov 1972: 367)

(3) *Au coin de la rue Montmartre, il (Frédéric) se retourna; il regarda les fenêtres du premier étage; et il rit intérieurement de pitié sur lui-même, en se rappelant avec quel amour il les avait souvent contemplées! Où donc vivait-elle? Comment la rencontrer maintenant? La solitude se rouvrait sur son désir plus immense que jamais*!
(Flaubert, *L'éducation sentimentale*, pt. 1, Ch. 4:41)
On the corner of the Rue Montmartre he turned around; he looked at the first-floor windows; and he laughed inwardly, pitying himself, recalling how lovingly he had often gazed at them. Where did she live then? How to find her now? Solitude opened up once more about his desire, which was vaster than ever.
(translation adapted from Fleischman 1990: 224)

(4) Jack and Jill went up the hill,
To fetch a pail of water;
Jack fell down, and broke his crown,
And Jill came tumbling after.

(5) *De violentes émeutes ont éclaté jeudi 16 décembre à Santiago-del-Estero, capitale de la province du même nom, (à mille kilomètres du nord-est de Buenos-Aires), faisant quatre morts et une dizaine de blessés, selon un bilan provisoire.*
(Le Monde, as cited in Blanche-Benveniste 1995: 22)
Violent riots broke out Thursday December 16th in Santiago del Estero, captial of the province by the same name, (a thousand kilometers northeast of Buenos Aires), leaving four dead and a dozen wounded, according to preliminary reports. (translation — C. Blyth)

Native speakers of English have little difficulty identifying (1) as an ordinary narrative found in everyday conversation. And yet, for all its authenticity, this narrative is not likely to be viewed by teachers and textbook authors as an appropriate model for language learners. Not only is its content banal, but many of its grammatical features are widely perceived as corruptions of standard written forms. In a trenchant discussion about attitudes concerning the grammar of the spoken language, Carter and McCarthy (1995: 142) claim that "attempts to discuss the grammar of speech in teacher-training seminars and similar contexts are clouded by prejudgements that many of the grammatical features observable in everyday, unplanned conversation are simply 'wrong.'" Several features of oral narrative that are likely to be considered 'wrong' are evident in (1): non-standard verbs of saying "go" and "be like", reduced and contracted forms ('cause), independent clauses loosely linked by

coordinate conjunctions in a repetitive syntactic frame ("And I… And she…), and present tense used to recount past events.

While (1) and (2) are both oral narratives spontaneously produced during conversation, they differ markedly in tone and structure: (1) is a first person account of personal experience while (2) is a third person report of a television show. The dialogue in (1) is narrated using direct speech, a rhetorical device that allows the narrator to perform rather than narrate the story. In contrast, the narrative events of (2) are reported in a much more objective tone. For example, instead of using direct speech, the narrator in (2) opts for indirect speech ("he said that this old lady was his mother" … "he say that he was the guy's friend."). According to narrative scholars, (2) is an example of a *report*, a detached retelling of events with little or no narrative evaluation. Evaluation, the rhetorical means by which a narrator conveys the point of his or her story, is crucial to a story's success. A narrator's evaluative comments enable listeners to infer the story's relevance in light of the preceding conversation. Does the story support a claim made during the conversation? Does the story contradict an earlier claim? Or does the story simply aim to amuse the listeners? In other words, evaluation sets a frame for the listener who must decide how the events are supposed to be interpreted, for example, as poignant, as comical, or as frightening.

The literary language of (3) contrasts sharply with the non-literary language of the conversational stories. A passage from Flaubert's masterpiece *L'Education sentimentale*, (3) is characterized by the *passé simple*, a French past tense reserved primarily for literary texts. Besides specialized narrative tense–aspect morphology, many languages have grammatical constructions that are particular to narrative discourse such as free indirect discourse. Free indirect discourse, also known as *style indirect libre, erlebte Rede,* or represented speech and thought, is a combination of features from direct and indirect speech. Fleischman (1990: 230) argues that free indirect discourse is a "distinctive feature of fiction whose appearance in literature coincided with the emergence of the modern novel in the nineteenth century". Fleischman (1990: 228) claims that with free indirect discourse, "the words or thoughts of the self-represented retain all their expressivity without suggesting that their grammatical form was that originally uttered, aloud or silently". For example, the questions *Où donc vivait-elle? Comment la rencontrer maintenant?* [*Where was she living? How to meet up with her now?*] are Frédéric's questions rather than the narrator's but are not directly attributed to him using inquit formulas such as "Frédéric said that/wondered if …". Moreover, the deictic now (*maintenant*) of the second

question shifts the temporal frame of reference from the narrator to the character, i.e, a moment in the character's past.

Speakers of English will recognize (4) as the well-known nursery rhyme "Jack and Jill". Playful language created for children's amusement, nursery rhymes come in both narrative and non-narrative forms and combine elements of oral and written discourse. For example, although written, nursery rhymes are intended to be read aloud.

And finally, French speakers recognize (5) as belonging to a non-fictional genre — a news report referred to in French journalistic discourse as a "fait divers". Instead of the French literary tense the *passé simple* found in (3), the past event is recounted in the compound past tense (*passé composé*). According to Blanche-Benveniste (1995), written narrative discourse such as a news story employs participial and infinitival constructions to repackage and reorder narrative events whereas oral narrative typically preserves the chronological order of narrative events. According to the conventions of the *fait divers* journalistic genre, a narrative is often reduced to a paragraph length sentence that contains only one main verb. She argues that the exigencies of oral and written communication require different grammatical constructions resulting in contrasting discourse organization.

> *Dans le récit écrit, la nécessité d'intégrer le tout en une seule phrase, avec un seul verbe principal, conduit à donner aux différents épisodes de status grammaticaux différenciés, et à les émancipier de leur situation chronologique. Cette organisation requiert sans doute des calculs qui ne sont pas très compatibles avec les circonstances de la production orale.* (Blanche-Benveniste 1995: 28)
>
> In the written story, the need for integrating everything into a single sentence with a single main verb results in giving different events different grammatical status and freeing them from their chronology. This organization requires planning that is not very compatible with the circumstances of oral production. [translation — C. Blyth]

Tannen (1982a, b) and Chafe (1982) have shown that narrative may be categorized along two dimensions: the level of syntactic integration and the level of speaker/listener involvement. Tannen (1982b) notes that short stories combine syntactic integration characteristic of most written genres with the high involvement style typical of conversational discourse. Journalistic prose, however, strives for a more detached, objective tone. Even though Blanche-Benveniste gives (5) as an example of narrative discourse, many narrative scholars would disagree. It will be shown that defining what constitutes a narrative is not as straightforward as one might think.

It should be apparent from these examples that narrative discourse varies according to many different parameters: modality (oral vs. written), formality (formal vs. informal), narrative tone (detached vs. involved), narrative person (first person vs. third person), syntax (fragmented vs. integrated), genre (fiction vs. non-fiction), and subgenre (e.g., newspaper article, nursery rhyme, novel, campfire story, and so forth). How should teachers deal with such narrative variation? What organizing principles may teachers rely on to select and sequence narrative texts? What kinds of narrative production can teachers reasonably expect from their students at various levels? And last, but not least, what exactly is a narrative?

The primary goal of this paper is to address these questions by demonstrating how the construct of the pedagogical norm as formulated by Valdman (1976, 1989, 1992, 1993, 2000), may be used to develop a coherent approach to the teaching of narrative structure. Previous applications of the pedagogical norm have primarily focused on well-known "linguistic code features" of morphosyntax and phonology, e.g., interrogative constructions (Valdman 1989, 1992, 2000) and French mid vowels (Valdman 1976, 1989, 1993). In keeping with the recent Focus-on-Form literature, it will be shown that the teaching of narrative structure requires an expansion of the definition of "form" beyond the features of language that have received attention in traditional grammatical syllabi: '"It is important to see the term *form* in the broadest possible context, that is, that of all the levels and components of the complex system that is language" (Doughty and Williams 1998: 212).

This paper is divided into several sections. In the first section, the problems that arise in applying the notion of the pedagogical norm to narrative variation are discussed. In the second section, the common denominator to all narrative texts — narrativity — is defined. In particular, oral narrative is examined in an attempt to discern prototypical narrative properties. In the next section, recent studies on the acquisition of second language past tense morphology as well as studies on the development of second language storytelling skills are reviewed. Finally, the last section elaborates a pedagogical norm for various stages of foreign and second language narrative development.

The notion of pedagogical norm

The pedagogical norm as developed by Valdman (1976, 1989, 1992, 1993, 2000) is meant to help educators and curriculum planners select and teach language

forms in accordance with the learner's developing linguistic system and with native speaker expectations of non-native discourse. Central to this approach is the belief that learners need not acquire the entire range of native-like linguistic variants in order to communicate effectively in the target language. Valdman proposes three criteria for helping teachers determine the pedagogical norm for their learners: (1) linguistic; (2) psychosocial; and (3) psycholinguistic. The linguistic criterion refers to the authenticity of the targeted language variable: Does it belong to the native-speaker repertoire? The psychosocial criterion refers to the attitudes surrounding the targeted language variable: How do native and non-native speakers view the variable? Is the variable appropriate for non-native speakers' use? If so, under which conditions? Finally, the psycholinguistic criterion refers to the relative ease of acquisition and use of the targeted variable.

The concept of the pedagogical norm was inspired by studies of sociolinguistic variation. The so-called variationist paradigm pioneered by Labov and his associates was originally developed to account for the relationship between phonological variation and sound change (Labov 1973). In these studies, phonological variation was typically viewed in terms of a binary choice often expressed as the presence or absence of a particular sound or phoneme, e.g., *talking* vs. *talkin'*, *house* vs. *'ouse*, *West End* vs. *Wes' Side*, etc. With the aid of statistical analysis, sociolinguists demonstrated the effect that various factors had in determining the speaker's choice of one variant over the other. Some of the most typical factors included the following: phonetic context (preceding and subsequent segments), speaker's attention to language (e.g., reading list vs. free conversation), speaker's socioeconomic status (e.g., education and class membership), and speaker's identity (e.g., ethnicity, age, and sex).

In Labovian variationist studies, the sounds (the variants) had the same referential value or meaning. In other words, a tomato is still a tomato no matter how one pronounces it, that is, with a long or short vowel. Rather, the two variants index social differences. The approach was later extended to syntactic variation and finally to pragmatic variation, but not without problems. Following the Labovian variationist approach, Valdman identifies a variable or grammatical category such as interrogative structures and then seeks to determine the social and linguistic factors that condition the selection of the variants. Thus, Valdman (1992: 85) gives eight different variants for the variable of French *Wh*-Interrogative constructions:

Inversion	*Quand pars-tu?*	When are you leaving?
Wh-final	*Tu pars quand?*	
Fronting	*Quand tu pars?*	

C'est insertion	*Quand c'est tu pars?*
	Quand c'est que tu pars?
Est-ce que insertion	*Quand est-ce que tu pars?*
Complement	*Quand que tu pars?*
Clefting	*C'est quand que tu pars?*

In contrast to phonological variation, for the analysis of syntactic variation, the criterion of referential sameness must be relaxed because syntactic variants do not mean the same thing in the same way that phonological variants do. In other words, syntactic variants are not interchangeable within the same context as phonological variables are. The different sentence forms have a different pragmatic status, each sentence form indexes important differences in information structure (Lambrecht 1994). Furthermore, the syntactic variable such as the *Wh*-interrogative construction in French must account for many more variants than a typical phonological variable.

These problems become even more evident when one tries to apply the approach to pragmatic variation. What constitutes a pragmatic variable? If we take narrative to be the variable, what is the limit on the potential realizations of a narrative? The variety of narrative forms demonstrated in the examples (1)–(5) hardly scratches the surface. In essence, it is theoretically impossible to delimit the set of possible narrative variants in the same fashion as with phonological and syntactic variation. Thus, the differences between variation at the phonological, syntactic, and pragmatic levels of language calls for modifications of the variationist approach. Consequently, narrative scholars have developed taxonomies or speech act sets that help identify and categorize the full range of potential realizations of a given speech act. These speech act sets are qualitatively different from phonological or syntactic variation sets since they are based on functional categories rather than on formal ones. Blanche-Benveniste (1995: 28) notes that the question of syntactic variation within narrative implies the construction of texts and therefore touches on the field of rhetoric: *Ce qui est en cause, semble-t-il, c'est une compétence qui englobe autant la rhétorique que la syntaxe.* [What is at issue, it seems, is a competence that encompasses rhetoric as much as it does syntax. Translation — C. Blyth]

Defining narrative

Defining the set of features common to all narrative discourse is a central concern of the field called narratology. Within the field, the term "narrativity"

is used to denote the sum of special qualities that constitute narrative. Thus, a text may be considered high or low in narrativity. Prince argues that a text's narrativity is based on four features:

1. events that are non-trivial, discrete, specific and relevant to humans;
2. conflict between two opposites or adversaries;
3. a beginning, a middle, and an end;
4. an audience that recognizes the text as narrative. (Prince 1982, 1991)

Polanyi has recently suggested that spontaneous oral narrative deserves special attention from narratologists since it may hold the key to a more profound understanding of narrativity: "…oral storytelling in conversational contexts constitutes the primary site for understanding narrative structure. Once we understand what every competent speaker is doing when s(he) recounts the experiences in his/her life or the lives of other people, we will be in a somewhat better position to understand the transformation of the 'story' into written, fictional, and literary artifact" (Polanyi 1981: 316). Polanyi's arguments reflect the stance of many linguists who presume that speech is more basic than writing, that is, that orality precedes as well as supercedes literacy. In other words, linguists assert that speech is ontogentically and phylogentically prior to writing; speech develops in the individual and in the society before writing does: "…all normal people speak adequately for their own needs within their own immediate environment. They may be illiterate but that is a contingent factor since literacy is a late and highly specialized development. Every language that is known is spoken; not all are written, though of course all could be" (Wilkinson et. al 1990: 97). Nevertheless, in keeping with the literary goals of many language departments, the study of narrative has largely been focused on the exposition of written texts such as the short story or the novel.

In her study of the structural properties of oral American narratives, Polanyi (1989) emphasizes the complexity of everyday stories: "There is nothing structurally 'casual' about an everyday story. Upon close examination, a story told in a conversation reveals itself to be as formally constructed as any carefully worked out acknowledged piece of literary verbal art." (p. 19). And yet, stories and their conventions are so common that they seem rather unremarkable at first glance. At a given moment, a speaker signals to the other conversationalists that he or she intends to tell a story. The flow of the conversation stops and the narrator moves the interaction away from the here and now and into the story world. The narrator typically begins by setting the scene and giving crucial supporting details so that the listeners can understand the events, the so-called

story line. These narrative events are arranged in chronological order. In the case of particularly skillful narrators, stories are not so much narrated as they are performed with the aid of various rhetorical devices: ironic asides, reported speech, and interjections.

The most well known description of the structural properties of a typical oral narrative is found in Labov and Waletsky (1967) and Labov (1972). Considered a major breakthrough in the field of narrative studies, the so-called Labovian narrative model is widely used by sociolinguists who favor the model's simplicity and replicability. Toolan (1988) explains that this model is an attempt to search out the common denominator in oral narrative:

> Labov and Waletsky's hypothesis is that fundamental narrative structures are to be found in oral versions of personal experience — the ordinary narratives of ordinary speakers. They wish, by looking at many narratives, to identify and relate formal linguistic properties of narrative to their functions. Like all structuralists, their analysis is based on the perception of a delimited set of recurrent patterns — some things (here, linguistic forms) have to 'be the same' or 'do the same job' in a range of data, otherwise the analysis of structured patterning cannot get started. And again, in broadly structuralist fashion, they resolve to set aside what they take to be surface differences in their pursuit of the deeper structural similarities. (p. 146).

The definition of narrative according to this model is a series of temporally ordered events based on what Fleischman (1990: 131) calls the "iconic sequence". Simply put, the iconic sequence refers to the narrative norm wherein the order of the events recounted in the story is interpreted as mirroring the events' order of occurrence in the real or fictional world. While such iconicity between real world and story world event order is seen as the default value for narrative chronology (Blanche-Benveniste 1995), deviations do exist. These deviations, however, are frequently conscious rejections of the narrative norm of iconic sequence and as such "must be seen as indications of artistic purpose, since all rearrangements of chronology depend upon chronology for their effects" (Fleischman 1990: 133). Nevertheless, in spontaneous oral narratives, deviations do not necessarily indicate a rejection of a norm for artistic purposes but rather the shortcomings of a narrator's memory; narrators who forget important details must backtrack.

According to Labov (1972: 363) "fully-formed" narratives exhibit a typical or unmarked constituent structure that may be described in terms of the communicative function a clause serves in context (e.g. orientational, eventive, evaluative, etc.) and in terms of the clause's relative freedom of movement

within the narrative. Labov argues that the beginnings, middles, and ends of fully-formed stories perform different communicative functions that are important for the effective telling of a story. He lists six basic components that comprise the prototypical oral performed story. Fleischman (1990: 135) notes that the different components answer different questions on the part of the listener:

a. Abstract: *What will this be about?*
b. Orientation: *Who, what, when, where?*
c. Complicating Action: *What happened?*
d. Evaluation: *So what?*
e. Resolution: *What finally happened?*
f. Coda: *What is the relation to the present context?*

To illustrate the Labovian approach to narrative structure, I consider the oral narrative as transcribed in (6). The story, which was taken from a sociolinguistic interview that is part of the 1984 Montreal corpus of spoken French (Thibault and Vincent 1990), is the creation of a 73-year-old French-speaking woman from Montreal. Just prior to narrating the story, the woman had been talking about how her temperament and personality differed from her late husband's. To illustrate this point, the woman recounts an incident that occurred when the mother of the Queen of England (commonly referred to as "the Queen Mum") visited Montreal.

(6)
1 *Mais d'ordinaire il nous empoisonnait. (laughs)*
2 *Il nous empoisonnait à notre tour en étant plein de sévérité.*
3 *Puis…"Fait pas ça!" Puis…"Crie pas comme ça!" Puis…"Saute pas!"*
4 *Alors, je me rappelle (laugh) un petit fait qui…*
5 *La Reine d'Angleterre, l'ancienne là qui vit encore à quatre-vingt-trois ans était venue, ici à Montréal.*
6 *Moi, j'étais toute emballée.*
7 *La reine d'Angleterre, moi, j'aimais ça.*
8 *C'est beau. C'est (laughs)*
9 *Je l'ai toujours…je l'aime encore même si j'ai un peu changé d'idée à son sujet.*
10 <u>*Et puis, j'ai dit aux enfants, "On va aller la voir."*</u>
11 *Puis c'était bien épouvantable.*
12 *C'était le soir après souper.*
13 *On les a fait couch — je les ai fait coucher plus tard.*
14 *Mon mari était en voyage, heureusement.*
15 <u>*Puis je les ai amenés, chaque main là.*</u>

16 *Puis on a couru dans la rue avec tout le monde.*

17 *Puis je les ai mis debout sur le bou…le bord d'une vitrine*

18 *pour qu'ils puissent passer.*

19 *Enfin, remarquez que c'était bien enfantin, mais ils étaient aussi emballés que moi.*

20 *Puis quand on a eu fini, on est entré dans un restaurant.*

21 *Puis ils se sont achetés chacun une tablette de chocolat.*

22 *Ca a été un événement.*

23 *Puis en revenant à la maison là, celui qui avait cinq ou six ans a dit, "Oh, une chance que papa y était pas, hein?! Parce qu'on aurait pas eu du plaisir comme ça."*
[*Pause*]

24 *Puis c'était vrai.*

25 *Mon mari aurait pas voulu qu'on coure dans la rue là pour suivre la foule.*

26 *Il aurait pas voulu qu'on mette le petit sur le bord de la vitrine pour qu'il voie mieux.*

27 *Il aurait tout le temps pas voulu, t'sais.*

28 *Ca serait appellé "Non, on fait pas ça.*

29 *Non, on mange pas de chocolat. Il est assez tard. Non, on fait…" Puis, on serait revenu à la maison et tout aurait été foutu.*

30 *Tandis qu'avec moi, on y a été.*

31 *Puis ça a été un plaisir que les enfants ont souvent parlé.*

32 *C'est pour montrer le-la façon de vivre de nous deux.*

33 *Moi, j'étais enthousiaste.*

34 *Puis lui était sévère…rabat-joie.* [Blyth 1990: 17–18]

1 But normally he would poison things for us. (laugh)

2 He would poison things for us by being full of severity.

3 … "Don't do that!" … "Don't yell like that!" … "Don't jump!"

4 Well, I remember (laugh) a little incident that…

5 The Queen of England, the former one who's still living at eighty-three years, had come here to Montreal.

6 I was so excited.

7 The Queen of England, I really like her.

8 So beautiful, so… (laughs)

9 I still have… I still like her even though I've changed my views towards her.

10 And so I said to the kids, "Let's go see her."

11 And it was really terrible.

12 It was nighttime after dinner.
13 We put the kids to — I had put them to bed later.
14 My husband was away on a trip, fortunately.
15 And I took them by each hand.
16 And we ran in the street with everyone.
17 And I stood them up on the edge…the edge of a window
18 so that they could pass by.
19 Well, it was pretty childish, but they were as excited as me.
20 And when it was all over, we went into a restaurant.
21 And they each bought themselves a chocolate bar.
22 It was a real event.
23 And then, while going back to the house, the one who was five or six years old said "Oh, how lucky that Dad wasn't with us, huh? Cause we wouldn't have had so much fun."
[Pause]
24 And it was true.
25 My husband would not have wanted for us to run in the street after the crowd.
26 He wouldn't have wanted to put the little one on the windowsill so he could see better.
27 He never would have wanted to, y'know.
28 It would have been… "No, don't do that. No, don't eat that chocolate. It is too late. No, we're doing…"
29 And we would have gone back home and everything would have been ruined.
30 Whereas with me, we went.
31 And it was a great time that the kids have often talked about.
32 That's just to show our different ways of living.
33 I was enthusiastic.
34 And he was stern, a real kill-joy. [Translation — C. Blyth]

According to the Labovian model, the abstract signals to the listener(s) that a narrative is about to be told and is thus a petition for an extended turn at talk. The abstract summarizes the story and signals the narrator's feelings about the events. In the case of (6), the listener infers that the narrator views the anecdote as somewhat comical by her laughter although the actual narrative is quite poignant (line 4: "*Je me rappelle* (laugh) *un petit fait qui…*). The orientation introduces the temporal and spatial frame of the story, the main characters, and other pertinent background detail. This information is crucial in enabling

listeners to understand the relevance of the main events of the story. In (6) the orientation clauses (lines 5, 6, 7, 12, 14, 19) are all free clauses encoded in the *imparfait*, the French imperfective tense. Whereas most narratives open with an orientation that sets the events in a particular time and place, orientation clauses often occur throughout a story. In (6) there is a general orientation (lines 5–7) that precedes the first event of the complicating action which begins in line 10 ("*Et puis j'ai dit aux enfants…*"). Besides the imperfect, the present tense and the pluperfect are common in orientational clauses in French oral discourse. Events in the pluperfect are anterior to the narrative events and act as "explanatory circumstantial material — what had already happened to produce the situation in which the events of the story will take place…" (Fleischman 1990: 140). In (6), line 5 sets up the story by noting the Queen of England (actually the Queen mother) had come to Montreal. This state of affairs is the primary circumstance which gives rise to all the narrative events. The orientation may contain evaluative elements. Note, for example line14 ("*Mon mari était en voyage, heureusement.*"). This crucial state of affairs allows the fun-seeking narrator to indulge herself and her children. It is the adverb *heureusement* ('fortunately') that indicates the narrator's feelings about this state of affairs.

The complicating action, also called the *plot*, refers to the group of punctual past events that are characterized by temporal juncture such that a change in their order results in a change in the chronological interpretation of the events. The clauses that form the complicating action are underlined in (6). All the events are punctiliar sequential events coded in the *passé composé*, the French compound past tense (lines 10, 15, 16, 17, 21 and 24). The narrative clauses that form the complicating action are typically signaled by discourse markers in this narrator's speech (*alors*, *puis;* [well, then]).

The coda indicates the story's relevance to the present context. It functions to signal the end of the narrator's extended turn at talk and the resumption of ordinary conversational discourse. The coda sometimes connects the story events to the present moment by overtly indicating their current relevance. This function explains why the coda is correlated with the present and present perfect tenses. In (6) the narrator informs the listener in line 30 that her children have often spoken about that night ("*Puis ça a été un plaisir que les enfants ont souvent parlé.*" [And it was a great time that the kids have often talked about]. Then, in line 31, the narrator gives her reason for recounting her story which signals its end and the return to ongoing conversation ("*C'est pour montrer le…la façon de vivre de nous deux*" [That's just to show our different ways of living]).

The term evaluation refers to the various rhetorical devices that narrators use to mark the relevance of their story. In essence, Labov sees evaluation as heightening the dramatic impact of certain events thereby underlining the event's significance.

> "Evaluative devices say to us: this was terrifying, dangerous, weird, wild, crazy; or amusing, hilarious, wonderful; more generally, that it was strange, uncommon, or unusual — that is, worth reporting" (Labov 1972: 371).

Labov recognizes two types of evaluation — external and internal. External evaluation occurs whenever the narrator interrupts the narration proper in order to comment directly about the narrative events. In (6) the narrator stops the flow of events to comment on the situation in line 11 ("*Puis c'était bien épouvantable.*" [It was terrible.]) and again in line 19 ("*Remarquez que c'était bien enfantin…*" […it was pretty childish…]). There is an extended section of *evaluation* which follows the end of the complicating action (lines 23–29). This section is characterized by the use of a number of devices which Labov mentions as evaluative: complex syntax, negation, repetition, and the future or conditional, e.g., ("*…il aurait pas voulu qu'on mette le petit sur le bord de la vitrine pour qu'il voie mieux.*" […he wouldn't have wanted to put the little one on the windowsill so he could see better.].

In contrast to external evaluation, internal evaluation allows the events themselves to convey their own relevance through the use of various rhetorical devices which Labov calls intensifiers, e.g., expressive phonology, interjections, direct speech, marked word order, repetition, and so forth. A good example of internal evaluation occurs in line 23, the direct quote of the little boy ("*Oh, une chance que papa y était pas, hein?! Parce qu'on aurait pas eu du plaisir comme ça.*" [Oh, how lucky that Dad wasn't with us, huh? Cause we wouldn't have had so much fun.]).

Drawing on Labov's work, Fleischman (1990) characterizes narrative according to functional domains of language such as referential, textual, expressive, and metalinguistic. Fleischman claims that the referential function of narrative is carried out largely by the orientation, complicating action, and resolution, which convey propositional content, whereas the expressive function is carried out by evaluation, which conveys the narrator's feelings about the propositional content. In Labov's opinion, for a narrative to be both effective and complete it must include evaluation. To illustrate this point, Labov cites a "narrative of vicarious experience" given in (2) above — a summary of the latest episode of a television police show told in a decidedly detached manner.

Because the narrator apparently abstains from assigning prominence or relevance to any of the events, the result is simply a series of loosely-related events without a point. Narratives lacking evaluation are commonly referred to as *reports*:

> "*Stories* are told to make a point, to transmit a message — often some sort of moral evaluation or implied critical judgment — about the world the teller shares with other people. Exactly what telling a *story* involves in this respect, can be gotten at somewhat indirectly by considering the *report*, often linguistically identical to the story in terms of event and state information, but differing dramatically in impact. Any parent who has ever received a dreary *report* of the day's happenings instead of a *story* in response to a cheery 'Well, dear, what happened in school today?' will testify to the difference."
> (Polanyi 1989: 20).

Drawing on the descriptions of everyday narratives of Labov and Polanyi, Fleischman (1990) contends that native speaker competence includes the oral narrative norm which she characterizes as a set of shared conventions and assumptions about what constitutes a well-formed story:

> "In the Western narrative tradition (broadly construed), the major tenets of this norm are (a) that narratives refer to specific experiences that occurred in some past world (real or imagined) and are accordingly reported in a tense of the past; (b) that while narratives contain both sequentially ordered events and non-sequential collateral material, it is the events that define narration; (c) that the default order of the narrative is iconic to the chronology of events: and (d) that narratives are informed by a point of view that assigns meaning to their contents in conformity with a governing ideology, normally that of the narrator." (p. 263)

Second language narrative

It comes as no surprise that most of the literature on second language narrative is actually concerned with the acquisition of past tense morphology given that narration is typically in past time and past tenses are an area of traditional pedagogical focus. More recently however, applied linguists have begun investigating narrative strategies that go beyond sentential linguistic code features, such as the ability to express emotion in narrative (Rintell 1989) or the ability to emphasize key elements of a story (Liskin-Gasparro 1996). In this section, both kinds of studies will be discussed — studies of the acquisition of

past tense morphology as well as studies of storytelling strategies. Both lines of research demonstrate that second language learners develop narrative ability in gradual, developmental stages. A solid understanding of the developmental stages of interlanguage morphology is a prerequisite to determining a dynamic pedagogical norm for the teaching of tense–aspect morphology. In other words, the research reviewed in this section should prove useful to teachers in their efforts to devise a pedagogical norm for tense–aspect morphology that is in keeping with their students' developmental stage.

Development of past tense morphology

Empirical studies of second language acquisition have demonstrated what teachers have known all along — that tense marking is a highly variable zone in interlanguage development. Wolfram (1989: 187) claims that "just about all researchers in SLA recognize this variation…". Such tense marking variation is not limited to early learners but continues well into the later stages of second and foreign language learning. In a review of the findings on the efficacy of the Canadian French immersion schools, Harley (1992) notes that even advanced students (those who had received 6000 hours of instruction) had difficulty choosing the correct past tense in narrative discourse. Moreover, students at all levels consistently show a shaky metalinguistic grasp of temporal and aspectual distinctions and report that the rules governing the selection of the past tenses appear contradictory and confusing (Blyth 1997, Dansereau 1987, Liskin-Gasparro 2000).

Early studies on the acquisition of tense–aspect morphology found that in spite of the highly variable production of tense–aspect forms by untutored learners, development occurred in relatively predictable stages (Andersen 1986, 1991; Flashner 1989, Kumpf 1984, Schumann 1987). In the 1990s the focus shifted to classroom learners in an attempt to discover similar developmental patterns (Bardovi-Harlig 1992, 1995, 1998; Bergström 1995, 1997; Robison 1990, 1995: Salaberry 1998, 1999). Taken together, the empirical studies of natural and tutored learners have identified two "conspiring factors" — lexical aspect and narrative structure — that account for the developmental patterns of past tense morphology in second language learning (Bardovi-Harlig 1998).

Following the work of Andersen on the acquisition of Spanish as a second language, the choice of grammatical aspect (perfective vs. imperfective) is thought to be conditioned by the lexical aspect of the verb (i.e., the inherent aspect of the infinitive form). Andersen (1986, 1990, 1991) claims that learners

pass through stages in the acquisition of the Spanish tense–aspect system; first learners use the present tense, then the preterit, and finally the imperfect. Andersen also notes, however, that when learners first begin to employ the preterit and the imperfect, they do so according to lexical aspect and prototypicality, using the preterit for prototypical punctual events and the imperfect for prototypical states.

A prototype is identified by a set of features that define it as the best exemplar of its category. For example, events may be characterized by three semantic features as seen in Table 1: dynamic, telic, and punctual. A dynamic event requires some energy to sustain it; a telic event describes an activity with a clear terminal point; and a punctual event can be thought of as instantaneous. These features are used in semantic analysis to group events into categories — states, activities, accomplishments and achievements — which form a kind of continuum.

Table 1. Semantic features of aspectual categories

	STA *be*	ACT *run*	ACC *run a race*	ACH *enter*
punctual	–	–	–	+
telic	–	–	+	+
dynamic	–	+	+	+

Note. STA = states, ACT = activities, ACC = accomplishments, ACH = achievements. From "Developmental Sequences: The Emergence of Aspect Marking in Second Language Acquisition", by R. W. Andersen, in T. Huebner and C. A. Ferguson (eds), *Crosscurrents in Second Language Acquisition and Linguistic Theories* (p. 310). Copyright 1991 by John Benjamins. Adapted with permission.

On the one end of the continuum, "be" exhibits none of the relevant semantic features. Verbs, or more accurately, predicates or verb phrases, which fall into this class are named states. On the opposite end of the table, "enter" possesses all three semantic features. Such verbs are referred to as achievements. Andersen's claim is that the usage of the *pretérito* (the Spanish simple past) in second language acquisition spreads from verbs characterized by all three features (achievements) to verbs characterized by two features (accomplishments), then to verbs characterized by only one feature (activities), and finally, at a relatively advanced stage, to verbs characterized by none of the relevant features (*states*). In a similar fashion, the marking of the *imperfecto* (the Spanish imperfective past tense) begins with verbs lacking all three features and spreads in the opposite direction. Thus, the two maximally differentiated events in Table 1 — stative verbs like "be" and achievement verbs like "enter" — constitute prototypes of the learner's incipient aspectual categories — *imperfecto*

and *pretérito*. Andersen's findings for untutored Spanish L2 interlanguage have been replicated for classroom Spanish learners (López-Ortega 2000), for classroom French learners (Bergström 1995, 1997) and for ESL learners (Bardovi-Harlig 1992, 1995; Bardovi-Harlig and Reynolds 1995; Robinson 1995).

In addition to lexical aspect, studies indicate that narrative structure also plays an important role in the acquisition of second language past tense morphology. According to Hopper (1979) and Hopper and Thompson (1980), narrative structure is divisible into roughly two parts — the foreground and the background. The foreground refers to the main events of the narrative while the background refers to information that amplifies, elaborates or contextualizes the main events. Hopper (1979) claims that the need to distinguish foregrounded events from backgrounded events is a communicative universal for narrative discourse which in turn gives rise to the aspectual distinctions of perfective and imperfective. Liskin-Gasparro (2000: 831) restates this claim for second language learning: "the process of acquiring L2 temporal/aspectual relations is driven by the desire of the narrator to distinguish the event of the main story line (the foreground) from the contextualizing information (the background)." The results from studies investigating the role of narrative structure indicate that past tense morphology first appears in the foreground of sequential plotline events and much later in the descriptive background. Bardovi-Harlig (1995) explains this finding by appealing to the cognitive simplicity of the foreground compared to the more complex background: "Sequenced actions are clearly easy to express. The simplest narratives have foregrounds but may not have backgrounds." (1995: 286).

Claiming that the factors of lexical aspect and narrative structure interact in learner interlanguage, Bardovi-Harlig (1998) proposes a hierarchy of learner preference that synthesizes the two influences:

> Using both frameworks of analysis, the data suggest a hierarchy that predicts which verbs in a narrative will be inflected by learners with limited linguistic resources:
> 1. Achievements are most likely to be inflected for simple past, regardless of grounding [foreground/background distinction].
> 2. Accomplishments are the next most likely type of predicate to carry the simple past. Foreground accomplishments show higher rates of use than background accomplishments.
> 3. Activities are the least likely of all the dynamic verbs to carry simple past, but foreground activities show higher rates of simple past inflection than background activities. (p. 498)

Acquisitional sequences have been found in studies of second language tense–aspect marking despite the language (e.g., English, French, Spanish), despite the context of learning (untutored, tutored second language, tutored foreign language learning), and despite the tasks (cloze passages, movie retellings, naturally occurring narratives). Citing VanPatten (1990) who defines SLA as what is common to all learners despite different contexts of learning, Bardovi-Harlig and Bergstrom (1996: 309) suggest that tense–aspect developmental sequences belong to "the core of SLA". It will be shown that such sequences prove useful in determining a dynamic pedagogical norm for the teaching of past tense morphology, a crucial narrative feature.

Development of storytelling skills

Unlike the acquisition of past tense morphology, which has been a major focus of SLA research, the development of second language storytelling skills has received much less attention from applied linguists. Two exceptions to this rule are Rintell (1989), a study of the expression of emotion in narrative, and Liskin-Gasparro (1996), a study of storytelling skills such as setting the scene, varying the pace, and signaling the point of the story. In both studies interviews are employed to elicit narratives rather than picture books or film retellings, methods that have been employed by more experimental studies of tense–aspect morphology. These methodological differences are significant because the context of narration — experimental vs. natural — has important consequences for the structure of narrative discourse.

Most of the studies on the acquisition of past tense morphology rely on special techniques to elicit narrative discourse from learners, such as cloze passages and retellings of short movie clips. Such typical experimental methods allow the researcher to gather many comparable tokens of past tense morphemes efficiently. However, narratives elicited by such methods are told to fulfill a researcher's request rather than to make "some sort of moral evaluation or implied critical judgment." (Polanyi 1989: 20). As Polanyi points out with her example of the child's detached report of the school day, a report lacks evaluation. In natural conversational discourse, the narrator clarifies the relevance of his story by evaluating the events. In experimental conditions, however, the relevance of the narrative is already given. In fact, it is the experimenter rather than the narrator who ultimately assigns relevance to the narrative "facts" which may escape the understanding of the narrator. Moreover, because stories elicited in such experimental conditions are almost always

a first telling, the causal links of the narrative events are only sketchily worked out. In naturally occurring personal experience narratives, the narrator has typically clarified causality in his or her mind by dint of repeated retellings.

Aware of the limitations of experimental approaches, Rintell (1989) decided to collect a corpus of spontaneous native and non-native narratives. The main focus of the research was to investigate how emotion is communicated during the act of storytelling:

> The telling of the story is a means of talking about emotion, and this is no coincidence, because, as previously noted, the emotional reaction to the events of a story is a crucial part of the structure of any story. … Indeed, the more elaborate the units of the story are, the more emotional impact the story makes. … This effect results not just from uttering more grammatical sentences but from telling a more coherent and elaborated story, that is, one in which the speaker employs various discourse features to elaborate the basic structural elements of a narrative. The result is that the story has greater emotional effect. (p. 246)

After analyzing the native and non-native stories in her corpus, Rintell concludes that the major difference is the amount and variety of evaluation. Stories produced by native speakers include a much wider variety of evaluation strategies or rhetorical devices that serve to create a higher degree of listener involvement. In particular, she notes that the narratives produced by native English speakers were distinguished by the elaborate use of epithets ("angel", "jerk"), figurative language ("It was a Camaro. *I died!* I couldn't believe it!") and reported speech ("I opened the door and said, 'I don't know who you are'"). She also reports more description of the narrator's physical state in native speaker narratives ("…and my heart was pounding!") (Rintell 1989: 255). Rintell makes no mention of the proficiency level, the native language, nor the classroom experience of the second language learners in her study. As a consequence, no conclusions can be drawn about how second language narrative skills develop.

Liskin-Gasparro (1996) undertakes a similar study but adopts a longitudinal, case study approach that clearly illustrates the development of narrative skills. Liskin-Gasparro compares two naturally-occurring narratives about the same events as told by the same storyteller, a 21-year-old American college student studying Spanish. The stories are drawn from two separate oral proficiency interviews with the speaker at two different levels in her language learning — first, at the Intermediate High level and a second, at the Advanced level (ACTFL 1986). Relying on a Labovian framework to analyze her data,

Liskin-Gasparro compares the structural elements of the two stories — orientation, complicating action, and evaluation.

She finds that the two stories have virtually the same event structure; the same events are recounted in the same order using the same verbs. Nevertheless, the two narratives differ significantly in terms of the orientation and evaluation. In particular, Liskin-Gasparro notes that the Advanced narrative contextualizes the narrative events by providing more detailed background information found in durative-descriptive clauses reported in the imperfective aspect. Moreover, in the Intermediate High story descriptive background clauses appear together at the very beginning, whereas in the Advanced narrative they appear throughout creating a more coherent narrative. Liskin-Gasparro also finds that the Advanced story contains twice as many evaluative devices as the Intermediate High story and that these evaluative devices are used "in a more elaborate and systematic way" (p. 282). These qualitative findings enhance the quantitative findings of the experimental studies on the acquisition of past tense morphology. In other words, not only do narrators increase the numbers of past background clauses with improved proficiency, but they also change where they place past background clauses. It appears then that more proficient narrators are better able to build and update the story world as it unfolds.

While the resources of the temporal-aspectual system are used for greater rhetorical effect in the advanced narrative, Liskin-Gasparro notes little difference in formal accuracy of past tense morphology:

> Kathy's Advanced narrative shows much greater ability to manipulate the aspectual system than does her Intermediate High narrative. Through the aspectual manipulation she is able to change the tempo of her narrative, to suspend temporarily the passage of time, and to highlight both her emotions and the importance of some of the events. … The major difference between the two stories with respect to tense and aspect is not the incidence of error, but rather the ability of the speaker to exploit the aspectual richness of the language to re-create personal experience more vividly. (p. 281)

A pedagogical norm for narrative discourse

The ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines (1986) lists narration in the past as an Advanced-level skill. This assignment of narration to the Advanced-level descriptor does not mean, of course, that Novice or Intermediate learners are incapable of narrative discourse. Rather, the ACTFL guidelines point out that

a "fully formed" narrative presupposes an Advanced level of linguistic proficiency. Less proficient learners may be able to narrate but usually with difficulty and mixed results. This observation raises an interesting pedagogical question: What kind of narrative production should teachers expect from their students at the various proficiency levels? What parts of the narrative speech act prove problematic for learners at various proficiency levels? What do Novice narratives look like? What do Intermediate narratives look like? How can teachers select and teach narrative forms in accordance with their learner's developing linguistic system? In other words, what would a pedagogical norm for narratives look like?

As previously discussed, pedagogical norms have been elaborated for grammatical variables in different languages, e.g., French question formation. However, unlike these grammatical variables, the speech act of narrative is far more complex since it is made up of many grammatical and rhetorical components that are themselves highly variable (e.g., tense–aspect morphology). I propose that the narrative variable may be profitably conceived of in terms of an abstract prototypical narrative as described by Prince (1982, 1991), Fleischman (1990), Labov (1972) and Polanyi (1989), and that the variants may be seen as the actual narratives themselves. Of the three criteria that Valdman cites for the development of a pedagogical norm — linguistic, psychosocial and psycholinguistic — it appears that the psycholinguistic criterion, that is, the relative ease of acquisition and accepted use of the targeted form, is the most important criterion for pedagogical approaches to narrative.

I recall that the psycholinguistic criterion refers to the relative ease of acquisition and use of the targeted variable, and following Valdman's criterion of psychological or cognitive ease of acquisition, I propose that narrative discourse may be arranged along a continuum of complexity based on Fleischman's narrative norm as shown in Figure 1. The easiest narratives to produce and comprehend for second language learners would (a) refer to specific singulative past experiences; (b) contain a foreground but no background; (c) follow the chronological order of events; and (d) require no narrator evaluation. At the other end of the continuum, the most complex narratives would (a) refer to generic experiences that are difficult to individuate; (b) contain a mutually contextualizing foreground and background with multiple episodes; (c) include flashbacks and flash forwards; and (d) require extensive evaluation by the narrator.

Teachers could use such a continuum as a heuristic device in developing realistic expectations for learner production. For example, the various narrative

Figure 1. Continuum of narrative complexity

genres (routine, report, folktale, conversational story, and short story) illustrate the various demands that different narrative "variants" place on learners. First-year students, who are typically at the Novice level (ACTFL 1986), would be capable of producing narrative variants called *routines*. *Routines* are a series of past events that fit a particular cultural frame of expectation. Routine events that constitute shared cultural knowledge are commonly referred to as "schemas" or "schemata" by psychologists and reading specialists.

(7) I woke up at 7 o'clock. I got dressed and went straight to work. After work I drove home. I fixed dinner and watched a little TV. I went to bed after the news.

The routine in (7) consists of a narrative foreground of punctual events. There is no background collateral information given and no evaluation of the events. Even so, a routine still meets the *minimal* requirements of the narrative speech act, a chronologically ordered sequence of events that implies a chain of causality. The highly predictable nature of routine events renders them easier to remember, which in turn puts less of a cognitive load on novice narrators who must attend to many things as once when recounting a narrative — past tense verb conjugation, selection of lexical items, correct pronunciation, and so forth. The events of (7) are part of a cultural schema that might be labeled "the daily grind" in English or "*métro, boulot, dodo*" in French.

A slightly more difficult narrative type is a report. Unlike a routine, reports contain minimal background information with little or no evaluation. Reports of movies, television shows, and commercials such as (8) are usually narrated in present tense but may, under certain conditions, be recounted in the past. The following is a transcribed report of a thirty second Renault car commercial that appeared on French television several years ago. Immediately after watching the commercial, the speaker recorded the following report.

(8) *Euh, il y avait un couple dans une voiture et uh ils avaient l'air de passer une soirée agréable et tout à coup la femme a vu (euh)une barrette qui uh…de toute évidence devait appartenir à une autre femme et elle est devenue extrèmement jalouse. Et euh ils ont arrêté la voiture sur un pont et euh*

> *elle est sortie de la voiture furieuse et elle avait pris les clés de la voiture. Elle les a jetées ou elle a fait semblant de les jeter par dessous le pont, et l'homme est sorti de la voiture, s'est précipité pour attraper peut-être les clés et pendant ce temps elle est rentrée dans la voiture et elle est partie avec la voiture et elle l'a laissé tout seul sur le pont.*
> (Stephanie Pellet, recorded interview, October 2000, available online at http://dhamma.lamc.utexas.edu/fi/video/index.html)
>
> Uh, there was a couple in a car and uh, they seemed to be having a pleasant evening and all of a sudden the woman noticed a (uh…) a barrette that uh…from all appearances was supposed to belong to another woman and she got extremely jealous. And uh…they stopped the car on the bridge and uh she got out of the car furious and she had taken the keys to the car. She threw them or rather she pretended to throw them underneath the bridge, and the man got out of the car and rushed over maybe to get the keys back and meanwhile she went back in the car and took off with the car and she left him all alone on the bridge.
> [Translation — C. Blyth]

Reports are basically plot summaries. They are almost always in the third person such as (8) and contain events that are more dramatic than those found in routines. As a consequence, reports are higher in narrativity than routines and thus, they are more like a prototypical narrative. Reports are more difficult to produce than routines because they require the narrator to give important background conditions that contextualize the events. This background information is usually in the form of an orientation section that precedes the onset of the first complicating action ("All of a sudden, she saw…"). For students just beginning to master second language narratives, it is enough of a challenge to frame the narrative with a simple orientation section of a few sentences that contain important conditions and information (time, place, characters, mood, etc.). Teachers must help students move beyond a sequential approach to grounding, that is, first give the background information and then give the plotline events. One simple but effective way to accomplish this goal is to draw student attention to the function of subordinate relative clauses that serve to describe and elaborate (ex. She saw a barrette *that was lying on the floor of the car*). As students develop greater fluency, teachers can encourage them to develop the foreground and the background simultaneously.

Another factor that teachers should consider is narrative person — first person or third person. Oller (1993) contends that it is much easier for learners to establish the necessary pragmatic mappings between the discourse concepts

of foreground and background and the grammatical concepts of perfectivity and imperfectivity if learners attempt narration based on their own experiences rather than the experience of others. Consequently, he promotes the use of first person accounts of real, lived experience as the basis of pedagogical approaches to narrative for beginning language students. Fictional narratives or even third-person accounts of lived experience require the learner to "get inside the head of another person" and thus are much less transparent to learners struggling to construct a perspective of the narrative events.

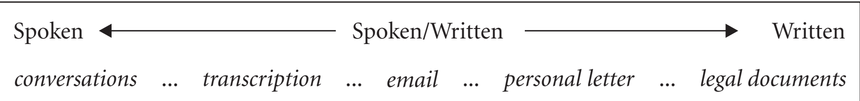
Next on the continuum is a *fairytale/folktale*, which typically has a foreground, a background and evaluation. The length and complexity of tales vary widely — from simple tales with a single episode to longer written forms. Nevertheless, regardless of length, folktales or fairytales are generally easy to comprehend because of their canonical story structure (Morgan and Rinvolucri 1993, Riley 1993, Anastassiadi 1997). While folktales and fairytales contain marked rhetorical forms and genre specific phrases ("Once upon a time…"; "And they all lived happily ever after"), they are characterized by repetition that facilitates production and comprehension, for example, "My what big eyes you have, grandmother! The better to see you, my dear!") (Cook 2000).

> [Fairytales] are often familiar in outline (though seldom in detail) in the student's mother tongue; the language is simple, yet the meanings are evocative and many-layered; and the stories bring back, often in a flood of excitement, memories of one's own childhood and that of one's children.
> (Morgan and Rinvolucri 1993: 354)

Further along the continuum of complexity is a *conversational story*, as exemplified in (6). Conversational stories must meet the requirements as discussed by Labov, that is, they must contain a foreground, a background, and evaluation. Furthermore, conversational stories differ from folktales and fairytales in that they are locally occasioned and spontaneously told, making them much more difficult to produce. To tell a conversational story, the narrator must be able to embed it in the on-going talk. The ability to embed a narrative in conversation calls for a set of skills that goes well beyond the basic requirements of narrative per se. As such, conversational stories as a narrative type should not be emphasized in lower division language classes, but deserve more attention in upper level classes. Advanced conversation courses are ideally suited to practicing such complicated oral texts. Unfortunately, some advanced conversation courses do not go beyond rather controlled oral performances, such as oral exposés. An advanced conversation course might profitably include practical strategies for

managing conversations, such as how to disagree with an interlocutor or how to take the floor or how to tell a story for various rhetorical effects. Such conversation courses could not only require the student to produce oral narratives but also to develop awareness of storytelling contexts. Students could be asked to reflect on the sociolinguistic issues surrounding conversational narrative. For example, who tells stories and why? Polanyi's work in particular shows that the structure of a narrative depends on its goals. Furthermore, how the story is embedded in the conversation is also intimately tied to its purpose. And finally, a *literary short story* typically has a complex episodic structure with alternating foreground and background elements. It also may contain marked literary forms such as non-iconic sequencing of events for artistic purposes.

In addition to describing narrative variation in terms of how difficult it is to produce and comprehend (i.e., Valdman's psycholinguistic criterion), teachers may find it profitable to contemplate narrative variation in terms of oral and written language features (Tannen 1982a, b). Early anthropological research characterized oral and written discourse as a dichotomy, two separate and essentially different categories in complementary distribution. Chafe and Tannen (1987) report that more recent research rejects such a simplistic dichotomy in favor of a continuum along which spoken and written language forms may interact in such hybrid genres as spoken lectures, transcriptions, dialog journals, poetry, and narrative. While some genres are clearly spoken (e.g. conversation) and others clearly written (e.g. legal documents), there are many overlapping genres such as email or performed oral narrative that combine oral and literate features. The spoken/written continuum is illustrated in Figure 2 below.



Note. From *Spoken English illuminated* by A. Wilkinson, A. Davies, and D. Berril (p. 98). Copyright 1990 by Open University Press. Adapted with permission.

Figure 2. Continuum of spoken vs. written language.

The oral/written continuum is based on prototypes that may be broken down into distinguishing features (Ochs 1979). Prototypical spoken discourse is unplanned, informal, and directed to a limited number of listeners known to the speaker. Prototypical written discourse, in contrast, is planned, formal, and directed to an unlimited number of readers who are unknown to the writer.

Furthermore, the content of prototypical oral discourse tends to be subjective and personal, whereas the content of prototypical written discourse tends to be objective and impersonal. The features for oral and written language may be extended to narrative discourse. In other words, oral narratives tend to be more subjective, unplanned, and informal than written narrative but exceptions abound as noted by Tannen (1982a).

Teachers should also be aware that narrative genres that fall on either end of the oral/literate continuum may pose special difficulties for learners due to the abundance of marked linguistic features. The grammatical category of tense–aspect exemplifies this phenomenon well. Fleischman (1990: 2) states that "in the narrative grammars of most languages tense–aspect morphology is often freed from its primary referential functions and pressed into service for other, notably pragmatic purposes." In both oral and written narratives, narrators frequently switch to the so-called historical present to render the punctual, plot line events more immediate (Schiffrin 1982, Silva-Corvalán 1983). Narrators may also switch into the present for textual purposes, such as marking episode boundaries or blurring aspectual distinctions. Tense-switching patterns may be quite complex and are the purview of native speakers who have mastered the rules of narrative and thus may break those same rules for skillful contextual effects (see Fleischman 1990, Chapters 6, 7, and 8).

In addition to the question of narrative genre, a pedagogical norm for narrative discourse should also take into account developmental sequences for tense–aspect morphology. As mentioned earlier, the major finding to come from the various studies on tense–aspect morphology is that learners progress through stages of gradual development when acquiring the tense–aspect system. While it appears that tutored learners acquire early on the prototypical uses of the past tenses — preterit for achievement predicates and imperfect for states — they have much more difficulty acquiring the nonprototypical uses, such as the use of the simple past for activity and state predicates and the use of imperfect aspect with achievement and accomplishment predicates. Beginning foreign language learners typically decide between competing past tenses based on the most immediate of contexts, often the inherent aspect of the verb phrase, thereby ignoring the larger narrative context. Table 2 illustrates the gradual expansion of grammatical aspect (e.g., perfective and imperfective) inot all four lexicalaspectual categories (e.g., states, activities, accomplishments, achievements). Andersen (1991) hypothesizes eight stages of development which I have reduced to four. I see these four stages as roughly equivalent to the ACTLF proficiency guidelines levels, e.g., Novice, Intermediate, Advanced, and Superior.

According to the research literature, perfective aspect appears to develop more quickly than does imperfective aspect in learners' interlanguage system. (Thus, in Table 2, the perfective is acquired before the imperfective in stage 1.) In other words, perfective aspect is acquired before the imperfective aspect and is used more readily with a wider range of predicates. This observed difference suggests that many intermediate and advanced learners may use perfective aspect with a wide range of predicates but continue to use imperfective with only stative predicates. This observation is reflected in Table 2, in which the imperfective aspect appears in parentheses in the middle stages of development to indicate variable mastery.

Table 2. Stages of past tense morphology development

	STA *be*	ACT *run*	ACC *run a race*	ACH *enter*
Stage 1	*Imp*			**Perf**
Stage 2	*Imp*	(*Imp*)	**Perf**	**Perf**
Stage 3	*Imp*	(*Imp*)/**Perf**	(*Imp*)/**Perf**	**Perf**
Stage 4	*Imp*/**Perf**	*Imp*/**Perf**	(*Imp*)/**Perf**	(*Imp*)/**Perf**

Note. STA = states, ACT = activities, ACC = accomplishments, ACH = achievements. *Imp* = imperfective aspect; (Imp) indicates optional use. **Perf** = perfective aspect From "Developmental Sequences: The Emergence of Aspect Marking in Second Language Acquisition," by R. W. Andersen, in T. Huebner and C. A. Ferguson (eds), *Crosscurrents in Second Language Acquisition and Linguistic Theories* (p. 314). Copyright 1991 by John Benjamins. Adapted with permission.

It is up to language teachers to assess what stage of development students have achieved and then to determine how to move students to the next stage in the developmental sequence through pedagogical intervention. A good model to follow is presented by Bardovi-Harlig and Reynolds (1995), a study of the acquisition of the simple past tense by ESL classroom learners. Bardovi-Harlig and Reynolds begin by assessing their students' developmental stage of tense–aspect production via a narrative cloze test. After determining that very few of their students were able to use the simple past in English for activities ("he walked") and states ("he looked very clean"), they developed a pedagogical treatment that targeted those forms. They claim that a mixture of input enhancement, focused noticing, and positive evidence "provides learners with an awareness which helps input to become intake even outside the classroom" (p. 127). The treatment began by having students read carefully selected narrative texts that contain many examples of the targeted forms, that is, simple past tense with activity and stative predicates. Next, students were encouraged

to notice the targeted forms through a series of consciousness raising activities. And finally, students were helped to move beyond the initial stages of encountering positive evidence and focusing on forms in context via a series of graded production tasks. Westfall and Foerster (1996) and Blyth (1997) contain a variety of concrete suggestions for teaching aspectual distinctions that extend the ideas for positive evidence and focused noticing outlined in Bardovi-Harlig and Reynolds (1995).

Unlike the acquisition of tense–aspect morphology, little is known about the acquisition of storytelling skills in second language learning. The discourse analytic approach taken by Liskin-Gasparro (1996) shows much promise in helping teachers better understand how storytelling skills develop. At present, research has confirmed what the ACTFL guidelines maintain — students who do not possess Advanced level proficiency have difficulties telling a "fully-formed" oral story. In particular, they may be weak in their ability to contextualize narrative events with crucial supporting details. Moreover, even advanced students who have a good grasp of the past tense–aspect system are unable to articulate explicitly the link between grammatical aspect and narrative structure (Liskin-Gasparro 2000). Blyth (1997) argues that students often fail to make this connection because narrative as a speech act is rarely the focus of instruction. Rather, the primary goal of pedagogical approaches seems to be for learners to practice past tense–aspect forms. The far distant secondary goal seems to be to learn how to tell interesting or "successful" stories. The remedy to this problem would be to emphasize narrative as a speech act from the very beginning of instruction so that students grasp narration at a deeper level.

Although pedagogy is not the focus of her paper, Liskin-Gasparro (1996) offers several pedagogical suggestions for improving storytelling skills at the Intermediate and Advanced level. She suggests that teachers might have their students analyze 'oral' narratives embedded in novels or short stories. She also suggests that students be encouraged to build their own stories in a stepwise fashion that would bring into focus the components of narrative: first develop the plotline, next flesh out the background, and finally insert evaluative devices. And finally, she suggests that students tape themselves telling their own stories in the native language to get a better understanding of their native skills as a storyteller. Once students discover which evaluative devices they use in native storytelling, they may consciously attempt to employ them in L2 narratives.

The development of second language narrative skills should not be the sole responsibility of so-called language courses. Upper-level literature courses must play a crucial role as well. In order for students to continue to hone their

storytelling skills and improve their mastery of past tense morphology, a greater focus should be placed on narrative structures and genres in the literary curriculum. An exemplary approach to the integration of grammatical and literary analysis is described by Lunn and Albrecht (1997). Based on a discussion of the Spanish short story "Continuidad de los parques" by Julio Cortázar, they show that the grammatical analysis of a literary text does not detract from its artfulness, but rather demonstrates how a writer may exploit the grammatical potential of the language.

Conclusion

The purpose of the pedagogical norm is to help educators and curriculum planners select and teach language forms in accordance with the learner's developing linguistic system and with native speaker expectations of non-native discourse. While most attempts to develop pedagogical norms involve sentence-level grammatical features of the language, the goal of this paper has been to demonstrate the notion's relevance to pragmatics as well, in this case, the narrative speech act. Valdman (1992) urges applied linguists and methodologists "to devise pedagogical grammars that help learners perceive how the [target language] links meaning and form, how its speakers construct whole messages that enable them to achieve communicative ends and texts that enable them to narrate events and to organize their experience" (Valdman 1992: 94). This directive is a daunting challenge indeed. Devising such a grammar requires a full understanding of native speaker norms and second language acquisitional sequences. While much is known about native speaker narrative structure and the acquisitional sequences of second language past tense morphology, relatively little is known about the development of second language storytelling skills. Current research appears promising however. As our understanding of the pragmatics of second language narrative continues, we grow closer to making such a sociopragmatic grammar a reality.

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Albert Valdman, the Compassionate Shepherd

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Albert Valdman is the consummate gentleman and scholar. He is the distinguished Rudy Professor of French and Italian and Linguistics at Indiana University, where he also serves as Chair of the long-standing Committee for Research and Development in Language Instruction. He is Director of Language Instruction in the Department of French and Italian, and Director of the Creole Institute, which he founded and where he also directs the courses in Haitian Creole. Professor Valdman teaches primarily in the graduate programs of French and Italian and of Linguistics. His favorite areas include bilingualism

and language contact, pidgin and creole studies, French in North America, and second language acquisition. It would be easy to go on and on listing accomplishment after accomplishment, and in fact, there are certainly many more items that could be added to the list above. But Albert Valdman is a good deal more than a collection of outstanding achievements.

When I first met him, he was Chairman of the Department of Linguistics at Indiana University, and I a lowly graduate student considering a future in linguistics. Two important things happened at that meeting. He didn't scare me away, and he made me feel that something important lay ahead for me. I didn't think much about Albert Valdman again until I read *Trends in Foreign Language Teaching* (1966), an assignment for the typical second language acquisition class of the time, "Methods and Materials for Teaching English as a Foreign Language". I knew that Dr. Valdman was a professor of French as well as of Linguistics, but here was a collection of interesting and readable articles with a definite applied bent. Somehow the information registered, and one thing led to another over time; and I ultimately found myself discussing thesis topics with him and finally scrounging up all of my courage to ask him to direct my dissertation. It was one of the best decisions I ever made. Along with critical inquiry, I learned organization and time planning in this process, and I envision Albert Valdman standing over my shoulder as I direct others along the same path. I also learned the life-long debt of gratitude that goes to anyone who signs a dissertation. It is a debt never repaid.

Interestingly enough, we both shared our careers at Indiana University, and it was over the next many years that I began to learn much more about Albert Valdman. From the moment of shock when he first said "Call me Albert", to the incredible stories about his life as a boy in war-torn France, through the political intrigues of university and professional life, and of course to his thoughts about language learning, where our academic interests most coincided, I have been his student and friend for much of my life. So, it is with great pleasure that I relay some glimpses into the man. Some of the stories have been told to me by Albert, some by his wonderful wife Hilde, and some I experienced first-hand. Indeed many of these stories are known by Albert's friends. They paint an interesting picture of this very complex, prolific, warm, and yet shy individual.

His interest in language was evident very early in his life despite the fact that he professed chemistry to be his area of future study. Events surrounding the Second World War required his family to be dispersed from Paris, for safety's sake; and Albert, at age 12, along with his sister Madeleine, was sent to a farm in southwest France. As the story goes, Albert was a shepherd on the farm where

he lived; and to combat the boredom of the job, Albert would borrow his sister's English textbook and study it while performing his shepherding duties. That he wasn't so good at watching the animals, as attested to by angry neighboring farmers, was balanced by the fact that he was able to teach himself considerable English! He was obviously interested in languages and talented in language learning from relatively early on.

As life became less possible for his family in France, his mother arranged for him, his sister, and his cousin to travel to Spain and ultimately to the United States. Albert has often relayed the tale of shoes two sizes too small among the trials involved in crossing the Pyrenees by foot. Surviving the difficult trip by land and by sea, he settled with relatives in Philadelphia, and, in fact, was later reunited with his family, all of whom, with the exception of his grandfather, had successfully left France. Albert enrolled in high school, having lost two years to the effects of the war. However, he was still good enough to surpass his classmates to be his class valedictorian, along with being an outstanding athlete, especially in soccer and track. His reward was the Mayor's Scholarship for college study. Albert needed more money than the scholarship would provide, so he took a job loading trucks with filled burlap sacks on what was called then the "bull gang". The company manager just happened to read a story about Albert's outstanding academic performance in the local paper and was so embarrassed by the task that Albert had been assigned, that he quickly changed him to more of a desk type job, counting empty burlap sacks. Albert of course became bored with the job, so he began to estimate the number of sacks by arranging them in groups. His boss discovered the erroneous method and gave Albert his first lecture about college life: "If you can't count, you can't be a college boy!" Albert of course corrected this problem, and seemed to learn the lesson that attention to detail would be a necessary part of his life.

As a full scholarship student at the University of Pennsylvania, Albert met Simon Belasco and Pierre Delattre, both important linguists and professors who were able to see Albert's strong abilities in linguistics. Not that their recognition was so easy right away. Albert enrolled in Simon Belasco's French composition class, but was not immediately judged to be the perfect student. In response to his first assignment to write an original essay, Professor Belasco tells us that Albert surprised him with a paper which "described a bombing incident in great detail over France, written in excellent journalistic style". When Professor Belasco arrived at the next class with the marked student papers, his first task was to give these naive students a lecture on plagiarism. Needless to say, Albert's paper had a special note on it suggesting the sins of plagiarism: "On ne fait pas

école en imitant les grands auteurs" (One does not gain a following by imitating great writers). Professor Belasco assigned another original composition homework exercise, and once again was surprised that "Albert's second composition was better than the last one". While this caused yet another lecture about original work, an exchange between professor and student after class cleared up the mystery about Albert's excellence in French. Belasco had not known and was "astounded" that Albert was actually from Paris. Indeed some years after that, Simon Belasco hired Albert at Penn State University, beginning Albert's scholarly career. It was actually Pierre Delattre, as Albert's phonetics professor, who convinced him to go into linguistics as an academic career because he thought Albert had "such a good ear", and, in fact, suggested that Albert do his graduate work at Cornell, where Albert completed his Ph.D. in French Linguistics in 1960.

While completing his degree, Albert worked for the Foreign Service Institute as a French language specialist before taking a position at Penn State University; and it was there that he met his future wife Hilde, a German language specialist. As the story goes, their relationship developed rather gradually until one night at a Washington restaurant having dinner, Hilde told Albert how much she had enjoyed a recent trip to the Caribbean. Among other places, she had visited Haiti and had been fascinated both by the place and by the Haitian Creole language. Albert became most interested and began to carry on at length how he would analyze the language, write teaching materials, produce a dictionary, and write a book. Hilde tells of how she believed this guy, while still wondering whether or not he was maybe just a little bit crazy. It was at this point that Hilde lost one of her brand new contact lenses in the Lobster Newburgh. Well, Albert helped her find the contact lens, breaking the ice; more than forty years after their marriage in 1960, the rest is certainly history. Their son Bertrand and his wife Madeleine have made Albert and Hilde proud grandparents!

It was also in 1960 that the Valdman's moved to Bloomington, where Albert took a position at Indiana University that was to be his permanent home and where, just a few years later, I first met him.

Though this essay began with a list of Albert Valdman's accomplishments at Indiana University, it has not attempted to cite article after article or book after book from his more than 200 publications. His scholarly work is well known, with particular recognition occurring on October 26, 2000. After having been named in previous years Chevalier and Officier dans l'Ordre des Palmes Academiques, he was honored with the title Commandeur dans l'Ordre des Palmes Academiques. The award, established by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1808,

was presented by French Ambassador Francois Bujon de l'Estang. It is France's highest academic award for outstanding teaching, scholarship, and research.

Albert remains much the same man that he has been throughout his life. At home, the study is in many ways the focus of his house. Dinners usually have a discussion topic that keeps family and guests engaged for hours. Albert maintains a connection with the outdoors, sometimes chopping wood for the fireplace in the large wooded area behind his beautiful home just to the southeast of Bloomington. He remains dedicated to his work, and he remains in touch with his colleagues and his many students. He has been a willing servant of both Indiana University and his profession. He is not one to shun committee work at the University, and he has certainly served in a variety of important professional duties, ranging from being one of the founding members of the American Association of Applied Linguistics, to being President of the International Association of Applied Linguistics (AILA) and President of the American Association of Teachers of French, and holding many other positions. He holds an honorary doctorate from the Universite de Neuchatel, and he is the recipient of major research fellowships, including Guggenheim, NATO-NSF, and Fulbright research fellowships. He founded and remains editor of *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, the signal journal in the field. And yet he still finds time to bring his secretaries tea towels and other assorted items from his travels. A former secretary relayed the story of how Albert recognized her confusion upon receiving a towel with headless fish on it and some writing in what she assumed was French. Always the teacher, he stopped, patiently translated the French for her; and, to her delight, she now had a recipe for a delicious soup, along with a lesson in French!

So here we return to the beginning of our tribute to Albert Valdman, a man admired for his scholarship and, importantly, for his humanity. Devoted husband, father, and grandfather, and dedicated professor, researcher, and scholar. While I feel fortunate to have had a career so closely affected by him, there are many, many others who could write similar words, all ending with considerable appreciation and genuine thanks to Professor Albert Valdman.

Albert Valdman

Rudy Professor of French & Italian and Linguistics

Indiana University

I. VITAL STATISTICS

Date of birth: February 15, 1931

Place of birth: Paris, France

II. EDUCATION

Undergraduate: The College, University of Pennsylvania
A. B. with honors in Romance Languages

Graduate: Cornell University:
M. A. in French Linguistics (1955)
Ph.D. in French Linguistics (1960)
Title of dissertation: "A Descriptive Phonology of Standard French"

III. PUBLICATIONS

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