Konferenzbeiträge | Atti | Proceedings

Bi- and Multilingual Universities: European Perspectives and Beyond

Conference Proceedings
Bolzano-Bozen, 20-22 September 2007

Edited by
Daniela Veronesi, Christoph Nickenig

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BiMU07

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Cover design
Gruppe Gut Gestaltung, Bozen/Bolzano

Printing
Digiprint Bozen/Bolzano

Distribution
Universitätsbibliothek Bozen
Biblioteca Universitaria di Bolzano
University Library of Bozen-Bolzano
Bozen-Bolzano University Press
Universitätsplatz 1 / Piazza Università 1
I-39100 Bozen/Bolzano
T: +39 0471 012 300
F: +39 0471 012 309
http://www.unibz.it/universitypress
universitypress@unibz.it

ISBN 978-88-6046-024-0

Digital edition:
http://purl.org/bzup/publications/9788860460240

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Mehrsprachige Universitäten sollten eine Selbstverständlichkeit werden: Capacità cognitive, and the Asset of Multilingualism

Rita Franceschini

Es lohnt sich darüber nachzudenken, weshalb in den letzten zehn Jahren immer mehr Universitäten versuchen, sich Profile zu geben, welche die Aspekte der Mehrsprachigkeit als kennzeichnende Merkmale in Statuten und Programme aufnehmen. Stehen wir vor einer echten Bewegung mehrsprachiger Universitäten – wie sie sich beispielsweise im Verbund der europäischen „BiMu"-Universitäten manifestiert – oder lediglich vor einem Trend, welcher der immer stärkeren Notwendigkeit, sich auf dem ‚Bildungsmarkt' zu positionieren, geschuldet ist, oder handelt es sich bei dieser mit Überzeugung vorangetriebenen Ausrichtung tatsächlich um ein weitsichtiges Engagement für eine Thematik, die reelle Zukunftsperspektiven hat? Wenn es stimmt, dass Universitäten sensible Orte sind, in denen vorausschauendes Denken stattfindet, dann ist die Profilbildung mit Einbezug von Mehrsprachigkeit zu letzterer Möglichkeit zu schlagen.

Die Öffnung der Universitäten zur Mehrsprachigkeit hin – in den unterschiedlichsten Formen, die die Mehrsprachigkeit haben kann – steht sicherlich mit einem epochalen Wechsel in Verbindung, bei dem bspw. die endgültige Verabschiedung von starken Annahmen zu Homogenität im Zentrum steht. Der Fokus wird vermehrt gesetzt auf Diversität, Kreativität und auf den Wertediskurs – mit Betonung von Ethik, Lebens- und Beziehungsqualität sowie Nachhaltigkeit – und somit auf das Individuum, seine Geschichte und Verantwortung. Es ist daher nur natürlich, dass entdeckt wird, wie vielfältige sprachliche und kulturelle Lebenslagen in einer Studentenpopulation und bei Dozierenden vorhanden sind. Die Vielfalt der sprachlichen Repertoires, die heute (aber auch früher) eine durchschnittliche Universität aufweist, ist hoch. Neu ist dies nicht, doch heute wird diese Tatsache als entwicklungsfähige Eigenschaft angesehen, da wohl erkannt wird, dass Mehrsprachigkeit eine Eigenschaft darstellt, die für Studium und Gesellschaft einen kulturellen, sozialen und innovativen Mehrwert mit sich bringt.

E non diciamo neppure nulla di nuovo se riportiamo risultati delle prime ricerche degli anni '70 del secolo scorso sui confronti fra allievi mono- e bilingui nei sistemi scolastici del Canada, da dove sono partite le prime indagini sugli effetti (nocivi si temeva allora) dell'educazione bilingue dalle prime classi delle scuole primarie in poi. Una delle liste che si possono estrarre dagli studi pionieristici attorno alla figura di Wallace E. Lambert[1] è la seguente: gli scolari bilingui mostravano la tendenza di essere in media migliori dei loro coetanei monolingui nelle seguenti capacità:

- verbal and non-verbal intelligence
- reconstruction of a perceptual situation
- verbal originality
- verbal divergence
- semantic relations
- creative thinking
- non-verbal perception task
- verbal transformation
- symbol substitution
- metalinguistic types of performance

Come si vede, nella lista non figurano soltanto capacità prettamente linguistiche, ma anche capacità in genere cognitive. Se ne può dedurre che l'acquiszione di più lingue aiuta a rafforzare anche altre capacità cognitive. Vi è però un caveat: i risultati erano soltanto positivi se si confrontavano bambini della stessa estrazione sociale. Tale variabile sembra quindi essere più forte degli effetti benefici del bilinguismo. Si pensi a ragazzi di famiglie di migranti: tuttora essi non sembrano trarre quel grande vantaggio dal loro potenziale multilingue quanto i ragazzi di famiglie integrate da generazioni.

Gli studi di Ellen Bialsystok, p.es.,[2] hanno aiutato notevolmente a vedere più chiaro in tale campo di studi dedicato al confronto di capacità cognitive di soggetti bilingui: con analisi psicolinguistiche avanzate il team attorno alla studiosa statunitense ha potuto dimostrare che le capacità di soggetti bilingui sono specifiche e persino salutari per mantenere una flessibilità mentale in età avanzata. Gli individui bilingui hanno specifiche capacità di dirigere e mantenere l'attenzione su un focus, ed una capacità nell'inibire stimoli. Ci si può immaginare che ciò deriva dal fatto che un bilingue sa focalizzare su una delle sue lingue, come sa inibire l'altra ad emergere in superficie.

Seit Wallace Lamberts Studien in den Siebziger Jahren des letzen Jahrhunderts ist die obige Liste erweitert worden. Zudem scheint das Bewusstsein für Mehrsprachigkeit erhöht vorhanden zu sein. Die vielen Initiativen des Europarates und der Europäischen Union haben sicherlich dazu beigetragen, Lehrpersonen und Entscheidungsträger von der Notwendigkeit zu überzeugen, dass mehr Anstrengungen in den Erwerb und ebenso sehr auf den Erhalt mehrer Sprachen zu setzen sind. Gerade

1 Nei lontani anni '70 p.es. in: Lambert, W. E., Tucker, Richard G. & d'Anglejan, A. 1973. Cognitive and attitudinal consequences of bilingual schooling. *Journal of Educational Psychology* 85/2: 141-159; e cfr. Lambert, W. E. 1977. In Hornby, P. (ed.). *Bilingualism*, 15-28. Academic Press: New York.

2 Cfr. p.es.: Bialystok, E. 2001. *Bilingualism in Development*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
Bialystok, E., Craik, F. & Klein, R. 2004. Bilingualism, aging, and cognitive control: Evidence from the Simon Task. *Psychology and aging* 19(2): 290-303.

im Jahr 2009, das zum „Jahr der Kreativität und Innovation" ausgerufen worden ist, hatte eine Auftragsstudie der Europäischen Kommission der Frage nachzugehen, ob die Mehrsprachigkeit einen Beitrag zur Kreativität leistet.[3] Aus einer umfangreichen Literatursichtung der letzten Jahrzehnte gelangte die Studiengruppe zum Schluss, dass dies in folgenden Bereichen der Fall sein kann:

- erhöhte mentale Flexibilität
- bessere Fähigkeit, Probleme zu lösen
- größere metalinguistische Fähigkeit
- bessere Fähigkeit zu lernen
- bessere zwischenmenschliche Fähigkeiten
- Verlangsamung der altersbedingten Minderung der geistigen Fähigkeiten

Die Mehrsprachigkeit entwickelt individuelle Fähigkeiten; doch über diese Befunde hinaus ist es nun an der Zeit, dass sie auf universitärem Niveau einen institutionellen Platz finden und Wertschätzung erfahren. In diesem Sinne leistet Mehrsprachigkeit einen Beitrag auf mehreren Ebenen: zur Entwicklung sozialer Institutionen, zur Entwicklung von Kenntnissen, zur Entwicklung der Wirtschaft.

Nichts ist anfälliger für Kritik als eine Sonntagsrede. Die Umsetzung von Mehrsprachigkeit in Institutionen ist alles andere als einfach. In vielen Fällen muss dazu erst noch die Bereitschaft geschaffen werden, von den sozialen, didaktischen und finanziellen Rahmenbedingungen ganz zu schweigen. Dieser Band zeigt dies eindrücklich: Es müssen noch viele wichtige Akteure überzeugt werden, Formen evaluiert werden, Mut zur Erprobung unterschiedlichster Profile gefunden werden.

Dabei gilt es, sich mehrere organisatorische Optionen vorzuführen, je nach dem, auf was die Mehrsprachigkeit abzielt. Es muss die Frage geklärt werden, wer ist das Objekt der Mehrsprachigkeit: Der Studierende, die Institution, das Angebot, oder etwa alle drei?

A tale riguardo – e ai tre livelli – è necessario chiarire le seguenti domande: con quali capacità linguistiche uno studente inizia e termina il suo corso di studio? Deve uscirne trilingue come propaga l'Unione europea o deve semplicemente sapere l'inglese accanto ad una sua L1? Quali attività si mettono in atto per permettergli di diventare p.es. trilingue: si usa un metodo tradizionale di sostegno linguistico attraverso corsi di lingua, mentre l'insegnamento è impartito in altre lingue (magari solo in inglese)? O si usa un modello CLIL-universitario, dove anche le materie vengono trasmesse in una delle lingue da acquisire? Che ruolo gioca il contesto sociale della regione in cui lo studente potrebbe usare le lingue che sta per acquisire?

A livello di istituzione le domande da chiarire riguardano lo sviluppo delle competenze del personale amministrativo ed accademico da un lato e la policy di comunicazione da adottare. Il personale universitario ha da essere bi- e multilingue? Com'è

3 Aus: „Studie über den Beitrag der Mehrsprachigkeit zur Kreativität", EU 2009, www.europubblic.com.

da reclutare? I testi scritti e le comunicazioni sono da diffondere sempre in più lingue o il multilinguismo è usato in modo facoltativo ovunque, ma non nei testi ufficiali? Le lingue minoritarie presenti in loco giocano un ruolo particolare e fanno parte del profilo dell'università o non sono visibili? Darsi il sigillo del multilinguismo finisce soltanto per attirare studenti internazionali e di offrire corsi in inglese per tutti, uniformando così di nuovo la comunicazione e il pensiero?

A livello di offerta formativa, le domande critiche si riferiscono al peso che si dà alla componente linguistica: essa può essere parallela, additiva, o integrata e vissuta anche per la trasmissione del sapere. L'aspetto linguistico può essere solo aggiuntivo, come approfondimento più o meno facoltativo: l'offerta formativa sarebbe allora multilingue, perché si prevedono più lingue da acquisire e/o da studiare (p.es. separatamente in un centro linguistico che se ne occupa). L'offerta formativa di materie non-linguistiche può essere invece differenziata, prevedendo corsi paralleli in più lingue, tenendo per questa via separati i vari gruppi e rendendo più difficile che interagendo fra loro possano acquisire conoscenze reciproche.

A tutte queste domande e forme organizzative opzionali il volume fornisce esempi di pratiche, spesso virtuose, e offre un nutrito potenziale di riflessione. E' più il campo di sperimentazione condiviso che forma il tratto comune degli aspetti che si discutono in questo volume che non le soluzioni ampiamente valutate e convalidate.

A multilingual university is an organization where linguistic diversity is taken for granted. In a multilingual university, languages are not merely or separately held in juxtaposition, nor should they be considered as having an ancillary function. In a multilingual university it is the attitude towards languages which makes the difference: multilingualism is taken as an asset for growth in communicative complexity. Thus, in a multilingual university different languages are intertwined in practice and thinking – even to make the most of the above-mentioned increased faculties. And if a territory has a historical multilingual background or is to begin to have one by new immigration, now is the time to take the opportunity to develop and make these communication skills visible.

Therefore, the enhancement of multilingualism in Higher Education should have its grounds in the deep conviction that diversity is an overarching asset and advantage. Our societies are evolving within increasingly complex constructs, which require an empathetic, in-depth capacity to understand others. More chances will be given to us if we manage to reach to form future generations with these faculties developed, and multilingualism is an essential tool for achieving this.

Prof. Dr. Rita Franceschini
Former Rector of the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano,
Director of the Language Study Unit
Freie Unversität Bozen-Libera Università di Bolzano
http://www.unibz.it/en/public/research/language

Introduction

In September 2007 the Language Study Unit (Kompetenzzentrum Sprachen, Centro di Competenza Lingue) of the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano organized the international conference “Bi- and multilingual universities: European perspectives and beyond”.

The initiative, which was meant to continue the discussion on multilingualism in higher education started in 2003 by a conference in Fribourg/Freiburg and carried on with a second one in Helsinki in 2005, aimed at bringing together scholars, instructors, university leaders and administrative personnel working in bi- and multilingual universities, for the critical analysis of practices and policies on the one hand, and the promotion of exchange of experiences and information on the other. A major objective of the conference in Bolzano/Bozen was to highlight current best practices, but also obstacles and limits faced by multilingual institutions across Europe, and relate them to the language policy adopted by the EU to promote functional multilingualism in society. A look into experiences coming from countries across the world, furthermore, was intended to provide a terrain for comparison and foster scholarly interaction.

The very definition of what constitutes a bilingual or multilingual university is in fact still an open question, and the European panorama of higher education shows the different interpretations associated with this concept as it is stated in official language policy documents, targeted by concrete measures and practiced in actual spoken and written interaction.

A first set of examples of such variety is represented by a number of well-established and more recently founded multiligual universities, which provide study programmes, fully or in part, in two languages (German and French, Spanish and Catalan or Basque, Finnish and Swedish, Italian and German, to mention but a few cases), integrating English as a further language of instruction and, what is more, carrying out their daily organisational and administrative activities in two or three of these languages.

At the same time, we are experiencing a constantly growing offer of educational programmes in English, complementing instruction in a national language: driven by the will and need for academic internationalisation, against the background of student mobility, and given the consolidated role of English as the language of international communication and as lingua franca in academic contexts, over the last decade more and more universities and colleges in Europe have been offering not only summer schools, PhD and masters programmes, but also bachelor degrees in English.

The present volume, which collects a good part of investigations and experiences presented and discussed during the conference, offers a glance into this complex picture, highlighting some of the major issues faced by universities when they decide to offer courses taught through the medium of an L2 or to thoroughly orient themselves towards institutional multilingualism.

The multi-faceted nature of using more languages in higher education is a reality experienced by students, educators, scholars, administrators and university leaders involved in a variety of activities – teaching and learning, participating in work meetings, providing and requesting study and work supporting services, discussing strategies to implement language policies. If it is clear that all these different social actors might experience and view multilingualism according to their own focus, priorities and goals, it is also clear that each of them is stronlgy connected to the others, and that solutions to obstacles can be only found in dialogue and interaction.

This seems relevant not only if applied to cooperation between different actors within the institutions themselves, as many contributions in this volume report, but also as concerns investigations in the area of sociolinguistics and applied linguistics on the one hand, and practice-driven research action from the perspective of language teaching on the other.

The issue of English as a medium of instruction and as lingua franca, for instance, involves not only questions of international standards and certifications, but also the consideration of the communicative habits of the single disciplines; planning coaching measures for subject-matter instructors teaching in a foreign language can be based on established CLIL-experiences and profit from investigations on academic communicative styles; discussing the kind of competence required by prospective students and the competence to be reached upon graduation has to take into account, among other things, the needs of the labour market but also to establish solid links with secondary education prior to university.

Given the strong interplay between perspectives, the choice that was taken to shape both the conference programme and its proceedings into sections is arbitrary by necessity; nevertheless, we hope that the point of view taken here can highlight some previously unseen connections.

The volume opens with three papers which provide a general introduction to specific issues in multilingualism research by addressing current investigations on this topic in Europe, the peculiarities of testing bilingualism in higher education, and the changes in communities' and individuals' repertoires against the background of modernisation.

In his article, **Georges Lüdi** offers a reflection on how linguistic diversity characterizing contemporary Europe can be managed in higher education, in that it represents not only a challenge, but also a chance for the construction and dissemination of knowledge and it can thus be an important factor for students' success on the labour market. Based on initial results from the European integrated project DYLAN, the author provides examples of spoken and written communication in a private company and in some multilingual universities, discussing how the use of more languages becomes a resource against the background of interlocutors' varying repertories and linguistic preferences, and in the elaboration of disciplinary concepts in the classroom. University language policies as well as professors' and students' representations of languages and of multilingualism are also critically examined, as is the definition of "multilingual university" itself, thus showing the importance of data-driven research for the development and the evaluation of multilingual higher education.

Anu Virkkunen gives an outline of present-day testing theory and looks in particular into the practice and the consequences of testing bilingual language proficiency at university level. Right from the beginning she points out that "It is of vital importance for bi- and multilingual universities to be able to verify that entering students have the required language skills in order to succeed in their prospective studies in a timely fashion". Virkkunen argues that "Bilingual universities differ in when they expect their students to show proficiency in two languages." There really is a wide range of ways of testing students' proficiency: on the one hand there are universities like Bozen-Bolzano that have introduced language assessment as part of the enrolment procedure for some of their degree courses as well as compulsory language courses for students who do not meet the requirements. On the other hand there are universities like Helsinki where L2 proficiency (either in Swedish or Finnish) is a graduation requirement. In both cases it is a difficult task to link tests of bi- or trilingual proficiency somehow to the Common European Framework of Reference, thus defining entrance and exit levels as well as giving the tests a reliable and valid design. Virkkunen pleads for a very careful handling of specific tests at university because of the risks of an increasing dropout rate caused by inadequate testing methods. Obviously bi- and multilingual universities are always in a biased situation where the overall advantages of studying in multilingual and multicultural environment and exposure to teaching and learning in L2-medium-courses may at the same time lead even gifted students to abandon a degree course if the language requirements are too demanding.

If testing bi- or trilingual proficiency for higher education is still an open question, there is no doubt that contemporary societies cannot be any longer considered monolingual, as it is shown by **Tullio Telmon** in his discussion of the Italian situation, characterised by the strong presence of dialects and regional varieties and by alloglottal communities across the country. Starting with general observations on phenomena of language contact which show the vitality of Italian dialects but also the influence of English, the author underlines the growing awareness, both in Italian society at large and in the scientific community, towards multilingualism, with particular reference to historical heteroglossic situations. Such heightened attention has led in recent years to large-scale sociolinguistic surveys, which involved more than a hundred local communities in the north-western Italian region of Piedmont, investigating speakers' linguistic repertoires by means of self-evaluation questionnaries. Results provide interesting insights as to the stability of minority languages

(Occitan, Franco-Provençal and Walser), which go along with both standard Italian and the regional variety, thus contrasting with classical theories of modernisation which would foresee the decay of local varieties against standard prestigious languages. On the contrary, in the contemporary post-modern era, the tension between global and local seems to lead to a new configuration, one where polyglot individuals participate in a variety of local and cultural communities and have multiple identities, a phenomenon which has shed new light on common views of globalisation and poses new questions about education.

The section "Institutional language policies" offers an interesting insight into multifold approaches towards bi- and multilingual teaching at university level as well as into the question of how these universities fit into an often complicated political and linguistic ambience. For instance, the founding of a trilingual university in Bolzano/Bozen seems to be the logical outcome of a long-running discussion in South Tyrol, a highly prosperous and dynamic border region with a notoriously small percentage of graduates. But fitting a university into a very delicate ethnic and linguistic situation with a majority of German-speaking citizens on a regional level and a vast Italian-speaking majority in Bolzano was a difficult task. The underlying conflict between German and Italian was counter-balanced by introducing English as the third teaching language. The founders of the university broadened the university's horizon in every sense towards the international scientific community as well as a much larger number of potential students. Therefore they introduced English as the lingua franca of science and the globalized economy. This decision must be considered a sagacious and politically far-sighted strategic choice. The way in which the initial idea of a trilingual university with all its pros and cons developed is described by **Christoph Nickenig**'s paper which provides a critical analysis of the state- of- the -art of language teaching and learning in Bolzano/Bozen.

The University of the Basque Country has chosen a completely different way to foster internationalization and boost the use other languages in their degree courses. As from 2005-2006 students have been able to choose to attend various English-medium lectures. Although this is called "Plan de Plurilingüismo", favouring the use of foreign languages as a medium of teaching actually means favouring English. Therefore the strategic planning of the University of the Basque Country is in line with what is happening all over Europe. The situation that **David Lasagabaster** describes in the University of the Basque Country is particular, though, because a considerable number of students are speakers of Basque or attend lectures in the Basque language and Spanish. In comparison to Bolzano with its declared trilingual approach, this is a sort of hidden trilingualism. The University of the Basque Country's "Plan de Plurilingüismo" has encountered an enthusiastic reaction from the lecturers but seems to be much less attractive to students. Therefore Lasagabaster carried out a survey amongst students who did not chose to attend lectures in English. The findings of this enquiry can be summarized as follows: more than 50% of the students are convinced that their English isn't good enough in order to attend an English-medium course and pass the exam and assignments successfully. Another 28% is not willing to spend more energy than necessary in subject-matter-courses taught in English. The level of English among Spanish students is notoriously low despite all the attempts of introducing CLIL in secondary schools along with teaching English (or another foreign language) as from an early age.

What seems to prevent students at the University of the Basque Country from chosing English as a medium of teaching and learning doesn't seem to be an issue for the students of the Babeş-Bolyai-University in Cluj-Napoca in Romania. **Ştefan Oltean** points out in his paper how the multicultural character of the Transylvanian area is reflected in the university's language policy where students can choose between streams in Romanian, Hungarian and German. Lectures in one of the three languages are accompanied by language courses in two foreign languages. Oltean describes a rather complex system of requirements and benchmarks against a background of a region with multilingual schools. It seems that the students of Babeş-Bolyai-University are rather happy with the language provisions as proven by the results of a survey carried out by Oltean and others. The students seem to be quite keen on language learning and obviously want to grasp the opportunities of a globalized labour market.

A completely different approach towards multilingualism in tertiary instruction is offered by Narva College of the University of Tartu in Estonia. All degree courses are officially taught in Estonian although the people in the border region of Ida-Virumaa are predominantly speakers of Russian. Therefore in Estonian-medium classes, elements of Russian and English are to be taken into account. There are even curricula in Russian and English but the predominant language at Narva College is Estonian. **Katrin Reinvere** and **Nina Raud** try to categorize the students' attitude towards teaching in Estonian. Motivation basically varies from so called "deaf-mutes" with a low motivation and equally low language skills to "fully-fledged" motivation and language skills. Obviously there is an issue of acceptance of the single official language of Estonia, namely Estonian.

While the language policy of the Estonian government tends towards monolingualism despite the fact that there is a high percentage of speakers of Russian in that country, in Catalonia, for instance, the regional government is implementing a policy of bilingualism, and in addition to Castillian and Catalan, English is establishing itself ever more as a third language. **Miquel Strubell** deplores in his paper that Catalonia up to this moment is not trilingual, that the teaching of English and French in Catalonian schools is highly deficient and that languages other than the two official languages and English as lingua franca are not taken into account. In comparison to Narva college the Universidad Oberta de Catalunya (UOC) has undergone a process of involuntary deregulation. The outcome of this consists of a recession of Catalan from certain spheres and the progress of Spanish and English especially in postgraduate courses. Strubell consequently describes an action plan of the UOC to foster real trilingualism. Boasting language acquisition in an open university means investing in powerful language tools such as automatic translations, terminology tools and corpus-based instruments as well as research. Stressing the importance of English as the lingua franca of the globalized world and fostering teaching and learning of English are not only in line with the policy of the European Union but with national and regional policies. In the Flemish part of Belgium the situation is different from Catalunya. Dutch (in its Flemish variety) was introduced as a medium of higher education only in 1930 as **Frank van Splunder** points out. This could be one reason why the University of Antwerp has adopted a language policy according to national law that strongly supports the position of the Dutch language despite the fact that in a globalized world English as a medium of instruction is of ever-growing importance.

Another interesting example for an institutional multilingual language policy is given by **Zsuzsanna Éva Kiss** whose paper deals with the relatively young private university, Sapientia, in Transylvania, a region in Romania with a numerous Hungarian-speaking minority. Kiss carried out a series of semi-structured interviews with students and members of the teaching and aministrative staff. Kiss explains why the language policy of Sapientia University – after three years during which Hungarian was the sole medium of instruction – switched to a more flexible model in which Romanian plays a very important role although the number of really proficient bilinguals is low. At the same time, due to a lack of English language proficiency, English medium courses have been cancelled and Sapientia is – as a matter of fact – becoming a bilingual university.

A completely different geographical area where language-in-education is a highly sensitive issue is South Africa. **Marianna Visser** exemplifies in her paper what kind of balancing act Stellenbosch University is accomplishing because there is a strong link to the Afrikaans-speaking community and at the same time there is a growing number of students whose L1 is one of the nine indegenous African languages or English. Basically Stellenbosch University's language policy stresses the importance of English and Afrikaans as the predominant mediums of instruction and communication between students.

In Cameroon, as **Jean-Paul Kouega** points out in his contribution – for historical reasons – French and English have been the official languages since the independance of the country from France and Britain in 1961. Investigating into the use of French and English at the University of Yaounde II and language use of ex-students from this university in their professional life, Kouega reveals that French is becoming the predominant language in certain spheres of the civil service.

Against the background of official language policies, little is known yet of how social actors – instructors, students, administrative staff etc. – use languages for the accomplishment of their communicative goals in the context of multilingual universities, just as little is known about the way declared institutional language orientations are 'translated' in the classroom. The section "Analysing communication inside and outside the classroom" provides some results of ongoing studies on this topic, tackling questions such as the emergence of multilingual communicative practices in students' group work, specific characteristics of native-non native interaction as they arise from the need of negotiating meaning in exolingual, asymmetric contexts, as well as students' patterns of language use in informal settings.

Melinda Dooly and **Emilee Moore** present an analysis of a CLIL science education lesson held in English at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, which, besides having Catalan and Castillian as official languages, is introducing more and more instruction through the medium of English. By adopting a qualitative, ethnographic approach, the authors examine how multilingualism becomes a resource in students' groupwork interaction, and comment on the use of Catalan, Castillian and English for the management of the assigned task. Is is claimed that, in the context of an institutional monolingual vision of instructional activities, codeswitching is not only present in actual classroom and informal pratices, but also proves to be a resource upon which participants draw both for subject knowledge construction and for the accomplishment of discourse-related goals.

From a different perspective, **Lorenzo Spreafico** addresses the communicative problems faced by non-native speakers against the background of limited lexical resources, and provides a phenomenology of strategies of lexical compensation in native- non native interaction. His analysis, based on seminars videorecorded at the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano, sheds light on patterns of language use in a multilingual educational context in that it examines the role of specific verbal strategies in overcoming lexical deficits and, when applied by tutors, in facilitating understanding.

Further observations on pedagogical interactions are provided by **Daniela Veronesi**, who examines academic lectures by looking at how professors shape their discourse for students as new members of the academic community in an exolingual context like the one represented by the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano. After illustrating the language orientation of the institution, the analysis, based on a collection of videorecorded lectures, focuses on metacommunication as a strategy to orient listeners within lecturers' extended contributions, as well as on the way the complexity of LSPs is handled. Final considerations are devoted to research perspectives for the investigation of lectures as dialogic and multimodal face-to-face communicative events, thus going beyond a mainly monological view still characterising studies in the field.

The study of academic communication, though, need not be confined to university classrooms: on the contrary, a look at how students interact in informal situations outside the institution can provide fruitful insights into whether and how official language policies and actual pedagogical practices are reflected in students' social lives. Such interactions are analysed by **Alessandro Vietti**, who, by examining language diaries and conversations collected by students at the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano, comments on a range of phenomena of language contact deriving, for instance, from the use of English as a *lingua franca* and German as L2 in native-non native communication. Observations on the dynamic character of language use and on speakers' flexibility in multilingual contexts are thus provided, together with some hypotheses on the interplay between students' social networks and patterns of language use.

The spread of English in international communication, leading in the past decade to an area of investigation in its own rights under the label "English Lingua Franca" (ELF), has become in academic pedagogical contexts, at a tangent to the concept of "English for Academic Purposes" (EAP), giving rise to a number of studies addressing questions such as the evaluation of English-taught programmes and students' language proficiency and the discursive and linguistic characteristics of language use, as illustrated in the section "English as a Lingua Franca".

This section is opened by **Iris Schaller-Schwaner**, who provides a general introduction to some of the main issues currently debated and who proposes a conceptualisation of the overlap of ELF and EAP by utilizing the notion of "English for Plurilingual Academic Purposes" (EPAP), thus taking into account the new linguistic scenarios emerging in higher education in Europe. Against this background, the case of the bilingual German-French University of Fribourg/Freiburg is examined, by discussing the development of its language policy over time and its ambiguities, and illustrating an ethnographic research carried on in several faculties. By analysing in detail interviews, textual, and conversational data, the author highlights attitudes and patterns of language use in the communities of pratices under consideration, showing how English becomes integrated into multilingual speakers' rich repertories.

If a detailed examination of discourse and interaction provides encouraging results as to the use of ELF in the classroom, many more aspects have to be taken into account when evaluating the feasability and the success of programmes run in English, expecially if this takes place in non-English environments. **Tuula Lethonen**, **Kari Pitkänen**, **Roy Siddall** and **Anu Virkkunen-Fullenwider**, active at the Helsinki University Language Centre, tackle this question by focusing on Master's degree programmes and by applying a method of analysis which takes into account the perspectives of all subjects involved – students, instructors, the university administration and society at large. The analysis examines the strengths, weaknesses, threats and opportunities of English-medium instruction at Helsinki University, and is proposed as an instrument to be applied in institutions operating under similar conditions.

The use of English as a medium of instruction in non-English speaking environments can indeed represent a major issue for a multilingual university, as **Jemma Prior** discusses on the basis of her experience at the Language Centre of the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano. Given the German-Italian bilingual background of the area, English represents a foreign language for most students, and opportunities to use it in daily communication are quite rare. As an example of concrete actions taken in order to enhance interaction in English, the author reports on a tandem project carried out via videoconference in cooperation with a university in the United States, and discusses methodological, technical and pedagogical aspects of the initiative.

A further much-debated aspect of L2-based instruction concerns its impact on students' language proficiency. **Cristina Mariotti** addresses such an issue by reporting on a study conducted at the University of Pavia, where Italian and Erasmus students attending a history and sociology class in English were tested with regard to the retention of lexical items and improvements in syntax. On the basis of results, which did not show any significant variation, it is argued that linguistic input needs to be elaborated through interaction, supporting the case for more dialogically-oriented teaching styles in lectures.

The question whether teaching through the medium of an L2 can be considered effective both from a content and from a linguistic point of view has long been at the centre of discussion and investigation in compulsory and secondary education, where teacher training and co-teaching were first activated in the context of immersion and CLIL-programmes (Content and Language Integrated Learning). Based on such experiences, some bi- and multilingual universities, as documented in the section "Subject Matter Instructors and CLIL" are now facing issues such as the quality of L2-subject matter-instruction and the integration of content and language, by providing language support for instructors teaching in an L2, testing their L2-competence and encouraging cooperation between language and subject matter educators.

Virve-Anneli Vihman and **Jennifer Uhler**, both active at the Estonian University of Tartu, illustrate an English language programme for instructors and administrators developed in this university, which, along with instruction in Estonian, offers entire masters programmes and single BA classes in English. The authors first discuss measures set up to initiate the programme, such as placement tests and questionnaires, and focus in particular on the course curricula for academic teaching purposes. These consisted in several modules designed to enhance academic speaking and listening abilities, and included activities like observations and discussions of classes delivered in English and analysis of speech styles in lectures; a writing resource lab and several seminars rounded up the programme. Final observations are devoted to problems faced and to the conditions that can make such initiatives in support of staff language development most beneficial for institutions.

The issue of the effectiveness of L2-based instruction is addressed from a different perspective by **Robert Wilkinson**, who takes his personal experience – that of an English native speaker teaching professional skills in Dutch at Maastricht University - as a point of departure. The contribution presents a case study conducted on one of the author's classes in a framework of action research, which explores students responses - as native or near-native speakers - to instruction in a lecturer's L2 other than English. After discussing some possible factors affecting the absence of criticism upon the lecturer's use of Dutch, which partially contrasts with other findings of English-medium instruction, the author outlines perspectives for future research in bi- and multilingual universities, such as designing new instruments for students' classes evaluation, and carrying out detailed analyses on the impact of lecturers' language use on student performance in the studied disciplines.

A further experience from the Netherlands is provided in the contribution by **Renate Klaassen**, **Madeleine Bos** and **Tim Roubos**, who report of a large-scale mandatory screening which took place at Delft University of Technology in order to assess the English language proficiency of non-native English scientific staff. The authors show in detail how such action was planned and proceeded to take into account institutional language policies, pratical organisation and types of tests. Language training programmes provided on the basis of results are also discussed, together with further language policy measures adopted by the institution in order to improve quality requirements with respect to the English language proficiency of its staff.

Maria Grazia Borsalino, instead, offers an example of cooperation between a language and a subject matter lecturer at the Catholic University of Milan, which resulted in bilingual team teaching (Sociology and English) for MA students. The author, who participated in the module as English language lecturer, discusses preliminary work conducted in tandem with an Italian Sociology lecturer and the task-based approach adopted in the classroom, which involved a variety of activities such as reading comprehension, group work, written and oral reports and language skills feedback in English. Based on students' positive follow up comments on the module, the author stresses the value of such multidisciplinary orientation towards the integration of an ESP perspective into a broader CLIL framework which can provide students and lecturers with new opportunities for learning and enriching professional awareness.

The section is concluded by a discussion, led by **Enrica Piccardo**, of the challenges and opportunities posed by the multilingual reconfiguration of higher education in Europe. Against the background of a survey conducted on a sample of universities, the author examines the measures implemented for specific bi-multilingual academic staff training and discusses the main aspects of CLIL, in particular cognition and culture, highlighting possible perspectives for the new role educators are called to play in the development of competent plurilingual and multicultural European citizens.

"Students' communicative competence" is at the centre of six contributions which demonstrate how to boost students' language skills inside and outside the classroom in a more practical than theoretical mode.

Although the European Union continuously declares and promotes multilingualism (mother tongue + 2 etc.) and despite the overwhelming success of the Erasmus programme there seems to be a lack of concrete measures and instruments in order to prepare exchange students on a content and linguistic level for their life in a different academic setting. The exchange students' linguistic competence does not always correspond to the challenges of everyday life at a university abroad. This is not just a general remark but the background of **Carmen Argondizzo**'s and **Jean Jimenez'** contribution to this volume in which they present the outcome of an interesting project of six European universities (from the Netherlands, Portugal, Slovakia, Spain, Great Britain and Italy) funded by the EU focusing on the linguistic skills of exchange students by developing and providing an open learning environment.

Autonomous learning is taken into account from a completely different point of view in **Carmela Briguglio**'s paper. Australian tertiary education institutions are facing a rapidly-increasing number of students from non-English-speaking countries. At Curtin University and specifically Curtin Business School, the growing diversity of the student body and the subsequent diversity of students' English and academic language skills is tackled by a number of language learning advisers who focus on student development and fostering students' responsibility for their own work.

The assessment of the Italian language skills of future students of the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano is the core topic of the contribution of **Mariella Natale** and **Claudia Provenzano** who compare the testing methods of the final exam of Italian as a Second Language in the German-speaking high schools of South Tyrol, the test of bilingualism that is an important pre-requisite for public servants, the Italian entrance exam at the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano, and last but not least the Certificato di Lingua Italiana of the Università per Stranieri in Perugia.

Sandra Montali reflects on the teaching and ways of stimulating autonomous learning of Italian as a Second Language at the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano. Interestingly learners of Italian in Bolzano are sometimes frustrated by the citizens' bilingualism and their willingness to switch to German if they notice that their interlocutor's Italian skills are deficient. Montali is raising the issue that the University of Bolzano accepts absolute beginners in one sometimes even two of the teaching languages.

Paola Vettorel in her paper on self-access centres addresses some issues discussed by Argondizzo/Jimenez, Briguglio and Montali and these are the specific needs of exchange students in more and more multilingual university settings, the important role of language learning advisors and the importance of autonomous learning in general. Vettorel stresses the importance of acquiring study skills as well as an insight into the specific academic settings to which exchange students are exposed. If a self-access-centre that takes into account the specific needs of incoming and outgoing students, a library in a multilingual university has to satisfy the needs of heterogeneous groups of users with different linguistic backgrounds.

Ulrike Kugler and **Raffaella Bernardi** illustrate the example of the Library of the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano plus its plurilingual OPAC and the possibility of checking something out on the OPAC system in one language and having search results based on the literature in various languages. The outcome of a joint project with the computational linguists at the Faculty of Computer Science is a system for a multilingual search in libraries (MuSiL).

To conclude our introduction, we would like to express our thanks to all the people who contributed to the discussion documented here: the conference participants, the members of the Scientific Committee – Anne-Claude Berthoud, Lucie Courteau, Liliana Dozza, Rita Franceschini and Mirja Saari – and, last but not least, our collegues of the Language Study Unit (Centre for Language Studies and Language Centre), whose support and engagement in organising the conference itself was vital. Our gratitude goes to Rita Franceschini, for constantly encouraging this initiative, and to the Library of the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano, its head, Elisabeth Frasnelli, and in particular to Astrid Parteli, for taking care of all the big and the tiny details that the publication of this book brought along.

Daniela Veronesi, Christoph Nickenig

PLENARIES

Mehrsprachige Universitäten als Beitrag zur Erhaltung der sprachlichen Vielfalt Europas

Die Perspektive des europäischen Forschungsprojekts DYLAN

Georges Lüdi – Universität Basel

Linguistic diversity represents both a challenge and a chance for the European system of higher education. Multilingual universities and multilingual programmes have been developed to meet this challenge. However, these products are not always thought through. More research is necessary, not only concerning linguistic and disciplinary knowledge, but also the added value of multilingualism for the construction and dissemination of knowledge and the advantages of plurilingual alumni on the labour market. That is what the DYLAN project is about.

In addition, the term 'multilingual university' is ambiguous. It can mean an institution where students are encouraged to follow an English-medium education for the sake of their - and their university's - integration in international networks. In terms of bilingual studies these are weak bilingual programmes that will eventually lead to a definitive switch towards English as the only language of science and higher education. This contrasts with a "polyglossic" image of multilingual universities where teachers, collaborators and students draw on plurilingual repertoires constituted by more or less partial competences in all their languages, and know how to make use of the creative potential of their multilingualism. Indeed, strong bilingual programmes aim at preserving the academic status of most European languages (English included).

Our first results confirm the hypothesis that in institutions of higher education as well as in the working world, the use of various languages in the second sense, as tools for the coordination of activities, for risk management, for access to information, for internal cohesion in mixed teams, is an important factor for (economic) success. We start to understand better how plurilingual repertoires are activated, but also in which different ways the dynamics of linguistic diversity can be managed.

If students' plurilingual competences aim principally at enhancing their opportunities on the labour market (and therefore indirectly the attractiveness of their alma mater), it is not "academic plurilingualism", as documented by a language diploma, that is needed, but the faculty to adapt flexibly to continually new linguistic contexts, including the experience of exolinguistic and intercultural communication techniques, for example in the form of bilingual teaching. The question of how to evaluate and document this experience will be the next challenge for the systems of higher education throughout Europe.

Keywords: multilingualism, language diversity, higher education, workplace communication, representations

1. Einleitung

Dänemark ist eines jener europäischen Länder, welche dem Englischen als Fremdsprache am meisten Gewicht beimessen. 94% aller Dänen bewerten Englisch als die wichtigste Fremdsprache (EU25 Durchschnitt 68%); 86% geben an, eine Konversation auf Englisch führen zu können (EU25 Durchschnitt 38%); 44% geben an, täglich Englisch zu sprechen (EU25 Durchschnitt 12%) (alle Zahlen aus: European Commission 2006). Sprachpolitisch forderte die Sozial-Liberale Partei Dänemarks denn auch, das Land offiziell als zweisprachig dänisch-englisch zu erklären. In einer Pressemitteilung heisst es dazu:

This could include traffic signs, web sites and correspondence from local councils in both Danish and English. The authorities should to a greater extent be able to help with daily and practical things in English, just as university degrees should be taken in English. Everything in order to attract international students and qualified manpower.
(http://www.copcap.com/composite-9624.htm. 7.3.2008)

Die University of Southern Denmark in Odense hat letztere Massnahme bereits vorweggenommen. Auf ihrer Webseite werden ausländische Studierende jedenfalls wie folgt zitiert (http://www1.sdu.dk/E/new/testimonials.html):

I would recommend studying abroad at the University [sc.] to other international students. It's an irreplaceable experience. I've learnt a lot about myself, my research area and become more independent. All my classes and exams are in English, so communicating is not a problem – in or out of class.
Qihang Huang, China, degree student

All Danes speak English so you don't have to learn Danish but it definitely helps – and I think Danes appreciate you making an effort.
Lyndsi Witsaman, US, exchange student

Freilich stützen andere Umfragergebnisse aus dem Eurobarometer diese Massnahme nicht unbedingt. So plädiert nur eine Minderheit der Dänen für eine einzige Sprache für die Kommunikation der EU mit ihren Bürgern (43%, EU25 Durchschnitt 55%), und auch die Zustimmungswerte zur Aussage, alle Menschen in der Union sollten eine gemeinsame Sprache sprechen (dies könnte zurzeit wohl nur Englisch sein), liegen mit 54% deutlich unter dem europäischen Durchschnitt (70%); gleichzeitig sind 73% (EU25 Durchschnitt 72%) für die grundsätzliche Gleichbehandlung aller Sprachen der Union. Offensichtlich möchten die Dänen nicht auf ihre Sprache verzichten, wie dies auch die amerikanische Austauschstudentin richtig beobachtet hat. Sie sind, wie viele andere Europäer auch, hin- und her gerissen zwischen der Faszination des Englischen — nicht ohne Grund wirbt eine englische Sprachschule in Basel mit dem Slogan: „Investieren Sie in die Zukunft Ihrer Kinder" — und der Furcht, die europäischen Sprachen, und besonders Kleinsprachen wie Dänisch könnten im Rahmen einer allgemeinen Diglossie zu „Low Varieties" verkommen, als Nähesprachen für den informellen, lokalen und familiären Bereich, während öffentliche Funktionen in Politik, Wissenschaft und Kultur zunehmend von Englisch dominiert wären.

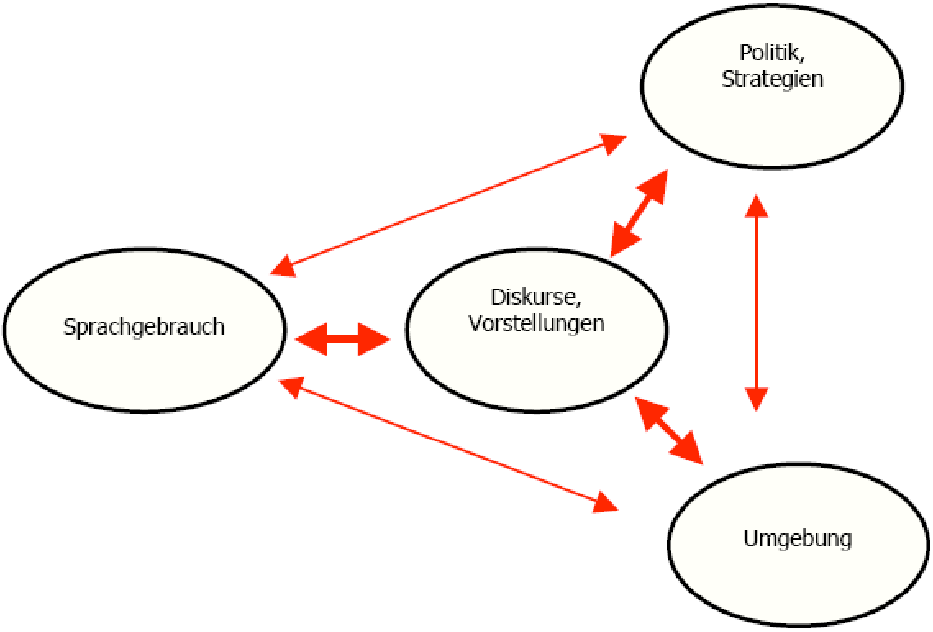
Aber welches wären denn die optimalen Lösungen für Europa, welche gleichzeitig der historischen Sprachenvielfalt Rechnung trügen und die wirtschaftliche Konkurrenzfähigkeit nicht beeinträchtigten, sondern erhöhten? Das europäische Forschungsprojekt DYLAN soll dazu beitragen, Antworten auf diese Fragen zu liefern, auch und besonders was die Rolle der Hochschulen am Erhalt — oder am Verlust — der Sprachenvielfalt betrifft.

2. Das Projekt DYLAN

Gegenstand des seit 2006 von der Europäischen Kommission finanzierten Projekts[1] ist die Dynamik und Handhabung der Sprachenvielfalt in Europa (http://www.dylan-project.org). Es geht darum die Bedingungen zu identifizieren, unter welchen die Sprachenvielfalt Europas unter Berücksichtigung der Vielzahl von wirtschaftlichen, politischen und schulischen Kontexten einen Vorteil für die Entwicklung, die Vermittlung und die Umsetzung von Wissen und Erkenntnissen darstellt. Dabei gilt es, das Vorurteil zu entkräften, wonach es ohnehin günstiger wäre, eine einzige Sprache für Europa zu wählen; in diesem Sinne sollen, nach Kriterien der Kostenwirksamkeit, nicht nur die Vor- und Nachteile der Mehrsprachigkeit, sondern auch die langfristigen Folgen einer allfälligen Einsprachigkeit gemessen werden. Zu diesem Zwecke soll beschrieben werden, in welcher Form sich die mit mehrsprachigen Repertoires einhergehende Vielfalt von Denk-, Argumentations- und Handlungsweisen auf Prozesse der Handlungskontrolle, der Problemlösung und der Entscheidungsfindung auswirken.

Im Rahmen der Projekteingabe (Berthoud, Grin & Lüdi 2005) wurde ein Analyseraster entwickelt, welches vier Dimensionen zueinander in Beziehung setzt: (1) der tatsächliche Sprachgebrauch; (2) Vorstellungen von Sprachenvielfalt und Mehrsprachigkeit wie sie, als Spuren der sozialen Vorstellungen der Akteure, in deren Diskursen sichtbar werden; (3) die Sprachpolitik von Staaten und anderen öffentlichen Instanzen sowie die Sprachstrategien von Unternehmen, Universitäten usw.; (4) die sprachlichen Umgebungen oder Kontexte, in welchen sich die Akteure bewegen. Dabei gilt das Interesse ganz besonders den vielfältigen Beziehungen zwischen diesen Dimensionen, oft über mehrere Stationen, welche im folgenden Schema durch Pfeile angedeutet werden. Diese Beziehungen stellten die Grundlage für die Ausarbeitung der Forschungsaufgaben und ihre Zuweisung an die verschiedenen Teams dar. Untersucht werden in diesem Sinne nicht die Sprachstrategien einer Universität, sondern zum Beispiel deren Spiegelung in den Vorstellungen der Studierenden und Mitarbeiter oder deren Einfluss auf Studienpläne oder auf den tatsächlichen Sprachgebrauch im Unterricht, in der Administration und in den Labors.

1 DYLAN ist ein integriertes Projekt (Vertrag N° 028702) mit einer Laufzeit von fünf Jahren, das innerhalb des sechsten Rahmenprogramms der EU gefördert wird. Das Projekt vereint 20 Forschungseinrichtungen aus 12 europäischen Ländern.



Die Forschungsergebnisse könnten Konsequenzen auf verschiedenen Ebenen haben: (a) auf der politischen Ebene eine grössere Fairness in der Weise, wie verschiedene Sprachen und deren Sprecher behandelt werden, mehr soziale Gerechtigkeit durch erleichterten Zugang aller Bürger zur Mehrsprachigkeit, ein wirksamerer Umgang mit Risiken in Gesellschaft und Umwelt durch Sprachgebrauch, der den Ausschluss ganzer Gruppen vermeidet; (b) auf der wirtschaftlichen Ebene eine bessere Performanz durch Berücksichtigung von an unterschiedliche Sprachen gebundenen Formen der Kontrolle, der Problemlösung und der Entscheidungsfindung; (c) auf der didaktischen Ebene eine Verbesserung der Fremdsprachdidaktik aufgrund eines vertieften Verständnisses der Funktionsweise mehrsprachiger Repertoires.

Eine besondere Herausforderung ergibt sich aus der Integration komplementärer Herangehensweisen wie Konversationsanalyse, Diskursanalyse oder Kosten-Nutzen-Analyse in drei so unterschiedlichen Forschungsfeldern wie Unternehmen („workpackage 1"), europäische Institutionen („workpackage 2") und Bildungsinstitutionen des tertiären Bereichs („workpackage 3"). Einige erste Resultate und Überlegungen zu den workpackages 1 (am Beispiel des Basler Moduls) und 2 (am Beispiel der Module aus Barcelona, Bozen und Lausanne) sollen in der Folge kurz vorgestellt werden.

3. Das Basler Modul

Aufgabe des Forschungsteams der Universität Basel[2] ist es, die Sprachstrategien von Unternehmen zu beschreiben und deren Einfluss auf den tatsächlichen Sprachgebrauch zu analysieren. Im Detail fragen wir danach, (a) welche Strategien die Unternehmen formulieren und/oder verfolgen, (b) wie die Mitarbeiter in einer durch grosse Sprachenvielfalt charakterisierten Umgebung ihre Sprachrepertoires einsetzen und (c) welche Beziehungen zwischen den ersten beiden Bereichen bestehen. Die Vorgehensweise ist qualitativ und multimethodologisch: Analyse von Texten, welche explizite Sprachstrategien festschreiben; Gespräche mit Verantwortlichen, um etwas über „implizitere" Sprachstrategien zu erfahren, und mit Mitarbeitern über deren Wahrnehmung dieser Sprachstrategien und über ihren eigenen Sprachgebrauch; Interpretation von allen möglichen Typen von schriftlichen Texten; Dokumentation und Analyse der semiotischen Landschaft des Unternehmens; Video- und Audioaufnahmen von mündlicher Interaktion an der Arbeit.

Nach 12 Monaten zeichnen sich erste Ergebnisse ab, die man am Beispiel des Unternehmens Pharma A wie folgt zusammenfassen könnte.

1. Die interne und externe Kommunikation des Unternehmens erweist sich, wie nicht anders erwartet, als extrem komplex (vgl. z. B. den Analyseraster in Brun 2005). Sprachenwahl und Sprachverhalten sind stark vom Grad der Förmlichkeit und von der Einordnung der Kommunikation auf einem Distanz-Nähe-Kontinuum (Koch & Oesterreicher 1990) abhängig, mit klaren Unterschieden zwischen Schriftlichkeit und Mündlichkeit. Weitere Unterschiede sind zu beobachten zwischen Sprachgebrauch „als Arbeit" (z.B. Formulieren eines Textes), „als Teil der Arbeit" (z.B. Leitung einer Arbeitssitzung) und „arbeitsbegleitend" (z.B. Pausengespräche) (vgl. Boutet 1995).
2. Sprachstrategien von Unternehmen — hier definiert als j*egliche Form der Eingreifens eines Unternehmens auf die Zusammensetzung, die Weiterentwicklung und die Verwendung der Sprachrepertoires der MitarbeiterInnen und anderer Stakeholders* — sind alles andere als monolithisch. Sie sind nur teilweise zentral gesteuert, sondern werden von Vorgesetzten auf unterschiedlichen Hierarchiestufen definiert. Und sie werden in den seltensten Fällen umfassend in politischen Dokumenten festgehalten, sondern müssen aus bestimmten Praktiken erschlossen werden. Einige dieser Interventionsgebiete sind (a) die Gestaltung der semiotischen Landschaft des Unternehmens, (b) die Anstellungspolitik, (c) die Weiterbildungspolitik, (d) Formen des Sprachaustauschs innerhalb des Unternehmens (z.B. Lehrlingsaustausch zwischen unterschiedlichen Sprachgebieten), (e) die Sprachauswahl der Mitarbeitenden bei der Kommunikation mit dem Unternehmen (Mitteilungen, Verträge, Mitarbeitermagazin u.ä.), (f) die Sprache der Werbung usw.

2 Dem Team gehören ausser Georges Lüdi, Patchareerat Yanaprasart und Katharina Höchle als externe Mitarbeiterinnen auch Carmela Garifoli und Linda Pfefferli sowie etliche M.A.-Studierende an. Vgl. für erste Resultate auch Lüdi *et al.* (2007) sowie Lüdi, Höchle & Yanaprasart (im Druck).

3. Sprachstrategien sind heterogen. Dies sei am Beispiel der semiotischen Landschaft auf dem Werkgelände von Pharma A illustriert[3], welches den Bürgern von Basel, mit Zäunen und Stacheldraht abgesperrt und mit strengen Zugangskontrollen versehen, wie ein extraterritoriales Gebiet vorkommt. Die Hypothese liegt nahe, dass alles auf dem Werkgelände von der Firmenleitung angeordnet, kontrolliert oder zumindest geduldet wird. Die 190 Fotos[4] lassen sich wie folgt interpretieren:
   - Bei den Gebäudeinschriften ist ein diachroner Wechsel zu beobachten; die neusten Gebäude sind beinahe ausschliesslich auf Englisch beschriftet, ältere mehrheitlich auf Deutsch.
   - Auf einer Bauwand sind Werbeplakate von Pharma A aus aller Welt angebracht, alle auf Englisch, z.T. mit chinesischen Einschüben.
   - Mitteilungen an die Mitarbeitenden (z.B. über die Veränderungen auf dem Werkareal oder über Sicherheitsvorschriften) sind jeweils zweisprachig deutsch-englisch, wobei das Deutsche privilegiert wird (jeweils oberhalb des Englischen, mit etwas grösseren Buchstaben).
   - Einladungen an wissenschaftliche Veranstaltungen (z.B. zur *Basel Lunchtime Scientific Seminar Series*), die sich an ein ausgewähltes Publikum von Wissenschaftlern richten, werden systematisch auf Englisch publiziert.
   - Die Bedienungsführung der Stempeluhren ist dreisprachig (Deutsch, Englisch, Französisch), an den Geldautomaten (an welchen viele Mitarbeiter ihre Salär- und Sparkonten verwaltem) kann man zusätzlich Italienisch wählen.
   - Die Sicherheitsinfrastruktur (Organisation der Gebäudeevakuation, Notausgänge, Warnsignale an Gasabfüllstationen u.ä.) ist mehrheitlich deutsch, selten zwei- oder gar mehrsprachig (Abb. 1, 2 und 3).

Abb. 1, 2 und 3

3 Wir verwenden hier die Definition von Landry & Bourhis (1997: 25): „The landscape of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region or urban agglomeration." Vgl. Gorter ed. (2006) und Backhaus (2007) für einen Forschungsüberblick und Lüdi (2008) für die Anwendung auf die Stadt Basel.

4 Mit einer Digitalkamera wurden alle Beschriftungen auf dem Werkgelände aufgenommen (inklusive privaten Anzeigen auf den dafür vorgesehenen Pinwänden), die ohne Zusatzbewilligung (für den Eintritt in die Gebäude über die Eingangshalle hinaus) zugänglich waren.

- Im Fabrikladen findet man fast nur Deutsch, die Beschriftung in den — von einem externen Unternehmen betriebenen — Restaurants ist systematisch zweisprachig deutsch/englisch.
- Private Anzeigen sind meist einsprachig, eine Einladung für Kindertenniskurse auf Deutsch, jene für einen „club aïkido“ im benachbarten Frankreich (wo viele der Mitarbeitenden herstammen) auf Französisch.
- Manchmal kann man kreative Sprachmischungen beobachten (Abb. 4).

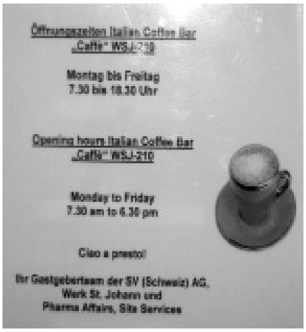


Abb. 4

Wir haben es hier offensichtlich mit einer Reihe von schriftlichen Äusserungen unterschiedlicher Akteure (Architektenteams, Hauswarte, Verantwortliche für ein Restaurant usw.) zu tun, die unterschiedliche Maximen verfolgen, von der Umsetzung des Slogans „our corporate language is English“ da, wo die Kommunikation eher symbolisch ist, zur pragmatischen Berücksichtigung der tatsächlichen Sprachkenntnisse der Mitarbeitenden bei Fragen der Arbeitssicherheit oder bei Anweisungen im Alltag, die verstanden werden müssen.

4. Dennoch fügen sich die unterschiedlichen Strategien zu einem kohärenten Gesamtbild. Sprachkenntnisse sind, in der Schweiz vielleicht noch mehr als anderswo, vom Bildungsniveau abhängig. Entsprechend werden Akademikerstellen systematisch auf Englisch ausgeschrieben[5], Laborantenstellen aber auf Deutsch, werden Versuchsprotokolle im Labor B auf Deutsch formuliert (vgl. unten Seite 15), wissenschaftliche Berichte jedoch auf Englisch. Wie uns der nichtdeutschsprachige Laborleiter Jamal H. erklärte:

> Tous les rapports doivent être en anglais. Tout document officiel, le study plan, doit être en anglais. Le travail expérimental, ça peut être en allemand ou anglais. Il y a ce que nous appelons raw data, les données brutes, c'est en allemand. Les working documents, les documents avec lesquels elles [sc les laborantines] travaillent, sont en allemand, et ça, c'est un peu toléré parce qu'on est en Suisse. C'est un mélange. Parfois c'est intéressant, mais je ne me rends pas compte quand je parle et parfois il y a un mélange linguistique.

Mischungen zwischen Englisch und der Ortssprache — an vielen Arbeitsplätzen auch Französisch aufgrund der hohen Anzahl von Frankophonen — werden vielleicht nicht speziell gefördert, aber zumindest toleriert.

5 Mit den Worten eines Abteilungsleiters: „Ja also wir schreiben im Allgemeinen ‚excellent knowledge in English or German required/requested', also er muss mindestens die eine oder andere Sprache wirklich perfekt beherrschen, das ist generell, und ich würde eigentlich sagen, wenn's ein Wissenschaftler ist, müsste das eigentlich für Englisch gelten, für einen Laboranten kann ich akzeptieren, dass er nur gut Deutsch kann. Das zweite ist dann eben, gut, also wenn es jetzt ein Deutschsprachiger ist, muss der mindestens gute Englischkenntnisse haben, das würde ich eigentlich wünschen. Gut, da kann man ein bisschen Abstriche machen, wenn alles andere sehr gut ist, wenn er technisch sehr gut ist, dann schickt man ihn halt in den Sprachkurs. Aber für einen Wissenschaftler, der muss gut oder sogar exzellent Englisch können, weil sonst kann er gar nicht kommunizieren, kann sich in der Firma nicht einbringen.“

5. Diese pragmatischen Vorstellungen bestätigen sich in den Audioaufnahmen an unterschiedlichen Arbeitsplätzen. Etwa im folgenden Beispiel aus einer Redaktionssitzung für das Mitarbeitermagazin (es geht um die Auflage der englischsprachigen Ausgabe), wo zwischen Englisch, Deutsch und Schwyzertütsch abgewechselt wird:

JK: can we have more [in the +site B+ ((*anonymisiert*)) then]
BK: [yes yes sure yeah]
JK: german and french is fine but english is really::
BK: ((*zu CB*) °kasch du das em +markus+ ((*anonymisiert*)) sage°
PW: after two days it's gone
BK: °im +site B+°((*anonymisiert*))
CB: ah xxx
JK: two to three days yeah and i i ask the gate personal&
&if they have some boxes left or so but
PW: xxx how many you would send them=
BK: ((*zu CB*)) =me muess es eifach&
&der druckerei sage dass s'+site B+ ((*anonymisiert*))&
&mehr änglischi griegt
PW: let's send– keep your eye on it for the next month=
JK: =hmm
PW: =we'll see what the right balance is=
JK: =yeah
CF: ((*à ???*)) °ich glaub nit meinsch?°
CB: ((*à BK*)) wie viel dänksch denn?
JK: wie viel wärde jetzt gschiggt so?
CB: kei ahnig=
JK: =aha=
CB: =das lauft nöd über eus
BK: über d'druckerei
CB: vom herr +meier+ ((*anonymisiert*))
JK: aso ich nimm aso i think now there is the same&
&quantity in german english french=
PW: =ah=
JK: =and i would&
&honestly I would double the English=
BK: =hmm

Zusammenfassend ist einerseits das Bewusstsein von der Bedeutung des Englischen für die Firma und das Leben in der Firma durchgängig, auch bei jenen, die nicht Englisch sprechen. Andererseits beobachten wir eine grosse sprachliche Vielfalt nicht nur im eigentlichen Sprachgebrauch, sondern auch auf der Ebene der Sprachstrategien. Man könnte daraus eine zweite Maxime ableiten, welche aber kaum explizit ausgesprochen wird, sondern eine Analyseresultat darstellt: „Wir sind ein mehrsprachiges Unternehmen und sind gehalten, die mehrsprachigen Repertoires unserer Mitarbeitenden so effizient wie möglich zu nutzen und dabei gleichzeitig ihr Wohlbefinden zu verbessern." Diese Ziele stehen im Übrigen keineswegs im Widerspruch zueinander, wenn man akzeptiert, dass inklusive Kommunikationspraktiken nicht nur das Wohlbefinden der Akteure steigern, sondern auch ihre Motivation und dadurch die Qualität ihrer Arbeit.

Fest steht, dass unsere Resultate ihre Bedeutung nur dann preisgeben, wenn wir einen „mehrsprachigen Blick" auf die Art und Weise werfen, wie Unternehmen — die anderen Beispiele aus unserem Korpus zeichnen ein ganz ähnliches Bild, nur dass bei national tätigen Firmen das Englische gegenüber den Landessprachen eine sehr untergeordnete Rolle spielt, — mit der sprachlichen Vielfalt umgehen. Offensichtlich nutzen sie in der Praxis die mehrsprachigen Repertoires der Mitarbeitenden nicht nur aus, sondern fördern sie mit Fortbildungsmassnahmen auch aktiv. Allerdings sind sie in einem bedeutenden Masse abhängig von der Sprachausbildung in den Bildungssystemen, aufgrund der steigenden Mobilität der Arbeitsnehmer weit über den regionalen Kreis hinaus. Dies stellt die Brücke zum Thema dieses Kongresses her.

4. Arbeitswelt und Hochschulen

Die Beziehungen der Universitäten zur Arbeitswelt sind vielfältig. Zunächst sind sie selber Arbeitgeberinnen für administratives Personal, für Wissenschaftler und technisches Personal sowie für akademische Lehrer. Von daher sind ähnliche Resultate wie bei Unternehmen zu erwarten, wobei sich die Frage stellt, inwiefern der Spielraum von staatlichen und privaten/autonomen Universitäten in der Frage der Sprachstrategien variiert. Universitäten und Unternehmen bewegen sich zweitens im selben sprachpolitischen, gesellschaftlichen, kulturellen und demographischen Kontext. Entsprechend eng sind im Übrigen häufig die Beziehungen zwischen Universitäten und Unternehmen (z.B. zwischen der Universität Basel sowie der ETH Zürich und Pharma A). Drittens sind die Hochschulen Plätze der Ausbildung, auch auf sprachlicher Ebene: die Studierenden sollen für die Bedürfnisse der Arbeitswelt vorbereitet werden.

Auf all diesen Ebenen stehen die Hochschulen in einem mehrdimensionalen Spannungsfeld zwischen gleichsam „zentripetalen" und „zentrifugalen" Trends. Wenn die Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule in Lausanne beschliesst, ihre Masterstudiengänge ausschliesslich auf Englisch anzubieten, beugt sie sich, ähnlich wie die eingangs zitierte University of Southern Denmark, dem Trend nach der globalen Sprache. Die Gründung der Università della Svizzera italiana 1996 — der einzigen italienischsprachigen Universität ausserhalb Italiens — sollte explizit die Kultur des italienischsprachigen Landesteils unterstützen und fördern und Brücken zu den lombardischen Universitäten herstellen; dennoch versteht sie sich als mehrsprachig.[6] Die offiziell zweisprachige Universität Freiburg i. Ue. bietet neben parallelen Studiengängen auf Deutsch und Französisch in zunehmendem Masse integ-

6 "L'USI ha una spiccata apertura internazionale, con docenti e studenti da oltre 30 nazioni e un forte multilinguismo. Se la lingua ufficiale dell'università è l'italiano, alcuni corsi e interi programmi di Master sono tenuti in inglese; si incoraggia anche la conoscenza del francese e del tedesco. Corsi di base e avanzati sulle principali lingue e culture europee preparano gli studenti a carriere internazionali" (http://www.unisi.ch/universita/about_usi/mission.htm).

rierte, zweisprachige Ausbildungsgänge an[7]. In durch Regionalsprachen geprägten europäischen Regionen stellt sich die Frage nach dem Verhältnis zwischen der Regionalsprache, der Staatssprache und Englisch, so in Barcelona (Katalanisch, Spanisch Englisch) und in Bozen (Deutsch und Ladinisch, Italienisch und Englisch).

5. Was sind „mehrsprachige Hochschulen"?

Man könnte die Frage auch anders stellen: stehen mehrsprachige Universitäten in einer der Einsprachigkeit verpflichteten Tradition der territorialen Mehrsprachigkeit (mehrsprachige Institutionen als Garantie für die Einsprachigkeit der Mehrheit der Bürgerinnen und Bürger) oder streben sie breite mehrsprachige individuelle Repertoires an? Und ist im zweiten Fall eine nachhaltige Mehrsprachigkeit das Ziel oder geht es letztlich nur um die Förderung des Englischen als einzige akademische Sprache auf Kosten aller anderen?

Auf dem Hintergrund dieser Fragestellung ist auch die Geschichte der Sprachstrategien der Universitat Autónoma de Barcelona zu verstehen, die nach 1975 einzig die Förderung des Katalanischen anvisierte und zunehmend auf eine Politik der Mehrsprachigkeit umgeschwenkt ist (gemäss Codó *et al.* 2007):

The Universitat Autónoma de Barcelona has a long history of commitment to the university language policy. From 1975 to the present, the UAB has taken different language policy actions in accordance with the changing sociolinguistic reality and the legal framework. In this manner, the early years were characterised by the revival of Catalan as a language of public use at the University and its promotion as a language of use within the university community. Later, the language policy changed its focus towards the aim of consolidating the use of Catalan as an 'own' language in the framework of growing globalisation and the introduction of new information and communication technologies — all of which have quickly and radically transformed society. This same global environment — which makes learning and use of diverse languages both a possibility and a necessity — has meant that in recent years the University has approached language policy from a multilingual perspective. This perspective aims to guarantee the promotion of the Catalan language as the University's own language and as a minority language in the global context. It aims at the recognition of the language rights stemming from the existence of two official languages, Catalan and Spanish, and the use of other working languages when necessary, among which English must have an important role." (*Pla de Qualitat Lingüística [Language Quality Plan]*, S. 3)

Man wird freilich die Sprachstrategien der Hochschulen an ihren Taten, d.h. konkret an ihren Studienplänen messen wollen. So ist z.B. das Verhältnis der Unterrichtssprachen in den einzelnen Studiengängen quantifizierbar. Ein Beispiel dafür findet sich in folgender Übersicht für Bachelor-Studiengänge für drei der inzwischen fünf Fakultäten, die vom Forschungsteam der Universität Bozen zusammengestellt wurde (Franceschini *et al.* 2007: 8)[8]:

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7 Die Universität Freiburg befindet sich in einem zweisprachigen Kanton, am Schnittpunkt der frankophonen und der deutschen Sprachkultur. Sie ist die einzige Universität in der Schweiz und in Europa, die ein vollständiges Bildungsangebot in jeder von beiden Sprachen anbietet. Seit ihrer Gründung gehen hier Studierende beider Sprachgemeinschaften ein und aus. Einige unter ihnen haben sich für ein Studium ausschliesslich in Französisch entschieden, andere studieren ausschliesslich auf Deutsch oder absolvieren ein zweisprachiges Studium. Wie an den meisten Universitäten können die Studierenden auch gewisse Lehrveranstaltungen auf Englisch besuchen.

8 Die hier angegebenen Daten beziehen sich auf das akademische Jahr 2006 – 2007; zum aktuellen Verhältnis zwischen den drei Unterrichtssprachen vgl. Veronesi (in diesem Band).

Bachelor	**School of Economics and Management**	**Faculty of Design and Art**	**Faculty of Computer Science**
language requirements for admission	at least 1 language	at least 1 language; absolute beginners only in 1 language	no formal requirements; (logical thinking) admission test in English
Non certified languages	compulsory language classes (1st year, 80-90 to 120 hours)	compulsory language classes (100+120 hours + 40 hours; 50 hours)	not compulsory “English Refresher Course“ for 1st year students (40 hours, September)
2nd year enrolment and attendance of classes	LAT passed	LAT passed	no language requirements
Language courses within the curriculum	2 language courses (2nd and 3rd year, 10 credits)	3 language courses (9 credits)	3 language courses (1st and 2nd year, general language, LSP, 12 credits)
Language incentives	none	1 credit for thesis abstract in L2 and L3	none
Languages of instruction (subject matters)	40% English, 35% Italian, 25% German	40% Italian; 40% German, 20% English	90% English, 5% Italian, 5% German
Further aspects	work with TAs in more languages	“Integrated projects” with 3 professors/3 languages	1st year labs in English, German, Italian 2 courses in Italian or German (“General Skills“) 1 course in German (3rd year)

Wie Studierende und Dozierende der Universität Bozen mit diesem mehrsprachigen Angebot umgehen, ist zurzeit Gegenstand vertiefter Untersuchungen des Bozener Teams (vgl. die Beiträge von Spreafico, Veronesi und Vietti in diesem Band).

Zu denken gibt uns Tatsache, dass in der Fakultät für Computerwissenschaften der Anteil des Deutschen und des Italienischen nur je symbolische 5% beträgt. Dies hat wohl weniger mit dem Standort Bozen zu tun als mit verbreiteten Vorstellungen darüber, in welcher Sprache Computertechnologie angeboten werden soll. Derartige Erwartungen bezüglich des Englischen schimmern beispielsweise auch am Schluss des folgenden Gesprächsausschnitts mit dem Generalsekretär der UAB mit (Codó *et al.* 2007):

yes and also as secretary general I am the- . person in charge of language policy at the university- . therefore I preside the language policy commission of the board of governors\ . and therefore- . in some way- . the university language policy stands out here\ . in fact_ for a university like the UAB_ . we have Catalan as the ‘own’ language _ the language policy is a sine qua non requisite\| . in fact in the beginning the language policy started\ . as\ .basically Catalan normalisation policy\ . and it was then later- . now about five years ago when we made a change in language policy- . {(F) explicitly} plurilingual\ . and which aims to make the campus a place where one works\ . indistinctively- . in the future\ . in Catalan Spanish and English- . apart from in other languages but in these three as the basic objective etcetera\ ... Catalan as the own language of the university\ . Spanish as a co-official language and at the same time as a contact language for the most part of the students- . postgraduate foreigners\ . who come from Latin America\ . and English because- . it is not the only language- .but in fact it is the language of the culture XXX\ . XX the language they expect of us\ »

Es geht hier nicht darum, diese Aussagen zu bewerten. Wichtig ist aus der Perspektive von DYLAN, sie erstens im Detail zu beschreiben, zweitens zu versuchen, ihren historischen Werdegang nachzuzeichnen, drittens aber, auch und besonders, die Konsequenzen dieser Vorstellungen nachzuzeichnen, in diesem Fall auf die weitere Ausgestaltung der Sprachenpolitik der UAB durch ihren Generalsekretär.

Bedeutsam aus der Perspektive des DYLAN-Moduls über „emergent varieties“ bzw. über die Formen von Englisch als *lingua franca* sind auch Aussagen über die Qualität des Englischen wie z. B. jene eines Dozenten an der Fakultät für Informatik, der zu seinem eigenen Sprachgebrauch sagt (Franceschini *et al.* 2007: 14):

[...] l’europeo tende a parlare un inglese: eh a volte meno: cioè magari anche più ricco di paroloni di quanto non faccia, e:h (.) ed è un classico perché a noi rimangono piú facilmente impressi, e agli americani poi piace molto perché le parole di origine latina là hanno un che di, di=di, diciamo culturale che viene apprezzato. quindi, e:::h nelle mie lezioni, ci sono un po’ di questi termini, che sono importanti anche da un punto di vista così, della letteratura tecnica che loro ((gli studenti)) troveranno, e che probabilmente un inglese UK (.) troverebbe (.) pretenziosi [...].

Ob seine Vorstellung von seinem akademischen Englisch, welches nicht vereinfacht werde (und diesbezüglich in einem gewissen Widerspruch zum Stereotyp steht), auch zutrifft, wird eine detaillierte Analyse seines effektiven Sprachgebrauchs zeigen müssen.

Nach der Meinung einer aus Osteuropa stammenden Studentin der Universität Bozen, welche einen zweisprachigen Studiengang an der Fakultät für Bildungswissenschaften in Brixen besucht, haben viele ihrer Kommilitonen Probleme mit der zweisprachigen Universitätsausbildung, wählen ihre Vorlesungen und Seminare häufig weniger nach inhaltlichen als nach sprachlichen Kriterien und sind in ihrer zweiten Sprache viel weniger aktiv (Franceschini *et al.* 2007: 16).

Sollte diese Meinung verbreitet sein, so könnte sie einen unmittelbaren Einfluss auf die Erfolgschancen des multilingualen Projekts haben. In diesem Sinne ist die Erforschung derartiger Vorstellungen für das DYLAN-Projekt von zentralem Interesse. Nur wer sie genau kennt und ihre Konsequenzen einschätzen kann wird in der Lage sein, allenfalls an den Vorstellungen der Studenten, Professoren und Administratoren zu arbeiten, insofern sie Erfolg versprechenden multilingualen Strategien im Wege stehen.

Denn dass die volle Ausnutzung mehrsprachiger Repertoires auch an den Hochschulen für Wissenserwerb und -vermittlung fruchtbar gemacht werden kann, lässt sich empirisch nachweisen. Hier ein Beispiel aus des Arbeit des Lausanner Moduls (Berthoud *et al.* 2007: 9ff.). Wir sind an der rechtswissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Universität Zürich. In einer Arbeitsgruppe bestehend aus einem Professor und drei Studierenden, davon zwei deutsch- und einer französischsprachig, soll ein auf Französisch verfasstes Bundesgerichtsurteil analysiert werden. Dafür sind Kenntnisse der französischen Rechtssprache unerlässlich.

PW: ((lu)) <il a mis à la charge de x une créance ((saccadé)) <compensatrice> de trente milles francs/ ((aspiration)) ((baisse de voix)) à verser à l'état du valais/ ainsi que les frais de la cause\> .. c'est quoi ça\ .. ((à l'adresse de JR)) est-ce que vous comprenez vous comme francophone\ ... ou bien est-ce que vous- vous DEvinez ce que ça peut être cette <u>créance</u> compensatrice\
(2.0)
MB: ((bas)) das ist (euh)
PW: was heisst es wörtlich\
(4.6)
MB: eine kompensatorische (1.3) ja das ist nichts and[(eres als) XXX
PW: [eine kompensatorische was/
MB: ja (das) XX&
PW: &((rire))
LS: kaution
PW: euh- . hä/
MB: kaution
(..)

PW: [eine kompensatorische/ . kaution/
MB: [X
PW: [créance/ ist das kaution/
MB: [((parle de manière saccadé et incompréhensible))
(2.4)
PW: was ist créance/ das ist ja wirklich [also-
MB: [créance

LS: XX&
MB: créance isch doch der: . geldgeber\
LS?: cré[ancier
PW: [das ist der créancier [ist der . ist der . gläubiger\
LS?: [créan-cier
PW: und die créance ist/
(4.0)
PW: vom gläubiger aus gesehen/ . der hat eben eine créance/ drum ist er der créancier/
LS: eine schuld\
(..)
PW: euh- schuld hat eigentlich eher der andere&
LS: &der andere ja stimmt ((petit rire))
PW: was hat der créancier de- wenn de- wenn der eine(n) schuld(ner/en) hat hat <u>der</u> was/&
LS: &(einen) anspruch
PW: einen anspruch oder eine forderung nicht\&
LS: &XX&
PW: &jawohl\

Die Kollegen aus Lausanne zeigen in ihrer Analyse auf, wie aus einer rein metalinguistischen Aktivität (der Übersetzung) allmählich eine integrierte metalinguistisch-fachbezogene Aktivität wird, in dem ein zunächst isolierter Wissensgegenstand in ein Netzwerk von Kenntnissen eingebettet wird, deren Verknüpfungen gemeinsam erarbeitet werden. Dabei dient ein zweisprachiges Repertoire den Partnern als Ressource, um nicht nur ein sprachliches, sondern auch ein begriffliches Problem zu lösen; darüber hinaus werden aber auch diskursive Strategien der sprachübergreifenden Problembewältigung eingeübt (z.B. mittels diskursbezogener und nicht personenbezogener Funktionen des Code-switching). Die aus dieser Arbeit an den Begriffen des Privatrechts resultierende Bereicherung sei auch für den französischen Muttersprachler vorteilhaft, meinen die analysierenden Forscher (Berthoud *et al.* 2007: 11).

Mit diesem Beispiel sind wir weit weg von Einsprachigkeitsideologien, aber auch von der Vorstellung von Universitäten als „Höheren Sprachschulen". Mehrsprachigkeit im Unterricht ist hier kein Selbstzweck. Die Ressourcen einer — grundsätzlich vorausgesetzten, sich aber durchaus weiterentwickelnden — mehrsprachigen Kompetenz sind vielmehr die Voraussetzung für das Entstehen von Wissen. In diesem Fall geht es noch um Wissen, welches beim Dozenten schon vorhanden ist; bei ähnlichen Beispielen in Forschungslaboratorien oder an wissenschaftlichen Kolloquien handelt es sich aber durchaus um die Generierung neuen Wissens. Da u. a. auch die Module aus Bozen und Barcelona derartige Gesprächsanalysen vornehmen, darf man auf eine Vielfalt von diesbezüglichen Erkenntnisse hoffen.

6. Bilanz

Der Begriff ‚Mehrsprachigkeit' oder ‚Mehrsprachige Universität' hat, wie wir angedeutet haben, unterschiedliche Definitionen und Konnotationen. Viele verstehen darunter ein Nebeneinander von mehreren Einzelsprachen, wie es einer „homoglossischen" Vorstellung von Europa entspricht, gleichsam als Mosaik unantastbarer, möglichst einsprachiger Sprachterritorien, mit einer übergreifenden *Lingua Franca* (vgl. Lüdi 2007a). In diesem Modell sollen die Studierenden zusätzlich zur Regional- bzw. Nationalsprache möglichst gute Englischkenntnisse erwerben; immersive Lehrveranstaltungen auf Englisch dienen diesem Ziel und gleichzeitig der Einbindung der betreffenden Hochschule in ein globales Netzwerk. Mutatis mutandis könnte man in der Terminologie der *bilingual studies* von „schwachen" Programmen (weak bilingual programs) sprechen, deren Ziel nicht die nachhaltige Mehrsprachigkeit, sondern der möglichst reibungslose Wechsel in die dominante Sprache (transitional bilingualism) darstellt (Baker 2001).

Dem steht ein „polyglossisches" Idealbild von mehrsprachigen Universitäten gegenüber, in denen sich mehrere Sprachen begegnen und miteinander interagieren. Professoren, Mitarbeiter und Studierende verfügen nach dieser Vision über ein mehrsprachiges Repertoire bestehend aus der Integration all ihrer mehr oder weniger partiellen Kenntnisse in allen ihren Sprachen (vgl. z. B. Coste *et al.* 1997, Mondada 2004, Lüdi 2004, 2006, Pekarek Doehler 2005) und wissen, den Mehrwert ihrer Mehrsprachigkeit bei der Wissenskonstruktion zu nutzen. Hier geht es um „starke" Programme (strong bilingual programs) mit dem Ziel, möglichst alle europäischen

Sprachen als akademische Sprachen zu erhalten[9] und gleichzeitig der *Lingua franca* gebührend Rechnung zu tragen.

Es war oben von den Bedürfnissen der Arbeitswelt die Rede. In diesem Zusammenhang sei daran erinnert, dass Unternehmen an Mehrsprachigkeit „an sich“ kaum interessiert sind. In Handbüchern zur Kommunikation im Unternehmen (z.B. Bruhn 2005) kommt sie nicht vor. Allerdings können Sprachen in einer zunehmend von sprachlicher Vielfalt gekennzeichneten Umgebung als Werkzeug für die Koordination, für das Risikomanagement, für den Zugang zur Information, für die interne Kohäsion, aber auch für die Anpassung an die Erschütterungen der Märkte den wirtschaftlichen Erfolg oder Misserfolg wesentlich mitbestimmen. Dies ist der Hintergrund für die Sprachstrategien der Unternehmen, die sich an Kriterien der Wirksamkeit (aus der Perspektive des Unternehmens) und der Verteilungsgerechtigkeit (aus der Perspektive der Sprachgruppen und Sprecher) orientieren. Bedeutsam ist die Antwort des schon erwähnten Forschungsgruppenleiters Jamal H. auf die Frage, weshalb er, des Deutschen nur sehr teilweise mächtig, Forschungsprotokolle auf Deutsch zulasse oder gar verlange:

Mara ne comprend pas assez l’anglais et je sais que Marianne s’exprime mieux en allemand qu’en anglais. Pour moi, le plus important c’est que ELLES s’entendent et se comprennent sur les changements qu’ils vont faire sur le protocole, parce que c’est un document que ELLES utilisent chaque jour pour travailler.»

Unsere ersten Resultate bestätigen die Hypothese, dass mehrsprachige Repertoires eine wertvolle Ressource darstellen (vgl. z.B. Boulea & Jeanneret 2007, Lüdi & Py 2009), welche Arbeitnehmer in spezifischen Kommunikationsereignissen flexibel ausschöpfen. Wir beginnen besser zu verstehen, wie dies geschieht, wie sie die Mehrsprachigkeit und Multikulturalität in „gemischten Teams“ sehen und aktiv gestalten, wie sie Sprachenvielfalt in dieser Dynamik regulieren und vorschreiben, ihr Geltung verschaffen oder aber sie auf ein Mindestmass zu verkleinern versuchen. Dabei sind erhebliche Unterschiede unter den Unternehmen, aber auch und besonders zwischen unterschiedlichen Kommunikationsereignissen zu beobachten.

Dies ist an Hochschulen nicht grundsätzlich anders. Dazu kommt freilich, dass, insofern Mehrsprachigkeit der Studienabgänger als Anstellungsvoraussetzung fungiert, mehrsprachige Ausbildungsgänge den betreffenden Hochschulen einen Wettbewerbsvorteil zu bringen versprechen (dies ist zum Beispiel der Hintergrund für die Einführung von zweisprachig französisch-deutschen Studiengängen an der Rechtswissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Universität Freiburg i. Ue.).

9 Die Hypothese ist erlaubt, dass die Verwendung als akademische Sprache — auch in den Naturwissenschaften — langfristig eine Überlebensvoraussetzung für kleinere standardisierte europäische Sprachen sein wird.

Drei Aspekte seien in diesem Zusammenhang noch betont:

1. Es geht nicht um das dekontextualisierte Lernen von Sprachen. Ziel ist nicht akademische Mehrsprachigkeit an sich in Form von Sprachdiplomen, sondern die Fähigkeit, sich flexibel in immer neuen mehrsprachigen Umgebungen zurechtzufinden. Wir erwähnen hier das Beispiel des mehrfach zitierten Forschungsgruppenleiters Jamal H., der mit Arabisch-, Französisch-, Niederländisch-, Spanisch- und Englischkenntnissen seine neue Stelle angetreten hat und sofort mit dem Bedürfnis konfrontiert wurde, Deutsch zu lernen. Dies ist ihm hervorragend gelungen, auch wenn sein Deutsch zurzeit keinen akademischen Massstäben genügen würde. Nicht zuletzt geht es um das Einüben von exolingualer und interkultureller Kommunikation, wie dies beispielsweise in Form von Immersionsunterricht geschieht.
2. Normvorstellungen aller Akteure spielen dabei eine grosse Rolle. Werden Codeswitching und andere Formen der mehrsprachigen Rede als Ressource oder aber als Fehlentwicklung und Verwirrung betrachtet? Grundsätzlich besteht in der Erforschung der Rolle von Vorstellungen bei der Sprachenwahl für bestimmte Kommunikationsereignisse, inklusive bei der Wahl zwischen einsprachigen und mehrsprachigen Formen der Rede, ein erheblicher Forschungsbedarf, den DYLAN ein Stück weit abzudecken versucht. Von speziellem Interesse sind dabei die Kongruenz oder Inkongruenz zwischen den Sprachvorstellungen in der Arbeitswelt und jenen der universitären Akteure (namentlich in den Sprachenzentren). Mindestens tut eine Sensibilisierung der letzteren für mehrsprachige Praktiken Not.
3. Offen ist schliesslich die Frage danach, wie mehrsprachige Repertoires gemessen und dokumentiert werden können. Traditionell werden die Kompetenzen in den einzelnen Sprachen mit Hilfe von ausgeklügelten, sich oft am Europäischen Referenzrahmen orientierenden, Messinstrumenten getrennt evaluiert. Angesichts der Bedürfnisse der Arbeitswelt wären aber auch Evaluationsinstrumente von Nöten, welche den kontextbezogenen, flexiblen Einsatz von mehrsprachigen Repertoires zu messen erlaubten (vgl. Lüdi 2007). Hier ist zweifellos noch ein grosser Forschungs- und Entwicklungsbedarf vorhanden.

Zusammenfassend ist zu sagen, dass die Sprachenvielfalt einerseits eine Herausforderung, andererseits aber auch eine Chance für die europäischen Hochschulen darstellt. Unter welchen Bedingungen und nach welchen Mustern können sie dieser Herausforderung erfolgreich begegnen? Notwendig sind dafür forschungsgestützte Sprachstrategien, gerade auch in der Entwicklung mehrsprachiger Studiengänge, aber umgekehrt auch wissenschaftliche Evaluationen des Erfolgs dieser Studiengänge, nicht nur bezüglich der sprachlichen und disziplinären Kenntnisse, sondern auch bezüglich ihres spezifischen Mehrwerts für die Konstruktion und Vermittlung von Wissen und für die Konkurrenzfähigkeit der Absolventen auf dem Arbeitsmarkt. Genau darum geht es im Forschungsprojekt DYLAN.

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Testing for Bilingualism in Higher Education

Anu Virkkunen-Fullenwider – University of Helsinki Language Centre

It is of vital importance for bi- or multilingual universities to be able to verify that entering students have the required language skills in order to succeed in their prospective studies in a timely fashion. Unfortunately, assessment and measurement of bilingualism are not simple matters. Neither international commercial testing services nor national testing/assessment operations seem to be interested in assessing language skills in more than one language at a time. This means that assessing bilingualism is the responsibility of the institution in question.

In testing theory, the focus is shifting from the purpose of testing to the consequences of testing. Thus, a stated 'purpose' may not always yield the expected consequences, and the actual consequences in the real world are more important than the purpose.

Following an introduction, various definitions of bilingualism and bilinguals are reviewed. Thereafter, current tests of bilingualism, testing practices and the most common administrative policies are explained: in several universities, language tests seem to be gate keepers.

Principally, this paper discusses 1) problems in the measurement and assessment of bilingualism, especially from the point of view of higher education, 2) various political and legal rationales in the definitions of who is a bilingual person and how one's mother tongue is defined in various contexts, and 3) universities' options for tackling the problems in a way that satisfies the administration, the testers/assessors and the students themselves.

Key words: assessment, bilingualism, language proficiency, testing, university

1. Introduction

Why is there such an interest in bilingual students? Why are language decisions concerning bilingualism so important in Europe just now?

At the moment, the European Union and the Council of Europe are very interested in people who know more than one language. Countries are discussing the statuses of the various languages spoken within their borders. A good example of this discussion is the final report of a Finnish Ministry of Education national language education project published in 2007. It discusses the statuses of the languages in Finland very extensively, ranging from the two sign languages used in Finland to the goals of language instruction and assessment in schools, polytechnics and universities.

One special issue is the number of languages that are going to die in the next few years. Many constitutions express in some form the idea that citizens have a right to their mother tongue, but how is this principle being applied? Does it mean special government funding in the case of small, endangered languages like the three Saami languages in Finland? Or should all nations admitting immigrants into their countries be held responsible for providing them with services in their own mother tongues? And if yes, what grounds can be used to decide which languages should get special support and which should not? All these are political questions which have to do with human rights and various national language policies, but the rationale used in decision making is often based on historical considerations.

There is no denying that the interest in people who know more than one language is significantly driven by financial considerations. European policies on labour mobility underline the importance of knowing several languages. But financial decisions are needed when governments define the level of required language skills, provide funding for the language instruction needed to reach that level and for assessing the acquired language competences.

In universities, the academic interest in bi- and multilingualism has, for some time, been twofold. On one hand, researchers have always yearned for and cherished international contacts. Now, on the other hand, more and more European universities are looking for bi- and multilingual students because there is a special interest in having foreign students and student exchanges in every university. This special interest may wax or wane depending on the availability of special funding.

Several universities now offer Master's programmes that are taught in a language that is a foreign language in the country in question. These, mostly English-medium, programmes require teachers and students that are fluent and capable of academic communication in that language. This may also apply to the administration of these programmes to the extent that the foreign language in question is the only lingua franca. Accordingly, English as a lingua franca (ELF) has become a popular object of study.

In this paper, I am first going to explain the theoretical background for my conceptions of bilingualism, bilingual people and universities, and attitudes towards testing bilingualism in general. Then, in a discussion of testing, I focus on specific aspects that also play a role in testing bilingualism. I elaborate on problems encountered in testing and, finally, give my own suggestions for how to improve testing in university language centres.

2. Bilingualism

Bilingualism is defined as knowledge of two languages and the ability to communicate in them, in other words, as "proficiency in the use of two languages" (EB, Micropaedia II, 1979: 17). Whereas natural bilingualism is the result of regular contact with people who speak two different languages, institutional bilingualism is the result of formal language study. A naturally bilingual person may well come from a bilingual family and is thus bilingual without formal language education. An "institutionally" bilingual person is bilingual because of language education, e.g., having had schooling in an L2.

Although a bilingual person is usually expected to be quite fluent in two languages, much like a native speaker, bilingualism takes many forms.

2.1. *Degree of bilingualism*

One way to define bilingual proficiency is to use a bilingual continuum (see, e.g., Sánchez 2006: 125). This continuum has ”non-non” at one end and ”ambilingual” at the other. “Non-non” means that the person in question is proficient in neither language, and an “ambilingual” person can communicate like a native speaker in both languages and change languages without any difficulty or having to lower the level of proficiency. These people can also be called “equilingual” or “balanced bilinguals” (Edwards 2006: 9). Somewhere between “non-non” and “ambilingual” proficiency is “semilingualism, which refers to the lack of complete fluency in either language” (ibid. 10). In this definition, the emphasis should be on the word “complete”, which means that a semilingual person has much more language proficiency in the two languages than does a non-non bilingual.

Edwards also discusses divisions into “productive and receptive bilingualism”, “additive and subtractive bilingualism” (ibid. 10) and “primary and secondary bilingualism” (ibid. 11). Because these divisions do not directly reflect the degree of bilingualism but rather the kind of bilingualism, they are only mentioned here in passing.

In most bilingual people, one language dominates, but the language in the dominant position can change according to the situation in life, most often according to how much the language is used. Other factors can also influence language dominance. Edwards mentions social pressures and needs (ibid. 10), but individual attitudes towards languages and respect or disrespect for some language may also play a role—some languages simply have more prestige than others. In addition, there are languages whose speakers refuse to use them in public for fear of being stigmatized.

The environment may be more overtly hostile to people using some language. In fall 2007, in Uppsala, Sweden, two Finnish social workers were forbidden to use Finnish while talking to one another in the office. In Finland, the use of Saami languages in Finnish schools in Lapland was prohibited in the first half of the 20th century. Nowadays, in the Saami regions, the instruction and use of Saami languages are protected by law (Näkkäläjärvi & Rahko 2007: 253).

In this connection, it is important to mention the terms “transference”, “interference” and “code switching”. The languages used by a person for communication affect one another, and the above-mentioned terms describe this influence. Interference has been studied since the 1950s (e.g. Weinreich 1953) and is mainly understood to refer to the negative influence one language has on the other. Edwards (2006: 18-20) points out the differences between the three terms: transference is a more positive term than interference, and code switching is the most value-neutral of all. According to him, this order (interference-transference-code switching) also expresses the degree of volition and conscious choice between the two languages. Transference can be divided into such subcategories as syntactic, lexical and phonological, and these are the characteristics of one language found in the other. As is well-known, some accents (i.e. phonological transference) may even be fashionable. On the other hand, literal translation of certain terms in one language into the other, i.e. lexical transference, is also a survival skill when one is at a loss for the actual terms.

Code switching is conscious and takes place during speech production, for example: something can be better expressed in the other language or it simply feels more natural to be speaking about something in a certain language. Code switching has been studied in various languages: English and Spanish especially in the USA, English and French in Canada, Swedish and Finnish in Finland, to mention a few.

2.2. *Testing for bilingualism*

Testing for bilingualism usually takes the form of testing the two languages separately. Traditional language tests of bilingualism are few and far between. Tests involving both adults and children have often been designed with the help of second language acquisition (SLA) theory. Such tests can be sociolinguistic questionnaires that have been used to study attitudes towards languages or self-assessment. Other tests are more specifically language tests, varying from measures of mean length of utterance (MLU) (e.g. Yip & Matthews 2006) to sentence repetition and verbal fluency (e.g. MacSwan 1997), to rating scales and the fluency, flexibility and dominance tests mentioned by Edwards (2007: 9). He also lists several variables that influence the outcomes of these tests: attitude, age, sex, intelligence, memory, linguistic distance between the two languages, and context of testing. To the list must be added educational background.

The *Dienststelle für Zwei- und Dreisprachigkeitsprüfungen,* in the Autonomous Province of Bozen in South Tyrol is the only official institution I know of that specializes in bilingual adults and testing their proficiency. The agency, with headquarters in Bozen, tests both written and oral skills on four different levels of difficulty. It is interesting to note that this agency has age limits for those taking various tests: enrolees must be over 14 to take the lower level C and D tests and over 17 to take the upper level A and B tests. Its web sites include the form to enrol in the four tests as well as materials to prepare for them. It seems that a satisfactory performance on their A tests will demonstrate language proficiency requested by the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano.

2.3. *Officially bilingual universities*

In officially bilingual universities, bilingualism is defined in legal documents relating to the university, its staff and management, its instruction and research, and its students (for example, on what linguistic basis the students are admitted to a programme) as well as to what and how the students are taught and tested, and to their graduation requirements. Bilingual universities differ in when they expect their students to show proficiency in two languages. It may happen before entering the university (English tested as part of the entrance examinations in Israeli universities) or before graduation (the University of Helsinki). The Free University of Bozen-Bolzano requires students attending trilingual courses to show proficiency in at least one of the three languages upon enrolment, and proficiency in the remaining two languages by the end of the first year of study (for those studying for the Bachelor's degree in Communication Science the admission requirement is the knowledge of two languages).

In the officially bilingual universities, the two operative languages are legally defined, and the selection of these two languages has explicit, often historic, reasons. A good example is the University of Helsinki. Its official languages are Finnish and Swedish, and to secure bilingualism, it has quotas for the numbers of Finnish and Swedish speaking students admitted annually. Certain professorships are reserved for Swedish speakers, and their instruction is in Swedish. Because the study rights of Swedish or Finnish speaking students are not limited to the departments where the instruction is in their mother tongues, students can take tests in either language. They must also be able to obtain a full range of administrative assistance in either language. This means that all university faculty and staff holding permanent positions have language requirements to fulfil. All university documents are issued in both languages, including test instructions and certificates. Even in academic festivities, both languages are always used.

2.4. *The bilingual student the universities are looking for*

Jeffrey MacSwan's definition (1997: 48) of the balanced or proficient bilingual best describes the kind of bilingual students the universities would like to have. According to him, the student is "one who is relatively evenly competent in both languages, has actively used both languages [preferably] since infancy, has had continued, sustained exposure to both languages, and appears to have generally high verbal fluency".

2.5. *L1 versus bilingualism in Finland*

In Finland, one cannot be legally bilingual; in other words, a formal declaration of mother tongue must be made and kept on file in the national archives. The emphasis on one mother tongue extends so far that it is impossible to show one's proficiency in two languages by taking two L1 tests in, for example, the national matriculation examinations.

The other side of the Finnish attitude towards bilingualism has been the reluctance to allow children to enter an L2 elementary or junior high school, with the exception of language immersion schools. Many elementary school teachers have expressed their concern that teaching first-year pupils the language along with reading and writing skills takes a lot of their energy, and they are unable to concentrate on the majority of the children. Changes are taking place because of the many immigrant children now coming to Finnish schools and having to learn the language alongside other basic skills.

Even though it is impossible to be bilingual by law, it is possible to change one's mother tongue without having to take a test or to show one's proficiency in any other way. Just an official announcement suffices.

The heading of the official form[1] refers to correcting (korjaaminen) or changing (muuttaminen) the designation of one's mother tongue. The form for doing this can be found on the web pages of Maistraatit – Magistraterna. It can be filled in on-line but has to be printed out so that the authentic signature of the person changing L1 information can be verified. The list of alternative mother tongues is very long, but there are only two languages, Finnish and Swedish, that people can choose from when they decide in which language they want to receive official information. However, some national Finnish offices also have their information available in English, e.g. the Tax Office.

3. Various university approaches to students' bilingualism

Just as different countries have found different ways to identify and address issues arising from the bilingualism of their populations, universities differ from one another as to how they expect their students to show evidence of their bilingualism and when they have to do so.

3.1. *External versus internal certification*

External certification means that the institution admitting bilingual students evaluates the evidence of language proficiency provided through businesses or testing services not part of the university itself. Internal certification takes place within the university.

It is possible to identify four different practices when it comes to accepting language certificates as proof of students' L2 proficiency. Firstly, several commercially available tests, like the TOEFL test, are considered worldwide to be reliable evidence of language skills. The TOEFL has become so popular as *the* international English test because of its wide availability, the clear results and the ease to define the cut-off scores for acceptable performance recommended by the test provider (with research to back up the claims), and the possibility to find out whether the document is authentic. The second group of externally available language certificates consists of official tests administered by an official national provider like the *Dienststelle für Zwei- und Dreisprachigkeitsprüfungen,* Autonome Provinz Bozen – Südtirol. Both of these services provide external certification.

Although it falls short of proficiency certification per se, recognition of prior learning (RPL) has become a current topic in the discussion of language requirements. To decide whether an incoming student is sufficiently competent in the two languages, a university may accept the results or achievements of prior language studies. This previous assessment or evaluation may take the form of an external (high school/

1 The name of the form in Finnish is ÄIDINKIELITIEDON KORJAAMINEN/MUUTTAMINEN.

upper secondary matriculation) diploma that refers explicitly to an assessment of a language or languages. It may also take the form of successful performance on a matriculation examination with a language in it, of previous language studies in some other university or polytechnic or of internal (previous) studies at the same university. Now that recognition of prior learning (RPL) is playing a more important role, because of the emphasis on taking into account all of the student's achievements, a university may regard, for example, completed non-language coursework in a foreign university during a student exchange as proof of language proficiency (external).

But still some universities wish to test or assess the language skills of all the students in that university. Generally speaking, the decision to resort to internal certification only has two grounds. Either the university has had very bad experiences of accepting external certification, or its expectations with respect to those skills are so special that they are not addressed in any external instrument.

3.2. *Entrance or exit*

Secondly, every bilingual university must decide when its students have to show they are bilingual. If L2 proficiency at a certain level is part of the entrance requirements then either a language test is included in the entrance examination or the university admits only those students who have valid certificates of their language proficiency. The test can be a clear-cut language test or a psychometric test, such as those in use at Israeli universities. Some universities require scholastic aptitude tests either with a language component or taken totally in an L2.

At the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano, for example in the Faculty of Design and Art and the Faculty of Science and Technology, students are admitted in without language certification for all the three languages. The students are given a year to achieve the required level in the required languages and be able to show the documentation for their achievement. To quote the web pages, "by the end of their first year of study, students will have had to demonstrate an adequate knowledge of the three official languages of the University"[2]. The Study Guide 2008/2009 gives detailed information on the language skills required when students enter the university: "For enrolment into the first year, it is necessary to: - have certified knowledge of at least one of the three official teaching languages, - demonstrate at least elementary knowledge of the other two languages" (p. 200). In other words, all the language requirements are part of neither entrance nor exit assessment but the required language proficiency has to be certified within the first year of study. To help the students in their language studies, the University offers language courses, some of which are compulsory (ibid., p. 208).[3]

On the other hand, at the University of Helsinki, L2 proficiency is part of graduation requirements: there is a special language component in the degree. Students have

2 www.unibz.it/design-art/studium/bewerbung/index.html?LanguageID=EN&trigMenu=3, 13 June 2007.

3 www.unibz.it/web4archiv/objects/pdf/standard/advisary_service/guidastudenteweb2008_enridotto.pdf_3 January 2009.

to pass the L2 test on a pre-determined level defined in the law. However, RPL may play a role, and successful completion of coursework in L2 may be accepted as at least partial proof of required proficiency.

4. Testing

According to traditional testing theory, there are decisions that have to do with all tests, and a number of special factors must always be taken into account when designing language tests. First these factors or key concepts are discussed. Then, the focus is shifted to difficulties or potential problem areas in testing.

4.1. *Key concepts*

The fundamental question, that of *speed versus power,* concerns all tests that can be placed in a continuum with speed as one end and power as the other end. Unfortunately, it is impossible to concentrate exclusively on the power of the test taker in the area to be tested—every test has to have some time limits. But neither does it seem appropriate for universities to use speed tests. At any rate, it is important to keep in mind that not only common sense but also research results (see Asher 1990) show that, in test situations, the processing times required by bilinguals in their less dominant language are longer than in the dominant language.

The test designer should make many decisions before the actual language test is made. The mode of testing depends on what kinds of language skills are to be tested. A division into *receptive* (listening and reading) and *productive* (speaking and writing) *skills* is customary, and the testing format shows the mode. However, especially in designing tests of receptive skills, one ought to ensure that the results do not actually depend on the productive skills. One typical such error is the use of a dictation as a listening comprehension exercise if the test takers have to fill in the blanks with the words they hear and spelling mistakes affect the scores.

The division of language *tests into direct and indirect tests* indicates how the skills are being tested. The use of writing tasks to test writing is an example of direct testing. An example of an indirect test, in this case of speaking, is the test developed by Carol Norris in the University of Helsinki Language Centre in the 1980s. As the only English teacher in a large medical faculty, she had to test the speaking skills of the numerous graduating students. She simply did not have enough time to assess each student separately. Therefore, she had written down the patient's comments in a discussion with a medical doctor, and she gave that to the students, who had to add what the doctor said. In a later unpublished study, she was able to show that the results of the indirect test of speaking ability correlated very well with those of a direct test.

After having decided which skills are going to be assessed and how, the test type has to be chosen. *Achievement tests, performance tests and proficiency tests* differ from one another in their relationship to formal instruction. Tim McNamara (2000) defines these tests in the following way:

Achievement tests aim to establish what has been learned in a course of instruction (p.131).

In a performance test, an assessment is carried out in a context where the candidate is involved in an act of communication (p.135).

Proficiency tests are tests which aim to establish a candidate's readiness for a particular communicative role, e.g. in a work or educational setting (p. 135).

Achievement tests are the most common and are familiar to anyone who has ever studied any language. The other two definitions can be complemented by the following. Performance tests can, to a certain extent, be prepared for although the emphasis is on performance in a given setting. Proficiency tests cannot be practiced for, and even though they also are given in a context, they aim at a more comprehensive, perhaps global, assessment of proficiency.

Typically, final examinations in foreign language courses are achievement tests. Bilingual university students show their language skills in performance or proficiency tests.

Language tests have to be scored. There are two ways to do that: *holistic (subjective)* or *objective scoring*. The latter refers to the fact that for all items in the test, there is a list of correct, accepted answers. Test correction takes place according to this key which should be so clear that even people who do not know the language in question can correct the test.

Holistic scoring is more problematic. It used to be called "subjective" because the correction depends very much on the rater, i.e. there are many correct ways of answering questions or completing test tasks, and there is no key. The rater has to decide not only what is correct and what is not but also what is good and what is poor quality. The whole task, e.g. an L2 essay, is assessed even though attention is also paid to "item-like" matters such as articles, prepositions, congruency between verbs and nouns, and spelling mistakes.

In holistic scoring, both *intra-rater* and *inter-rater reliability* must be taken into account. That means that whether one person or several persons correct a certain test, the results should be approximately the same, i.e. rating must be reliable. Usually inter-rater reliability is strengthened by training sessions and by shared criteria and benchmarks for assessment. In high-stakes testing, training takes place after every test session. If only one person is the corrector, he or she must be made aware of how intra-rater reliability may be impeded by, for example, the time of the day the tests are corrected, the number of papers corrected at the same time and many similar factors.

Scoring the tests depends on how the tested population is taken into account. In *norm-referenced testing,* the reference population is larger than the population of students in one school or university. Widely used international, and usually standardised, tests are norm-referenced, and that norm has been achieved at through piloting the tests, several administrations of the test and a lot of research that support the concepts of the norms. *Criterion-referenced testing* means that there are certain set criteria that the test takers have to fulfil in order to pass the test. Universities rely on criterion-referenced testing and they also wish the used criteria to be known by the test takers.

What can be said about the adult test taker in this context? University students as test takers are no tabula rasas. They come to a testing situation with their own attitudes, personalities and life conditions. They may have preconceived ideas of language testing, based on their previous experiences. In addition, students have a lot of *background knowledge* (BK). Weir, Huizhong and Yan (2000: 26) compare Bernhardt's ideas about BK with those advanced in the schema theory. Both recognize three kinds of BK. Bernhardt divides BK into 1) idiosyncratic BK, i.e. held by individuals, 2) domain-specific BK, i.e. gained by schooling, and 3) culture-specific BK, i.e. transmitted from generation to generation. Schema theory pays less attention to the persons and more attention to the knowledge itself with its division into content, cultural and formal knowledge (ibid.). From a tester's point of view, it is important to keep in mind that the test takers may have very different kinds of BK, some of which may not even be in conscious awareness but which will influence test results. The effect of BK on test results has been studied. It has, for example, been shown that how well students do in reading comprehension tests has to do with the subject matter of the tests. If students are given texts in their own subject area (where they have BK), that correlates positively with their test results (Clapham 1996: 186-7). A student of biology may expect to demonstrate a higher level of reading comprehension if the subject of the test is biology than if it is economics.

4.2. Potential problem areas in testing

When well done, language testing is always expensive: commercially available standardised tests incur direct expenses, and testing within a university takes a lot of time and effort, these incurring indirect expenses. Though the commercial tests are internationally seen as valid, they do not necessarily cover the types of skills needed by university students. On the other hand, if language testing is done within the university, the staff must include teachers who know about testing if testing specialists cannot be afforded. The university employer must be aware of the fact that even today, many language teachers have had limited, if any, testing training in their pedagogical studies and official teacher training. There are no free lunches in language testing.

Recognition of prior learning (RPL) may be useful, but grades given for previous language study reflect only the student's achievement in that particular institute at the level of language studies there and at that time. Though these grades have a certain prognostic value, they give no reliable information about how well/poorly the student will succeed in the next phase. The catch phrase that testing is like "taking the temperature that day" refers to the fact that the test results of the same student vary, and they may vary greatly even from day to day. In addition, a language profile, i.e. a set of results of various language tests, describes a student's language proficiency much better than a single test result of some skill or competence.

One important question remains: What kind of language should we test from the viewpoint of the purposes of the language use? Should it be Language for Specific Purposes (LSP) or Language for Academic Purposes (LAP)? The difference between LSP and LAP is that LSP concentrates on the academic or professional field and the language skills needed there, for example Business English or Medical French, while LAP includes also skills needed in the study environment, for example, knowing how to deal with the bureaucracy every student faces in every university. The next questions we must ask are: Who is an LSP/LAP expert? And how should we test LSP/LAP? So far, there are no unambiguous answers to these questions, and each institution has found its own solutions.

5. Common European Framework of Reference

The growing emphasis on languages is evident also in the work of the Council of Europe, whose major undertaking, Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, teaching, assessment, was published in English in 2001. Now it has been translated into dozens of languages, including non-European languages such as Japanese, and its popularity in Asia has taken Europeans by surprise. This book, which is based to a great extent on Brian North's doctoral dissertation, provides a good basis for discussing the present situation of language instruction and testing or assessment in Europe and elsewhere.

CEFR takes up many issues central to language learning, teaching and assessment. First, and perhaps the most important approach to language instruction is that the model for a proficient language user is NO LONGER a native speaker. This comes as a relief to teachers of languages that are spoken as mother tongues in many variants around the world (e.g., Spanish, French or English) because the question of which native speaker should serve as a model is now moot. Proficient foreign language users are those who get their messages across even though, e.g., there may be traces of L1 influence in the pronunciation.

The second clear stand taken in CEFR is how to understand the concept of proficiency. In second/foreign language theory, language proficiency has been defined dichotomously either in terms of some general underlying factor or in terms of some components or subskills (see the discussion in Brown & Hudson 2002: 16-17). In CEFR, proficiency is divided into 57 competences. Most of these competences are divided into six levels of proficiency starting with level A1 (Breakthrough) and ending in level C2 (Mastery) (CEFR, 2001: 22-36). However, some competences are "topless" or "bottomless". The competence called "turntaking" (ibid., 124) has no descriptors for level A1 or level C2. This seems to mean that the highest level of this competence is already reached in C1.

One purpose for CEFR has clearly been to create a shared set of concepts ("a common language") for European language instructors, testers and language learners.

These concepts should bring transparency to language studies and achievement in all the school systems within the Council of Europe. For this reason, CEFR has political support in many countries. The Finnish Ministry of Education supports efforts to introduce CEFR in universities, and it recommends that CEFR levels be used to describe the students' language achievements in their certificates and diplomas (Pyykkö, Tuomi, Juurakko-Paavola & Fiilin 2007: 148).

CEFR levels are already used in the descriptions of language courses and tests in many university prospectuses. Unfortunately, it is not enough just to start using the levels, for certain linking procedures must be completed before a test or a course can really be described as being at the C1 or B2 level. The Council of Europe, more exactly, the Language Policy Division in Strasbourg, has two documents on line to assist testers and test designers. The first one, the Preliminary Pilot Version of the Manual entitled Relating Language Examinations to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment (CEF) was published in English in September 2003. It was followed by Reference Supplement to the Preliminary Pilot Version of the Manual for Relating Language Examinations to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment, which has several sections dealing with standard setting, qualitative linking measures and item response theory, to give a few examples.

Training courses are now available also for university language teachers and testers, to officially link their teaching and testing to CEFR, but very few have had enough training to really be able to do that. Language teachers in pre-university institutions, including polytechnics, have had more training and for a longer time. During one international project with European funding called Ceftrain (with Neus Figueras and Raili Hildén as coordinators), a training programme for teachers was developed for secondary level, and it can be now accessed at www.ceftrain.net. Something similar might be provided to university language teachers.

One means of linking language studies to CEFR would be the creation of an international working committee that would check whether the necessary criteria are being fulfilled. There is no such permanent body, but an international group of experts has accepted the linkage of some European Language Portfolios (ELPs) to CEFR. An ELP consists of a language passport, a biography and a dossier. Although ELPs are more commonly used in pre-university language instruction, university-level ELPs also exist. For instance, the university-level ELP developed for use by The European Confederation of Language Centres in Higher Education (CercleS) was certified by this body of experts to have correctly been linked to CEFR.

Universities must cope with the special problem that CEFR was not developed with them in mind. CEFR's competences and domains need fine-tuning for academic purposes. It would be very helpful if universities could agree on descriptors/criteria for the competence levels, but university-level language studies need special attention before that can happen. Languages for both academic purposes (LAP) and for specific purposes (LSP) have to be described at levels needed in universities, and then, in meetings and negotiations, agreement should be reached and lists of commonly accepted criteria and descriptors produced. Once they exist, a lot of training is needed in how to understand and to use the descriptors in real life.

Transparency is a worthy goal that is not easily reached. National agreement and transparency are no longer enough. Ideally, language proficiency should be reliably described with CEFR levels that are interpreted in the very same way in all European countries.

6. Purposes verses consequences

The purpose of any university language test is to find out whether the students in question have the language skills they need in order to successfully complete their university studies. In addition, the tests on the second/third language at bi- or multilingual universities should also ascertain whether the students can pursue their future careers using these languages. Unfortunately, purposes are not enough—we should also be aware of the consequences of these tests, which can be either positive or negative.

Positive consequences might include the following: The tests give correct results—the students are or are not sufficiently bi- or trilingual. Ultimately, this happens to the benefit of all stakeholders. A testing or assessment system that functions well will produce reliable results and facilitate long-term successful employment.

Negative consequences are produced by a dysfunctional testing or assessment system with unreliable results. Such a system causes lots of extra work for testers (including the development of tests to meet genuine professional needs).

Otherwise linguistically well-prepared students may receive poor results and be excluded from further study. That is not only a loss for them, but also for universities and perhaps the whole society.

On the other hand, while good students may do poorly, students with serious L2/L3 deficiencies may do well enough to be accepted into the university. Because the flawed test results do not show their true proficiency, these students may have poor, protracted graduation studies and prolonged times of study, if they do graduate. In the worst case scenario, they drop out.

But this is not all. It is painful to disappoint students who have had false ideas of their language skills. It is troublesome to have teachers and testers invest time and effort into a testing system that does not work properly. But, administrative staff also suffer because they have to handle an increased amount of time-consuming complaints. Finally, all this detracts from the quality of the whole university.

7. Reccomendations and suggestions

A university can do many things to enhance good testing and assessment of bilinguals. A core content analysis of the programme can identify many of the students' general needs for language proficiency. However, a more detailed analysis of the needs of at least the following groups should be represented: departmental and language teachers, students and graduates already in the workforce. This analysis should focus on both the kinds of skills and competences needed and the necessary levels within these skills and competences.

Once the testing/assessment system has been developed, on the basis of the results of that needs analysis, both the system and the results should be made transparent. Students should be able to verify why they passed or failed a test, and they should be provided with reasonable opportunities to retake the test or to be reassessed.

Cooperation is highly recommended between departmental and language teachers, between teachers and international relations offices, and between the institutes of higher education nationally. Pan-European cooperation is also necessary, and better contacts with universities outside Europe would be very advantageous.

Fortunately, we already have practical tools to work for the common good. One such tool is student and teacher exchanges, which should be encouraged. The individual communities of educators should know more about one another. Several international assessment/testing projects are already underway, and more are being planned. Pan-European and national assessment training programmes should be devised and offered to university teachers because inter-rater reliability on university level is very important. This training must also be seen as a continuum, not a "one-time deal". The existence, goals and activities of these programmes should be advertised and university language teachers and testers should be able to benefit from them.

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Plurilinguismi comunitari e plurilinguismi familiari nell'Italia che transita dal secondo al terzo millennio

Tullio Telmon – Università di Torino, Dipartimento di Scienze del linguaggio

As plurality within the Italian language and dialects becomes recognised, the idea of Italy as a monolingual country now belongs to the past. Some aspects of Italian plurilingualism, however, still need to be solved or thoroughly clarified. These can be summed up as follows:

a) The difference between the so called "historical" heteroglossy situations / situations of heteroglossy and the whole of the Italian dialects as far as genetic nature is concerned (and therefore the different ways they relate to Italian language);
b) The different composition of the common linguistic repertoires above all but not exclusively when isolated heteroglossy is concerned;
c) Typological diversity within each heteroglossy not just in terms of isolation versus offshoot, versus constellation, etc., but also of presence/absence of "roof languages" and the relationship with theese;
d) The underlying ambiguity which characterizes the concept of the repertoire itself and, as a consequence, its related concept of bi- or plurilingualism;
e) How to insert all these aspects into the framework of the unique wealth of changes occurring over the last century?

Many more questions arise from this issue (such as the geographical collocation and different socioeconomic aspects of the local languages which conflict with Italian (such as diglossia situations) which however will not be considered in this paper which aims at presenting, as "thoughts out loud", an outline of the present situation as the author sees it.

Keywords: plurilingualism, heteroglossy, globalisation

1. Sintomi di intossicazione linguistica?

Come molti certamente sapranno, da qualche anno una delle futili polemiche politiche che infuriano in Italia è quella della "sicurezza". A giudicare dalle prime pagine dei giornali, si direbbe infatti che la sicurezza dei cittadini sia seriamente minacciata dai lavavetri, dai venditori di accendini a gas e di braccialettini portafortuna, insomma, in una parola, da quel popolo eterogeneo e variegato che fino a poco tempo fa veniva classificato come "i vucumprà"[1], e che oggi viene visto, nel migliore dei casi, come un fastidioso incidente nella vita quotidiana, ma sempre più spes-

1 La parola è regolarmente registrata nei più aggiornati ed attenti vocabolari. Per non fare che un esempio, cfr. Simone, dir. (2003: 1154). Poiché la parola, malgrado la sua origine scherzosa e in fondo bonaria, è però andata gradualmente assumendo una connotazione sempre più negativa (parallelamente ad una crescita dell'intolleranza razziale?), si direbbe che il suo uso stia diminuendo, probabilmente perché gli interessati stessi, resi consapevoli di tale tendenza, hanno abbandonato quasi completamente l'abitudine di rivolgersi con tale frase ai loro potenziali clienti.

so – ed è questo il peggiore dei casi – come un esercito potenzialmente pronto a sconvolgere la sicurezza dei cittadini.

Parto di qui non soltanto perché già da questa prima considerazione si può ben vedere il legame con le tematiche del plurilinguismo odierno e dei suoi diversi effetti (mistilinguismo e arricchimento lessicale, nella fattispecie del termine *vucumprà*), ma anche perché, di recente, un episodio ha specialmente attirato la mia attenzione linguistica. Qualcuno saprà che Radiotre, uno dei canali della RAI, l'azienda radiotelevisiva pubblica italiana, trasmette ogni mattina, dalle 7.15 alle 8.40, un programma dal titolo "Prima pagina". Si tratta di una rassegna della stampa quotidiana, condotta ogni settimana da un diverso giornalista "della carta stampata", come si usa dire. La mattina del 31 agosto 2007, tale rassegna era condotta da Marcello Veneziani, editorialista del quotidiano "Il Giornale" e intellettuale tra i più noti nell'Italia contemporanea[2]; nel rispondere ad un ascoltatore che gli aveva posto una domanda sull'argomento, appunto, della sicurezza, ad un certo punto il giornalista disse che le forze dell'ordine avevano sequestrato a taluni extracomunitari "accendini, ['ærbrə 'medʒik]" ed altre merci del genere. Avrei dovuto sobbalzare, da cittadino civile e democratico, nel percepire che quegli accendini, quei fazzolettini, quegli *arbres magiques* parevano quasi voler prefigurare delle terribili armi di distruzione. Invece, il sobbalzo c'è stato, ma è stato un sobbalzo da sociolinguista: "a tanto siam giunti?" mi sono chiesto parafrasando Manzoni. Passi per gli *item* che diventano ['aitems]; passi per i *collant* e per i *dépliant* che diventano dei ['kollants] e dei ['depliants]; passi pure (anche se per me è particolarmente duro da digerire) per il *Sestrière* che diventa ['sestrier], ma che un "intellettuale" scambi un innocuo *arbre magique* per un sintagma inglese è proprio un gran brutto segno. Un gran brutto segno per lui, perché, ovviamente, dimostra che l'inglese non lo mastica meglio di quel francese per il quale sembra provare un'evidente idiosincrasia; ma soprattutto un gran brutto segno per le caratteristiche e la qualità del plurilinguismo –anzi, del bilinguismo anglo-italiano- che, sotto l'egida della modernizzazione, dovrebbe ormai caratterizzare le società avanzate e globalizzate, e quella italiana tra esse.

Sulla modernizzazione e sui suoi riflessi sociolinguistici ritorneremo però più avanti. Per ora, proviamo invece a soffermarci sui sintomi di intossicazione linguistica che abbiamo potuto cogliere in queste poche battute iniziali. È da un lato molto chiaro che l'apertura dei mercati, delle frontiere, delle reti sociali, non poteva che accrescere tendenze a contatti, commistioni, prestiti, mescolanze linguistiche che hanno in realtà sempre contraddistinto i rapporti tra popoli sia di lingua differente sia di lingua almeno parzialmente simile. Se nel torinese e in larga parte delle par-

2 "Marcello Veneziani è nato a Bisceglie, nel 1955, e vive a Roma. Laureato in Filosofia è autore di alcuni saggi tra i quali *La rivoluzione conservatrice in Italia. Genesi e sviluppo dell'ideologia italiana* (1987); *Processo all'Occidente. La società globale e i suoi nemici* (1990); *Sul destino* (1992); *Sinistra e destra. Risposta a Norberto Bobbio* (1995); *L'Antinovecento* (1996); *Decamerone italiano* (1997); *Il secolo sterminato* (1998), *e Comunitari o liberal* (1999). Ha diretto e fondato case editrici e riviste culturali e politiche (Intervento, Pagine Libere, L'Italia settimanale). Attualmente dirige il settimanale Lo Stato, è editorialista de Il Giornale e de Il Messaggero e collabora con la RAI". (Informazione tratta il 14.09.07, alle ore 12.30, dal sito internet http://www.emsf.rai.it/biografie/anagrafico.asp?d=215).

late pedemontane occidentali, per non fare che un esempio, il "pisello" (Pisum sativum Linn., per evitare ambiguità) è chiamato ['pòis], ciò è dovuto, evidentemente, ad un influsso almeno settecentesco del francese; ma non del francese inteso come lingua parlata (se così fosse, il torinese non avrebbe avuto difficoltà ad assumere la forma [pwa][3]), bensì del francese scritto. E questo starebbe a dimostrare che, in fondo, anche il Piemonte settecentesco, di francese ne masticava piuttosto poco. Ma non c'è bisogno di fare degli esempi per sapere che forme diverse di plurilinguismo, manifestantisi attraverso le modalità più diverse, sono la norma, e non l'eccezione, quasi in qualsiasi comunità linguistica e quasi in qualsiasi tempo. Dunque, niente da stupire se nell'italiano odierno troviamo dei *vu cumprà* o dei *vucumprà*[4], dei *collànt,* dei *depliànt* (con o senza differenze ortografiche). Ci sarà invece da stupirsi se questi lessemi vengono indiscriminatamente trattati come se dovessero tutti, necessariamente, essere inglesi. Ancora di più, se il trattamento di anglicizzazione va contro le regole stesse dell'inglese, sia sintatticamente (in un sintagma inglese corrispondente ad *arbre magique* il determinante dovrebbe precedere il determinato), sia lessicalmente (l'inglese non ha bisogno di un lessema come *ærbrə*, visto che già possiede un analogo lessema generico per designare l'albero), sia ortograficamente[5], dal momento che l'aggettivo inglese è ortografato *magic* e non *magique*. Dal punto di vista della modernizzazione (della quale, come ho già detto, riparleremo più ampiamente più avanti), ci troviamo così davanti a due fenomeni contraddittori: da un lato, il codice dialetto, che dovrebbe essere quello soccombente, ha ancora tanta vitalità da essere imparato dagli immigrati e da imporre dei propri prestiti alla lingua di diffusione nazionale. Dall'altro lato, il codice dominante di diffusione internazionale ha a sua volta tanta forza e tale prestigio da appropriarsi anche dei prestiti provenienti da altri codici. Il punto massimo della sua egemonia si avrà quando il suo influsso piegherà anche le regole (lessicali, fonologiche, ortografiche) dell'italiano stesso; qualche avvisaglia si è potuta osservare attraverso certe parodie di attori comici (non dimentichiamo che, per esercitare bene il proprio mestiere, devono essere dotati di una specialissima sensibilità linguistica), là dove, per esempio, anglizzavano ogni parola italiana contenente la vocale i tonica, trasformando costantemente quest'ultima nel dittongo ai (*pàizza* per "pizza", ecc.)[6].

Quello che è certo, è che l'intensificarsi, in Italia, delle interferenze, delle commutazioni di codice, del mistilinguismo, e di tutte le manifestazioni, diciamo così, "di livello basso" del plurilinguismo, sarà dovuto sì alla trasformazione del paese da

3 Il passaggio a [wè] e quindi a [wa] (o la sua riduzione a [è]) (ess.: cortoasie, Englais) dell'antico dittongo [òi] data già del XIII secolo: cfr. Chaurand (1972: 28).

4 Particolare interesse riveste, per il sociodialettologo, il fatto che questa forma rivela che gli extracomunitari che hanno appreso e impiegato questo sintagma, tanto da farlo divenire un lessema adottato dagli stessi italofoni per designare i venditori ambulanti di cianfrusaglie, lo hanno assunto da qualche dialetto centro-meridionale E ciò è, ovviamente, significativo della vitalità di tali dialetti. Non si tratta infatti, come qualcuno sostiene (ad es. Gabrielli 2007: 2936), di una storpiatura della frase italiana vuoi comprare, ma dell'adozione di una frase dialettale.

5 Non dimentichiamo che il giornalista leggeva il sintagma da una cronaca di un quotidiano.

6 Mi riferisco qui all'attore Francesco Paolantoni e al personaggio da lui creato ed interpretato del pizzaiolo napoletano Ciairo (appunto, per "Ciro") Boccia, nel 1997.

bacino di esportazione a bacino di importazione di mano d'opera, ma è dovuto sicuramente anche ad una certa qual presa di coscienza, da parte degli italiani, del fatto che l'asserito monolinguismo italofono non è mai esistito e che anche oggi, pure in un clima di apparente degrado e abbandono dei dialetti, questi trovano le vie per imporre molteplici ed insospettate forme di resistenza e manifestazioni di esistenza.

A livello di ricerca scientifica, l'emergenza di forme di plurilinguismo di questo genere trova conferma in alcuni fatti significativi. L'ultimo, collegato anche con la recente scoperta legislativa dell'esistenza di minoranze linguistiche nel nostro paese[7], è rappresentato dal XLI Congresso della Società di Linguistica Italiana.

2. Le comunicazioni del Congresso SLI

SLI è, come certamente molti sapranno, l'acronimo di "Società di Linguistica Italiana": l'associazione che riunisce quasi tutti gli studiosi italiani che, professionalmente o per diletto personale, si occupano di linguistica (in ogni sua specializzazione) e anche numerosissimi studiosi non italiani, generalmente dediti alla linguistica italiana. Dalla sua nascita, nel 1967[8], la Società ha organizzato annualmente un Congresso internazionale, dedicato ogni volta ad un tema diverso. Il tema del quarantunesimo Congresso, tenutosi a Pescara dal 27 al 29 Settembre 2007, era "Alloglossie e comunità alloglotte nell'Italia contemporanea. Teorie, applicazioni e descrizioni, prospettive". Sia ben chiaro: la comunità scientifica è sempre stata perfettamente consapevole del fatto che non tutti i cittadini italiani avessero per lingua materna l'italiano o uno dei cosiddetti "dialetti italiani"[9]; ciò che essa ha invece avuto talvolta la tendenza a dimenticare è il fatto che tutti questi cittadini, imparando e facendo propria la lingua nazionale, venivano con ciò a formare una schiera di parlanti bi- o plurilingui (o di- o poliglotti[10]).
Ebbene: se si guarda al programma del XLI Congresso della SLI di quest'anno e ai riassunti delle comunicazioni riportate nel sito della Società[11], si ha la sensazione che si sia sviluppata una sorta di palingenesi. Su un totale di 23 comunicazio-

7 La legge 482 che, in attuazione dell'articolo 6 della Costituzione, tutela le cosiddette "minoranze linguistiche storiche", data del 15 dicembre 1999.

8 Sulla nascita e sui primi sviluppi della SLI, cfr. De Mauro (1991: 13-29).

9 Su questa nozione, e sul fatto che anche tra i linguisti di professione non sia sempre ben chiaro che essa vuole alludere non già a "dialetti dell'italiano" ma a "dialetti esistenti in Italia" ci sarebbe da aprire un intero capitolo. Anche perché la questione ha a sua volta a che fare con due importanti corollari: da un lato, quello dell'autonomia di ciascuna varietà locale rispetto all'italiano stesso e alle altre varietà, anche vicinissime; dall'altro lato, quello della identicità, almeno teorica, tra lo status di ciascuna di queste lingue locali con le lingue locali il cui insieme viene a costituire quelle entità linguistiche che sono chiamate "minoranze linguistiche".

10 Mi riferisco qui, in modo ancora assolutamente generico, alle distinzioni di ascendenza fergusoniana (cfr. Ferguson 1959: 325-340), prescindendo dalle successive discussioni e proposte di rimodellazione (per le quali si veda Berruto 1995: 227 ss.). Noterò qui soltanto, di sfuggita, che mentre nell'italiano comune i termini diglossia, poliglossia e anche poliglottismo, non essendo stati mai di uso comune, possono senza difficoltà assumere il valore semantico specializzato che Ferguson o altri studiosi intendono assegnare loro, lo stesso non può dirsi degli aggettivi-sostantivi diglotto/-a e poliglotto/-a, che nella tradizione hanno visto il loro uso riservato soprattutto se non esclusivamente in riferimento alla condizione dell'individuo bi- o plurilingue.

11 http://www.societadilinguisticaitaliana.org/congressoSLI/XLICongressoSLI.htm.

ni, sono infatti ben poche quelle che annunciano o che lasciano presagire studi ed analisi di carattere “interno” alle lingue scelte dai loro autori come oggetto di indagine, mentre la quasi totalità mostra di avere inteso la tematica congressuale come tematica squisitamente sociolinguistica e focalizzata sul contatto tra codici diversi e compresenti nei repertori dei parlanti. Basta guardare anche soltanto ai titoli: si può constatare che, direttamente o indirettamente, la pluralità linguistica è presente in ben 17 di essi su, ripeto, un totale di 23. Più in particolare:

1 volta compare la parola *plurilinguismo*;
3 volte le parole *bilingue* o *bilinguismo*;
5 volte la parola *contatto* (con o senza l’aggettivo *linguistico*);
1 volta la parola *mistilinguismo*;
1 volta la parola *interferenza*;
1 volta il sintagma *mescolanza linguistica*[12];
3 volte il sintagma *italiano L2*;
1 volta il sintagma *italiano delle ucraine*;
1 volta il sintagma *italiano LS*.

Finalmente, viene da dirsi, ci si è accorti che le problematiche delle alloglossie vanno affrontate primariamente come problematiche relazionali e non come tematiche di linguistica interna in cui il massimo della concessione relazionale è quella del raffronto diacronico con ipotetiche varietà “storiche” di riferimento[13]; soprattutto, finalmente ci si è accorti che, in nessun momento, nessuna delle “lingue” di minoranza è mai vissuta in condizione di monolinguismo. Ciò di cui ci si deve ancora accorgere pienamente, se non forse in sede di comunità scientifica certamente in sede di comunità civile e nazionale, è che tali “lingue”, pur sottoposte a tutela a norma di legge, esistono di fatto soltanto nelle disposizioni legislative e regolamentari, poiché la loro realtà, come qualsiasi dialettologo sa bene, è quella che si incarna in tante lingue quanti sono i paesi che in attuazione della legge 482 hanno dichiarato la propria alloglossia. La prova che tale consapevolezza è ancora lontana è fornita dal fatto che ancora nel Giugno 2007 (non più di tre/quattro mesi prima dello svolgimento del Convegno BIMU di Bolzano), all’interno della Commissione tecnica istituita dalla Presidenza del Consiglio, un alto funzionario del Ministero ebbe a osservare con perentorietà che mai e poi mai si sarebbero dovute dare delle risorse per il vocabolario dialettale di Giaglione[14]: si sarebbe trattato di un puro spreco, perché le risorse dovevano andare semmai al vocabolario del francoprovenzale! Insegnare ad un funzionario ministeriale la differenza tra l’etichetta con cui convenzionalmente, in base alla comune risposta ad una serie di tratti, viene designato un raggruppamento linguistico, e la realtà della variabilità diatopica è un’impresa di

12 A rigore, però, tale concetto potrebbe anche rimandare ad una realtà sentita come unitaria, monoglotta. Potrebbero suffragare questa ipotesi i due glottonimi “misti” slavo-molisano e croato-molisano, che possono essere interpretati come “slavo (o “croato”) del Molise” o “slavo (o “croato”) condizionato o influenzato o contaminato dal molisano”.

13 Penso qui soprattutto ai rapporti tra le parlate walser (o quelle cimbre) e gli strati antico e medio dell’alto tedesco.

14 Giaglione è un paesino appartenente all’area delle parlate francoprovenzali.

incerto successo… E ancora più difficile – tanto difficile che forse non vale neppure la pena di tentare – è mostrare che, all'interno delle realtà alloglotte, le condizioni dei rapporti tra le diverse componenti del repertorio possono mutare in modo addirittura polare, sulla base di variabili le più diverse. Possiamo così avere, all'interno ad esempio del plurilinguismo valdostano, il caso della grande città capoluogo dove l'uso della parlata francoprovenzale locale è relegato ad un numero minimo di utenti, pressato com'è, anche nei domini più tipicamente bassi, dall'italiano[15], e dove l'uso del francese, pur considerato ufficialmente alla pari con l'italiano, è relegato a funzioni ben lontane dalla quotidianità. Ma numerose altre variabili possono agire nel provocare differenze interne nell'equilibrio dei repertori: la distanza rispetto i margini dell'area (e per conseguenza, una maggior facilità di intrattenere rapporti di ogni tipo, compresi quelli lavorativi o quelli di eterogamia, con le comunità esterne ad essa), come dimostrano, sempre in Valle d'Aosta, il caso di La Thuile per quanto riguarda il francese o quelli dei comuni di Bassa Valle per quanto riguarda il piemontese; l'isolamento rispetto alle correnti culturali interne dell'area, come mostra l'alta italofonia di Cogne rispetto al resto della Valle[16]; l'isolamento rispetto alle concentrazioni industriali, come mostra l'alta dialettofonia francoprovenzale di un paese della Bassa Valle come Arnad, rispetto a tutti i paesi circostanti (Verres, Bard, ecc.)[17]

3. Le grandi inchieste sociolinguistiche

L'accresciuta sensibilità agli aspetti relazionali e sociolinguistici del "caso Italia" e, per conseguenza, la consapevolezza, a livello scientifico, della necessità di applicare l'attenzione della ricerca sugli aspetti del plurilinguismo che ad esso sono inerenti, ha moltiplicato, negli ultimi anni, il numero delle inchieste sociolinguistiche di grande respiro. Dalle indagini personali che, per forza di cose, dovevano limitarsi ad una sola, piccola comunità, come quelle peraltro esemplari di Anna Giacalone Ramat a Gressoney[18] o di Giuseppe Francescato e Paola Solari a Timau[19] si è così passati ad indagini di ampiezza regionale, svolte con grande dispiegamento di forze e distribuendo talvolta questionari di dimensioni anche piuttosto notevoli a migliaia di informanti. Anche in questo caso, la Valle d'Aosta ha subito una vera e propria valanga di inchieste[20]. La più approfondita pare essere l'indagine condotta per conto della Fondazione Émile Chanoux in 79 comuni o frazioni (o, nel caso di Aosta, quartieri) della Valle d'Aosta. Un minuziosissimo questionario è stato som-

15 Caso tipico di dilalia, per usare la terminologia introdotta da Berruto.

16 Cfr. a questo proposito Berruto (2003: 44-53).

17 Cfr. Joly (2007).

18 Cfr. Giacalone Ramat (1979).

19 Cfr. Francescato & Solari (1994). Numerose le tesi di laurea prodotte, su modelli analoghi, presso l'Università di Torino, inerenti specialmente comunità appartenenti alle minoranze occitano-provenzale alpina, francoprovenzale, walser e, da ultimo, anche quella cimbra di Giazza.

20 Basti vedere quelle citate da Berruto (2003: nota 16). Mi risulta comunque che anche presso le comunità di parlata walser del Piemonte settentrionale e anche presso le popolazioni di parlata ladina delle Dolomiti siano state condotte delle analoghe survey sociolinguistiche.

ministrato a ben 7200 informanti e le risposte sono quindi state elaborate elettronicamente. I dati statistici sono inoltre stati forniti, in una versione preliminare, a numerosi studiosi, successivamente convocati in un Convegno[21] per discuterne i risultati. Nel suo intervento[22], in particolare, Gaetano Berruto si sofferma a lungo a discutere del modello di repertorio che emerge dai dati dell'indagine, osservando le talvolta anche profonde differenze che si evidenziano tra alta e bassa valle, tra fondovalle e versanti vallivi, tra realtà urbane e realtà rurali, tra località turistiche e località a prevalente economia agricola, e così via. "L'immagine sociolinguistica complessiva dei valdostani che emerge molto bene dai dati PASVA, egli osserva[23], è quella di una comunità i cui membri si sentono fondamentalmente e soprattutto [...] valdostani, e la cui identità è garantita dai, ed appoggiata ai, *patois* francoprovenzali. In questo contesto, 'conoscere' –non usare, si badi- il francese risulta assai importante per sentirsi membri a pieno titolo della comunità locale, ma allo stesso tempo la maggioranza dei valdostani è grosso modo per il mantenimento della situazione attuale quanto a gestione dei rapporti fra le lingue". Nel concludere, considerando gli aspetti contraddittori che caratterizzano, in particolare, lo statuto e il ruolo sociale del francese, lo studioso torinese osserva inoltre che "la contraddizione più palese consiste forse nella diaclasi fra la realtà empirica effettiva e la sua prospezione ideologica presso molti intellettuali valdostani ma soprattutto presso l'*élite* politica locale, che porta a fondare e motivare la promozione del francese su una sua presunta effettiva vitalità negli usi comunicativi valdostani": una vitalità, come è facile constatare dai risultati dell'indagine, ben lontana dall'essere evidente.

4. L'inchiesta IRES

Altrettanto interessanti si sono mostrati i risultati di un'altra indagine a largo raggio, svolta in Piemonte dall'IRES[24] Piemonte e dai Dipartimenti di Scienze del Linguaggio e di Scienze Sociali dell'Università di Torino. L'iniziativa, che è stata fatta propria dall'Assessorato alla Cultura della Regione Piemonte, è nata dalla constatazione di una ampia differenza tra il numero di comuni piemontesi di cui, sulla base di indagini precedenti[25], era ben conosciuta la natura eteroglossa (provenzali alpini, francoprovenzali, francofoni o walser), e gli assai più numerosi comuni che, applicando il dettato della più volte cit. Legge 482, si erano autodichiarati come appartenenti ad una delle citate minoranze linguistiche. Per operare una verifica, si è

21 I cui Atti sono ora pubblicati: cfr. Fondation Émile Chanoux (2003).

22 Già cit. sopra: cfr. nota 16.

23 Cfr. G. Berruto (2003). La sigla serve a Berruto per abbreviare "Plurilinguismo scolastico e amministrativo in Valle d'Aosta", titolo dell'indagine.

24 Istituto di Ricerche Economiche e Sociali.

25 Mi riferisco qui, in particolare, all'indagine conoscitiva sulle Minoranze linguistiche galloromanze nelle province di Torino e Cuneo svolta da Silvia Colosso e Tullio Telmon nel 1973 per conto dell'Ufficio Studi della Camera dei deputati. Tale indagine si articola in due fascicoli, il primo dei quali contiene una premessa, una bibliografia generale e una serie di 52 schede, ciascuna dedicata a un Comune, ordinate alfabeticamente sotto il titolo generale "Comuni francoprovenzali", mentre il secondo fascicolo contiene, a sua volta, una serie di 81 schede, dedicate ai "Comuni provenzali".

così stabilito di interrogare, con un questionario specialmente puntato sugli aspetti della percezione di sé e delle proprie lingue e sulla valutazione delle competenze passive ed attive, un informatore privilegiato e sei altri informatori suddivisi per sesso e classe di età in ciascuno dei comuni che, al momento della stesura del piano operativo della ricerca, presentavano, ai nostri occhi, qualche anomalia. Abbiamo così stabilito di operare l'indagine su 106 località, vale a dire in tutte quelle che non avevano (ancora) deliberato l'appartenenza ad una minoranza pur essendone comprese, e in tutte quelle che, al contrario, lo avevano fatto pur non rientrando, in teoria, in quell'insieme. La tabella n° 1 rappresenta in cifre l'intera situazione:

Tab. 1 – Minoranze del Piemonte, per Comuni

Minoranza	*appartenenti*	*deliberanti l'appartenenza*	*anomali indagati*	*regolari indagati*
Walser	5	12	7	2
Francoprovenzale	52	42	20	9
Occitana-provenzale	81	103	28	20
Francofona	19	15	16	4
Totale	157	172	71	35

A questo insieme di "punti anomali" è stato inoltre aggiunto, come termine di raffronto e al tempo stesso come manifestazione concreta delle realtà minoritarie della regione, un altro insieme di 35 "punti regolari" (2 walser, 9 francoprovenzali, 20 occitani, 4 francofoni), la cui delibera di appartenenza ad una minoranza corrisponde cioè con le risultanze scientifiche.

Sottratti i testimoni privilegiati, la cui funzione era quella di fornire informazioni di carattere generale e, soprattutto, la registrazione dei test linguistici da sottoporre agli altri per la verifica delle competenze passive, sono dunque stati interrogati complessivamente 636 informanti per i 106 punti indagati. Non è possibile, qui, dare conto di tutti i risultati dell'indagine[26]; può tuttavia risultare interessante conoscere alcune delle risultanze più interessanti.

La prima domanda della "parte sociolinguistica" riguardava la lingua materna, intesa come la lingua della prima socializzazione, ovvero quella usata dai genitori dei nostri informanti per insegnar loro a parlare. Per l'esattezza, la domanda suona così nel questionario: "Quale lingua ha imparato per prima?". Complessivamente, le 636 risposte si sono ripartite come nella Tabella n° 2:

Tab. 2 – Lingue materne dichiarate

	Lingua/-e materna/-e	Parlanti	Percentuale
1	Italiano	130	20,4
2	Italiano + X	27	4,2
3	Francese	25	4,0

26 Un primo sguardo su tali risultati si può trovare in Telmon & Ferrier (2007). Una discussione più ampia ed approfondita si trova inoltre in Ferrier (2008).

4	Francese + X	7	1,7
5	Tedesco	0	0,0
6	Tedesco + X	0	0,0
7	Piemontese	209	32,9
8	Piemontese + X	17	2,7
9	X	207	32,6
10	X + X	4	0,6
11	Altre lingue	10	2,3
	TOTALE	636	100,0

In questa tabella vengono selezionate sia le risposte che prevedevano una sola lingua, sia quelle in cui, accanto a una prima lingua dichiarata come materna, gli informanti ne aggiungevano una seconda, che asserivano essere *non già appresa successivamente* (ad esempio, all'ingresso nella scuola, nel caso dell'italiano per chi avesse avuto il piemontese o un *patois* come lingua materna[27]), *ma appreso simultaneamente*; per esempio, grazie all'insegnamento diversificato da parte di uno dei genitori, o grazie al diverso codice utilizzato con i nonni conviventi, o in qualsiasi altro modo. Sono dunque questi i casi, ricavabili nella tabella dalle linee pari (2, 4, 6, 8, 10) in cui, accanto al nome di una delle lingue elencate, appare il simbolo "+ X", di ciò che potremmo chiamare "bilinguismo materno". Si noti che il valore di X è, per ora, quello di uno qualsiasi dei codici linguistici: esso potrà perciò significare -e di fatto tale è il suo significato nella quasi totalità dei casi- "lingua locale"[28], ma anche in qualche caso, *francese* accanto a italiano (o viceversa), oppure *piemontese/torinese* accanto a italiano, ecc. Aggiungo che, essendo i nomi di tutti gli altri codici espressi con i loro rispettivi glottonimi, il valore della X da sola (quello, per intenderci, della linea 9) è invece da interpretare come "lingua locale", ovvero *patois*, *nostra moda*, *tittschu*, ecc., ossia varietà locale di walser, occitano o francoprovenzale.

Poiché le domande del questionario (e anche le relative risposte, tolte quelle che dovevano mostrare la competenza attiva di altre lingue) sono state poste in italiano, dalla tabella n° 2 siamo in grado di stabilire l'esistenza, presso il nostro campione, di due diversi tipi di bilinguismo:

a) un "bilinguismo implicito", presente il quel 79,6% di informanti che si deduce dalla sottrazione, dal totale, del 20,4% di individui che hanno dichiarato di avere avuto una prima socializzazione in italiano[29];
b) un "bilinguismo materno", che nel nostro campione è rappresentato da

27 Per testimonianza personale, posso dire che tale casistica ricopriva il 99% presso gli alunni di prima elementare nel paesino di parlata francoprovenzale in cui abitavo io quando, nel 1949, ho iniziato la scuola. Quanto a me, italofono, subito dopo l'ingresso nella scuola ho incominciato a comunicare con i miei compagni nel patois locale o, in taluni casi, in piemontese.

28 Qualsiasi lingua locale, si badi bene; e dunque, varietà locale di walser oppure di occitano oppure di francoprovenzale, ma anche varietà locale, non necessariamente torinese, del galloitalico pedemontano.

29 Si noti che questa schiera non può essere considerata necessariamente monolingue: il mio caso personale, accennato nella nota n° 27, mostra che il monolinguismo materno può non restare tale (starei quasi per dire "non può restare tale") nell'intero arco della vita.

ben 55 (8,65%) soggetti che si dichiarano plurilingui fin dalla prima socializzazione linguistica.

5. Le testimonianze di Scheuermeier

Ritorneremo sulla tabella n° 2. Vorrei però, prima, invitare a riflettere su una questione che si è appena affacciata, e che ha a che fare con una percezione, per così dire, intuitiva del plurilinguismo. Ho appena accennato al fatto che le domande dell'inchiesta svolta in Piemonte erano state poste in italiano, e che la capacità di rispondere comportava ovviamente, nei soggetti che asserivano di avere avuto un altro codice come lingua materna, il possesso di un repertorio personale plurilingue. E' facile pensare che sarebbe strano il contrario, visto che la competenza dell'italiano, stando alle stime della Doxa e dell'ISTAT, è diventata ormai patrimonio condiviso di almeno il 90% della popolazione italiana. Ma sarà stata davvero molto diversa la situazione quando, poniamo negli anni tra le due guerre mondiali, l'italofonia non aveva ancora, stando alle fonti più autorevoli[30], raggiunto neppure la metà degli italiani? La mia impressione è che, molto spesso, quando l'argomento è quello del o dei bilinguismo/-i, le stime ufficiali e gli studi che ne conseguono trascurino gli aspetti sfumati e mutabili della realtà. Tutto ciò che riguarda i domini di uso, i rapporti di dominanza, i compromessi linguistici interpersonali e intercomunitari, le differenze tra competenza attiva e competenza passiva, le differenze tra scrittura e parlato, le differenze tra lingue di prestigio e lingue di tradizione orale, e così via, viene spesso spazzato via e sostituito da sintesi un po' svilenti, che si traducono, di necessità, in numeri e, per conseguenza, in asserzioni perentorie. Se fosse davvero così netta ed assoluta l'affermazione secondo la quale, tra le due guerre, la popolazione italiana si divideva linguisticamente in due schiere, l'una delle quali monolingue e dialettofona, e l'altra altrettanto monolingue, ma italofona, come avrebbero potuto, per non citare che un caso particolarmente vicino alla storia degli studi linguistici, svolgere le loro inchieste i raccoglitori degli atlanti linguistici[31]? È evidente che un secolo fa, come un secolo prima e come oggi, la realtà dei repertori linguistici non era una realtà di lingue monadicamente isolate, ma piuttosto quella di individui e di comunità che presentavano tutta una gamma di variabilità, sia in fatto di presenza di codici diversi nel proprio repertorio, sia in fatto di competenze in ciascuno di tali codici. Confondere l'analfabetismo, il non saper né leggere né scrivere, con la mancanza di competenza è, per l'appunto, uno di quegli schematismi semplificatori che possono andare bene per operare grandi affreschi storico-sociali, ma che non dà sicuramente conto della variegata realtà linguistica.

Parlavo poco fa delle inchieste svolte in Italia negli anni '20 e '30 dello scorso secolo per raccogliere i materiali dialettali degli atlanti linguistici. Prendiamo, ad esempio, l'AIS, il cosiddetto "Atlante italo-svizzero"[32], le cui inchieste, iniziate sul finire del 1919,

30 Per es., De Mauro (1963).

31 Mi riferisco, ovviamente, a Paul Scheuermeier, Gerhard Rohlfs e Max Leopold Wagner, i tre raccoglitori dell'AIS, e a Ugo Pellis, raccoglitore delle inchieste prebelliche dell'ALI.

32 Jaberg & Jud (1928-1940).

hanno occupato praticamente l'intero decennio successivo, svolte, come è noto, da Paul Scheuermeier per la Svizzera meridionale e per l'Italia centro-settentrionale, da Gerhard Rohlfs per l'Italia meridionale e da Max Leopold Wagner per la Sardegna. Jaberg & Jud (1928) riportano, alle pp. 59-170[33], i verbali delle inchieste, con annotazioni sulle principali caratteristiche di ogni singolo punto e dei relativi informatori. Si tratta di annotazioni per lo più molto laconiche e fortemente riassuntive e tuttavia la loro lettura non manca di dare un'immagine piuttosto precisa di situazioni in cui anche gli informatori dei più bassi strati sociali, anche i pur numerosi analfabeti non soltanto erano in grado di tradurre le parole e le frasi che i raccoglitori proponevano loro (e non si trattava soltanto del lessico generico, ma anche di linguaggi settoriali piuttosto specifici, quali la flora e la fauna, ad es.), ma mostravano spesso sorprendenti disponibilità di repertori plurilingui, sia nel padroneggiare varietà dialettali diverse, sia nel mostrarsi in grado di tradurre nel proprio dialetto domande rivolte attingendo, a seconda dei casi, dal questionario italiano, o da quello tedesco, o da quello francese. Provo a pescare, un po' a caso, alcuni esempi significativi:

- punto 117, Ornavasso[34]: "l'informatore ricorda anche un significativo numero di vecchie parole del dialetto tedesco, sentite quando era giovane"[35]
- punto 121, Rhêmes-Saint-Georges: "l'informatore parla francese e italiano, preferisce però che l'inchiesta venga fatta in francese"
- punto 131, Noasca: "Dialetto [dell'informatore] influenzato dal piemontese, che parla"
- punto 132, Bruzolo: "Il dialetto del misero paese rurale si distingue dalla parlata piemontese di Bussoleno"
- punto 152 Ruata, frazione di Pramollo: "Quasi tutti parlano, oltre al loro dialetto, piemontese, italiano, francese",

e così via. Si noti che le annotazioni riportate nel volume introduttivo dell'AIS rappresentano in realtà una sintesi dei verbali di inchiesta dei raccoglitori. Ho avuto la possibilità di consultare i taccuini originali di Scheuermeier[36], e mi sono così potuto rendere conto dell'importanza, dal punto di vista sociolinguistico, delle parti che, di tali appunti, gli editori dell'AIS avevano dovuto sacrificare. Prendiamo, ad esempio, il caso di 132 Bruzolo: ciò che nella notazione del volume introduttivo era una semplice constatazione di differenza diatopica (il dialetto di Bruzolo si distingue dalla parlata piemontese di Bussoleno), aveva in realtà nelle annotazioni originali anche delle valenze diacroniche e

33 Mi riferisco qui all'edizione italiana, curata da Glauco Sanga e tradotta da Serenella Baggio.

34 Ornavasso è una località di antico insediamento walser che al momento dell'inchiesta aveva già da molto tempo sostituito la parlata alemannica con una parlata galloitalica di tipo ossolano.

35 Si noti che l'inchiesta è stata fatta il 10-11 settembre 1923, con un contadino di 72 anni (nato perciò intorno alla metà dell'800).

36 Conservati, assieme alla stupenda documentazione fotografica, nell'apposito fondo presso l'Università di Berna. Una parte cospicua di tali materiali è stata pubblicata, in volumi separati, per il Trentino e per la Lombardia (cfr., per il Trentino, Kezich, Gentili & Mott 1997 e, per la Lombardia, Bonfadini, Caltagirone & Sordi 2001; Bonfadini, Caltagirone & Sordi 2002 e Caltagirone, Sanga & Sordi 2007). I materiali piemontesi della provincia di Torino sono ora consultabili in Canobbio & Telmon (2007), mentre quelli delle restanti province lo sono in Canobbio & Telmon (2009).

diastratiche. Leggiamo, nella traduzione italiana del testo stenografato in tedesco:

"A Bruzolo, un misero e disperso nido di contadini, si parla ancora il caratteristico dialetto che, insieme con quello degli altri paesini, si distingue dal torinese di Bussoleno. Nella parte inferiore del paese, intorno al Castello, di sicuro cominciano già, anche a Bruzolo, a parlar bianco[37]".

Rispetto alle informazioni dei verbali ufficiali, veniamo a sapere:

1) che, al momento dell'inchiesta di Scheuermeier, la parlata francoprovenzale vive a Bruzolo e nei paesi circostanti (San Didero, Chianocco, Borgone, Villarfocchiardo, San Giorio...);

2) che la lingua parlata a Bussoleno non è il piemontese, ma il torinese. Il che significa che non si tratta di una varietà autoctona del galloitalico pedemontano, ma di una varietà ben precisa, paracadutata dal capoluogo regionale in un centro divenuto importante, con la costruzione della ferrovia e del traforo del Fréjus;

3) che il torinese importato a Bussoleno ha, nella valutazione sociolinguistica dell'area, un valore diastratico superiore (il "parlare bianco") a quello attribuito alle parlate francoprovenzali;

4) che, in conseguenza di ciò, le parti del paese che più sono vicine al nuovo focolare linguistico incominciano a fare proprio il nuovo codice.

Anche per 152 Ruata di Pramollo le informazioni fornite da Scheuermeier sono ben più consistenti di quanto non mostri la sintesi del volume introduttivo. A proposito dell'informatore, troviamo scritto in Jaberg – Jud (1928):

> "L'informatore parla bene il francese perciò il raccoglitore usa il Questionario francese"

Questa è invece l'annotazione originale di Scheuermeier:

> "Padroneggia il suo francese in modo sorprendente. Naturalmente, ho dovuto usare il Questionario francese; solo in pochi casi mi sono dovuto aiutare con l'italiano, cosa che ho indicato con il contrassegno "Ital.". Non sembra avere una buona padronanza del piemontese o pare averlo dimenticato. Risponde alle domande in francese con quieta sicurezza e pazienza. È molto orgoglioso di capire tutto e anche di poter tradurre con precisione la grammatica, i verbi e gli aspetti formali" (Canobbio & Telmon, a c. di, 2007: 71).

Anche in questo caso, le informazioni circa il repertorio, e soprattutto circa i valori che, al suo interno, vengono attribuiti ai diversi codici, erano sfuggite nella sintetica notazione sullo *Sprachatlas als Forschungsinstrument*.

Se proviamo a trarre un senso generale dall'osservazione di questi appunti della prima metà del Novecento, possiamo dire che non soltanto il bi- o il plurilinguismo pareva già allora costituire la norma presso i dialettofoni interrogati per le inchie-

37 In italiano (non stenografico) nel testo. Cfr. Canobbio & Telmon (2007: 70).

ste dell'AIS; non soltanto l'italiano era comunque una componente integrante di tale plurilinguismo; ma, soprattutto, i diversi codici posseduti dagli informatori assumevano, sia a livello individuale sia a livello comunitario, valori diversi e venivano diversamente collocati nel repertorio. Si tratta, anche in questo caso, di una disposizione e di una tendenza che certamente hanno caratterizzato ogni momento della storia dei contatti linguistici. Va aggiunto però che, colte in quel particolare momento, quella disposizione e quella tendenza assumono un'importanza tutta speciale.

6. L'inchiesta IRES: dall'arcaicità contadina alla modernità e dalla modernità alla postmodernità (dal globale al glocale)

Trasportato dalla fenomenicità del particolare momento storico (l'Italia tra le due guerre mondiali) alla -mi si passi l'apparente ossimoro- storia lunga del "secolo corto", quanto si è appena visto assume un valore di prefigurazione del grande modello di sviluppo sociolinguistico che ha caratterizzato tale secolo: un'intera comunità, composta da decine di milioni di cittadini, ha compiuto in un solo secolo un mutamento linguistico la cui portata, in altri frangenti, avrebbe comportato più secoli. Basti pensare alla latinizzazione della cosiddetta Romània. Trascurando le riserve espresse più sopra, infatti, possiamo assumere, con De Mauro, che effettivamente i cittadini italiani hanno, nel volgere di poche generazioni, cambiato di lingua. Se l'hanno fatto, evidentemente, era perché hanno ritenuto che la nuova lingua sarebbe stata più utile, in senso generale. Ecco, appunto: in senso generale. Hanno imparato a leggere e a scrivere, e per fare ciò hanno ritenuto che fosse più economico, oltre che più funzionale, adottare l'unica lingua disponibile dotata di tradizione scritta. Hanno moltiplicato le reti sociali e le occasioni di movimento, sia orizzontale, geografico, sia verticale, attraverso gli strati sociali, e anche per fare ciò, almeno in definitiva, si sono serviti della lingua italiana. La loro economia è passata dall'autosufficienza al mercato, dalla prevalenza dell'agricoltura alla prevalenza dell'industria, e poi del terziario, e poi ancora del terziario avanzato, e anche questa serie di passaggi ha causato, ma al tempo stesso ne è stata consentita, l'uso preferenziale dell'italiano. L'italiano stesso, in questi trapassi, ha subito modificazioni profondissime, passando da un modello esclusivamente letterario ad un'apparente unitarietà o, meglio, ad un accordo pragmatico sul reciproco riconoscimento di varietà regionali spesso diversissime a livello di oralità ma, tutto sommato, abbastanza unitarie a livello di scrittura. Tutto ciò ha portato, con una frequenza ed una credibilità superiore ad ogni altro momento storico, a parlare di "morte del dialetto". Ancora una volta, senza fare i conti con il fatto che né la lingua né la comunicazione sono delle entità monadiche e monolitiche. Proviamo a ritornare allora alla nostra inchiesta piemontese. Se riandiamo alla tabella n° 2, troviamo che circa un terzo dei nostri testimoni (32,6%) ha dichiarato di avere per lingua materna proprio quella X (linea 9) che abbiamo detto rappresentare la "lingua locale". Aggiungiamo che, per quanto attiene agli altri codici segnalati come lingue materne dai nostri informatori, il piemontese/torinese detiene il primo posto con il 32,9%, l'italiano si trova al terzo posto con il 20,4%, mentre il francese occupa il quarto posto, con il 4%.

Come è noto, non soltanto il cosiddetto "paradigma della modernizzazione" prevede, nella sua applicazione linguistica, un passaggio dalle lingue a diffusione locale a quelle a diffusione regionale e da queste alle lingue nazionali[38], ma ciò che da più parti è stato finora osservato nell'ambito degli studi sociolinguistici relativi alle aree del Piemonte alpino è che tale graduale trapasso tende a corrispondere ad un cambio di codici linguistici piuttosto netto, nelle ultime tre generazioni, secondo uno schema cronologico-generazionale come quello illustrato nello schema n° 1:

Schema 1 – Corrispondenze tra generazioni e lingue materne

Generazione	*Nati negli anni*	*Lingua materna*
Nonni (anziani)	1910 - 1940	Lingua locale (*patois*)
Genitori (adulti)	1941 - 1970	Lingua regionale (piemontese/torinese)
Figli (giovani)	1971 – 2000 e ss.	Lingua nazionale (italiano)

Ebbene: se osserviamo le percentuali di lingua materna della tabella 2, ci accorgiamo che quel 32,6% attribuito dai nostri informatori alle lingue locali va certamente ben oltre la percentuale che, pur in una situazione demografica caratterizzata dall'invecchiamento della popolazione, potremmo attenderci per una schiera che va dai 65 anni in avanti; per contro, mentre può apparire abbastanza coerente il 33% circa attribuito al piemontese –che dovrebbe essere appannaggio degli adulti- la percentuale del 20,4% attribuita all'italiano (dei giovani fino a 30 anni) appare nettamente al di sotto di ciò che parrebbe logico attendersi. All'interno della stessa indagine, un'altra inchiesta è stata effettuata, con il metodo CAPI, su circa 3000 individui dell'intera regione; i risultati da essa forniti sembrano ampiamente confermare, a livello di lingua conosciuta sincronicamente anziché a livello di lingua materna, i risultati dell'indagine sociolinguistica:

Tab. 3 – Lingue conosciute (oltre all'italiano), per Area

	nessuna	altra lingua	Occitano	Francoprovenzale	Piemontese
Area occitana	1,6	5,1	39,4	0	53,9
Area francoprovenzale	3,0	7,8	0,1	29,3	59,8
Area metropolitana	6,0	27,5	0,5	0,5	65,6
Resto del Piemonte	3,7	10,5	0,7	0,7	84,4
Totale regione	4,4	16,1	1,9	1,1	76,6

"Il dato regionale –osserva Allasino (2007: 63) - conferma che le lingue minoritarie tutelate sono conosciute da una quota esigua della popolazione complessiva: appena tre su cento conoscono l'occitano o il francoprovenzale come prima lingua. Il piemontese è noto al 77% dei residenti. In particolare il torinese è conosciuto da un

38 E anche queste dovrebbero, nel paradigma della modernizzazione, lasciare il posto a quelle "internazionali", e cioè, fuori dal velo eufemistico, all'inglese.

quarto del campione, le altre varianti di piemontese dal 52%. Rispetto al dato delle altre lingue, 16%, va considerato che i figli e i nipoti degli immigrati di altre regioni italiane perdono competenza nei dialetti degli antenati. D'altra parte la presenza di immigrati stranieri –oltre 231.000 alla fine del 2005- e la ridotta, ma persistente immigrazione interna alimentano questo gruppo. Il quadro cambia se osserviamo invece le due aree di minoranza linguistica occitana e francoprovenzale. Il piemontese resta sempre oltre il 50%, ma in area occitana la conoscenza della lingua d'*oc* arriva al 39%; il francoprovenzale sale al 29% nell'area linguistica corrispondente. Trascurando le esigue percentuali di persone che conoscono le lingue minoritarie fuori dai territori tutelati, si nota la presenza di dialetti non piemontesi – degli immigrati da altre regioni italiane – in area metropolitana e, in minor misura, nel resto del Piemonte e la maggior quota di persone che non conoscono dialetti a Torino e cintura".

A quanto osserva Allasino, possiamo aggiungere un'altra osservazione derivante dalla lettura di questa tabella, che integra e conferma quanto già si era visto a proposito delle lingue materne: tanto in area occitana quanto in quella francoprovenzale, dopo l'italiano (per il quale si postula il 100% di conoscenza, anche se non è detto che sia per tutti la lingua *più* o *meglio* conosciuta), è proprio il piemontese la lingua più conosciuta, più delle lingue locali delle rispettive appartenenze.

Che cosa ciò possa significare, ce lo dice con chiarezza Sergio Scamuzzi nel suo contributo al più volte citato volume che riporta i primi risultati dell'indagine[39]. Secondo il sociologo, la relativa vitalità delle lingue locali e, soprattutto, la loro mancata scomparsa e la tendenza a convivere con la lingua nazionale e anche con altre lingue sono i segni di una relativa fragilità o quantomeno di una certa parzialità della teoria classica e standard della modernizzazione, nel cui quadro "la rivendicazione a favore di parlate locali contro la lingua nazionale da parte di culture locali è stata una resistenza antimoderna di ceti in declino, temporanea e perdente" (p. 99). Poiché i processi di modernizzazione possono dirsi, per quanto attiene gli indicatori sociologici, ormai compiuti praticamente dovunque, è subentrata – osserva ancora Scamuzzi – una nuova fase, detta "postmoderna" o di "modernità avanzata", fortemente globalizzata. "Nel suo idealtipo, si sono affermate identità individuali e collettive non più così uniformate, ma multiple e conviventi talora nelle stesse persone e gruppi sociali[40], e sono stati conseguentemente rivalutati i dialetti, non solo tra gli intellettuali". I segnali o gli esiti linguistici di tale nuova fase sarebbero, ad esempio, i numerosi casi di frantumazione delle lingue egemoni (*pidgin english* o *spanish*) una nuova disponibilità di lingue che vorrebbero essere egemoni o che hanno perduto la loro posizione di egemonia, come il francese, a lasciarsi pidginizzare (in altre parole, un allentamento della morsa normativa che lo contraddistingueva), e poi il multiculturalismo, ecc.

In questa nuova fase, la lingua effettivamente parlata cessa di essere un segnale di "appartenenza esclusiva", per ridiventare l'effetto pragmatico di una scelta dettata dalle circostanze e dagli interlocutori; "l'uomo postmoderno, aggiunge Scamuzzi, è

39 Cfr. S. Scamuzzi (2007).

40 Cfr., per i rapporti tra lingue, culture e identità coesistenti, Maalouf (1998) e Nouss (2005).

un poliglotta con più appartenenze locali e culturali", cosicché il possesso di lingue locali, anziché costituire un residuo antiquario, passatista e tutto sommato reazionario, "può diventare un indicatore interessante del tipo e del grado di modernità e apertura alla globalizzazione di una popolazione in un'area specifica". Mentre il paradigma della modernizzazione prevedeva una contrapposizione tra centro e periferia, la prospettiva postmoderna sembra invece prefigurare una dialettica tra globale e locale con delle allettanti sintesi delle quali il termine "glocale" pare riassumere, dal punto di vista delle lingue locali, tutte le potenzialità di veicolare aspetti della cultura investibili in direzione del potenziamento di politiche formative nel campo dell'educazione linguistica. In primis, nel campo dell'educazione ad una cittadinanza plurale e ad una identità multipla.

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Institutional Language Policies

Perspektiven der Sprachausbildung an einer mehrsprachigen Universität

Christoph Nickenig – Freie Universität Bozen

Right from the start the linguistic models of the Free University Bozen-Bolzano have been an important issue. Even the Language Working Group that had been installed by the former rector, Rita Franceschini has been concentrating on the evaluation of the mono-, bi- and trilingual approach in the various degree courses. There has been an intense discussion focusing on the Language Assessment Test and language teaching through compulsory courses. At the same time there has been a shift of interest towards international language certification that seems to offer a more reliable evaluations of the students' actual language skills in comparison to the LAT and a more rewarding goal than a test that tries to assess the candidate's ability to attend lectures in a specific language. The paper will give an overview of the existing linguistic models at the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano and the state of the art of language teaching excluding intentionally the discussion on CLIL. It will give an insight into an ongoing discussion on more flexible and innovative ways of teaching and assessing language skills and closely connected to all this the attempt to introduce language counseling on a larger scale. The question is: how can we raise the students' responsibility for the outcome of their individual learning processes. Some general reflections have to be made about the overall language awareness throughout the whole organization as well.

Keywords: socio-political ambience for a trilingual university, tailor-made linguistic models

1. Einleitung

Die Freie Universität Bozen hat sich einem sehr anspruchsvollen Modell verschrieben, denn sie versteht sich als dreisprachige Hochschule in einem von der deutschen und italienischen Sprache geprägten Umfeld. Politisch war die Entscheidung für die Gründung der Universität in Bozen alles andere als unumstritten. Klar war jedoch, dass die Akzeptanz der Institution im Land Südtirol mit der Zwei- bzw. Dreisprachigkeit stehen und fallen würde und dass weder eine rein deutschsprachige noch eine italienischsprachige Hochschule in Bozen überlebensfähig sein würde. Andeutungsweise geht dies etwa aus der „Vereinbarung über Leistungen und Finanzierung der Freien Universität Bozen hervor, welche am 23.12.2008 zwischen dem Land Südtirol und der Freien Universität Bozen geschlossen wurde. Dort heißt es:

„Mit der Gründung der Freien Universität Bozen verfolgte die Autonome Provinz Bozen bildungspolitische, wirtschaftspolitische sowie allgemeine kultur- und sozialpolitische Ziele. Oberstes bildungspolitisches Ziel war die dynamische Weiterentwicklung des Bildungssystems im Rahmen der Südtiroler Autonomie nach den Bedürfnissen der drei Sprachgruppen. Dazu gehörten die Erhöhung der Akademikerquote, der Ausbau des gesamten Bildungswesens und die Schaffung von lokalen Weiterbildungsmöglichkeiten auf akademischer Ebene“ (Leistungsvereinbarung 2008: 3).

An Sprachenfragen scheiden sich in Südtirol immer wieder die Geister und das scheinbar friedliche Zusammenleben der Sprachgruppen ist sehr störanfällig. Bei der Volkszählung im Jahr 2001 ergab sich prozentual folgendes Bild: 64,0 % der Südtiroler gehören der deutschen, 24,5 % der italienischen, 4 % der ladinischen und 7,4 % anderen Sprachgruppen an. In der Gemeinde Bozen hingegen ist das Mehrheitsverhältnis umgekehrt, denn hier sind die italienischsprachigen Einwohner mit 73,0 % in der Überzahl.[1] Schon unter diesem demografischen Aspekt wäre die Präponderanz einer Sprache an der Freien Universität Bozen ein riskantes Unterfangen gewesen. Dass man in diesem Kontext die englische Sprache als kleinsten gemeinsamen Nenner der Internationalität und minimale Voraussetzung für die Arbeit auf dem globalen Markt hinzunehmen musste, war quasi unumstritten und kann angesichts der immer weiteren Verbreitung von englischsprachigen Bachelor- und insbesondere Masterstudiengängen in weiten Teilen Europas nur als konsequent betrachtet werden. Ob sich die Väter der Freien Universität Bozen von vornherein über die Folgen ihrer universitätspolitischen Grundsatzentscheidung und die damit verbundene Weichenstellung im Klaren waren, bleibt dahingestellt. Die Kosten und der Aufwand für die Dreisprachigkeit jedoch sind beachtlich und lassen sich zum Teil nur schwer quantifizieren. Mehrkosten fallen in den verschiedensten Bereichen des Universitätslebens an. Da ist der Aufwand für die Anfertigung zweisprachiger Versionen von offiziellen Dokumenten, Internetseiten und Veröffentlichungen und die damit verbundenen Übersetzungs- und Druckkosten. Das reicht bis hin zu Aufschriften an Gebäuden, Türen usw. Im Personalwesen gestalten sich die Auswahlverfahren teils schwierig, weil Stellen in der Verwaltung nach sprachlich-ethnischem Proporz vergeben werden, was keine Garantie dafür ist, dass immer die qualifizierteste Person die Stelle erhält. Die Rekrutierung eines internationalen Corps an Dozenten ist ein beachtlicher Kostenfaktor, wenn die fest angestellten Professoren so weit zu bringen sind, dass sie Sitzungen in den beiden Landessprachen folgen können, ganz zu schweigen von den Sprachkompetenzen, die nötig sind, um ein hohes Amt in der Uni zu bekleiden. Der Löwenanteil der Kosten für die Mehrsprachigkeit entfällt aber sicherlich auf die Überprüfung der Sprachkenntnisse seitens der angehenden Studierenden und den obligatorischen Sprachunterricht für all jene, die die sprachliche Hürde im Rahmen des Aufnahme- und Bewerbungsverfahrens nicht im ersten Anlauf nehmen. Man darf natürlich auch nicht die Augen davor verschließen, dass das mehrsprachige Modell nicht nur auf der Seite des Anbieters, also der Uni Bozen, Kosten verursacht, sondern auch auf der Seite der Abnehmer, nämlich der Studierenden. Im Klartext bedeutet dies, dass sich Studienzeiten verlängern, wenn man nicht von Anfang an solide Sprachfertigkeiten in allen Unterrichtssprachen mitbringt. Das erfüllen jedoch nur die wenigsten Bewerber. Wie sich dieses dreisprachige Modell in der Praxis ausdifferenziert hat, welche Probleme es aufwirft und wie es sich weiterentwickeln kann, soll auf den folgenden Seiten aufgezeigt werden.

1 Autonome Provinz Südtirol (2007: 116 ff.).

2. Die Ausgestaltung des dreisprachigen Modells

Die Freie Universität Bozen hat zur Zeit 5 Fakultäten, von denen sich drei als dezidiert dreisprachig verstehen, nämlich die Fakultäten für Wirtschaft, für Design und Künste sowie Naturwissenschaft und Technik. In den Studiengängen dieser Fakultäten, insbesondere im Bereich der Bachelor-Ausbildung, strebt man ein paritätisches Verhältnis bei den Lehrveranstaltungen an. Jeweils etwa ein Drittel der Vorlesungen und Seminare wird auf Deutsch, Englisch und Italienisch abgehalten. Bestimmte Fächer werden in jeweils einer Sprache angeboten. Wahlfreiheit gibt es nicht, weil bislang, auf Grund der geringen Studierendenzahlen, keine Parallelveranstaltungen in verschiedenen Sprachen angeboten werden müssen und in den Studienplänen meist sogar festgelegt ist, in welcher Sprache die Veranstaltung angeboten wird. „Grundlagen der Betriebsführung" wird also auf Deutsch, „Financial Markets and Institutions A" auf Englisch und „Diritto commerciale A" auf Italienisch gehalten. Im Falle von personellen Veränderungen kann dies zur Folge haben, dass eine bisher auf Deutsch gehaltene Vorlesung dann auf Italienisch gelesen wird. Die Balance zwischen den Sprachen ist nicht ganz einfach zu halten. Die Fakultät für Informatik hingegen beschreitet einen etwas anderen Weg, indem sie Fachsprachen- und Softskills-Kurse in Italienisch und Deutsch anbietet, im übrigen aber sämtliche fachbezogenen Veranstaltungen auf Englisch durchgeführt werden. Am differenziertesten ist die Situation an der Fakultät für Bildungswissenschaften in Brixen. Dort werden die angehenden Kindergärtner/-innen und Grundschullehrer/-innen in ihrer jeweiligen Erstsprache unterrichtet.[2] Die beiden Studiengänge für Sozialarbeit und Sozialpädagogik verfügen über zwei Unterrichtssprachen, nämlich Deutsch und Italienisch, während sich der Studiengang Kommunikationswissenschaften im mehrsprachigen Kontext als dreisprachig versteht. Somit gibt es an der Fakultät für Bildungswissenschaft, vereinfacht gesagt, drei Sprachmodelle. Es gilt hier in der Tat noch weiter zu differenzieren, denn die Ausbildung der Betreuer/-innen und Lehrer/-innen für die ladinischen Kindergärten und Grundschulen erfolgt auf Deutsch und Italienisch und ist durch Veranstaltungen in ladinischer Sprache flankiert, wodurch in diesem Sonderfall eine mehrsprachige Ausbildung gewährleistet werden muss. Die Gesamtsituation ist also komplex und orientiert sich stark an lokalen Gegebenheiten und am regionalen Arbeitsmarkt. Zugleich bemüht sich die Uni Bozen um die Anwerbung von internationalen Studierenden, insbesondere aus Mittel- und Osteuropa, denen man ein Studium in Bozen mit der exzellenten Infrastruktur, überschaubaren Gruppen, einem internationalen Lehrkörper und der mehrsprachigen Ausbildung schmackhaft macht. Betrachtet man die statistischen Daten, welche das Studentensekretariat für das akademische Jahr 2008-2009 erstellt hat, so erweist sich, dass von den circa 3200 eingeschriebenen Studierenden 2770 italienische

2 Der Landeshauptmann von Südtirol, Luis Durnwalder, äußert sich in einem Interview in der Festschrift zum 10-jährigen Bestehen der Freien Universität Bozen sehr dezidiert zu diesem Ansatz, indem er sagt: „Aber es muss schon klar sein, dass die Fakultät Lehrer für den muttersprachlichen Unterricht ausbildet. Es ist ja so, dass der Betreffende, der da als Student hineingeht und als Lehrer herauskommt, danach in seiner Muttersprache unterrichten muss. Und deshalb muss die Ausbildung auch sprachlich in dieser Form erfolgen, weil die Sprache für eine Minderheit das Um und Auf ist". Peterlini (2008: 374).

Staatsangehörige sind.[3] Der Anteil der Ausländer an der Studierendenschaft beträgt also 13,85 %. Die italienische Staatsangehörigkeit deckt sich aber keineswegs mit der Erstsprache Italienisch, denn 57,18 % der Eingeschriebenen geben Deutsch als „Verkehrssprache" (communication language) an und nur 9 Studierende Ladinisch. In Wirklichkeit liegt der Anteil der ladinischen Studierenden mit Sicherheit höher. Aus datenschutzrechtlichen Gründen jedoch ist die Frage nach der Muttersprache nicht gestattet. Was sich auf jeden Fall an den Zahlen ablesen lässt, ist der hohe Anteil von deutschsprachigen Südtirolern an der Studierendenpopulation. Zieht man von den 2770 Studierenden mit italienischer Staatsangehörigkeit die aus Südtirol und dem benachbarten Trentino, also der Region Trentino-Südtirol stammenden ab, so verbleiben 631 Studierende aus dem restlichen Italien.

Für die sprachliche Förderung und Ausbildung der Studierenden ergeben sich aus diesen statistischen Daten einige interessante Konsequenzen. Zum einen besitzt die deutsche Sprache für die Kommunikation innerhalb der gesamten Universität einen sehr hohen Stellenwert, wenn man nicht gar von einer Prädominanz sprechen kann. Über die Verwendung der deutschen, italienischen oder englischen Sprache in der Alltagskommunikation in der Verwaltung, zwischen den Professor(inn)en und unter den Studierenden liegen keine zuverlässigen statistischen Daten vor, vieles deutet aber auf einen hohen Anteil des Deutschen hin.

3. Anfänger in Deutsch und/oder Italienisch

Nachdem viele Studierende an der Uni Bozen entweder aus deutschsprachigen Ländern stammen, wo Italienisch als Schulfach nur eine sehr marginale Rolle spielt, ist die Zahl der Anfänger in Italienisch jedes Jahr ziemlich hoch. Zwar werden intensive Anfängerkurse mit einer Dauer von 6 Wochen und 120 Unterrichtsstunden vor Beginn der Vorlesungszeit angeboten, aber nicht alle Nullanfänger nutzen diese Möglichkeit und nur in Design sind sie dazu verpflichtet, sich intensiv mit der Sprache zu beschäftigen, um nicht vollkommen unbeleckt in ein Studium zu starten, wo sie von Anfang an, Vorlesungen in dieser Sprache besuchen müssen. Auf der anderen Seite müssen die Betroffenen die Lücke möglichst schnell schließen und das bedeutet von Null auf Niveau B2 des Europäischen Referenzrahmens zu kommen. Dies absorbiert viel Zeit und Energie, die für das Fachstudium zwangsläufig fehlt. Eine Verlängerung der Regelstudienzeit ist in diesen Fällen häufig vorprogrammiert und der Weg von ein paar Brocken Italienisch zur ersten Prüfung in „Diritto Commerciale" ist dornig, von einer wirklich differenzierten Sprachbeherrschung mal ganz abgesehen. Im Grunde gibt es hier nur zwei realistische Lösungsansätze: dem Fachstudium eine intensive Phase der Beschäftigung mit der neuen Sprache und dem Studium in dieser Sprache in Form eines „pre-semester-course" vorschalten oder Anfänger vom Studium in Bozen ausschließen, wobei diese Lösung hochschulpolitisch sicher nicht akzeptabel erscheint, denn dies würde zu einer Verringerung des Ausländeranteils führen. An der Notwendigkeit jedoch, Anfänger möglichst früh „abzuholen"

3 Die Zahlen sind den Internetseiten des Studentensekretariats für den internen Gebrauch entnommen.

ändert dies jedoch nichts. Studierende mit gar keinen oder geringfügigen Kenntnissen in ein Studium in dieser Sprache hineinzustoßen, führt hingegen zu Frustration und im schlimmsten Fall sogar zum Abbruch des Studiums. Das gilt erst recht für Anfänger in zwei Sprachen!

4. Unterricht in der Zweitsprache

Es mag verwunderlich klingen: die Zahl der Teilnehmer an den obligatorischen Sprachkursen in Deutsch und Italienisch aus den Reihen der Südtiroler Studenten ist konstant hoch. Nehmen an den obligatorischen Deutschkursen im akademischen Jahr 2008/2009 insgesamt 57 Studierende teil, so stammen 12 von diesen aus Südtirol, was einem Prozentanteil von 21,05 % entspricht. Die allermeisten dieser Studenten hat – und das klingt noch frappierender – zum Teil 12 Jahre Unterricht in der Zweitsprache, also Italienisch für deutschsprachige Schüler und Deutsch für italienischsprachige, hinter sich. An der ungeliebten Zweitsprache führt aber an der Freien Universität Bozen kaum ein Weg vorbei. Schon die Tatsache, dass die Sprache, in welcher das Abitur abgelegt wurde, anerkannt wird, aber nicht die Zweitsprache, erzürnt manchen Studienbewerber. Als Ausweg kann die Vorlage des Zertifikats der Zweisprachigkeitsprüfung A gelten, welche für den Einstieg in die höhere Laufbahn in öffentlichen Ämtern in Südtirol zwingend vorgeschrieben ist. Die Anerkennung der Zweisprachigkeitsprüfung A in Italienisch und Deutsch ist letztlich ein Zugeständnis an die Südtiroler Studienanwärter, von denen viele die nur vor Ort abgenommene und gültige Prüfung schon während der Schulzeit ablegen. Über die Tatsache jedoch, dass viele Schulabgänger in Südtirol keine zufrieden stellenden Kompetenzen in der Zweitsprache besitzen, um ein Studium in dieser Sprache absolvieren zu können, kann dies nicht hinwegtäuschen. Eine Sprachprüfung, bestehend aus der Zusammenfassung eines in vier bis fünf Absätze gegliederten Zeitungstextes in einem Satz pro Abschnitt, einem kurzen Statement zu einem allgemeinen Thema und einer mündlichen Befragung über Interessen, Motivation für die Wahl des Studienorts, Sprachbiografie, Auslandsaufenthalte etc., die auf einem Niveau zwischen B1 und B2 des Referenzrahmens anzusiedeln ist, sollte nach so vielen Jahren Unterricht in der Zweitsprache eigentlich kein Hindernis darstellen. Dies ist aber leider nicht so. Die Tatsache, dass die Prüfung jedoch nicht im ersten Anlauf bewältigt wird, woran sich ein obligatorischer Sprachkurs anschließt, führt gerade bei den Studierenden aus Südtirol zu Unverständnis, Frustration, Ablehnung oder Nichtbesuch des obligatorischen Kurses und Klagen über das Prüfungsformat, die Kriterien oder den genossenen Schulunterricht.

5. Motivation und Lernerautonomie

Mangelnde Motivation wird immer wieder von den Dozent/-innen in den obligatorischen Sprachkursen beklagt. Das gilt nicht nur für Deutsch- und Italienischkurse, in denen vornehmlich Südtiroler Studierende sitzen. Das Dilemma hierbei ist die Anwesenheitspflicht von 75% der Kursstunden über das akademische Jahr hinweg, um zur Sprachprüfung zugelassen zu werden. Gravierender wird das Problem noch durch die Tatsache, dass am Ende des obligatorischen Sprachkurses eine in Form und Inhalt identische Prüfung steht wie am Anfang. Vielfach wird der gesamte Kurs von den Teilnehmern nur als Vorbereitung auf die Prüfung verstanden und man sitzt die Stunden ab. Mit eigenverantwortlichem Lernen hat dies – das muss selbstkritisch gesagt werden – wenig zu tun. Um die Studierenden für die Notwendigkeit zu sensibilisieren, Ihren Lernprozess und damit ihren Lernerfolg in die eigenen Hände zu nehmen, hat das Sprachenzentrum, ausgehend von der Idee für ein Vademecum zum Sprachenlernen aus der Mitte der Arbeitsgruppe Sprachen, eine Broschüre mit praktischen Lerntipps in drei Sprachen entwickelt. Ziel des Heftchens ist es unter anderem, das Bewusstsein für die Zweisprachigkeit in der Provinz Bozen zu schärfen und die vorhandenen Möglichkeiten zum Überschreiten von Sprachgrenzen aufzuzeigen.

6. Prüfungsfixierung, Eingangs- und Abgangsniveaus

Das Sprachenzentrum überprüft zur Zeit die Sprachkenntnisse der StudienbewerberInnen und verwendet damit viele Ressourcen für eine Aktivität, deren Nutzen durchaus diskutabel ist, denn wir prüfen einen hohen Prozentsatz an Kandidat(inn)-en, die sich letztlich nicht einschreiben werden. Im Grunde wäre es viel wichtiger, den Sprachstand der Neuimmatrikulierten zu ermitteln und ihnen konkrete Vorgaben zu machen, um fit für das Studium in der betreffenden Sprache zu werden. Dies könnte auch anhand von alternativen Formen des Testens und Beratens geschehen, vorausgesetzt, das Sprachenlernen wird grundsätzlich als „überlebensnotwendig“ für das Studium angesehen und nicht bloß als zu meisternde Hürde, wie es gegenwärtig leider oft der Fall ist. Vielen Studierenden ist nicht klar, dass das Bestehen des LAT nur bedeutet, dass man ein Studium in dieser Sprache aufnehmen, Vorlesungen hören und Prüfungen ablegen kann. Der Ausgangspunkt für die weitere Beschäftigung mit der Sprache ist damit definiert, jedoch nicht der Endpunkt. Was aber sollten die Absolvent(inn)en am Ende ihres Studiums und beim Eintritt in das Berufsleben in den drei Unterrichtssprachen konkret können. Dies ist bisher weder global noch im Hinblick auf die jeweils zu erwartenden kommunikativen Anforderungen im Berufsalltag definiert. Dabei könnten Kompetenzprofile entwickelt werden, die bei der sprachlichen Ausbildung mitgedacht und in entsprechenden Syllabi zum Ausdruck kommen müssten. Im Moment jedoch ist die Abnahme der Sprachprüfungen, die Durchführung der obligatorischen Kurse, welche im Falle des Nichtbestehens zu absolvieren sind auf der einen Seite und die curricularen Sprachkurse, welche an den Fakultäten angesiedelt sind, nicht aufeinander abgestimmt. Die mit Kreditpunkten ausgestatteten Sprachkurse im Laufe des Studiums gehen teils von unrealistisch hohen Niveaus aus und leiden unter der Heterogenität der Teilnehmergruppen. Um eine sinnvolle Diskussion zwischen allen Stake-Holdern einzuleiten, müsste das Sprachbewußtsein der gesamten Organisation gehoben und deutlich gemacht werden, dass Mehrsprachigkeit nicht allein in Sprachkursen vermittelt, sondern aktiv und überall von der Universitätsgemeinschaft gelebt werden muss. Dazu gehört nicht zuletzt die Erkenntnis, dass Sprachfertigkeiten durch Vorlesungen, Rezeption von Fachtexten, Diskussionen in Seminaren und im Kontakt mit Dozent(inn)en vermittelt werden.

7. Interne Weiterbildung für Dozenten und Mitarbeiter

Nicht nur die Sprachkenntnisse der Studierenden müssen gefördert werden, sondern auch die Sprachkenntnisse der Mitarbeiter in der Verwaltung und die der Dozent(inn)en müssen kontinuierlich ausgebaut werden. Dazu wäre zunächst einmal eine Bestandsaufnahme und daran anschließend eine Bedarfsanalyse anzustellen. Beides hat bisher an der Freien Universität Bozen nicht stattgefunden. Die Bedarfsanalyse unter den Mitarbeitern müsste konkret die Anforderungen in den drei Sprachen an jedem einzelnen Arbeitsplatz berücksichtigen. Eine Verwaltungsangestellte im Sprachenzentrum, die schriftlich und mündlich mit den Sprachlehrern kommuniziert und im "Front-Office" mit teils komplexen Fragen über Kursinhalte und -ablauf konfrontiert ist, muss in allen drei Sprachen der Uni ein Niveau B2 mitbringen oder im Laufe der Zeit erreichen. Für Mitarbeiter in Dienststellen wie dem Rechnungswesen hingegen reichen sehr gute Kenntnisse des Deutschen und Italienischen aus und Grundkenntnisse im Englischen. Ein Screening der vorhandenen Kompetenzen und eine gezielte Planung von Weiterbildungsmaßnahmen ist anders kaum zu bewerkstelligen. An anderen Stellen wiederum ist die Beherrschung der englischen Sprache in Wort und Schrift ganz entscheidend, etwa bei der Betreuung von Gastprofessoren und fest angestellten Dozent(inn)en aus dem englischen Sprachraum. Letztere unterliegen, sofern sie entsprechende Vorkenntnisse nicht schon besitzen, der Verpflichtung das Niveau B1 zu erreichen, um an den Sitzungen der verschiedenen Gremien teilnehmen zu können. Die Beschlüsse dieser Gremien werden auf Deutsch und Italienisch abgefasst, wie auch alle anderen offiziellen Dokumente der FUB und somit muss gewährleistet sein, dass die zur Abstimmung kommenden Vorlagen von den Votanten auch verstanden worden sind. Überdies benötigen alle längerfristig in Südtirol sesshaften Personen ohnehin Grundkenntnisse in wenigstens einer der beiden großen Landessprachen, um eine Wohnung zu finden, Behördengänge zu erledigen usw.

8. Zusammenfassung

Die verschiedenen Aspekte und Problembereiche im Zusammenhang mit dem Sprachenlernen an der dreisprachigen Universität Bozen konnten an dieser Stelle nur angerissen werden. Das Panorama der anstehenden Fragen ist breit gefächert. Grundsätzlich ist aber festzuhalten, dass sich die Freie Universität Bozen in den ersten 11 Jahren ihres Bestehens ernsthaft und mit Erfolg darum bemüht hat, ihre Studierenden in den drei Unterrichtssprachen studierfähig zu machen. Die Anerkennung von internationalen Sprachzertifikaten und die Durchführung von Prüfungen als offiziell anerkanntes Prüfungszentrum, die Abnahme des – nicht ganz unumstrittenen – LAT zu Studienbeginn und die Durchführung von obligatorischen Sprachkursen ist das Kerngeschäft des Sprachenzentrums. Bislang bewegen wir uns jedoch in einem traditionellen Rahmen, der kaum Spielräume für didaktische Innovation, auf verschiedene Lernertypen abgestimmtes Kursdesign und autonomes Lernen lässt. Hier müssen in den kommenden Jahren Akzente gesetzt werden. Dies kann aber nur gelingen, wenn die Diskussion auf eine breite Ebene gestellt wird und alle Beteiligten bereit sind, liebgewordene Positionen in Frage zu stellen. Die Beibehaltung und Verwaltung des Ist-Zustandes käme der Fossilisierung einer noch jungen Institution mit einem ambitionierten Anspruch gleich. Das kann und darf sich die Freie Universität Bozen nicht erlauben, wenn sie ihren mehrsprachigen Zuschnitt pflegen und ausbauen und nicht nur als Marketing-Instrument einsetzen will. Hilfreich wäre in diesem Kontext ein Grundsatzpapier ähnlich dem der Universität Helsinki, in welchem die Leitlinien der Sprachpolitik unserer Universität festgehalten sind sowie alternativer Formen des Unterrichtens und der Leistungsmessung.

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El inglés como lengua de instrucción en una universidad bilingüe

David Lasagabaster – Universidad del País Vasco/
Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea (University of the Basque Country)

The University of the Basque Country is the public university of the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC) in Spain. This is a bilingual community in which both Basque and Spanish are official languages and, therefore, taught both at preuniversity and university levels. At the University of the Basque Country about 42% of first year undergraduates currently choose to study all or part of their different degrees in Basque. The staff is made up of 4,100 lecturers and researchers, 1,258 of whom (30.6%) are fluently bilingual, and of 1,568 administratives, 773 of whom (49.3%) are bilingual to different degrees (there are four language profiles for those working in the university administration).

In an attempt to foster the internationalization of our university, during the 2005-06 the so-called *Multilingual Progamme* was implemented, whose objective was/is to boost the use of foreign languages as means of instruction in the different degrees. However, English has become the only foreign language used so far. In this presentation the objectives, procedure and results of this Multilingual Progamme will be briefly put forward. Through this plan undergraduates are given the possibility to join subjects in English which run parallel to the groups taught in Basque or Spanish.

Last but not least, the results obtained in a survey carried out among students who could have participated in the plan (but finally did not) will be analysed. The students who eventually decided not to participate in the Plan based their decision on two main factors: (i) Their lack of English proficiency, and (ii) Their unwillingness to make the extra-effort that learning through English requires. Finally, the article summarizes different courses of action which may help to dissipate fears that undergraduates display with respect to the use of a foreign language to teach content.

Keywords: foreign languages, CLIL, multilingualism, university

1. Introducción

Desde las instancias europeas se está impulsando decididamente el aprendizaje de lenguas extranjeras con el objetivo de fortalecer la diversidad lingüística que históricamente ha caracterizado al continente europeo. Así, se ha despertado un franco interés entre la ciudadanía europea por el impulso del multilingüismo, lo que ha llevado a que el aprendizaje temprano de lenguas extranjeras y su uso vehicular se estén extendiendo por todos los Estados miembros de la UE. Esto ha traído consigo la transición de sistemas educativos en los que las lenguas extranjeras se venían enseñando de la manera tradicional a una creciente presencia de experiencias educativas en las que se han puesto en marcha programas AICLE (Aprendizaje Integrado de Contenidos y Lengua Extranjera, también conocido por su acrónimo en inglés: CLIL), programas en lo que la lengua extranjera se utiliza para enseñar contenidos del currículo. La presencia de este tipo de programas ha sufrido de hecho un dramático incremento durante los últimos años en España en general (Muñoz & Navés 2007) y en la Comunidad Autónoma Vasca (CAV) en particular (Lasagabaster

2008). Mediante este enfoque lo que se pretende es que se produzca una fusión tanto del aprendizaje lingüístico como de contenidos, de manera que ambos aprendizajes reciban atención en las aulas.

Habitualmente los objetivos fundamentales del enfoque AICLE se condensan en los cuatro siguientes (Maljers, Marsh & Wolff 2007):

- Promoción de la diversidad lingüística: el ideal europeo pretende fomentar el multilingüismo y el multiculturalismo entre la ciudadanía europea.
- Mejora de la competencia en la lengua extranjera: existe un descontento generalizado en relación con el nivel de competencia logrado a la finalización de la enseñanza obligatoria.
- Impulso al aprendizaje lingüístico en general: se toma como punto de partida la idea de que la metodología AICLE redundará en una mayor competencia en todas las lenguas presentes en el currículo.
- Internacionalización de la educación: el uso de las lenguas extranjeras como medio de instrucción se presenta como estímulo y acicate a la hora de que los estudiantes participen más activamente en los distintos programas de movilidad puestos en marcha desde las instituciones europeas.

A estas premisas, Van de Craen *et al.* (2008) añaden las siguientes:

- Fomento de actitudes y motivación positivas: partiendo de estudios realizados en programas AICLE puestos en marcha en Bruselas, estos autores concluyen que los estudiantes muestran una mayor motivación y mejores actitudes, al tiempo que su identidad no se ve negativamente afectada mientras que se aumenta su autoestima. Marsh (2000) coincide en este juicio y apunta que de entre los efectos positivos del enfoque AICLE se puede destacar el fomento de unas mejores actitudes hacia las demás lenguas y su aprendizaje.
- Efectos beneficiosos en aspectos cognitivos: el enfoque AICLE requiere que el aprendiz esté cognitivamente más activo, lo que redunda en beneficios cognitivos.
- Funcionamiento cerebral con menos esfuerzo: partiendo de estudios en los que se analiza el esfuerzo que precisa realizar el estudiante monolingüe con respecto al bilingüe en la realización de tareas, Van de Craen *et al.* concluyen que el trabajar siguiendo una metodología AICLE fomenta una mayor plasticidad cerebral.

Todos estos supuestos beneficios de la metodología AICLE han traído consigo que, aunque originariamente se tratara de programas que se circunscribían a regiones concretas y en muchas ocasiones a programas educativos de marcado carácter elitista, su presencia en los diferentes sistemas educativos europeos sea cada vez más conspicua (Maljers, Marsh & Wolff 2007). Las experiencias de programas AICLE abarcan tanto desde la educación primaria, pasando por la secundaria, hasta la terciaria o universtaria. Este último es el estadio educativo del que nos ocuparemos en este artículo.

Durante los últimos veinte años la utilización del inglés como medio de instrucción se ha extendido por muchos países europeos, hasta el punto de que algunas voces se han alzado preocupadas por la posición hegemónica que ocupa la lengua inglesa (Ammon 2006; Canagarajah 1999; Ritzen 2006). Pero esta situación no se limita al contexto europeo, sino que cada vez son más las universidades de todas las partes del globo que han decidido impulsar este tipo de política lingüística en el ámbito educativo (Wilkinson & Zegers 2006). Por ello, es importante que las instituciones sean conscientes de las opiniones de todos aquellos que se ven envueltos en estas experiencias, de manera que se analice en detalle cómo se puede mejorar la organización, implementación y evaluación de estas experiencias. En este artículo pretendemos en concreto ahondar en las opiniones del alumnado de la Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea.

2. La Universidad del País Vasco / Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea (UPV/EHU)

La UPV/EHU es la única universidad pública de la CAV y cuenta con aproximadamente 43.000 estudiantes de grado. Está ubicada en una de las comunidades autónomas españolas que cuenta con dos lenguas oficiales, por lo que tanto la enseñanza preuniversitaria como la universitaria se imparten en lengua vasca (*euskera*) y lengua española. Así, más del 42% del alumnado universitario de primer curso estudia al menos parte de su titulación en euskera.

Sin embargo, en la CAV existe una clara apuesta por fomentar la presencia de lenguas extranjeras, entre las que la posición hegemónica corresponde sin ningún género de dudas al inglés. Esta clara preponderancia se refleja en la universalización de su enseñanza desde los 4 años y en la puesta en marcha de programas experimentales en Educación Secundaria y Bachiller en los que el inglés también se utiliza como lengua de instrucción. Ésta es una tendencia creciente que se observa tanto en otras comunidades bilingües como en el resto de Europa y que tiene un potencial muy claro en el ámbito universitario, como lo demuestran las publicaciones recientes sobre esta cuestión (van Leeuwen & Wilkinson 2003; Wilkinson 2004; Wilkinson, van Leeuwen & Zegers 2006).

En un deseo de impulsar la internacionalización de la UPV/EHU, durante el curso académico 2005/06 se puso en marcha el denominado *Plan de Plurilingüismo*, cuyo objetivo radica en fomentar la utilización de lenguas extranjeras como medio de instrucción en los diferentes grados ofertados. A pesar de que el objetivo inicial era que se incluyesen al menos dos o tres lenguas extranjeras, la realidad es que el papel predominante del inglés ha conducido a que esta lengua sea prácticamente la única que hasta el momento cuenta con presencia entre las asignaturas que completan la oferta del Plan de Plurilingüismo durante el curso académico 2007/08.

A continuación se presentarán brevemente los objetivos del plan, el procedimiento utilizado para su puesta en marcha, así como los resultados obtenidos hasta el momento. Hay que recordar que debido al carácter bilingüe de la UPV/EHU, la docencia de los grupos de inglés debe impartirse de modo paralelo con la de los grupos de español y euskera. Con el objetivo de ofrecer una imagen detallada del plan de plurilingüismo y de presentar los principales retos que se deberán afrontar para asegurar el éxito de su implementación, se mostrarán los resultados obtenidos a través de un estudio en el que se encuestó a 158 estudiantes que podían haber pasado a formar parte del grupo de inglés, pero que por diferentes motivos prefirieron no hacerlo. El análisis de las respuestas obtenidas nos permitirá conocer en detalle las razones que motivaron su opción de no participar en este tipo de iniciativa, así como las medidas que deberán tomarse en el futuro para estimular la participación del alumnado.

3. El plan de plurilingüismo

A la hora de poner en marcha el Plan de Plurilingüismo en la UPV/EHU se tuvieron en cuenta los siguientes objetivos:

(a) Asegurar la continuidad de los programas experimentales trilingües que ya están en funcionamiento en los niveles preuniversitarios.

(b) Mejorar la competencia lingüística en lenguas extranjeras de nuestro alumnado, lo que les permitirá participar más activamente en programas de movilidad.

(c) Atraer a estudiantes extranjeros por medio de la oferta académica en lenguas extranjeras.

(d) Desarrollar el lenguaje específico de cada una de las especialidades del alumnado, de manera que éstos puedan obtener el mayor beneficio de las publicaciones internacionales y de las visitas del profesorado extranjero visitante.

(e) Mejorar las posibilidades en el mercado laboral, donde el conocimiento de lenguas extranjeras se ha convertido en un valor añadido.

Cuando el programa comenzó su andadura en el curso 2005/06 se incluyeron 16 asignaturas en siete titulaciones diferentes. Para el curso 2007/08 el número ha aumentado hasta las 42 asignaturas a impartir en 15 titulaciones. Sin embargo, y debido a la cada vez mayor hegemonía del inglés en el ámbito universitario (Coleman 2006; Wilkinson 2004), todas las asignaturas menos una (que se imparte en francés) tienen el inglés como lengua vehicular. La explicación a esta tendencia lingüística monocromática la encontramos en que en los niveles preuniversitarios el inglés se ha convertido en la lengua hegemónica, a pesar de la presencia del francés y alemán como lenguas optativas en algunos centros.

El programa es muy popular entre el profesorado, hasta el punto de que más de 220 profesores se han acreditado para poder impartir su docencia en lenguas extranjeras. En este caso también el inglés es también la lengua claramente dominante (200 aproximadamente se han acreditado en dicha lengua). Para el profesorado de nueva incorporación se organizan cursos preparatorios y se les concede una ayuda económica para la traducción de algunos de los materiales que utilizan en clase si así lo desean.

No obstante, el eco del programa entre el alumnado no ha sido el esperado, hasta el punto de que la matriculación de los grupos ronda los 8 estudiantes por asignatura, una cifra baja si consideramos el potencial existente. En cualquier caso, también hay que apuntar que existen grupos con 20 alumnos, pero éstos son los menos. Esta situación fue la que nos empujó a realizar un estudio que nos permitiera analizar las razones que *desanimaron* al alumnado cuando tuvieron la oportunidad de unirse al Plan.

4. El estudio

El estudio se llevó a cabo en la Facultad de Ciencias Económicas y Empresariales, la Facultad que contaba a la sazón (primer cuatrimestre del curso 2006/07) con el mayor número de asignaturas en el Plan de Plurilingüismo. La licenciatura en Economía consta de cuatro cursos académicos y todas las asignaturas del Plan se ofertaban en inglés y aparecen reflejadas en la tabla 1.

Asignatura	**Tipo / Curso**
Teoría Microeconómica I	Obligatoria / 2º curso
Teoría Microeconomica II	Obligatoria / 2º curso
Teoría Macroeconomica I	Obligatoria / 2º curso
Teoría Macroeconomica II	Obligatoria / 2º curso
Teoría Macroeconomica III	Obligatoria / 4º curso
Teoría Macroeconomica IV	Obligatoria / 4º curso
Matemáticas III	Obligatoria / 2º curso
Matemáticas IV	Obligatoria / 2º curso
Introducción a la Econometría	Obligatoria / 3º curso
Econometría	Obligatoria / 3º curso

Tabla 1 – Asignaturas ofertadas en la licenciatura en Económicas.

El objetivo del estudio radicaba en obtener información sobre las razones que habían conducido a quienes podían haberse incorporado a estos cursos a finalmente no hacerlo, de manera que este conocimiento permitiera diseñar políticas activas que condujeran a una mayor participación en el Plan en años venideros. Para ello 158 estudiantes fueron invitados a completar un breve cuestionario en el que se les solicitaba que expusieran las razones que habían motivado su elección de los grupos en castellano o en euskera en lugar de los grupos en inglés. Todos los participantes podían haber cursado la asignatura Teoría Macroeconómica II, pero decidieron no disfrutar de esta posibilidad.

El cuestionario se repartió tanto en euskera como en castellano y constaba de tres secciones: (1) En la primera se les invitaba a que expresaran las razones por las que no se habían apuntado a los grupos de inglés. (2) Puesto que la asignatura Teoría Macroeconómica consta de cuatro niveles, en la segunda sección se les preguntó por la posibilidad de unirse al Plan durante el curso siguiente. (3) Finalmente, se les solicitó que expresaran libremente su opinión sobre el Plan. El cuestionario fue cumplimentado anónimamente para que el alumnado tuviera total libertad a la hora de expresar sus opiniones.

5. Resultados

Comenzaremos resumiendo los resultados de la primera parte del cuestionario, donde se les solicitó que indicasen las razones que les habían empujado a no cursar en inglés la asignatura Teoría Macroeconómica. El número de estudiantes y los porcentajes para cada una de las principales razones esgrimidas fueron los siguientes (la suma de los porcentajes excede el 100% porque algunos estudiantes apuntaron más de una razón):

Razones esgrimidas	Nº estudiantes	Porcentaje
Mi inglés no es lo suficientemente bueno	85	54,4%
Aunque mi inglés es lo suficientemente bueno para haber cursado esta asignatura en inglés, no estoy dispuesto a hacer el esfuerzo que requiere estudiarla en inglés	44	28,2%
No sabía que esta asignatura se ofertaba en inglés	33	21,1%
El solapamiento de horarios impedía que pudiera cursarla en inglés	21	13,4%
Otras razones varias	12	7,6%
Prefiero seguir en el mismo grupo que mis amigos	8	5,1%

Tabla 2 – Razones esgrimidas por los estudiantes.

Por tanto, más de la mitad de los participantes apuntaron como razón principal su falta de competencia idiomática. Estos resultados se pueden interpretar en dos direcciones. Por un lado, se podría pensar que el alumnado percibe que su dominio de la lengua no es bueno por falta de confianza o por miedo a una situación académica desconocida (la impartición de contenidos en inglés). Así, puede que tengan miedo de cursar la asignatura en inglés cuando realmente sí que serían capaces de hacerlo. Por otro lado, la segunda interpretación sería que tienen razón y que carecen de dominio lingüístico para unirse al grupo de inglés. De hecho, estudios recientes reflejan que la competencia en lenguas extranjeras entre los españoles es de las más bajas de Europa (Comisión Europea 2006; Lasagabaster & Huguet 2007). En un estudio reciente (Lasagabaster 2003) en el que participaron más de un millar de universitarios vascos se observó que sólo el 6% consideraba que su nivel de inglés era muy bueno, mientras que prácticamente el 50% apuntó que su competencia era baja, y esto a pesar de habían dedicado más de 10 años al aprendizaje del inglés. Así, parece que esta segunda interpretación sería la más acertada.

La segunda principal razón esgrimida para no unirse al grupo de inglés radicaba en que no estaban dispuestos a hacer el esfuerzo extra que requiere cursar la asignatura en inglés. Ésta es una justificación muy preocupante, puesto que casi 3 de cada 10 estudiantes podría haber elegido el grupo de inglés, pero simplemente prefirieron no hacerlo porque supone un trabajo adicional.

La tercera razón refleja que 2 de cada 10 ni siquiera conocía el Plan de Plurilingüismo, a pesar de que ésta ha sido publicitado a través de diversos medios tales como carteles, difusión a través de la página Web institucional, listas de distribución, etc. Finalmente la cuarta razón de más peso hace referencia al solapamiento de horarios. Llegados a este punto hay que recordar que las asignaturas incluidas en el programa se imparten asimismo en euskera y castellano y que, por lo tanto, hay tres grupos lingüísticos por asignatura, por lo que no siempre es fácil que los horarios se acoplen a los intereses de todo el alumnado.

La segunda cuestión analizada en el cuestionario se refería a su interés por cursar la asignatura de Teoría Macroeconómica en inglés en el segundo cuatrimestre. La gran mayoría de los encuestados seguían mostrándose contrarios a esta opción, hasta el punto de que 158 sólo 6 reconsideraron su primera decisión. Cinco de estos estudiantes se encontraban entre quienes no habían conocido el plan hasta que se les requirió que completaran el cuestionario del estudio.

A estos 6 alumnos, se sumaron otros 10 que se encontraban indecisos y cuya decisión final dependería en los resultados que lograran en el primer cuatrimestre de la asignatura. Si tenían problemas, ya fuera en el grupo de euskera o en el de castellano, no se apuntarían al grupo de inglés. Algunos de ellos también apuntaban que antes de tomar una decisión hablarían con el profesor de la asignatura y con los alumnos que se encontraban cursando la asignatura en el primer cuatrimestre. En palabras de uno de ellos: “Lo que más me preocupa es el examen escrito, porque no creo que sea capaz de expresarme con precisión en inglés.”

Cuando entre la gran mayoría que había decidido no cursar la asignatura en inglés se les concedió la posibilidad de expresarse libremente, las limitaciones lingüísticas surgieron nuevamente como principal escollo. Las tres siguientes citas resumen el sentir general:

- “Mi inglés es tan pobre que ni me lo planteo.”
- “Ya es duro aprobar el examen en español, como para hacerlo en inglés.”
- “Se trata de asignaturas complicadas, por lo que cursarlas en inglés se convertiría en una carga extra. Estoy a punto de licenciarme y no quiero complicaciones adicionales.”

En la sección final, en la que se les concedió total libertad para opinar sobre el Plan de Plurilingüismo, los estudiantes se mostraron favorables y la mayoría de sus comentarios fueron positivos. Y esto fue así incluso entre quienes no tenían intención de participar en el Plan, ya que reconocían la importancia de lograr una buena capacitación en el inglés específico de su titulación y con vistas al mercado laboral;

también destacaban que la bibliografía que utilizan está habitualmente en inglés. Muchos se escudaban nuevamente en su falta de competencia, por lo que reclamaban una asignatura de inglés para fines específicos, opción esta que no está disponible en todos los centros. Curiosamente, algunos estudiantes apuntaban que el Plan es una iniciativa interesante para los estudiantes extranjeros que visitan la UPV/EHU a través de programas de movilidad, en lugar de considerarlo como un programa adecuado para ellos.

Tres fueron sus principales contribuciones para el éxito de la empresa:

(a) Algunos consideraban que las asignaturas deberían ser optativas en lugar de obligatorias.

(b) Algunos se mostraban reacios a la presencia hegemónica del inglés.

(c) Otros solicitaron cursos de inglés para fines específicos.

Finalmente, cabe destacar que algunos estudiantes de los grupos de euskera se mostraban cautos porque en su opinión primero se debe mejorar la situación del euskera: “Primero hay que asegurar que todas las asignaturas se oferten en euskera. Es nuestra lengua y debe tener total prioridad.” Sin embargo, también hay que destacar que únicamente una minoría de estudiantes del grupo de euskera se mostraba reluctante al Plan, mientras que la mayoría simplemente era cauta.

6. Consideraciones finales

Los resultados de este estudio reflejan que la principal limitación del alumnado a la hora de plantearse su participación en el Plan de Plurilingüismo tiene que ver con su baja competencia en inglés. En la actualidad en la CAV la impartición de asignaturas en inglés en los niveles preuniversitarios se está convirtiendo en una opción implementada por varios centros y consideraba por otros muchos, con lo que en un futuro el grado de competencia puede verse mejorado y esto, en consecuencia, traería consigo el aumento de alumnado universitario dispuesto a unirse a este tipo de iniciativa. De hecho, durante el curso académico 2007/08 en educación secundaria el enfoque CLIL en inglés se ha puesto en marcha en 25 centros y en 10 más en francés en la red pública, a los que se unen las experiencias implementadas en la red privada.

La universidad debe otorgar una continuidad a estas experiencias, pero para ello es necesario realizar estudios como el aquí presentado que nos permita conocer de primera mano la opinión de todos los actores implicados en este proceso. A la vista de los resultados obtenidos en la UPV/EHU, las siguientes acciones pueden ayudar a que el alumnado se anime en mayor medida a cursar asignaturas en lenguas extranjeras en el ámbito universitario:

1) *Realización de reuniones informativas con el alumnado potencial, es decir, con*

quienes el curso que viene pueden elegir la asignatura que se imparte en una lengua extanjera. El proceder habitual seguido en la UPV/EHU ha consistido en que el profesorado participante en el Plan solicita a algún/alguna colega la cesión de unos minutos al comienzo o final de una clase para dar a conocer la existencia de asignaturas en lenguas extranjeras al alumnado potencial y para hacer hincapié en los beneficios que este tipo de experiencia reporta al alumnado participante. Ésta es también una muy buena ocasión para discutir y tratar de minimizar los *miedos infundados* que en muchas ocasiones retraen al alumnado y que por medio de este tipo de contactos nos consta que desaparecen. Es muy importante que tengan la posibilidad de contactar con el profesorado implicado en el Plan de Plurilingüismo y que puedan aclarar las dudas que habitualmente se les presentan. Es conveniente que estas reuniones se realicen antes de la finalización del curso académico anterior para que el alumnado sea consciente de que ésta es una oportunidad que merece la pena aprovechar. La publicidad del Plan y de la oferta existente para el curso 2008-09 se lleva anualmente a cabo por los medios habituales (trípticos, carteles, información disponible en la página Web de la UPV/EHU, guía docente, etc.), pero estas reuniones se convierten en un complemento de gran importancia.

En aquellos casos en los que la asignatura en cuestión ya se está impartiendo podría resultar interesante que acudiera también a la reunión informativa algún alumno o alumna que la haya cursado y que pueda contar su experiencia. En muchas ocasiones el contacto entre el propio alumnado resulta muy efectivo.

2) *Posibilidad de realizar la prueba escrita o el trabajo final (si los hubiere) en alguna de las lenguas oficiales de la comunidad*. Uno de los principales impedimentos para parte del alumnado radica en las pruebas escritas. Para evitar este obstáculo en algunos centros el profesorado permite que la prueba escrita o el trabajo final (si los hubiere) se pueda realizar en castellano o euskera, ya que hay una parte importante del alumnado a la que esta cuestión le produce *excesivo respeto*. Esto no quiere decir que en todos los casos se les deba conceder esta posibilidad, pero sí que, quien considere que puede ayudar a incrementar la matrícula, la pueda poner en práctica. Así se ha realizado en algunos centros de la UPV/EHU y se han conseguido eliminar las trabas que desanimaban a parte del alumnado. Se trata de una medida transitoria hasta que el Plan vaya asentándose.

3) *Concesión de créditos de libre elección*. En otros centros también se ha procedido a incentivar la participación por medio de la concesión de créditos de libre elección, de manera que por cada 6 créditos cursados en asignaturas englobadas en el Plan, se conceden 2 o 3 créditos de libre elección. Como se ha podido observar en la encuesta realizada entre alumnado de la UPV/EHU que podía haber participado en el Plan y que finalmente no lo hizo, una de las principa-

les razones esgrimidas radicaba en el esfuerzo adicional que supone cursar una asignatura en una lengua extranjera. Este tipo de medidas puede ayudar a animar al alumnado.

4) *Establecimiento de horarios compatibles*. En la medida de lo posible, es importante que las asignaturas enmarcadas en el Plan se ofrezcan en horario preferente y que se evite el solapamiento con asignaturas obligatorias/troncales.

5) *Asignación de estatus preferente o concesión de puntos adicionales para la participación en programas de intercambio con universidades de habla inglesa o francesa*. La asistencia a clases de la especialidad por parte del o de la estudiante en una lengua extranjera, sin duda alguna, animará al alumnado a realizar una estancia en el extranjero y, una vez allí, facilitará su adaptación.

Como toda nueva iniciativa, el Plan de Plurilingüismo necesitará de cierto tiempo para su regularización, pero no nos cabe duda de que en unos pocos años logrará asentarse como una opción atractiva y a la larga muy fructífera para gran parte del alumnado. El Espacio Europeo de Educación Superior al que ineluctablemente nos dirigimos pone especial énfasis en la internacionalización de las universidades y esto implica intercambios y movilidad extensiva de profesorado, personal de administración y servicios y alumnado. Parece por tanto evidente que ha llegado la hora de hacer una decidida apuesta por fomentar el aprendizaje de lenguas extranjeras entre los miembros de la comunidad universitaria y el enfoque CLIL se antoja como el instrumento más razonable para el éxito de esta empresa. Queda mucho trabajo por hacer en relación con la educación multilingüe, como es el caso del sistema educativo de la CAV, pero parece imprescindible que tanto el alumnado como el profesorado sea cada vez más consciente de la riqueza que conlleva el aprendizaje de diferentes lenguas (De Angelis 2007; Jessner 2008; Ringbom 2007).

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Babeş-Bolay University: Options for a Language Policy[1]

Ştefan Oltean – Babeş-Bolyai University Cluj-Napoca

The paper proposes an account of the language policy of Babeş-Bolyai University (BBU) – a Romanian multilingual and multicultural higher education institution. The issue of what constitutes a European language policy is discussed, the European, Romanian and regional contexts are described, and the benchmarks of the University's language policy are presented, which contain provisions for foreign languages and for regional languages (Hungarian, German) in addition to Romanian. The representations among undergraduate students, academic staff and academic leadership of this language policy are then assessed on the basis of questionnaires and interviews targeting attitudes relating to the multilingual practices in the University (teaching of foreign languages, CLIL, the study-lines/streams of study). The data thus collected are analyzed and discussed.

Keywords: language policy, multilingualism, LSP, CLIL, study-line at BBU

1. Introduction

This paper proposes to present (1) the backdrop against which Babeş-Bolyai University (BBU) – a Romanian multilingual and multicultural higher education institution located in the city of Cluj – designed its language policy; (2) the guidelines of this language policy; and (3) representations among students, academic staff and academic leadership associated with this language policy.

1.1. *The European Context*

The European Union is a conglomerate of nations, languages and cultures; it is a unity in diversity. Far from being a disadvantage, this diversity represents an opportunity that Europe can turn to by supporting the development of skills necessary to bridge the gap that divides peoples, communities or language groups. In higher education this demand for stronger ties has led to the creation of the *European Higher Education Area*, whose guidelines are provided by *The Sorbone Declaration* (1998); *The Bologna Declaration* (1999); *The Salamanca Message* (2001); *The Prague Comuniqué* (2001); *The Berlin Declaration* (2001); as well as other documents.

Within this framework, the role of languages has been reassessed, given that they are of paramount importance in the new *knowledge based society*, for communicative purposes mainly, but also because languages have many other functions:

1 This paper integrates results from Cotrău, D. *et al.* (2007), and from Cotrău, D. *et al.* (2008).

cognitive, directive or expressive. With the help of languages reality is categorized, thought and emotions are expressed, knowledge and decisions are transmitted.

In European higher education this linguistic dimension is provided by the documents mentioned above, as well as other more specific documents, such as the *White Paper on Education and Training – Towards the Learning Society* (EU Commission 1995); *The European Language Portfolio* (EU Commission 2000); *Multilingualism and New Learning Environments* (Berlin 2001); *The Bologna Process and the Issue of Languages* (Brussels 2002); *Promoting Language Learning and Linguistic Diversity – Consultation* (2002); and, more recently, *The Nancy Declaration* (2006).

These documents highlight the importance of languages in European higher education by invoking: (1) the need to improve student mobility, teaching staff mobility, mobility of researchers and of personnel working in the field of nonacademic administration and services in universities; (2) the need to promote the European dimension of higher education through interinstitutional cooperation, curricular development and joint degrees; and (3) the need to create higher education programs that enhance employability on the European labour market with a view to developing the European dimension of employability, a declared purpose of the European Union.

The implementation of these aspects, which pertain to the *linguistic dimension* of the *Bologna Declaration*, requires reconsideration of the role of language specializations in keeping with the existing professions and job profiles, on the one hand, and the development of new teaching methods, on the other. Given the crucial importance of this problem, the *European Language Council* (CEL/ELC) called upon the authorities and organizations carrying forward the Bologna Process to put the problem of language learning on their agenda and to elaborate their own *language policies* (Mackiewicz 2002), since only by adopting a "multilingual ethos" (ibid.) can they carry out their roles as institutions in the European Higher Education Area.

But what are the guidelines for the language policy recommended by the European Union, considering that Europe has now more than 20 official languages and that many other languages are spoken on its territory, or considering the biological constraints on language acquisition? Which is the best formula for a European language policy? A *lingua franca* like English is not seen as the optimal solution, not only because of Europe's extremely rich linguistic and cultural heritage, which must be kept alive by all means, but also because, although English is an international language, it is nevertheless not spoken by a considerable number of European citizens[2] (EU Commision 2006), who prefer to use their national languages (e.g., French, German, Italian, Spanish), or who are bilingual in languages other than English. As a result, a different formula has been suggested, which has regard for the prestige of the language of each member state, namely the 1 + 2 formula (*mother*

2 English is the first language of 13% of the EU citizens (the U.K. and Northern Ireland), while for another 38% of these citizens it is a second language, with a higher number of speakers in Western and Northern Europe (86% in Denmark, 89% in Sweden) and a lower number in Eastern and Southern Europe (between 20% and 29%).

tongue and *two foreign languages*, *languages B* and *C*). It is this formula that governments and education institutions should seek to implement through their language policies. They need to insure the study of two modern languages not only in school, but also at the university, or even to develop methods for *life long learning*. On the one hand, it is estimated that the implementation of such language policy should not raise special problems, since the inhabitants of many European states speak at least two languages, thus multilingualism having actual existence. On the other hand, concrete implementation programs are requested, considering the manifold implications of multilingualism in the creation of a genuine European dimension, and the benefits associated with knowledge of many languages.

Now, the following points should be noted in connection with higher education European language policies (Chambers 2004) : (1) there may be differences between the language policies of institutions located in states where "big" languages are spoken (The United Kingdom, France, Germany, Spain, for example), and states with "small" languages; (2) a language policy does not consist entirely in foreign language classes being offered at BA level, but it should be extended to the MA level as well and to the teaching of specialized topics in foreign languages; (3) foreign language classes should be credited in the ECTS system; (4) the official language of the state (mother tongue) should be taught to international students; (5) a European language policy should not exclude the study of non-European languages.

1.2. *The Romanian context*

Knowledge of foreign languages has been considered important in Romania and it is fairly common, firstly because of the benefits issuing from this, Romanian being a "small" language, and secondly as a result of the multilingual and multicultural traditions associated with some of its historical provinces, where side by side with the Romanian population there have lived Hungarians, Germans (Transylvania), or Ukrainians (Maramureş, Bucovina).

There is no explicit language policy at national level, but the guidelines for teaching languages, provided by Romanian legislation (Parlamentul României 1995), are two modern languages in school in addition to the state language or mother tongue, and one or two languages at the university.

1.3. *The regional Context*

The regional context is provided by Transylvania's multicultural, multiconfessional and multilingual profile (Romanian, Hungarian, German) (see Chelaru 2001; Petyt 1975; Steinke 2006). Bilingualism or even trilingualism is common or at least it is not infrequent, and there are, in addition to Romanian institutions, secondary, high school or even higher education institutions in the minority languages. In this respect, in Hungarian there are 48 high schools (most of which also comprise secondary and primary schools) and 65 study-lines (departments) in mixed (Romanian and Hungarian) schools (Ministerul Educaţiei, Cercetării şi Tineretului 2006), as well as around 150 more primary and secondary schools, while in German there are 5 high schools (which also comprise secondary and primary schools) and 19 study-lines (departments) in mixed (Romanian and German) schools (ibid.). In addition, there are 2 private Hungarian Universities (Partium Christian University in Oradea, and The Sapientia University, with campuses in Cluj-Napoca, Targu-Mures and Miercurea Ciuc), and two state universities have Hungarian study-lines/streams of study (Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca, and the University of Medicine and Pharmacy in Targu-Mureş). Thus the overall regional context sustains a greater emphasis on Hungarian and German than seen in other parts of the country.

Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca best embodies this enriched academic tradition of Transylvania, by organizing its programs along three study-lines (Romanian, Hungarian, German) and defining itself as a multilingual and multicultural higher education institution. Its beginnings go back to a Jesuit College founded in 1581, and it has more than 50,000 BA, MA and doctoral students, enrolled in 21 faculties. It thus stands out as the oldest and one of the most important universities of Romania.

2. The language policy of Babeş-Bolyai University

2.1. *Foreign language provisions*

In keeping with EU recommendations BBU elaborated a language policy of its own – the first of this kind in Romania –, titled *Pentru o politică lingvistică europeană în Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai* ("*For a European Language Policy at Babeş-Bolyai University"*), which was adopted by the University Senate in 2001. The Senate also endorsed the decision to introduce *language proficiency certificates* issued by two language centres of the university (the *Alpha Language Centre* and the *Lingua Language Centre*) or internationally recognized language certificates as a condition for acceptance to the BA exam or to an MA or PhD program, as well as for participation in European mobilities and in tenure competitions, in keeping with Romanian legislation.

What are the benchmarks of the BBU language policy, how does it meet the EU demands and how does it contribute to the development of the concept of European language policy?

- It fits into a European framework.
- It makes explicit reference to the Bologna process.
- It sanctions the 1 + 2 formula, whereby two modern languages should be studied in addition to the mother tongue.
- It does not exclude the study of non-European languages.
- It contains provisions for the development of skills necessary for European citizens, such as communicational competences and (inter)cultural competences, and it makes references to self-learning.
- It makes explicit references to foreign languages for special purposes.

- It sets level B2 in the first foreign language (language B) – equivalent to 20 points out of 30 – as the necessary proficiency level for acceptance to the BA exam.
- It contains provisions for teaching optional courses in the mother tongue with the purpose of improving competence in verbal and written communication in the academic environment.
- It highlights the study and importance of regional and of minority languages as constituent parts of the European cultural and linguistic heritage.

In 2006, as a result of implementing the Bologna Declaration in the field of Romanian higher education in light of new national legislation, this language policy was updated such that the study of two foreign languages stipulated in the original BBU language policy document shall be enforced in all faculties, and that the reduction of BA studies from 4 to 3 years does not result in shortening the duration of foreign language study. This updating meant reaching a flexible and balanced formula, both in terms of the demands made on the students, of its share in the new curriculum, and of the costs associated with it. The new document, *Hotărâre privind reactualizarea politicii lingvistice a UBB* ("*Resolution for updating BBU's language policy*"), retains the guidelines of the previous document (e.g., 1 + 2 formula, B2 level for acceptance to the BA exam, focus on the use of languages for special purposes), but makes the following additional provisions:

- Two foreign languages shall be studied for an interval of four semesters, but not for less than three semesters.
- Language B, the first modern language, is one of the following six languages studied in high school: English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Russian.
- Language C is any foreign language (including non-European languages).
- The proficiency in language C shall be at least 15 points (out of 30).
- Acceptance into MA programs is conditioned by a 20 point proficiency language certificate (out of 30) in language B, and, upon MA graduation, a certificate in language C (15 points) is requested.
- In the BA cycle foreign languages receive at least 2.5 credits per semester.

Considering that all students studied two languages in school[3] and that many speak regional or minority languages (e.g., Hungarian), this option is reasonable; it does not make great financial and curricular demands on the University, and it is

3 A first modern language and a second modern language are studied in Romanian schools. The study of the first language (2 hours/week as a rule) – English, French, German, Spanish, Italian, Russian – begins in elementary school and continues in secondary school and high school, while the study of the second language (also 2 hours/week as a rule) – one of the languages from above, but it can also be some other language, like Norwegian, Portuguese – is introduced in secondary school and continues through high school. In bilingual classes, the study of the first language can be 6 hours/week. One language (generally the first) is obligatory for Baccalaureate (oral or written, depending upon school profile); language competence certificates are issued by request for graduates of bilingual schools (Oltean 2004).

to the students' definite advantage. In their turn, the faculties of the university enjoy freedom in implementing these Senate decisions[4].

2.2. *Study-lines at BBU*

As already shown, BBU has a multilingual and multicultural profile, in accordance with the multilingual and multicultural character of the province of Transylvania, where it is located. This profile was defined in the *1995 University Charter* (*Carta Universităţii Babeş-Bolyai* 2000), which provides for organizing the university along three study-lines or streams of study, in keeping with which complete educational programs are provided in Romanian, Hungarian and German at all levels: BA, MA and PhD. The study-lines are each headed by a vice-rector and enjoy autonomy by making their own decisions with regard to human resources, research, publishing, international relations, development and offer of study programs. Thus the University has defined a specific organizational structure, which ensures the practice of multilingualism in the actual teaching process and in other domains of academic activity.

A few figures will prove useful with respect to BBU's multilingual and multicultural profile. First, out of its 21 faculties, 15 provide a curriculum in both Romanian and Hungarian, 9 provide a curriculum in Romanian and in German, and 2 faculties (the Faculty of Reformed Theology and the Faculty of Roman-Catholic Theology) teach exclusively in Hungarian. Second, the university offers 105 full programs in Romanian, 52 full programs in Hungarian and 13 full programs in German, at BA, MA or doctoral level. Third, the number of students registered in these programs in 2005 was that of 37,711 students in the Romanian study-line, 6,672 in the Hungarian study-line, and 1,779 in the German study-line (*Babeş-Bolyai University. The multicultural characte*r 2008).

Admission to these study-lines is made through an entrance exam, with the possibility of native speakers of Hungarian and German to opt for full packages of classes in their mother tongue; for non-native speakers, e.g., of German, language requirements need to be met, i.e., the candidates need either to be graduates of German high schools, or to possess language certificates in this language. Language requirements are also the case with those who take specializations in other languages, such as English (4 BA programs, MA programs), which the university also offers, along with some specializations in French and Italian.

Thus, on the one hand, BBU promotes in addition to education in Romanian an education in regional languages (Hungarian and German) by setting up special study-lines, as well as an education in widely spoken languages (English, French,

4 Implementation of this compelx language policy (teaching, testing) is done by the specialized departments of the university (*The Department of Foreign Languages for Specific Purposes, The Department of Applied Modern Languages for Economics and Business Administration, the foreign languages departments of the Faculty of Letters*), as well as the *Alpha* and *Lingua* language centers of the university. It is a process which requires constant monitoring of the students' competence in modern languages in order that it fits within the defined standards (at least 20 points for language B).

German). For BBU German occupies a position where the two directions overlap, considering that the German study-line is attended by native speakers of German as well as by students for whom German is a foreign language acquired through previous instruction. On the other hand, programs in English, French or Italian are as a rule attended by non-native speakers and thus the classes taught in these languages are seen as CLIL classes. The students are enrolled in one or another of the study-lines, but they can move from one to the other along their studies, mainly at the beginning of the academic year; they can also have transversal options, and thus take specific courses in another language (e.g., in Romanian, English or German); however, each of the study-lines offers a full course package in its own language, including common core courses.

The faculty involved in teaching are, as a rule, native speakers (the Romanian, Hungarian and German study-lines), but they can be non-natives as well (e.g., native speakers of Hungarian or German can teach in the Romanian study-line as well, and native speakers of Romanian or Hungarian can teach in the German study-line, on condition they are fluent in this langauge). In no one of these cases are language certificates or tests required; what counts, however, is the experience of the respective teachers, who quite often spent periods abroad (research, teaching, training) and are fluent in the foreign language.

In light of the above, BBU's multilingual education has many facets, it consisting in an education furnished in (1) the national language, (2) a regional language, or (3) an international language.

3. Representations

In the following, I shall focus on the representations and attitudes among students, academic staff and academic leadership regarding the language policy of the university and the learning practices associated with it. Provisional results from research within the *Dylan project* (*Language dynamics and management of diversity*) (see Cotrau 2007; 2008) – in which BBU participates – are integrated.

In order to assess what representations or attitudes the students, the academic staff and the academic leaders have about the teaching *of* foreign languages and *in* foreign languages (CLIL) at BBU, two questionnaires were administered to a representative sample of students (264 and, respectively, 130) attending the three study-lines, and academic staff, deans of several faculties and two vice rectors were interviewed (23). The questionnaires and the interview focused both on foreign language teaching, on teaching in foreign languages and on the study-line structure/streams of study (Romanian, Hungarian, German) of the university.

3.1. *Questionnaires applied to undergraduates*

The first questionnaire featured 10 questions revolving around the issue of studying foreign languages at BBU: the range and number of languages offered for study, the possibilities of studying *of* and *in* a foreign language, studying a foreign language during the three cycles: bachelor, master, PhD, course duration and number of modules, type of language to be studied (general or special), the relevance of holding a Language Proficiency Certificate, etc.

The total number of questionnaires administered is 264.

The respondents are undergraduates from 8 BBU faculties[5].

The data collected support the following conclusions as to the undergraduates' representation of language study:

- Almost all undergraduates (97.34%) consider that the offer of lines in varied languages is to their advantage;
- More than half (54.16%) would like to acquire or become knowledgeable in *two* foreign languages;
- Most undergraduates would like to study at least one foreign language throughout the bachelor level, i.e., six semesters (67.04%), followed by the second option of four modules/semesters (21.21%).
- From among the minority languages (other than Hungarian), undergraduates are in favor of the study of German (47.72%), followed by Russian (8.71%), Rromani (7.57%), and 'no language' (14.01%).
- Most undergraduates list English (74.24%) at the top of their preferences for language study, followed by German (47.72%), Spanish (46.96%), Italian (45.83%) and French (30.30%). Some less widely spoken foreign languages are also mentioned: Polish (15.53%), Japanese (13.63%) and Arabic (13.25%) (the subjects listed three language options in a ranking order).
- Undergraduates are obviously in favor of studying a combination of a general and special type language (70.83%), as opposed to general language (20.83%) and special language (7.95%) only.
- Almost two thirds (63.25%) are favorable towards holding a Language Proficiency Certificate.
- More than half consider that it would be useful to attend specializations in widely spoken languages at BA (50.37%), MA (63.25%) and PhD (56.43%) levels.

In addition, the following representations relating to CLIL have emerged from the second questionnaire, administered to 130 undergraduates:

- 45% indicate labour market as playing a determining role in their attendance of CLIL courses;
- Another 40% indicate their own language proficiency as being instrumental in their choice of such specializations;

5 The Faculties of: Letters, Business, Economic Sciences, Biology and Geology, History and Philosophy, Psychology, European Studies, and Sociology and Social Sciences.

- Most undergraduates list English at the top of their preferences for CLIL specializations (82%), followed by German, French, Spanish and Italian;
- As concerns the problems faced while attending these classes, 30% list teaching methods (reading the course, lack of teacher-student interaction and of clarity in explanation), 27 % the instructor's language proficiency (pronunciation, vocabulary and "fluency" mainly), and 15% their own proficiency in the foreign language;
- Almost 60% consider it an advantage if the instructor resorts to code switching from the foreign language to the mother tongue during teaching, while about 30% consider it a disadvantage;
- Most respondents (80%) indicate that taking a course in a widely spoken modern language improves language competence;
- 35% consider that the teaching in a foreign language has a slight negative impact on knowledge transmission, almost 33% are of the opinion that it leaves knowledge transmission intact, while 22% think that it affects this transmission seriously.

3.2. *Interviews applied to academic staff*

The interview featured 9 questions revolving around the issue *of* foreign language study and study *in* foreign languages at BBU.

The total number of interviews is 23.

The respondents were vice rectors, deans, department heads and teaching staff at 12 BBU faculties[6].

The data collected support the following conclusions as to what attitudes to, and representations about, the study of and in modern languages these categories of "stake holders" have:

- Two-thirds consider that students should be proficient in two foreign languages during their university studies, while almost all say that students should be proficient in two foreign languages at the end of their BA studies;
- Foreign languages should be studied preferably in the BA cycle, for periods ranging from two to six semesters, four or three semesters being more often recommended; about half of the respondents consider that foreign languages should also be studied at MA level, while only one third are of the opinion that they should also form part of the doctoral program;
- As for high school graduates' language competence in foreign languages, only 6 respondents consider that it is good or satisfactory; about half are of the opinion that this knowledge depends on the location of the high school (urban or rural area, being better in the case of the former);

6 Letters, Business, Sociology and Social Sciences, Sport and Physical Education, Mathematics and Computer Science, History and Philosophy, Roman-Catholic Theology, Environmental Sciences, Physics, European Studies, Political Science, and Economics.

- About half of the respondents consider that general competences should be developed at BA level, and specific competences at MA level; almost half write that competences in specialized languages should be developed in the BA cycle;
- Almost all consider it important or very important for graduates to have language proficiency certificates;
- Almost all consider that it is useful to study a minority language as part of the foreign language offer of the university;
- Likewise, almost all think that BBU's study-line structure (Romanian, Hungarian, German) is a timely issue.

One question in the interview, Question 7, "Do you think it is important to teach in widely spoken languages (English, French, German, Italian, Spanish) at BA, MA and PhD levels?" – elicited the respondents' (academic leaders) favourable attitude to this practice, more than two thirds of them being of the opinion that it is important to teach in widely spoken languages (English – the first choice –, followed by French and German) at MA level, followed by PhD, and lastly by the BA levels, while a few consider this to be important only at MA and PhD levels and on condition that competence in language is good. The justification for CLIL courses or specializations ranges from informatory effectiveness to cooperative or strategic effectiveness, or equity in access and competences, including intercultural and communicative competence.

Here are some interview sentences that support the respondents' choices:

Respondent 1 (Vice Rector)

da\: se impune cunoaşterea limbilor străine de către toţi studenţii\

De ce/

R: acces la materiale bibliografice de specialitate în limbi de circulaţie internaţională/ competenţe egale şi sanse egale cu absolvenţi din UE/ consolidarea unor competenţe interculturale şi de comunicare/ acces la mobilităţile studenţeşti Erasmus/ CEEPUS etc\ [...] mobilitate pe piaţa muncii UE\

"It is essential that all students know foreign languages [because of] access to reading materials in widely spoken languages, equal competences and chances with EU graduates, reinforcement of intercultural and communicative competences, access to Erasmus, CEEPUS, etc. mobility on the EU labour market.[...]

Respondent 2 (Vice Rector)

R: mi se pare foarte importantă/ [...] pentru că [...] există bibliografie foarte importantă/ şi la unele discipline este hotărîtoare predominant această bibliografie în limbi străine/ care trebuie să fie consultată/ să fie accesibilă studenţilor\ [...] foarte mulţi profesori din străinătate care susţin cursuri/ conferinţe în diferite limbi/ adică în limbi europene/ şi desigur cunoaşterea acestor conferinţe ce se traduc din ce în ce mai puţin în limba română/ aşa că trebuie cunoscută limba străină respectivă\

"It seems to me very important [...] because [...] there is a very important literature and for some subjects it basically prevails this literature in foreign languages that must be read, must be accessible to the students, [...] very many professors come from abroad, who teach classes and give talks in different languages, in European languages, and understanding these conferences requires knowledge of the respective language."

Respondent 3 (Dean)
[...] răspunsul este/...a...pozitiv/, da\ [...] pentru că [...] este necesar ca şi colegii noştri să propună cursuri la nivel master/ la şcoala doctorală/ în limbi de circulaţie sau în problematici/ să spunem/ care/ care-s cultivate în cultura în care limbă ajungem să ţinem cursul/ pentru că/ spre exemplu/ cum avem masterat de filozofie franceză/ evident că este profitabil ca lucrurile să se întîmple în limba franceză\
"The answer is ... a ... positive; yes [...], because [...] it is necessary that our colleagues, too, propose courses at MA level, for the doctoral school in widely spoken foreign languages or in domains which, let's say, which are cultivated in the culture in the language of which we come to teach the course, because, for instance, since we have an MA in French philosophy, it is obviously a gain for things to be in French."

There are also respondents who convey their *reserve for* teaching specializations in widely spoken foreign languages. Sometimes the justification lies in the neglect for the native language that such a trend may bring about. Here is an interview sample that supports this view:

Respondent 5 (Dean)
Consideraţi că este necesară predarea în limbi moderne de circulaţie la nivel licenţă, master sau doctorat/
R : Sigur că da\ cu o condiţie\ ca să nu se neglijeze limba ţării/ deci limba română/ pentru că există iar o tendinţă/ o tendinţă care e discutabilă în momentul în care se neglijează limba naţională\
"Do you consider it necessary to teach in widely spoken modern languages at BA, MA or PhD level?"
R: "Of course, on one condition, namely that the country's language be not neglected, that is Romanian, because there is another tendency, a tendency that can be disputed if the native language is neglected."

3.3. *Discussion*

As the answers to the questionnaires and the interviews indicate, there is *convergence* between students and faculty on several issues relating to the study of modern languages at BBU, such as the importance of studying them, of having the possibility to choose between several languages, the number of modern languages to be studied (2/3 suggest two languages), the importance for graduates to have a language proficiency certificate, the importance of studying/teaching in widely spoken languages (the students seem to be enthusiastic about it: more than half consider it useful to take all subjects in a widely spoken language at BA level, about 2/3rds at MA level, and more than half at PhD level). This indicates their positive attitude to BBU's language policy and to the study-line structure of its programs. There are *divergences*, too, which issue from the different perspectives from which students and academics see the language policy issue, or ways they relate to it. Such divergence exists on the issue of duration of language study (2/3rds of the students opt for a six semester interval, while academics prefer four or three semesters); this reflects different interests in the modern language issue of the two groups of "stake holders": academics are more interested in securing room in the curriculum for the specialized topics, or in reduced costs associated with foreign language training (the deans, especially), while students are more pragmatically oriented. Divergence also exists on the matter of language competences (general or specific) to be developed at BA and respectively MA levels. In this respect, while 2/3 students opt for both competences to be developed at BA level, part of the faculty and academic leaders' responses (interview question 5: "What language competences – general or specific – should be developed at BA and, respectively, MA levels?") stress the importance of general competences at BA level and specific competences at MA level, with very few being in favor of only general competences at BA level, and 1/3 only for language for specific purposes. (It is interesting to note that only about 10% of the students consider that only LSP should be taught, and almost 25% prefer only general language.) This option again reflects the different perspective on the language study associated with the two groups, students being less aware of the importance of widely spoken modern languages for reading scholarly literature, for research or cognition in general (which rank high in the academics' responses), and considering it more important to be knowledgeable in foreign languages for personal advantage, free movement and equal chances on the job market with other European citizens.

The questionnaires and the interview answers also contained some critical points and suggestions. Thus, while almost all students indicate that taking/teaching CLIL courses / specializations improves proficiency in the foreign language, more than half of them consider that the teaching in a foreign language has a negative impact on knowledge transmission, this ranging from slight to serious. Likewise, students list problems associated with these classes, which are to do either with their own language proficiency, or the teaching methods (lack of clarity, lack of teacher-student interaction, reading the course), or the instructor's language proficiency (vocabulary, grammar, pronunciation, and "fluency"). These findings indicate that teaching CLIL specializations in widely spoken languages at BBU sometimes faces the challenge of the mastery of/proficiency in the foreign language, which may affect the content of teaching and thus knowledge transmission and acquisition. It is most likely that such drawbacks prompted the majority of students to consider that code switching to the native language during teaching on the part of instructors is an advantage.

4. Conclusion

BBU's option for its language policy has been prompted by institutional interests that have been shaped by several factors: the European context, the national and regional context, the Romanian legislation relating to the implementation of the Bologna process, student benefits and interests, stakes involved in language study and curricular structure. The interplay of these factors has yielded a flexible formula, both in terms of the demands it makes on the students, the modern language course duration, costs and training methods. Thus, on the one hand, BBU's language policy is meant to motivate and stimulate the students in improving their knowledge of modern languages by forming general and specific language competences, as well as (inter)cultural competences. On the other hand, it has to do with BBU's multilingual profile coupled with its three study-lines (Romanian, Hungarian, German), in which complete educational programs are offered. The implementation of this language policy has been a challenge for the university, its faculties and its departments, which have had to constantly make adjustments in the curriculum and undertake various other actions in order to live up to the requirements of multilingualism.

It can be anticipated that modern languages will continue to strengthen their position in the curriculum in the future, both in terms of the diversification of BBU's language offer and language course duration, as well as in terms of the role of languages in teaching (CLIL). This will most likely lead to the deepening of the university's study-line structure, which has already started to expand, by the inclusion of new specializations in English, French or Italian side by side with the traditional specializations in the regional languages.

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Teaching Bi/Multilingual Classes: From "Deaf-mutes" to "Fully-fledged"

Katrin Reinvere – Narva College of the University of Tartu
Nina Raud – Narva College of the University of Tartu

This article explores a variety of issues related to the topic of teaching bi/multilingual classes on the example of Narva College of the University of Tartu, Estonia. Due to its location in the area where Russian speakers constitute the majority of the population, Narva College presents a unique case study in terms of teaching content curricula in Estonian to students at the tertiary level of education - students who form classes of mixed Estonian language ability and various levels of motivation. The general theme of the article concerns the description of such bilingual classes and problems related to teaching in such contexts. The authors of the article apply the ideas of the new paradigm of the systems theory to suggest a metaphor of teaching in such contexts, thus creating prerequisites for finding the inner causal relationships of problems observed in their classes.

Keywords: bilingual students, mother tongue, language of instruction, content curricula

1. Introduction

The issue of bi/multilingual classes where students speak a variety of first languages but use one target language in the classroom has been in the focus of researchers for many years. This interest is predetermined by demands of modern teaching environment where intercultural and multilingual coexistence of different nations greatly influences not only ways and methods of teaching but its aims and outcomes as well. Thus, the process of teaching such classes has to take into consideration the variety of languages spoken by students in the class and the ability of teachers/lecturers to communicate in these languages and to provide a qualitative student-centered teaching of academic subjects in the language accepted as the language of instruction in a particular system of education. The present article is aimed at revealing these aspects of the student-teacher relations in bi/multilingual classes at the tertiary level of education on the example of teaching such classes in Narva College of the University of Tartu, Estonia. The authors believe that Narva College's situation is unique in many ways due to Narva's border location and the impact of the relations between Estonia and Russia, due to the fact that the first language of students other than the language of instruction inevitably influences ways of class interaction and teaching methods. And yet, general tendencies and requirements of bi/multilingual classes can be applied to the solution of some problems faced by lecturers in Narva College.

Estonia is officially a monolingual country with the Estonian language being the language of instruction at all levels of education. However, the country can be characterised by a number of multilingual features which are deeply rooted in its Soviet past and European present. Historically, Russian population of Estonia is big, and at present it constitutes about 26% (Rahvaloendus 2000) of the total population of Estonia. Quite naturally, there are schools in Estonia which provide primary and secondary education to children whose native language is Russian. State education at the tertiary level is to be in Estonian, which might place school leavers of Russian schools (Estonian schools with Russian as the language of instruction) in a less advantageous situation when it comes to entering a state university or a college.

Narva College of the University of Tartu enjoys a unique position as it is the only Estonian state tertiary educational institution which offers curricula in three languages: Estonian, Russian and English. This prominent position and role of Narva College can be explained by its location in the border city of Narva where the majority of its population (about 85.4%, Rahvaloendus 2000) are people whose mother tongue is Russian. Moreover, Narva is situated in the area – the county of Ida-Virumaa – which is also predominantly Russian (about 70%, ibid.). The residents of this area are in most cases bilingual/ multilingual people whose languages of everyday communication are either Estonian or Russian, and whose functional language has to be Estonian as the Estonian language is the language of official communication, education, etc. On the one hand, Russian is used in various informal contexts while Estonian is a functional and official language. Poor knowledge of Estonian in case of many Russians of older and even younger generations makes their usage of Estonian for official purposes rather limited. On the other hand, with the large majority of population in this area being Russian speakers with limited knowledge of Estonian there is an excessive use of Russian as a regional language.

Being placed in this language situation, native speakers of Russian fall under different categories in terms of their level of bi/multilingualism. We find with them speakers who are equally influent in the two languages – Estonian and Russian – (simultaneous bilinguals, Lightbown & Spada 2006: 25), and those who begin to learn Estonian as a second language and either reach or do not reach a certain threshold of competence ("additive bilingualism" and "semi bilingualism", ibid.). Thus, Narva College's target group of students can be characterised as a group of learners who might have various levels of Estonian language competence and who are mostly native speakers of Russian. In fact, among 800 students of Narva College at present, 90% (Narva College of the University of Tartu 2008) are native Russian speakers and 10% (ibid.) are native Estonian speakers. Unfortunately, there has not been conducted any specific studies into the language repertoires of the college students as for the purposes of the study process planning this information is collected automatically when the results of state exams are entered into the admission data base. The data base provides information on the first language of students and their result of Estonian proficiency test.

The influence of the European multilingual/multicultural context brings English into the group of everyday/functional languages in Estonia; it is the first foreign language to be studied in Estonian schools and the second foreign language in Estonian schools with Russian as the language of instruction. The use of English as the medium of international communication, the freedom of movement within the European Union area and opportunities to study abroad have motivated people in Estonia for intensive studies of English. This tendency is also reflected in Narva College curricula “Teacher of Humanities in Basic School” which is 60% taught in English.

2. Narva College Classes through the Metaphor of the Systems Theory

The described multilingual situation in Narva College places lecturers in a quite different teaching environment which is greatly influenced by the language of instruction used. In case of foreign language classes and classes taught in English both the language of instruction and that of the content matter coincide. The languages used in the classroom are foreign to both students and teachers as it happens in case of non-native speakers of English who constitute the majority of teaching staff of the Division of Foreign languages in Narva College. This enables both students and teachers to create a safe environment for the successful transfer of their cultural/language background into their classes. Russian and Estonian identities of students in classes of English contribute to the creation of multidimensional and multicultural perspective for learning. According to the outcomes of the survey conducted in Narva College at the beginning of the academic year of 2007/2008 among students of the second and the third year of Bachelor’s studies of the speciality “Teacher of Humanities in Basic School” (in total 95 students), classes taught in English foster multiculturalism, empathy and interest in other languages and culture. All lecturers who work in English also testify to the fact that their classes are the most natural way to enrich the subject content by means of contrastive/ comparative analyses, i.e. by using examples and illustrations from different cultural models students are familiar with.

However, classes with Estonian as the language of instruction present a different picture and that is why the issue of teaching academic subjects to mixed Estonian language mastery classes has been one of the research priorities of Narva College since the moment it was founded. This area is important due to a number of factors, namely the usage of three languages of instruction (Estonian, Russian and English) in Narva College with the priority given to Estonian being the state language, mixed language groups of students (Russian and Estonian) whereas Russian mother-tongue students might have a quite varying competence in Estonian as an L2 and, hence, the use of at least two languages of instruction (with subject matter teaching) by lecturers simultaneously. Lectures cannot choose a language of instruction depending on the linguistic background of their students or the availability of study materials, etc. but they are sometimes forced to switch into Russian or English when students experience problems with understanding complex subject matter in Estonian (the language of instruction). Moreover, the graduates of Narva College are expected to be working in bi- and multi-lingual environment of Ida-Virumaa county in Estonia, which makes them a potentially highly motivated target group of learners.

The authors of the present article have made a number of observations regarding structural peculiarities of classes where the majority of students are native speakers of Russian and the subject matter is taught in Estonian by Estonian lecturers. The research covers the period from 2005 till 2008 and is based on the analysis of reflective teaching experience of the authors of the article. Basic data for the analysis was gained from the statements made by the lecturers to reflect upon their teaching experience (twenty courses of five special subjects taught to 420 students of Narva College during the period of three years). The focus of the analysis was on the revealing of organisational peculiarities of classes to prepare the ground for further researches into the study of teaching strategies. To define the structure of such classes the ideas of the new paradigm of the organisational theory (Ausmees 2004) were used to represent the classes with the help of metaphorical generalisations. The idea of organisational metaphor allows to create prerequisites for a better analysis of a situation rather than for a solution of some sub problems (see also Handy 1996). Thus, for a lecturer who teaches various subjects in Estonian there seem to be four different groups of students in class depending on their level of motivation (low/ high) and language skills, i.e. the mastery of Estonian, the language of instruction (low/high):

Table 1 – Motivation and Language Skills

Motivation High	'AWAKEN'	'FULL-FLEDGED'
Motivation Low	'DEAF-MUTES'	'SLEEPERS'
	Low **Language skills**	High **Language skills**

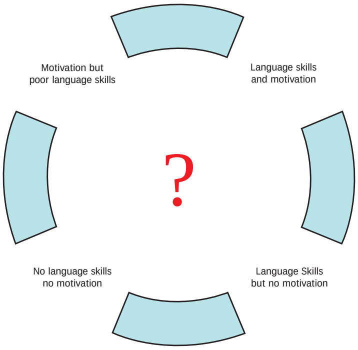
When the lecturer begins a course and meets his/her group of students for the first time the very first impression he/she often gets is the impression that the students in the group are 'deaf' and 'mute', i.e. they just do not hear and do not speak. This happens quite regularly in Narva College when an Estonian lecturer has a class of semi-bilingual students who are Russian native speakers with some knowledge of Estonian. This group of students can be metaphorically called 'deaf-mutes'. It seems to the lecturer that students do not react to any of his/her questions or non-verbal signs of communication. Slowly this group of passive students is turning into a group of just 'mutes': they start using non-verbal tools such as gestures to express their comments and to communicate their comprehension of lecture materials. This group can be characterised as a group with poor usage of Estonian language skills, which leads to the lack of confidence, low participation and low level of general motivation in studies. 'Deaf-mutes' are a real challenge to the lecturer as they form a kind of no communication – no feedback group and remain as such for a considerable period of time which varies from one two even three months. The lecturer who is not supposed to be a language teacher finds it frustrating to teach both the language of instruction and the content matter at the same time. Co-teaching and bilingual teaching in “integrated classes” (Freeman 2006: 7) where both native and non-native speakers of the language of instruction study, have been highly recommended for such cases (see Cloud *et al.* 2000, Freeman 2006, Brutt-Griffer and Varghese 2004); yet, when the group of ‘deaf-mutes’ represents only a part of a class, though the biggest one sometimes, the lecturers cannot afford bilingual or co-teaching as it is, firstly, time-consuming and, secondly, contradicts the very idea of content teaching at the tertiary level in Estonia (see Development Strategy of the Estonian Language 2004:34).

The second in size group of students in the class is what we call group of ‘sleepers’, i.e. students whose low motivation for studies makes them ‘sleep’ in class and not respond to the lecturer’s questions, remarks and instructions. Students in this group usually have a level of Estonian sufficient for communication and studies, but still represent a problem group of learners to the lecturer. This group comprises about twenty percent of the total number of students and, thus, greatly influences the outcomes of studies. One of the main reasons behind the formation of such a group is the fact that proficient speakers of Estonian usually do not enter bilingual universities. However, if they do, then they often become passive when they find themselves in groups of students with very poor, if any, Estonian language skills.

The third group – ‘awaken’ – is the one which benefits from content teaching in Estonian to a greater extent. At the beginning of a course this group is small in number -– about 10% only – and is practically invisible because of low skills in the language of instruction (Estonian). Students of this group are highly motivated for studies but lack proficiency in Estonian. Being immersed into Estonian during their studies, which also includes their classes of Estonian with language teachers, they gradually develop confidence as Estonian language speakers and begin to use Estonian in practice during their lectures and seminars. Due to their motivation they accept the challenge and do their best to cope with language difficulties they face. Support language classes of Estonian which are offered to all students in Narva College as optional and elective courses provide the students with necessary language practice. However, all language classes of Estonian as well as of English and other foreign languages have very little, if any, connection with teaching of content area courses in terms of vocabulary and structures. In spite of this drawback, students of the ‘awaken’ group find it possible to make the most of their classes of General Estonian to acquire the necessary level of language skills. As a rule, by the end of the course this group has joined the one which can be metaphorically called ‘full-fledged’.

In case of ‘full-fledged’ students, there are both motivation and language skills high enough to acquire subject knowledge, required competences and skills. The main transitional processes within a class in terms of motivation, language mastery and outcomes of teaching take place with the purpose of transferring students of the other three groups into this one of fully benefited from teaching students. The main aim and task of a lecturer is to bring all his/her students to the stage of 'full-fledged' students. The size of this fourth group can give an idea of how successful the teaching has been done and can be used as a criterion to assess the quality and outcomes of teaching. The more of actively participating students there are in the class, the higher level of their involvement is. The level of involvement shows an increase in students' motivation for studies and their ability to cope with content teaching in Estonian.

Fig. 1 – Transitional processes in a four-group semi-bilingual/bilingual integrated class



Taking into consideration the importance of the teacher's/lecturer's role in the above described four-group semi-bilingual/bilingual integrated class it can be assumed that he/she has to combine elements of immersion and bilingual teaching within the format of monolingual content teaching. The lecturer has to find answers to the question placed in the center of Fig.1 – the question asking how to manage these processes to create a class of 'fully-fledged' students.

3. Conclusions and Perspectives

The first step of such a research – the definition of the target group of students in terms of their motivation and language mastery – is understood by the authors of the article as the very first stage based on practical observations and their analyses. However, to answer the main research question of how to turn all students into highly motivated and proficient in the language of instruction (Estonian, in this case) learners, other relevant issues are to be considered and researched, namely, what the role of a lecturer in such processes is, what kind of support he/she might need in a situation when bilingual teaching and co-teaching are out of the question due to extra costs, lack of time and recourses. The key question remains about appropriate methods and ways of content teaching in a class where only every tenth student is ready to work productively.

Unfortunately, the lecturer him/herself can do very little to influence the situation when there are students in his/her class without any motivation and with insufficient language skills to follow a subject matter. In general, language classes as all other classes at the tertiary level are students' own responsibility. The spheres which represent the most interest in terms of practical impact on the outcomes and results of teaching in the above described university class are areas that are related directly to teaching methods and tools.

To be aware of problems which a lecturer can find in a semi/true bilingual class is of great importance, but to know what techniques and instruments can be used for teaching classes of low motivation and poor language skills is believed to be one of the key priorities. One of methods which has already become quite popular in Narva College is e-learning. E-learning makes teaching more flexible and gives more possibilities for individual training and student-centered teaching. Moreover, it brings a considerable change in the traditional proportion between lectures and seminars in university classrooms and leads to the refusal from the predominance of lectures in favour of smaller and more learner-centered forms of teaching.

Another thing to consider is a new type of study materials which comprise some elements of a "semi-bilingual" dictionary which is being now widely discussed in the media in Estonia (see Mägi (2008)) as an alternative to existing monolingual and bilingual dictionaries. This new type of a reference book has entries which consist of two parts – the main one in a foreign language (Estonian in this case) and a shorter follow-up explanation/translation in the first language (Russian). The authors believe that this idea can be used in their future work on the development of new course books for students of Narva College. In addition, such semi-bilingual course books can be used as a basis to compose course readers in English which can be semi-multilingual with the main body text written in English.

The role of the administration and government bodies involved in decision-making processes regarding bi- and multilingual education, however, should not be underestimated. Their role is very important, especially the one of government bodies, when the issue of motivation comes into focus. The strongest motivational factor is the demand of the labour market. In Estonia there are still unused opportunities as to how establish direct connections between university studies and prospective employment. Professional training which is a part of tertiary education has to become more practical and has to be placed in various language environments. Moreover, the effort of academic staff to improve teaching and to turn classes of 'deaf-mutes' into 'fully-fledged' ones should be adequately supported by all these structures at the tertiary level of education by paying special attention to the implementation of co-teaching and bilingual teaching of disciplines other than foreign languages.

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Universitat Oberta de Catalunya: A Case Study[1]

Miquel Strubell – Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

This University, founded in 1994 on grounds directly related to language, is one of a small group of pioneers in the delivery of higher education through the internet. The University, a member of ICDE and EADTU, has designed its highly innovative educational model placing the learner, and not the teacher, at the centre.

The development of the university has involved language issues right from the start, and in view of the fact that decisions have sometimes been made which are inconsistent with its overall philosophy, the governing body felt it was time to design an institutional language policy, to cope with a multilingual context.

The paper presents our institutional policy and explains the criteria involved and the areas covered. It exemplifies the policy in the fields of language technology development and use, foreign language competence, language in the student-teacher-examiner relationship, etc.

Keywords: e-learning, human language technology, machine translation, Catalan

1. Introduction

A distinguishing feature of the Universitat Oberta de Catalunya (U.O.C., Open University of Catalonia) throughout its history has been its desire to place Catalan society in the cutting-edge context to which Catalonia as a country aspires. The UOC is by definition a university that is open to the world, one that neglects neither its social facet nor its intellectual heritage, those being the most attractive and potent assets in building its project. That background is consistent with the values that most readily define the University, i.e. cooperation, solidarity, commitment to diversity, innovation as the driving force behind change and combating all forms of inequality. This impetus also contributes to renewal and the response to the concerns of our time, in Catalonia, as a country of reference, and the world in general, in terms of the context for the development of an online university.

However, the U.O.C. also seeks to serve to encourage criticism and the building of a world that is more committed to the future by offering academic training to match our aspirations for the medium term. Consequently, the models that society currently regards as being essential need to be constantly revised if we are to equip people for the present and for the future. This has been the real impetus that has been driving the U.O.C. to date, and we wish to continue that drive through prospective policies that take account of the current state of play of the multilingual

1 A version of this paper was delivered at the Bozen Conference jointly, by Dra. Mavi Dolz, at the time the U.O.C.'s Vicerectora for Multilingualism and Culture, and myself. After leaving this post, she asked Miquel Strubell to sign it as a single author. Her untimely death after a sudden illness, in May 2009, left me with no time to discuss her request, which I have therefore respected. I dedicate this paper to her memory.
I wish to express my gratitude for the information and feedback received from fellow colleagues Salvador Climent, Antoni Oliver and Imma Sànchez.

situation of the new Catalan society and where we would like our society to be in 20 years' time.

1.1. *The current language situation in Catalonia*

In terms of results, the language policies implemented over the last 30 years by the Spanish central government and the Catalan regional government have moved between the monolingualism advocated in central government policy and the bilingualism of the Catalan government's policy. That vision for the country rests on a discourse that has become outdated, since neither Spanish nor Catalan can cover all communication needs or define the country that Catalonia wishes to build. Bilingualism today is neither effective nor inspiring – it is not, and indeed it cannot be. Trilingualism with English in the new scenario is not so much a policy as a necessary condition. To take its place in the present day, Catalonia should be trilingual. But it is not, or we are not. The other languages present in the country, brought from abroad by newcomers, are not reflected in any way in our political programmes. We have failed to embrace as assets languages such as Chinese and Tamazight, which now form part of our everyday surroundings.

In this situation, a way must be found to weigh up and remedy the risks that will be faced in a few years' time by paying attention to (a) the two official languages – Spanish and Catalan; (b) the languages most used internationally – English and to some extent French; and (c) the languages of the new Catalans – Arabic, Tamazight, Chinese, etc.

If the policy of Catalonia (as a country) is focussed on trilingualism, we run the risk of facing another situation of dissatisfaction in ten years' time, relegated to the second or third row among the world's developed societies. We cannot afford the luxury of letting ourselves be dragged along by circumstances and becoming a society hampered by flaws, like those that ail us today.

Foreign language skills are among the most seriously neglected areas in the public education system. Anyone wishing to learn a foreign language in Catalonia has to invest financial resources and time in that pursuit, and so only the most well-to-do and forward-looking social classes, and academics, have trained their offspring to be able to cope with present-day needs with the necessary skills and a chance of competing. Many generations in the past were given a highly deficient schooling in French, and more recently much the same is happening with English. We now have a society that is not properly equipped to cope with the requirements of the present-day globalised world, and only a small section of the elite (though fortunately an ever larger one) has managed to reach a competitive level in language proficiency. The knowledge economy has created a new divide because the new skills and technological practices are directly associated with competence in English, and our society has dragged its feet in this. The so-called digital divide is not just about access to and awareness of technology: it is also about the ability to understand the content transmitted.

Trilingualism cannot be a project for the future; rather it is a requirement that we must meet now, urgently and belatedly, for we are falling behind when it comes to competing with English-speaking countries or other countries with language policies assuring high competence in English, such as the countries of northern Europe.

Consequently, language policy in Catalonia and in its universities must reinstate languages in their proper place in the short term, with a forward-looking commitment regarding the needs of the future so as not to miss out again on the chance to lead social changes in the immediate future.

1.2. *Multilingualism in universities*

Language policy in Catalan universities in the 1980s and 1990s was a policy of active and passive bilingualism. In the late 1970s, Catalan universities were committed to reestablishing the use of Catalan in the academic and social spheres at universities, giving the language an official role previously denied to it in public communications, and safeguarding it from being marginalised in the classroom. It was a policy to restore balance and make up for lost time. However, both Spanish law and the provisions of Catalonia's Statute of Autonomy give precedence to individual rights over collective rights, and so the language of the staff, as teachers and researchers employed by the government, was and is a matter of individual choice, the same being true for students.

Nevertheless, in order to safeguard the interests of Catalan-speaking students, the public authorities demanded that teaching and research staff provide evidence of a knowledge of Catalan after two years at most from the time they entered the service of the government. That provision has been applied flexibly, and many government-appointed lecturers still do not have the "C" level Certificate expected of teaching staff employed by the Catalan government.

In official written communications, Catalan has become the standard language, while in oral communications there are no formal requirements for Catalan to be used, though acquaintance with the language is demanded by the authorities.

1.3. *Bilingualism in teaching at the U.O.C.*

The U.O.C. is a relatively new, distance education university, yet one that already has a tradition of language use deriving more from everyday practice than from a policy decided by government authorities and/or by consensus at various levels.

The U.O.C. is a Catalan university whose mission is to act as a Catalan-language alternative to the on-site education provided by the other universities of Catalonia. That is why Catalan is recognised as the U.O.C.'s official language, as mandated by the Catalan government in the University's charter.

The creation of an Ibero-American campus as a result of the success of the campus in Catalan required a different language use policy. Catalan has been the language for communications and documents for the Catalan campus, and Spanish for the Ibero-American campus, but not rigidly so. As the postgraduate courses are mostly run in Spanish, communication is also in Spanish, no account being taken of the student's place of origin or language preference. Hence there is an imbalance in favour of Spanish, even though here the language was not a matter of choice but of obligation. Catalan has thus disappeared from certain spheres in which its use should, according to the University's charter, be guaranteed. Likewise, the need for teaching-related communication in other languages, particularly English, has also appeared in our language community.

In view of this, we have more than one problem to deal with, because monolingualism can never be the response in the classroom where language needs are diverse. However, this leads to another consideration: if the solution leads to another form of monolingualism – in Catalan or English, or Spanish, for that matter – dissatisfaction would soon arise among our students and in society as a whole, as their needs would not be met.

It is thus in this context that we must find a long-term solution that ensures sufficient respect for the majorities and the minorities, for the country, for local needs and for global needs. Our language policy must equip us, and not undermine the atmosphere of collaboration and understanding built up in terms of the realities of those we wish to communicate with now and in the future.

1.4. *Training in multilingualism*

This year the U.O.C. is embarking upon a six-year multilingual policy strategy. In the first three years the aim is to train the currently employed staff to achieve satisfactory competence in Catalan, Spanish and English, in the belief that these three languages can guarantee a satisfactory repertoire for our university: our own language, Catalan, and the instrumentally useful languages in the environment, Spanish and English. Priority will be given, therefore, to English, so that all the teaching and administrative staff attains at least a level of understanding and expression in habitual situations, and to improve the level of oral and written competence in Catalan and Spanish. The teaching staff will be required to make a special effort to train students for lifelong academic and professional mobility. And our programs also include working to gradually insert Occitan in teaching and socializing experiences, and in cultural activities, although it will be difficult to go much beyond mere symbolic actions.

Those competing for jobs will have to accredit their competence in the three languages by means of official and/or university certification, in accordance with the profile of each post.

The use of languages in central activities will be regulated on the basis of requirements. The risk is that it is quite complicated, and may sometimes be counter-productive, to establish guidelines that do not have the slightest chance of being complied with in practice: multilingualism is the basis of international relations, but what is to happen in the teaching programs, in research, in internal and external communications, the language of the secretariat and of teaching management and marketing?

At this moment our university is bilingual and trilingualism only makes sense if the teaching programmes we offer are also trilingual. So in the coming few years we want, through training, to overcome the gaps that prevent us from developing completely in the global society.

In a second phase we plan to reinforce the training of all the staff in the languages they already know and have used, and also the learning of new languages. Which? We shall encourage and improve the languages of exchange that French, Italian, German or Portuguese still are, as an opportunity to recover the acquired competences which we were previously taught. We must also be able to take advantage of the linguistic heritage that we now have with the languages of the new Catalans, as a way of being in the world, of seeing it and of understanding it: for the closest languages to us are those of the new migrants, above all Tamazight, Arabic and Chinese; and Occitan.

1.5. *First steps in teaching*

Currently the U.O.C. boasts some experiences of multilingualism in classrooms in which Catalan and Spanish are languages of interaction. They have been very successful experiences because their context has been closely monitored by experts and supported by tools developed on an ad hoc basis, that have facilitated the task. What happens if we introduce English? In our doctoral program there have been unsuccessful attempts to introduce English. In such cases the tendency towards using just Spanish is also clear. Experience shows that in most cases the tendency is for communication in Spanish to prevail.

In order to upgrade the parity of conditions and the solidarity between languages and their speakers we want to upgrade the cohabitation inside classrooms of various languages, applying rules of the game agreed in advance. This academic year (2007-2008) two multilingual postgraduate programs will be offered (see below) as pilot schemes of what in future we hope will inspire our teaching programmes, bearing in mind the competences and the learning objectives. Our postgraduate programs must supply students with the multilingual tools needed for them to be able to feel at home in European and world-wide scenarios. The main objective is not to acquire linguistic skills, but rather to develop the students' ability to cope successfully in multilingual environments, on a par as far as the conditions for communicating with others are concerned, thus creating a sense of self-assurance and of confidence in their communications.

The U.O.C. is therefore embarking on an innovative experience in the management of multilingualism, without renouncing the use of our own language, recognizing that in many fields of specialization English is the customary language, and that in some fields of study there are other specific languages of communication. To be able to participate in the pilot scheme students will have to state their commitment to be true to the use of their own language in all the spaces offered in the (virtual) classroom: communications with the teacher, forum, etc. Only the observance of this rigorous norm will mean that the pilot scheme has been successful. Communications in the classroom must contemplate multilingualism as an enrichment and avoid accommodation to other various languages from the student's, because the principle is the parity of opportunities for expression and relation for all the languages and speakers, including the teacher.

2. Language structures

At the last conference, at Helsinki University (1-3 September 2005) we presented a paper[2] in which we described succinctly (in section 3) some aspects of the language policy of the Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, and also (in section 4) the research being done on multilingual tools at the University to cope, basically, with the demand for Catalan translations of texts into Spanish by some students and for some (in fact, many) courses.

We shall now outline in a little detail the wider range of technological tools and projects that we have under way right now.

We will not look however look into our foreign language teaching, except to say that we teach English (which is a compulsory subject in nearly all of our undergraduate degree courses) to 4852 students, French to 642, Chinese to 444 and Japanese to 49 students.

We have several institutional structures we should present first of all, before referring to some of the technologically-related projects they have been leading or involved in.

- **(a) Pro-vicechancellor (Vice-rectora)**
- **(b) Language service (Servei lingüístic)**
- **(c) Research group: Language Processing Group. LPG**
- **(d) Chair in Multilingualism**

- **Pro-vicechancellor (Vice-rector).** The present governing board of our University has a post, at the Pro-vicechancellor level, responsible for multilingualism. The pro-vicechancellor chairs an interdepartmental Language policy commission, which is striving to convert our strategic aims into specific programmes with concrete objectives.
- **Language service (Servei lingüístic).** The language service has played a central role in the University since its inception. It supervises the quality of texts, and is also responsible for translations. In doing so it has led, or joined, research projects aimed at developing and using tools which can help it in its work. We shall mention them in a moment.
- **Research group: Language Processing Group. LPG.** This research group brings together linguists and information technologists to work in the field of human language technology. Again, I shall say a little more about this.
- **Chair in Multilingualism.** The Linguamón House of Languages[3], based in Barcelona, signed an agreement with our University in order to set up and provide the basic funding for a Chair in Multilingualism, of which Isidor MARÍ is the director and the author is the secretary general. We too are supporting technological development.

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2 Strubell, Miquel. Minority languages in Europe: The role of universities in creating a dynamic for the future (Abstract: http://www.palmenia.helsinki.fi/congress/bilingual2005/abstracts/Strubell.pdf).

3 http://www.linguamon.cat.

3. Language tools

Our language tools have been developed for three main purposes:

- Managing large-scale multilingual texts, by obtaining these texts and by automating work procedures.
- Giving support to the teaching staff for assisting scientific production, by creating glossaries and providing automated and machine-assisted translation tools for the classroom.
- Improving correction and revision tasks, by setting up translation memory banks, setting up terminology databases and extracting terminology units.

Let us look briefly at a number of the tools we have developed in various research projects in order to achieve these objectives. LINGUOC is an open source language tools directory developed by several working groups at the Universitat Oberta de Catalunya. The first two tools in the following list (Sali and LexTerm) are distributed separately under a GNU/GPL license. Several tools have been developed in conjunction with other Catalan universities, despite our own initiative in the projects.

3.1. *SALI, segment aligner*

The main goal of the segment aligner is to obtain aligned documents that are ready to be converted, in a translation memory or a corpus, from which speciality lexicon can be extracted with translation equivalents. Figure 1 shows an example of this process:

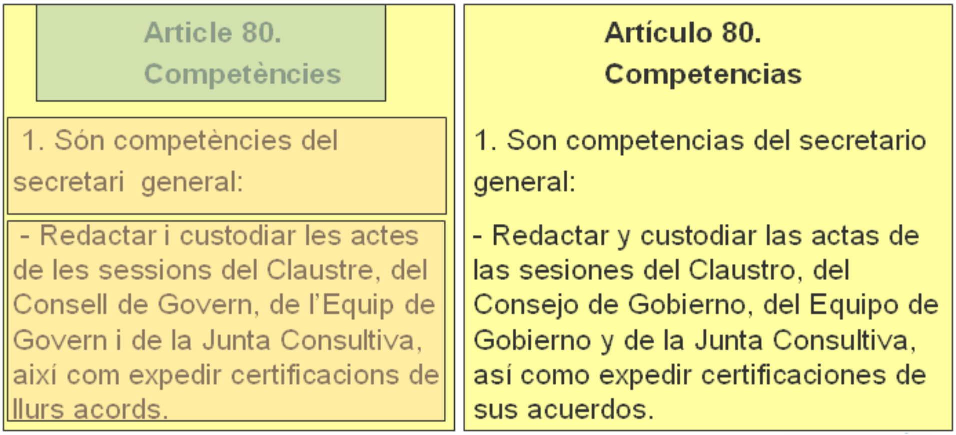

Fig. 1

3.2. *Lexterm, Lexical Extractor for Terminology and Translation*

The Lexterm program allows bilingual speciality lexicon lists to be created, from a parallel corpus; they are useful for automated translation and machine-assisted translation.

3.3. *Libertra, open source machine-assisted translation system*

Libertra is a machine-assisted translation platform (open source and free distribution) that helps to add value to the task of the human translator without having to buy a commercial program. It also allows the incorporation of new functions, like working with open formats or the creation of translation projects in Catalan, adapted to the needs of the translator without having to depend on the program owner.

3.4. *Tool for the automatic building of glossaries*

This tool allows glossaries of any thematic domain to be elaborated automatically in Catalan with its equivalents in other languages. This tool also allows first-hand information to be rapidly obtained on the state of terminology in Catalan, especially in thematic domains of recent appearance.

3.5. *Tool for the automatic post-edition of automatic translations*

This tool automatically corrects the most frequent errors found in a document translated by the automated translation module. This tool allows a saving of time in the manually supervising of the text that has been translated by the translation module.

4. Research projects

These tools are largely the outcome of a number of research projects, and particularly three: **Interlingua, RESTAD** and **LingUOC.**

4.1. *Interlingua*[4]

This is for the development, evaluation, testing and application of techniques for non-supervised machine translation and the treatment of textual information. There was a perceived need for a tool which would enable the student to use his/her own language independently of the receiver, in mixed Catalan-Spanish virtual environments. As a consequence, Catalan would no longer continue to be replaced by Spanish as the instrumental language in linguistically-mixed groups of students. The project had three main objectives:

- Implementing a prototype environment for non-supervised machine translation for the Catalan/Castilian language-pair in a U.O.C. virtual campus space.
- Developing strategies to improve the result of machine translation in these environments.
- Carrying out studies in the areas of linguistics and the computational linguistics that lead to improvements in machine translation systems and other language processing systems.

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4 http://www.uoc.edu/serveilinguistic/home/interlingua/interlingua.html.

The tool had to overcome the impossibility of human intervention in the process, given that email communication admits no delay for human formatting, pre- or post-editting. The basic tool chosen was Sail-Labs Incyta.

Figure 2 shows an outline of the process:

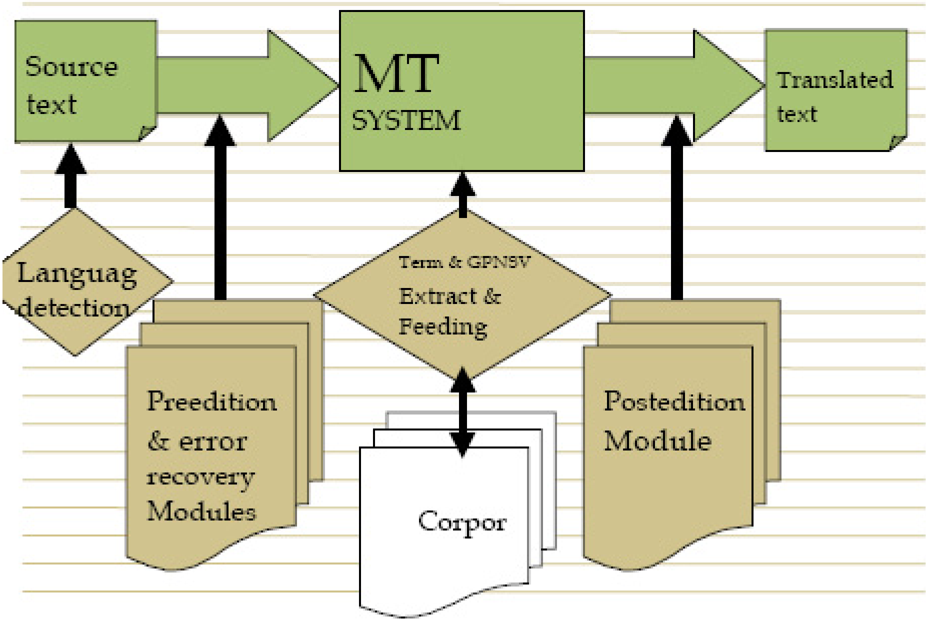

Fig. 2

The outcome is a package capable of detecting the language of an email message, which automatically detects and corrects a large number of frequent errors, abbreviations, non-standard terms, typing mistakes and other features of email language, and which during the pilot phase managed to correctly process 94·6% of the corpus of messages (1240 sentences in 130 emails sent in each linguistic direction) used to evaluate the Project.

4.2. *RESTAD*[5]

This provides resources to support automated translation applied to teaching. Four Catalan universities participate in this project.[6] The project consists of the development of resources that facilitate and improve the machine automated translation into Catalan of educational documents, since many educational materials are in Spanish or English. Work is expected to concentrate on the documentation that the teaching staff put at the disposal of students in the virtual campus (both face-to-face teaching and virtual subjects), and also academic and administrative docu-

5 http://www.uoc.edu/serveilinguistic/home/restad/restad.html.

ments, which more and more have to be available in two or three languages. The whole process can be summarised in two figures (3 and 4):

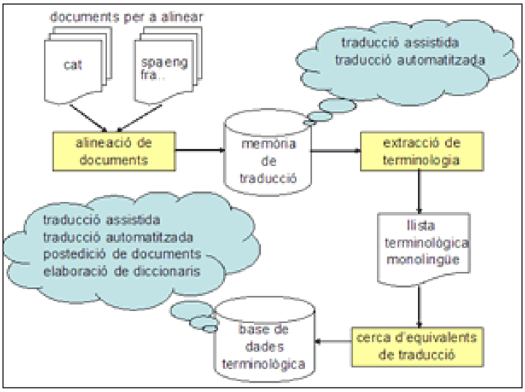

Fig. 3

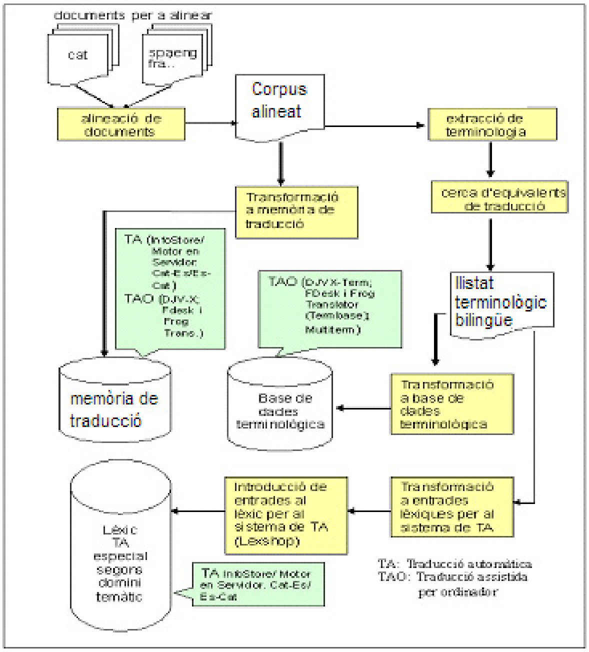

Fig. 4

With the support of the Linguamón-UOC Chair in Multilingualism, a research team led by Salavdor Climent and Antoni Oliver is building a Moodle-based virtual space for multilingual communication (in Catalan, Spanish, English and French) using automatic machine translation tools. These have to (i) identify in which of the four languages the message is written; (ii) include lists of all possible words in the four languages; (iii) include lists of ad hoc words with their correct paired form, which will be treated outside the rules of the system; and (iv) lists of frequent errors, with their corrected forms, which will be chosen by the system provided all factors are equal. All this builds on the work already done for the Catalan language, and has been coupled to the Apertium machine translating software program in order to try it out in a pilot project using just Catalan and Spanish... and real postgraduate students.

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English as a Medium of Instruction in Flanders: Multilingual Reality vs. Protectionist Policy

Frank van Splunder – Lancaster University

Belgium lies at the crossroads of several major European languages and cultures. Although officially trilingual (Dutch, French, German), the country consists of regions with a specific linguistic identity. In Flanders, the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium, multilingualism is almost part of daily life. This is also reflected in higher education, where students are actively exposed to several languages (Blommaert 2006). This is much less the case in the French-speaking part of the country, where foreign language learning remains rather problematic (Ginsburgh and Weber 2006).

In spite of this multilingual reality, Flanders officially adheres to a monoglot ideology (Silverstein 1996) which explicitly states that Dutch is the language of education, thus restricting the use of other languages of instruction. In the past, this protectionist model (Brink 2004) served to safeguard Dutch against French. Although Dutch is in fact the majority language in Belgium, in terms of power it used to be a minority language (to the extent that, for instance, French was the only language used in higher education until the 1930s). Today, English may be perceived as the increasingly dominant language.

In this paper, I want to show how Flemish universities try to accommodate to restrictive language laws concerning the language of instruction against a background of an obvious demand for more instruction in English. As a case study, I will refer to the University of Antwerp's recent Code of Conduct Regarding the Language of Instruction, which was drafted to be in line with legal requirements set up by the Flemish government. The policy statement clearly reflects a complex linguistic reality in an academic context. It tries to compromise between 'protecting' the native language and providing for English as an academic lingua franca in a multicultural context.

Key words: medium of instruction, language policy, language ideology, multilingualism, protectionism

1. Introduction

Language is a sensitive issue in Belgium. Although a *trilingual* country (Dutch[1], French, German), the two main regions –Flanders and Wallonia- are officially *unilingual* due to the linguistic territoriality principle (i.e. the principle that languages should be territorially accommodated). This "territorial language-apartheid" (Brink 2004) also applies to the educational system, in which the language of education is Dutch in the Dutch language area, French in the French language area and German in the German language area (1963 law concerning language regulation in education, art. 4). At the same time, one may perceive certain urban areas such as Brussels to become increasingly *multilingual* as a result of which English -rather than the official languages- is used as a lingua franca (see e.g. O'Donnell & Toebosch 2008).

1 The language spoken and written in Flanders is officially called Dutch, not Flemish (for more information, see http://taalunieversum.org/en/).

This linguistic complexity has its roots in history. Belgium was constructed in 1830 as a French-speaking state, even though French was a *minority* language. Yet it was the language of a powerful minority and its status reflected the economic and cultural power of French at that time. Until the 1870s, French was the only official language and French was a prerequisite for upward social mobility. Dutch was recognised as the language of higher education in Flanders as late as 1930 (viz. the *Dutchification* of the University of Ghent). As a consequence, Nelde (1995: 81) referred to Belgian speakers of Dutch as Europe's only oppressed *majority*.

Over the last decades Belgium has evolved into a federal state with a large degree of autonomy for the regions (e.g. in linguistic and hence also educational matters). Especially in Flanders, the Dutch-speaking region of the country, language is often regarded as a marker of one's identity, and therefore 'language' and 'people' are often equated in popular discourse (as in "the language is the people", see e.g. Witte & Van Velthoven 1999: 21, Howell 2006: 147). This view is obviously related to the *language struggle*, i.e. the long struggle for recognition of Dutch in Belgium. In spite of the fact that foreign languages are very much part of everyday reality in Flanders, dominant languages such as French or English may be seen as a *threat* and Dutch may be felt to be in need of some kind of *protection*. Thus it is not a surprise that the use of English as a language of instruction may be questioned, even though English is a very popular language in Flanders (and definitely far more popular than French)[2].

In today's Flemish higher education, students are actively exposed to several languages (Blommaert 2006). This is much less the case in the French-speaking part of the country, where foreign language learning remains rather problematic (Ginsburgh & Weber 2006). In spite of this multilingual reality, Flanders officially adheres to a *monoglot ideology* (Silverstein 1996) which explicitly states that Dutch is the language of education, thus restricting the use of other languages of instruction. In the past, this *protectionist model* (Brink 2004) served to safeguard Dutch against French. Today, however, it is used to restrict the use of English in higher education.

Whereas the Flemish government seeks to restrict English-medium instruction because of ideological objections, Flemish universities feel the pragmatic need for more instruction in English if they want to compete in today's globalizing market of higher education (Coleman 2006). My case study refers to the University of Antwerp's *Code of Conduct Regarding the Language of Instruction*, which complies with the legal requirements set up by the Flemish government. The document tries to 'protect' the native language, as required by the government, and at the same time it tries to provide for English as an additional language of instruction.

My analysis is based on a discourse-historical approach (Wodak 2001). I aim to find out how linguistic identities and attitudes towards languages are discursively constructed. I focus on self- and other representation, which will be discussed by

2 Also in the French-speaking part of the country, English is the most popular foreign language and attitudes towards Dutch tend to be rather negative (e.g. Mettewie & Janssens 2007).

means of the *topos* of 'threat'. My approach takes into account the text as well as the context (i.e. intertextual and extralinguistic variables). I take the view that the current English language debate in Flanders reflects deep-seated attitudes regarding one's own language and identity. As this research is part of an ongoing and wider project, only preliminary results can be presented.

2. Language Policy

2.1. *Flemish legislation*

Flemish legislation concerning the use of (foreign) languages in higher education is quite restrictive. The 2003 law says, *inter alia* (art. 90 and 91):

1. Dutch is the *administrative language* of Flanders (art. 90) and the *language of instruction* (art. 91.1) at all Flemish polytechnics (*hogescholen*) and universities
2. *Another language* can be used in exceptional cases, such as (art. 91.1)
   a. Teaching foreign languages
   b. Teaching by foreign guest lecturers
   c. Teaching done at another university (e.g. exchange programmes)
3. For Bachelor's teaching the use of *languages other than Dutch* is restricted to *at most 10%* of the teaching programmes (art. 91.1)
4. For teaching foreign students, programmes may be offered entirely in *another language* provided that an *equivalent programme is offered in Dutch* (art. 91.2)
5. The university/polytechnic must draw up a *code of conduct* concerning its language use and it must report annually to the Flemish Government (art. 91.6)

Moreover, the use of *another language* should have an "added value for the student" (Dutch: *meerwaarde voor de studenten*) as well as for the "functionality of the programme" (*functionaliteit voor de opleiding*). This should be apparent from an "explicitly motivated decision" (*expliciet gemotiveerde beslissing)*. Students have the right to take exams in Dutch, even when the course itself was not taught in Dutch. Art. 91 also states that the lecturer should "adequately master" (*op adequate wijze*) the (foreign) language of instruction. Although the law refers to "a foreign language" (*vreemde taal*), "another language" (*andere taal*), and "languages other than Dutch" (*andere taal dan het Nederlands*) it may be obvious that, in practice, one may read *English* instead. In spite of its restrictive character, the law leaves some room for interpretation as well (e.g. how does one count 10%, how *equivalent* does an "equivalent programme" – *equivalente opleiding*-- have to be, what exactly does "adequately master a language" mean?)

Although the Flemish Government stresses the importance of Dutch as the academic language of Flanders, everyday reality reveals a different picture. An increasing amount of course materials is *not* in Dutch (in fact most of it may be in English) and so is the research output. As far as teaching is concerned, an increasing amount of courses is taught in English rather than in Dutch.

Although English is by far and large the main 'foreign' language, French and German remain relatively important too. According to Blommaert (2006: 243), Flemish students are subjected to a "multilingual complex of communicative practices", even though they may have the *feeling* that they study in Dutch.

The current legislation is increasingly being questioned. Voices are raised to relax or even abolish the restrictions regarding the use of English. According to Soete (2007: 48), the current law may reduce the "international appeal" of Flanders and it may be detrimental for research and innovation. This entirely pragmatic attitude sharply contrasts with the ontological approach (i.e. language as a marker of identity) which is firmly ingrained in Flemish political discourse.

2.2. *University policy*

As already stated, Flemish universities are required by law to draw up a *code of conduct* regarding their language(s) of instruction. Apart from reflecting the current legislation, these texts also negotiate a compromise between the official language of instruction (Dutch) and the academic lingua franca (English). In what follows, I will focus on the *Code of Conduct Regarding the Language of Instruction at the University of Antwerp* (2006-2007). This text may be seen as typical of the language policy documents drawn up by Flemish universities.

The Antwerp *code of conduct* is based on a number of fundamental principles, as stated in the preamble. First and foremost it stresses the importance of a good command of Dutch as an *academic-scientific* language. Echoing art 90 and 91 mentioned earlier, the preamble states that Dutch is the *administrative* language of Flanders as well as the language of *instruction* at all Flemish universities. Hence the university is committed to "promoting the Dutch language and culture" and it ensures that "all Dutch-speaking students could enjoy an academic training in their native language and graduate as competent speakers of the standard language". On the other hand, the text also stresses the importance of an academic lingua franca and therefore the university wishes to *maximally* exploit the exceptions to the rule that Dutch is the language of instruction. Education in a "foreign language" is seen as an important aspect of "internationalization at home" and it offers opportunities to "encounter diversity and variety". Last but not least, the university also guarantees the quality of the language of instruction.

The document makes interesting reading. First of all, it reveals a certain ambiguity between 'promoting Dutch' and introducing English as a language of instruction. Interestingly, the first versions of the text referred to the *defence* of Dutch (i.e the language as well as the culture). This word was actually replaced by *promote* as it sounds more positive and less loaded than *defend* (own observation). It is also worthwhile noting that the later versions of the text avoid using the word *English* altogether as it is replaced by generic references such as 'other languages'.

In fact, the attitude towards English is ambiguous as well. On the one hand, English may be seen as a *threat* against which Dutch has to be *defended*. On the other hand, English may be inevitable in a globalizing academic context. As a results, the 'internationalization' of higher education is equated with *Englishization* (or, perhaps more appropriate, Americanization) and the main purpose of 'student mobility' may be to attract foreign students, as stated explicitly in the preamble (i.e. "to enhance the appeal of its training programmes to foreign students"). As stated in the text, students may be offered an opportunity to encounter cultural and linguistic diversity, but most probably these encounters will take place through English.

The text also reveals some ambiguity as to the use of Dutch in Flanders. It assumes that standard Dutch is the native language of all Flemish students and that they will graduate as "competent speakers of the standard language". It may be obvious that this is not the case and in fact it is not clear what exactly is meant by 'standard language'. For many Flemish students (and lecturers) the primary level of linguistic identification is their local dialect or some kind of intermediate language[3] rather than standard Dutch, which they do not always master (e.g. Cooper 1989: 141). Moreover, many Flemish people 'reject' the variety of standard Dutch spoken in the Netherlands (Deprez 1989: 4) and they prefer a more 'Flemish' variety of Dutch (Van de Velde and Houtermans 1999: 149), even though this variety is not 'officialized'. Last but not least, there is an increasing number of students whose *home* language is not Dutch at all but rather one of the immigrant languages (e.g. Turkish)[4]. It is also quite striking that the text establishes strong links between language and culture (e.g. "promoting the Dutch language and culture"), thus expressing an ontological rather than a pragmatic view on language use in higher education.

According to the document, the university guarantees the quality of the language of instruction. Yet, it remains quite vague as to how this should be achieved. Lecturers do not have to prove their command of English *before* they start teaching in English, yet the faculty may recommend or demand them to take a proficiency course, that is, *after* it transpires their "mastery of the foreign language is inadequate" (art. 16.2). Moreover, it is not clear what exactly is meant by "adequate mastery of the language of instruction". The document also explicitly states that non-native speakers of Dutch who are appointed as a staff member should "make the necessary effort to acquire adequate mastery of Dutch" (art. 16.1).

Although the code of conduct has obviously been elaborated to fulfil governmental requirements, it clearly also reflects attitudes and beliefs held by the members of the workgroup who drafted the document. Whereas some members expressed pragmatic (i.e. 'pro-English') attitudes, others took a more ontological (i.e. 'pro-Dutch') stance (own observation).

3 This 'intermediate language' between standard Dutch and dialect is the variety which is commonly used in soaps on Flemish television (see Vandekerckhove, De Houwer & Remael 2007).

4 At present about 10% of the student population at Antwerp university is of migrant origin. In Antwerp-City, 65 % of all pupils in primary education do *not* speak Dutch at home (De Standaard, 13 February 2007). One may assume this will affect the linguistic make up of Higher Education in the near future.

2.3 *Current practices*

This section will be illustrated by means of the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences, the third largest faculty of the University of Antwerp. The faculty's explicit aim is to internationalize its curriculum and to attract more foreign students (Bursens and Dhoest 2006). Although Dutch is recognized as the main language of instruction, it is also regarded as a serious drawback (i.e. it is literally called a "stumbling block", *struikelblok*, ibid.). Therefore, the faculty decided to provide a number of courses taught in English "to accommodate international students" (http://www.ua.ac.be/main.aspx?c=*PSW&n=49060) from 2007-2008 onwards. Although not stated explicitly, the faculty seems to be willing to *maximize* the use of English, taking into account severe legal restrictions mentioned earlier.

At present (2008-2009) about 10% of the curriculum at bachelor-level is in English. In the first year (political science, sociology, communication studies), all courses are in Dutch (i.e. about 9 or 10 subjects); in the second year one or two courses are in English, and students have to take language courses (i.e. academic English and French) as part of their curriculum; in the third year one or two courses are in English as well. At master-level, the picture is less clear but in general one may say that English-medium instruction accounts for about 10-30% of all subjects.

At present, the number of 'international' students is quite low so that, in some cases, English serves as the lingua franca between a Dutch-speaking lecturer and Dutch-speaking students (own observation). The number of students from abroad is likely to increase as the faculty managed to attract new partner universities, probably because of its internationalization policy and English-medium programme (personal communication).

In general, students' and lecturers' attitudes towards English-medium instruction are positive (own observation). As required by law, students may sit their exams either in English or in Dutch (i.e. when the course was taught in English). Interestingly, students do not necessarily prefer Dutch as they may find it easier to sit an exam in English when the course was taught in English and most of the course material was in English as well (own observation).

3. Conclusion

In spite of the multilingual reality, Flanders adheres to a *monoglot ideology* (Silverstein 1996). This ideology assumes that monolingualism is a fact rather than an ideological perception. As Blommaert (2006: 244) pointed out, a monoglot ideology rests on associations between people (ethnolinguistically defined), language (i.e. a standard or 'pure' form) and a particular territory. Following this ideology, Flanders asserts itself as an exclusively Dutch-speaking region. Close links are established between the Flemish *people*, their *territory* (Flanders) and their *language* (Dutch). Dutch is commonly referred to as "the language of our community" (i.e. the Flemish Community, a territorial as well as ethnolinguistic entity). This rhetoric may be observed in Flemish higher education as well.

The Antwerp *code of conduct* actually constructs standard Dutch as its language of instruction. The 'native' language is framed in terms of *threat* and measures are being taken to *defend*, *guarantee*, *protect* and *promote* Dutch. The topos of threat is more salient in the earlier versions of the text than in the final version, which tries to strike a more 'neutral' tone. The most striking feature concerning English is that there are no explicit references to the language at all (i.e. in the final version). English is referred to as "another language" (i.e. other than Dutch), "a foreign language" or "an international language". The topos of threat is salient in that it is deemed necessary to *restrict* the use of English. English is seen as an *exception* and its use has to explicitly motivated.

The document tries to compromise between legal requirements to restrict the use of English as a language of instruction and market-driven demands for more instruction in English. The text also reveals the perceived need to protect one's own language and identity as well as the perceived need to provide for (more) English. This may result in an uneasy compromise: on the one hand, Dutch should be *promoted*, but on the other hand English should be *maximally exploited* as well. Apart from protecting the native language and introducing a foreign language of instruction, the document tries to preserve linguistic diversity as well. It may be obvious that the dominance of English may be at the expense of all other academic languages. This may be observed in Flemish higher education, where French and German, in spite of the fact that they are official languages in Belgium, are about to become 'foreign' (that is, unfamiliar) languages in Flanders.

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Obstacles of Implementing Multilingual Language Policy at the Sapientia University, Transylvania (Romania)

Zsuzsanna Éva Kiss – University of Szeged

This paper analyzes the implementation of multilingual education policy at the Sapientia University, Romania. The primary objective of my paper is to outline the changes that took place in the language policy of the university and to illustrate how the institution responded to the linguistic challenges in order to accommodate to the specific educational needs of the Hungarian speaking student population in Romania. As a second objective, I intend to highlight the importance of the founding of the Hungarian private education system in Romania with Hungarian as the major medium of instruction. To do these, I highlight three major periods from the history of the university, namely, the period of foundation and the first year of functioning, when monolingual language policy was implemented; the period of succeeding changes in the language policy of the institution while being transformed from a monolingual to a multilingual university, and finally the present state language policy of the institution. Since the university was established in 2001, the language policy processes that my paper discusses took place in the past six years. Data collection included conducting semi-structured interviews with students, members of the professional staff and administrative personnel. Based on my findings I assess that although attempts were made to incorporate Romanian and English as additional languages of training so as to ensure access to the official language of the state and to a language of global communication on the European labor market, the language planning efforts of the university are first of all aimed at promoting and preserving literacy in the first language so as to assure the mother-tongue maintenance of the Hungarian minority.

Keywords: language policy, minority higher education, multilingualism, linguistic challenges

1. Introduction

Within research related to societal multilingualism, a considerable number of studies have been devoted to territorial aspects of the presence of more than one language, mostly in studies on minority languages, language planning and language policy. In Romania there are several communities where different ethnicities co-live, including Romanians, Hungarians, Germans, Serbs, Turks, Ukrainians and other ethnic groups, too (Fenyvesi 2005; Romanian National Census 2002). Due to the linguistic and cultural diversity of society, it has not been self-evident that the question of language as a medium of instruction in higher education would be understood in the same way by the different minority groups and the Romanian majority. According to Horváth & Scacco (2001: 243-244), since the central government in Romania did not recognize the cultural, political and demographic differences that exist among the various minority groups both in policy and practice when trying to lump together the problematic questions posed by them, representatives of the above mentioned ethnic communities have developed divergent social, cultural, political and educational strategies to preserve minority rights and ethnic identity in the post communist period.

In the present paper I seek to show how the Hungarian minority in Transylvania responded to the linguistic needs of the Hungarian minority population after the fall of the communist regime through establishing a private mother tongue medium higher education institution. I limit my investigation to the history of the implementation process of multilingual language policy at the two departments of Sapientia University in Miercurea Ciuc/Csíkszereda (Transylvania, Romania), a Hungarian medium minority university where, however, it became urgent to introduce, in addition to Hungarian as the main medium of education, a second and a third language as mediums of education, namely Romanian and English.

2. Hungarians in Transylvania: Sociohistorical Background and Minority Higher Education in Romania

2. 1. *Sociohistorical Background*

In this section of my paper I first give a brief overview on how the Hungarian speaking population became a minority in Romania. Then I address the issue of minority higher education in Romania today.

Before the Trianon Treaty came into effect in 1920 after the end of World War I, Transylvania was part of Hungary and was inhabited partly by Hungarians. In 1920, the Trianon Peace Treaty brought about severe changes in the geographical and ethnic make-up of Hungary and the neighboring countries. One of the changes was the cession of Transylvania to Romania. Thus, Hungarians living in Transylvania became a minority in Romania (see figure 1).

According to the 2002 census 1,431,807 Hungarians (approximately 35-37% of the total Hungarian population in Romania) live in what is today known as Transylvania including three major counties: Hargita/Harghita, Kovászna/Covasna and Maros/Mureş, where they make up about 20% of the population (see figures 2 and 3). Hungarians in Romania have legal recognition (Péntek-Benő 2005; Romanian National Census 2002).

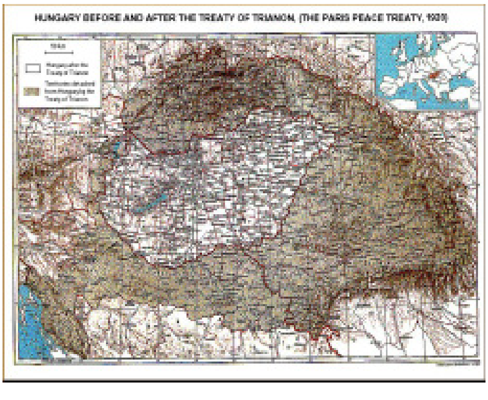

Fig. 1 – Hungary before and after the Treaty of Trianon (1920)

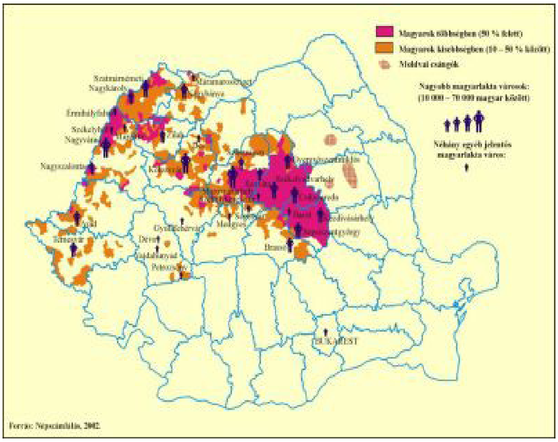

Fig. 2 – Hungarians in Romania (GOHMA 2006:13).
Legend: pink shows Hungarians in majority, above 50%; orange Hungarians in minority, below 50%.

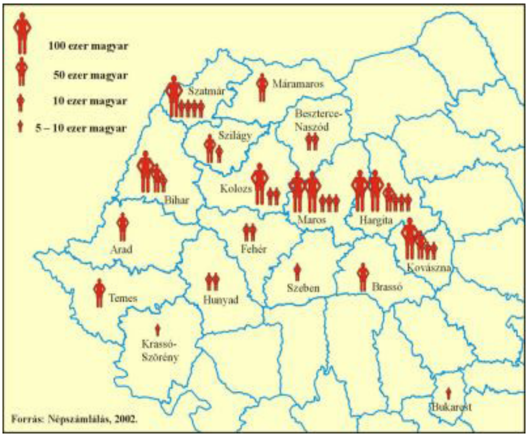

Fig. 3 – Hungarians in Transylvania (GOHMA 2006:13).
Legend: 100 'ezer Magyar' - 100 thousand Hungarians, 50 'ezer Magyar' - 50 thousand Hungarians, 10 'ezer Magyar' - 10 thousand Hungarians, '5-10' ezer Magyar - 5 to 10 thousand Hungarians.

2.2. *Minority Higher Education in Romania*

During the Communist Regime Hungarian medium higher education in Romania was almost entirely suppressed. Before the Communist Regime, there were several universities with Hungarian as medium of education (Péntek 1999). As one result of the lack of education institutions in the language of the Hungarian minority, the Hungarian speaking population in Romania experienced proportional under-education. After the 1989 revolution, when Ceausescu's dictatorial communist party fell, legal basis was provided for minority education both in the constitution and in the educational law, and the number of elementary schools, high schools, colleges and universities teaching in Hungarian significantly increased (Benő and Szilágyi 2005: 139). Under these circumstances one of the main goals of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania was to establish an *independent state university with instruction in Hungarian*. However, as regards higher education, Romania does not support entirely Hungarian medium *state* higher education. Kettley (2003: 257) claims that in Romania the solution to the problem of minority higher education is the result of a compromise between Hungarians and Romanians who attempted to resolve this issue by separating *state and private education*: "the law acknowledges the right of persons belonging to national minorities to establish and manage their own private universities (Article 32, [5] Rights to education)". For more information on the legal status of Hungarian medium education in Romania, see Péntek and Benő (2005) and Fenyvesi (2005).

Although Hungarian medium higher education has been introduced as secondary line of education at several state universities (see the web pages of Babeş-Bolyai University) establishing an independent Hungarian state university has never been done due to the lack of support and permission of the Romanian state. Even today higher education institutions in Romania use Romanian as their medium of instruction, with the exception of Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj Napoca/Kolozsvár, and the University of Medicine and Pharmacy in Târgu Mureş/Marosvásárhely, which both have Hungarian sections of studies, too.

Due to the failure of re-establishing Hungarian state universities as autonomous institutions with Hungarian as the main medium of instruction, on the one hand, and as response to the linguistic needs of the Hungarian ethnic minority population, on the other hand, in April, 2000, the Board of Trustees of the Sapientia Foundation (founded by the four historical Hungarian churches in Transylvania, in March, 2000) signed an agreement of cooperation of financing with the Government Office for Hungarian Minorities Abroad of the Hungarian Government for the foundation of an independent Hungarian medium university in Transylvania. The Sapientia University is a Hungarian medium higher education institution founded in 2001, where instruction was planned to be given in three languages including Hungarian, as the main medium of instruction, as well as Romanian and English as secondary mediums of instruction. However, due to several reasons which I intend to discuss further on in my paper, today only Hungarian and Romanian are used as mediums of instruction, to different degrees. Today there are two faculties in Miercurea Ciuc, the Faculty of Business and Humanities and the Faculty of Technical Social Sciences, one faculty in Targu Mures (The Faculty of Technical and Human Sciences), and one faculty in Cluj Napoca, the Faculty of Sciences and Arts.

3. Methodology

In order to gain insight into the chronology of language policy decisions at the university and the insider faculty's (professors', instructors', administrative personnel's' and students') views and evaluation of them, I have conducted interviews with such persons. Data collection took place at Sapientia University, Miercurea Ciuc/Csíkszereda in May, 2007. The digitally recorded semi-structured interviews were conducted in Hungarian and are between thirty and sixty minutes long. I asked interview participants to deliver their opinions regarding the following issues: (a) the language policy of the university; and (b) the multilingual character of the university.

To collect data I conducted an ethnographic study the aim of which would be to assess the language policy view of the present employees of the institution by representing an insider, emic, viewpoint. More to the point, I wished to explore the way the faculty and the staff of the institution shape language policy of the university on the micro-level of courses and seminars by using several languages for explaining academic content in class.

Examining the educational and language policy documents of the university and excluding field research would have been rather simplistic in case of my research. I support my argument by Canagarajah's assumption, who, on the basis of Moore (1996) claims, on the one hand, that "policy documents are ideological discourses since they make the reality conform to them rather then base themselves on reality" and, on the other hand, assumes that "subsequent acts of policy are not necessary closer approximations of reality but reflect the changing ideological priorities of the status quo" (Canagarajah 2006: 155). Consequently, for the simple reason of wishing to avoid limited representation of the contexts under study, as a result of representing only the ideological side of an implemented language policy, I considered it vital to conduct an ethnographic research in order to gain a well-contextualized, emic orientation to language practices (Canagarajah 2006: 155). By this, I have tried to reveal the institution's own point of view about how the language matters and language policy of the institution shape the future of the graduates and employees of the university and of the university as a minority higher education context (Canagarajah 2006: 154). Ethnography, as defined by Canagarajah (2006: 159), is contextualized and holistic in approach. On the basis of the method of ethnography, it was my aim to assess the way people in this particular settings come to understand their day-to-day educational problems from the point of view of bilingualism and bilingual language policy. That is, in the present paper I attempt to represent the insider emic viewpoint (Miles & Huberman 1994: 6-7). As such, I use direct transcribed excerpts from the interviews recorded. For the simple reason that interviews should be understood not as giving "true" descriptions of what the informants think or feel in certain situations/circumstances but, rather, as providing researchers with evidence about what informants think "is intelligible or plausible to say in a given discourse community and how members of that community use shared resources to construct a position in an interview" (Block 2000: 762), it is not my aim to represent the "only true" point of view in my paper.

Using ethnography as my main research method has several advantages. Firstly, ethnography helped me differentiate the stages of language planning that my interviewees referred to. When interviewees referred back to the period previous to the language planning process, this provided information on how effective policies were formulated like for example the attitudes and ideologies about mother tongue, state language and foreign languages; the aspirations and needs of the members of the community; and the significance of language for the community. When interviewees characterized language planning as a process, this helped me assess how different employees within the institutions functioned as actors in promoting the policy (Canagarajah 2006: 157-158). When talking about the period next to the language planning process my interviewees examined the consequences of implemented language policies for the community in focus, "the consistency with which it is implemented in diverse localities and the unexpected problems a policy" created (Canagarajah 2006: 157-158). As such, I could assess how my interviewees understood the effectiveness of policies by showing their local realizations. That is, including the ethnographic method (as my main analytic method of the data gained through semi-structured interviews) to complete the analysis of the official language policy documents allows me to analyze my data in the integrated cycle of language policy and gives me insight into diverse stages and component elements of the state language teaching methodology including the top-bottom implementation of the language policy, the implementation process itself and the results of implementation. (Canagarajah 2006: 158-159).

I have analyzed my data by applying the method of content analysis. I transcribed the voice samples of the 12 interviews word by word. To break down the amount of text I received, I have coded it into manageable categories with sentences and paragraphs as major units of analysis on the basis of their topics or key themes like, for example, linguistic competence, the implementation of a language policy, and the outcomes of the implementation of a particular language policy. After selective reduction of the text to categories (codes/ micro concepts) I have focused on matching them with one or more of the language policy periods my interviewees referred to. Having done this, I have analyzed the relationship between the factors (challenges and opportunities) mentioned as having had influence on the language policy of the institution in several periods of its policy design and implementation. Finally, I have written a history of the language policy of the institution.

4. Discussion

I intend to outline the amendments that took place in the language policy of the university by identifying and describing the factors that provoked the need of change from monolingual to multilingual language policy between 2001, the year of its foundation, and the academic year 2006/2007. I organize my historiography around three major periods that characterize the history of the university. Namely, I start by discussing the period of foundation and the first year of functioning when monolingual language policy was implemented in the minority university. I then turn to discussing the factors that acted as forcing powers in changing the language policy of the institution from monolingual to multilingual. Thirdly, I list the obstacles that challenged proper implementation of multilingual language policy. Afterwards, I outline the present language policy of the institution including Hungarian-Romanian bilingual language policy and terminology provision in English. Finally, I name some of the recommendations for future development.

4.1. *Monolingual Language Policy*

Multilingual education in Transylvania faces a double challenge. On the one hand, it needs to provide quality mother tongue education for the Hungarian minority. On the other hand, it needs to create the possibility for the Hungarian minority to develop their linguistic proficiency in a second language, Romanian, which is the official language of the state and at least one additional foreign language, English, French or German. Due to this double challenge, since 2001 the language policy of the university has been in continuous process of reformation that has been both praised and criticized. Since in Romania there was no state funded Hungarian medium university reorganized after the collapse of the Communist Regime, Sapientia, as the only private Hungarian higher education institution in Romania, aimed to become a higher education institution which would stand, firstly and most importantly, for the maintenance of Hungarian mother tongue medium instruction. As such, it was decided that the main medium of instruction would be Hungarian. Accordingly, dominant Hungarian medium language policy was implemented to secure equal opportunities for higher education for the Hungarian minority.

In order to assess the extent to which the mother tongue of the Hungarian minority (Hungarian) was used as medium of instruction and what the justification for Hungarian medium instruction was I asked my informants to express their opinion about the importance of founding a minority university in Transylvania. Informants claimed that since Sapientia University was founded in order to offer Hungarian medium professional training, the first and most important responsibility of this institution is to promote minority higher education in the mother tongue of the Hungarian minority, that is, in Hungarian in order to foster the minority language, to strengthen Transylvania Hungarians' cultural identity and to affirm the rights of the Hungarian ethnic minority group in Romania. In my view, for Hungarians in Transylvania it is an identity strengthening factor that they have the possibility to complete their higher education studies with the medium of their mother tongue, too, within a Hungarian institution. The following excerpt (nr. 1) illustrates the importance of having well trained intellectuals for a minority population to preserve its ethnic identity:

1. 'This is a minority population and it is a fact that if a certain population has the necessary layer of intellectuals, it will assimilate with much harder difficulty.'
(Translation from interview 6, Dean)

Another justification for mother tongue medium education, according to my informants, as pointed out in excerpts nr. 2 and nr. 3, is that acquiring knowledge and learning how to think abstractly is only possible in the mother tongue. As it is indicated in the excerpts below, it is one of the main missions of the university to ensure mother tongue medium education for the Hungarian minority population in Romania.

2. 'One of the missions of the university is to develop learning through the mother tongue of Hungarians since learning to think about abstract things is only possible and successful in the mother tongue. This is a vital issue that the basic knowledge in several fields should be acquired in the mother tongue and then one can learn communicating this knowledge in other languages, too.'
(Translation from interview 6, Dean)

3. 'We said that they will be learning in Hungarian because it is in Hungarian that they can acquire content knowledge in the necessary fields.'
(Translation from interview 1, Ex-Dean)

An interesting linguistic challenge met by the institution in the first year of functioning is the one related to professional staff. According to the language policy of the institution, the main language for content learning would be Hungarian. However, there was a great gap in the academic field regarding Hungarian specialists, the reasons for which are highlighted by the following interview excerpt (nr. 4):

4. 'The greatest challenge was that training Hungarian professionals for about thirty years from the 50's on actually did not exist in Romania because Hungarian university training was restricted. Basically there were no PhD graduates in these years who studied through their mother tongue and knew professional vocabulary in Hungarian. This meant that a whole generation of academics who could teach in Hungarian was missing in the Hungarian higher education system in Romania. This was in part corrected by those young people who went to Hungary to study and then came back. In 2001 more than fifty percent of the instructors were from Hungary.'
(Translation from interview 6, Dean).

Under these circumstances it was necessary for the institution to invite instructors from other universities of the country and from outside the country, so that education at the university could be begun.

4.2. *Bi and Multilingual Language Policy*

In the first three years of instruction, from 2001 to 2004, the sole medium of instruction of the departments was Hungarian. Why did the university change its monolingual language policy to a multilingual language policy? There were several factors, external to the institution, which provoked the necessity to change the language policy. First, since Sapientia University does not have its national accreditation yet, its graduates have to take their final examinations at state universities, where the official language of examination is Romanian. As such, all the departments needed to apply a second language, Romanian, as medium of instruction which, since it is the majority language of the country, was certainly the best medium of education to promote access to accredited university degrees and the best language to assure communication with the majority population in the labor market. The number of courses which apply English as medium of instruction is limited. Certain courses and seminars, which aim to facilitate the development of English language skills of the students, like *Business English* and *English for Science and Engineering*, are taught with English as medium of instruction. From 2004 on within the framework of the institution a high premium was placed on the role of the additive multilingual education of students.

Nevertheless, as Cenoz and Gorter assume, "schools need to go beyond bilingualism and to promote trilingualism and multilingualism as one of the most important aims in education" (2005: 1). The integration of Romania in the European Union opened new possibilities for both the Hungarian and the Romanian population in the international professional market. Shortly before the integration, it became clear that ignoring the new linguistic challenges that would arise as result of becoming part of a multilingual community and not integrating teaching of and in languages of wider communication may cause failure in the attempts of the graduates of the institution to integrate in the dynamics of the multilingual and multicultural European Union. Accordingly, in addition to Romanian and Hungarian, English was introduced too, as a medium of instruction to facilitate international communication.

The following interview excerpts (nr. 5 and nr. 6) illustrate how the continuously growing expectations promoted by the national and international job market regarding language competences became main reasons of implementing multilingual language policy at Sapientia University.

5. 'Multilingualism is an asset in each and every circumstance. Today speaking three languages is an obligation. In case of serious job offers it is a condition to speak Hungarian, the local language, Romanian, the official language of the state and another foreign language. Monolingualism is not a possible way.'
(Translation from interview 4, Educator)

6. 'There are more and more international companies in the Romanian market in case of which speaking the language of the minority Hungarians, if the company opened an office in Transylvania, the state language- Romanian and a language of wider communication, English, French or German, is obligatory. All are important. At least a global language and the language of the region should be known.'
(Translation from interview 5, Educator)

In addition, introducing a third medium of instruction was the response to the condition that says that taking the final examination in one of the state universities is not possible without an intermediate level language certificate in English. This issue is highlighter by excerpt nr. 7 as follows:

7. 'Because most of the students who enter the university have low language skills in Romanian… And we have to make them professionals and they have to take their final exams in Romanian.'
(Translation from interview 1, Ex-Dean)

4.3. *Obstacles of Implementing Multilingual Language Policy*

Since many of the students do not have basic language proficiency in Romanian or English, the multilingual language policy was jeopardized. Consequently, exclusion of other mediums of instruction than Hungarian was necessary in case of many subjects. In what follows, I outline the reasons of minority Hungarians' low language proficiency in Romanian, the state language.

The Hungarian population living in Harghita/Hargita and Covasna/Kovászna county is not balanced Hungarian-Romanian bilingual, with only few exceptions (Péntek-Benő 2005, Fenyvesi 2005). Hungarian is the first language of the Hungarian minority, their mother tongue. In Romania Hungarian is a minority language, and it is the main medium of everyday communication of Hungarians in Transylvania. That is, it is at the same time a main medium of communication between Hungarians and the dominated language with respect to Romanian, the official language of Romania. Romanian is the second language of the Hungarian minority, and it is the politically and economically dominant language in both Transylvania and the whole of Romania. It prevails in many official contexts and it is acquired mainly through formal means by Hungarians in Transylvania. Communication between Hungarians and Romanians in Hungarian is rare since the majority population does not speak the minority language. Transylvania Hungarians, as I have already mentioned, communicate in Hungarian among themselves and Romanian is used only in cases where the communication partner is Romanian, a situation characteristic almost exclusively of official circumstances. Under these conditions, Hungarians do not have natural language acquisition possibilities for learning Romanian and cannot practice their Romanian language skills unless they have Romanian friends which, in turn, is fairly rare due to interethnic conflicts. Nevertheless, minority Hungarians are expected to become fluent speaker of two languages, Hungarian and Romanian, by the end of their secondary education, but since students' specific linguistic and academic needs are insufficiently met within the Romanian school system the Romanian language skills of Hungarian minority children are underdeveloped. More to the point, although Hungarian medium education is allowed in minority education institutions, due to several factors such as the absence of special language curricula (including books, texts and the perspective of teaching Romanian as a second/foreign language to the Hungarian minority) and the immediate language environment, which is Hungarian in Hungarian majority locations and which excludes the possibility of spontaneous Romanian language use and acquisition, Hungarians have fairly low language proficiency in Romanian. Since Romanian is not taught (and has never been taught) a second language to Hungarians but as if it were their mother tongue, formally acquired Romanian provides a basic reference point for grammar and vocabulary but communication skills are not developed in a school context and this results in the generally low proficiency of Hungarians in Romanian.

5. The Present Language Policy

At present only educators whose mother tongue is Romanian and who do not speak Hungarian have their classes in Romanian at Sapientia University (excerpt nr. 8). English medium instruction was totally eliminated due to a lack of sufficient language skills of students (excerpt nr 9 and nr. 10), but field specific vocabulary is provided in lectures and seminars in this language, too. The only exception is the *Romanian Language and Literature and English Language and Literature Department*, where there are three languages, Romanian, English and Hungarian, used as languages of instruction. Problems related to language proficiency are present in this department, too, but, due to the fact that the entrance examination presupposes taking language tests both in Romanian and in English, this linguistic challenge is dealt with relatively in time. In case of all the other departments, until the language competence of the students meets the language requirements of the institution and Romanian/English medium of education can be reintroduced on a larger scale, educators need to lecture in Hungarian and to provide discipline specific terminology in Romanian/English, too, for the comprehensive final exam. I need to mention, however, that there is not explicit description in the policy documents of what second and foreign language skill level is required in order to effectively attend the training programs of the university.

8. 'On the one hand subjects like Economics, Law etc. are already studied exclusively in Romanian (professors teaching these lectures are from Bucharest). On the other hand, there are subjects that are studied in Hungarian and discipline specific terminology is given in Romanian and English, too. Teaching foreign language communication skills has already been introduced. However, we have problems related to teaching in a foreign language which is characteristic of the departments only to a small degree.'
(Translation from interview 6, Dean)

9. 'Romanian mother tongue instructors were surprised to see the Romanian language skills of students, which often made it impossible to understand students during exams. It is useless to learn the discipline specific terminology if you can not express yourself on the basic level because of poor communication skills.'
(Translation from interview 2, Graduate)

10. 'Instruction in English? In English you would call it dreams. The first curriculum claimed that it is an axiom that our students will learn to communicate in English in two years' time and then they will attend courses taught in English. But the low English language skills students bring with them to the university does not permit this.'
(Translation from interview 1, Ex-Dean)

Here I want to refer to Ruiz's typology of three common orientations to language: language as a *problem*, as a *right* or as a *resource* (1984:15-34). It is clear, that, for students whose language competence is below the presupposed level, continuing their studies in Romanian or English becomes a great challenge, more of a problem than a resource. Lack of developed language skills in Romanian and in English impedes successful communication, it restricts access to information and to job markets, both on the national and global level. For graduates with good Romanian and English language proficiencies, language, on the other hand, may enhance linguistic resources, it improves access to information (official documents, literature, media etc.) and jobs, and also, it reduces the potential for miscommunication. Studying through the medium of Romanian or English for those who already speak these languages offers greater opportunities in education, business and employment. In contrast, for those who must reach acceptable proficiency during their university studies, it means a formidable obstacle to successful education and employment.

It is the aim of the instructors to provide steps to ensure the increase of language proficiency of students. For this reason, Romanian and English language classes were introduced in 2004 to facilitate the development of second and foreign language skills. These courses are obligatory for students to take and credit points are given for them. Since not all the faculties of the campus from Miercurea Ciuc are accredited yet, as I have already pointed out, students take their final examination at several Romanian state universities, like the University of Bucharest or the Babeş-BolyaiUniversity. The language requirements of these universities are different, each, and they change year by year. However, most of the times intermediate English language certificates are the obligatory condition of subscription to the final examination. In case the language requirements prescribed by the above mentioned state universities are not fulfilled, students are not allowed to take the final examination. No obligatory language requirements are set up related to the Romanian language. It is up to the students to decide whether they consider their Romanian language skills proficient enough for taking a university final examination in Romanian. At the same time, they hold the view that it is not the responsibility of the institution to correct the low level of language proficiency of its students. It is the responsibility of students to judge whether their Romanian and English language skills are good enough to cope with content based learning. As the following excerpt (nr. 11) assesses, one of the possible solutions to increase the language skills of the student is content based learning:

11. 'We do not have a solution yet, but we have taken steps. One of these steps is that we have Romanian professors who do not speak the mother tongue of students and so they must learn some field vocabulary and learn to communicate in Romanian.' (Translation from interview 1, Ex-Dean).

Since there is a tendency to teach other studies, too, through Romanian or English, a possible solution for the university is to set up language examinations, too, as part of the entrance examination. Monolingual Hungarian medium education does not serve the interest of students since one must take into account that the great majority of students will have to face the challenges of the Romanian and European job market now that Romania entered the European Union. The need for good language skills in several languages as a facilitator of compatibility and competitiveness on the regional, national and European labor market is pointed out in the following excerpts, nr. 12 and nr. 13:

12. 'Twenty years ago if an economist could speak a foreign language it was a great advantage. Today it is an absolute disadvantage if one can not speak Romanian and at least one additional world language, English, French and German etc. It is a barrier in both career and business possibilities.'
(Translation from interview 1, Ex-Dean)

13. 'Many employers are reluctant to employ graduates from Sapientia University since they are afraid they will not manage communication in Romanian, will not be able to apply their professional skills through Romanian. There is a lot of distrust towards graduates from Sapientia University. Though the university has already proved that its graduates are not unemployed, they have jobs... Nevertheless, people are surprised to see this institution as a university.'
(Translation from interview 2, Graduate)

6. Future Prospects

The present language policy of the university is quite ad-hoc in character. More to the point, although it is decided that Hungarian is the main medium of education, and Romanian and English are implemented as mediums of education to various degrees, there should be more explicit language policy developed in the near future for each department which fits the need of students, manages the challenges related to national accreditation and which has direct reference to the requirements of the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*. Implementing the 'one plus two' formula within which mother tongue plus two modern European languages as mediums of instruction would be introduced is necessary to provide skills necessary for European citizens such as communication and intercultural competences. Projects should be launched to develop differentiated languages policy programs for departments which would include issues such as student and teacher support, testing and assessment, curriculum development etc. In this way all departments would have to design their own linguistic profile which would contribute to a more focused assessment of language competences during the training period.

As part of this, in order to avoid the reproduction of the present linguistic challenges of the university related to language proficiency of students there should be strict language requirements at the entrance examination, during the period of training and at exit examinations. A language center should be founded which would deal with assessment of students either based on the internal testing criteria of the university or on external official test certification. It is very important for the institution to be able to tackle these linguistic issues as challenges for future development.

Last but not the least, the institution should also consider the language requirements for academic personnel: how many educators are competent to do content based teaching in languages other than Hungarian?

Successfully dealing with these issues would significantly contribute to the mobility of educators and students on the professional level and further on the labor market and would improve the prestige of the institution in the Romanian higher education system.

7. Conclusion

My paper has addressed the issue of language policy of a minority university in Transylvania, Romania. More to the point, I have described how the language policy of the institution has changed from monolingual to multilingual and finally becoming bilingual. One the one hand, I have argued that the language policy of the institution with Hungarian as a main medium of education seeks to affirm the right of the Romanian Hungarian minority to mother tongue medium education. One the other hand, I have argued that mediums of education other than Hungarian, that is, Romanian and English, were necessary to assure the international professional competitiveness for the graduates of the university. As part of my paper I have discussed what the obstacles of implementing multilingual education have been and what the temporal solution to these challenges were. As I have already indicated, at the moment trilingual education is introduced to a small extent: certain lectures and discipline specific terminology are given through the medium of Romanian, but the major main of instruction in Hungarian. I assume that the changes in language policy implementation have taken place in order to respond to the specific needs of the Hungarian minority population in Romania in securing mother tongue medium education and the possibility to acquire multicompetence in several professional fields corresponding the expectations of the European Union. However, I consider it vital for the future status of the institution to seriously consider a professionally-designed language policy which would fulfill both the linguistic and the socio-economic needs of its employees and graduates.

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Sapientia EMTE (Transylvania Hungarian University)
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Access: 27. 01. 2008, 10.24

Figure 1. Hungary before and after the Treaty of Trianon
http://mek.oszk.hu/00000/00099/00099.jpg
Access: 24. 01. 2008, 9.53

Figure 2. Hungarians in Romania
http://www.hhrf.org/htmh/?menuid=060204
Access: 24. 01. 2008, 10.14

Figure 3. Hungarians in Transylvania
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Accomplishing a Balancing Act as a Bilingual university: The Challenge at Stellenbosch University, South Africa

Marianna Visser – Stellenbosch University

The paper explores the range of complex questions posed with respect to language policy and planning in the South African tertiary education context. In particular, the paper considers questions relating to how tertiary institutions need to ensure their accessibility to all South African students in terms of the choices they have available as regard language(s) of instruction. Thus, language policy and planning in South African tertiary education contexts entails accomplishing a balancing act in ensuring that institutions are accessible to all students in terms of their language(s) of instruction as these relate to optimising opportunities for academic success. The paper presents an analysis of the intricacies of considerations relating to language policy and planning at Stellenbosch University in South Africa, focusing on the language proficiency of students coming from different first language backgrounds. The bilingual modules taught in Afrikaans and English for which provision is made in the Stellenbosch language policy, is then examined in relation to the language proficiency levels in Afrikaans and English of students who attend these bilingual modules. The paper explores the opportunities for the development of academic language skills of students in their second language within the bilingual class as a content and language integrated (CLIL) environment.

Keywords: tertiary language policy, bilingual teaching, content and language integrated learning, second language development

1. Introduction

Educational language policy and planning has emerged as a multifaceted research field over the past decade. Research in this field has specifically flourished as second and foreign language learning and teaching, and the study of cognitive academic language ability, have developed into theoretically complex fields of enquiry. These fields provide, in particular, foundational insights that are often crucial to the design properties and implementation of educational language policy (see, for example, Baker 2001, Beacco & Byrnes 2006, Behrens 2006, Bergan 2001, Berthoud, *et al.* 2001, Bloch & Alexander 2003, Brumfit 2000, Street 2003 and Tollefson 2002). The nature of principles and properties of second language learning and development and cognitive academic language proficiency are determining factors for making informed decisions about bi- and multilingual language policy and planning at all levels of education, that is at primary, secondary and tertiary level (see Cenoz & Genesee 1998, Cummins 2003, Ferguson 2006, Francis & Reyhner 2002, Grosjean 2008, Hornberger 2003 a, b, Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester 2003, Lambert 2003 and Langacker 2006, Lodge 2000, Sima Paribakht & Wesche 2006 and Smit 2007, 2008).

The advantages, challenges and potential problems concerning bi- and multilingual education introduced at different levels of education have been explored in various studies (see Baker 2001, Bloch & Alexander 2003, Cenoz & Genesee 1998, Francis & Reyhner 2002, Hornberger 2003 a, b, Lyster 1998, Met 1998, Stohler 2006 and Tucker 1998, among others). The complex nature of bilingualism is explored systematically by Grosjean (2008). Research on language policy and planning has taken into account the nature of bi- and multilingual competence and a range of socio-cultural and political dimensions of communities (see Kaplan & Baldauf 1996, Koch Christensen 2001, McGroarty 2002, Purser 2001, Tollefson 2002 and Webb 2001).

Research on a multiplicity of areas relating to content language and integrated learning (CLIL) has been prolific in recent years (see Dalton-Puffer 2007 a, b, Dalton-Puffer & Nikula 2006 and Dalton-Puffer & Smit 2007 for discussion). Content-language and integrated learning as a multifaceted research area concerned with the learning and teaching of domain-specific language in higher education, specifically, has been given impetus by the Bologna Declaration issued in 2005 by the European Union ministers of education. The Bologna process aims to establish a more uniform structure for Bachelor's and Master's degree programmes and hence to facilitate the mobility of students and internationalization of universities (see Räisanen & Fortanet-Gomez 2008 a, b).

Studies on CLIL address a variety of aspects relating to cognitive process of learning domain-specific language, the socio-cultural aspects involved in learning language for specific purposes, the methodological issues in teaching domain-specific language, including classroom interaction, and properties of good teaching practice (see Carrio Pastor & Gineno Sanz 2007, Coonan 2007, Coyle 2007, Dafouz Milne *et al.* 2006, Gassner & Maillat 2006, Hufeisen 2007, Jarvinen 2007, Krausse 2008, Llinares & Whittaker 2006, Lorenzo 2007, Pavlenko 2006, Ricci-Garotti 2007, Serragiotti 2007, Shohamy 2006, Solly 2008, Wiesemes 2007 a, b, among others). The specific advantages of the CLIL environment and its methodological complexities are examined in these studies (see also Airey 2007, Dalton-Puffer & Smit 2007, Smit 2007, Ruiz-Garrido & Palmer-Silveira 2008 and Wolff 2007).

This paper focuses on the design of the bilingual Afrikaans-English instruction in the language policy at the University of Stellenbosch in South Africa, with particular reference to the analysis of the bi- or multilingual language abilities of students in relation to the requirements concerning access and optimally successful learning by all students set for tertiary institutions since the establishment of democracy in South Africa. Given the rich diversity of South Africa as a multilingual and multicultural country, schools and universities need to address complex and challenging decisions concerning language policy and planning to accomplish a balancing act in providing access to all learners and students on the one hand, and the use of the language(s) of learning and teaching in a way that creates optimal circumstances for academic success, on the other. The design features of the language policy and plan of Stellenbosch University (http://www.sun.ac.za) include choices relating to the use of language of learning and teaching in ways conducive to meeting these challenges of providing access to the institution for all South African students, and facilitating effective learning and teaching. The language policy makes provision for choices in the use of Afrikaans and English according to the needs of students, their entrance level of language proficiency as well as their cognitive academic abilities.

This paper will analyse, in particular, the properties of students' language competence required in both their first language (L1) and second language (L2) and the opportunities that the bilingual (Afrikaans and English) class provides for further academic language development, specifically L2 receptive listening skills development. (See Doetjes 2007 for discussion of receptive communication skills with regard to didactics and language policy design.)

Section 2.1 describes in some detail the options of language use available in the language policy of Stellenbosch University and the language competence profile of undergraduate students, in particular. Specific attention will be given to the bilingual (Afrikaans and English) option and the rationale and benefits of this kind of bilingual class. This section also considers current views on the nature of bi- and multilingual ability and discusses questions of how these insights inform the challenges posed for teaching and learning in the multilingual class by South African students who come from different first (or home) language backgrounds. In this discussion, principles of current research on content and language integrated learning will be invoked.

Section 2.2 analyses the bilingual Afrikaans and English teaching for which provision is made in the Stellenbosch University language policy in relation to receptive bilingualism and a maintenance-developmental approach to bilingual teaching. In terms of this approach, the first language of students are qualitatively maintained and further developed with respect to cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) and their second language is simultaneously developed in terms of the minimum requirement of receptive skills (specifically listening comprehension) as a minimum requirement in the bilingual teaching environment (see Cummins 2003). This context represents a particular instantiation of a content and language integrated learning context. Section 3 identifies a number of challenges as regard the accessibility of the bilingual Afrikaans and English class to students who have diverse first languages, including the various indigenous African languages. Various possibilities of bi- and multilingual teaching and learning variations that provide opportunities for L2 development in a bilingual CLIL context are considered. Section 3 recapitulates the main elements that characterize bilingual teaching and learning at Stellenbosch University and presents the concluding remarks.

2. Challenges of access to South African tertiary institutions for a multilingual student population

2.1. *Characterising the receptive bilingual requirements in the language policy of Stellenbosch University*

Tertiary education institutions in South Africa have been introducing comprehensive strategic planning measures concerning expanding the racial diversity of the students body, particularly in terms of providing access to all students and ensuring successful teaching and learning. These requirements of access are explicitly stated in the Language policy for Higher Education issued after the introduction of democratic government in 1994. Webb (2001) presents an in-depth analysis of language-related issues in South Africa as a transforming society with reference to the status and role of the eleven official languages, that is, English and Afrikaans, which were the official languages under the apartheid government, and the nine indigenous African languages (isiXhosa, isiZulu, Sesotho, Sepedi, Setswana, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Siswati and isiNdebele). The indigenous African languages have obtained the status of official languages after the introduction of a democratic dispensation in South Africa in 1994. The issue of language-in-education policy has emerged as a highly complex and, in some respects, an emotive question, which often entails addressing the tension concerning language rights of communities. In this regard, the claims of the Afrikaans-speaking community in terms of the democratic constitution are especially salient with regard to education in Afrikaans at all levels of education. This claim creates a potential tension in relation to the requirement of the accessibility of schools and universities to learners from diverse language backgrounds, some of whom have a limited or no proficiency in Afrikaans.

Stellenbosch University has historically had a strong commitment to teaching in Afrikaans and is well-known for its affiliation with the Afrikaans-speaking community. In addition, the university enjoys wide recognition both inside South Africa and internationally for its teaching and research excellence. The university has for this reason, in particular, attracted many students and staff who have English as their first or dominant academic language, some who initially have a limited proficiency or no proficiency in Afrikaans upon arrival at the university. Over the past two decades, increased activities relating to the internationalisation of the university and the strategic priority of providing access, especially in postgraduate study programmes, to all students of South Africa, irrespective of whether they have a knowledge of Afrikaans, as well as international students from other countries on the African continent, Europe, Asia and from the United States of America, has resulted in the predominant use of English as medium of instruction in postgraduate coursework classes. Afrikaans is nevertheless still used extensively among Afrikaans-speaking lecturers and students for purposes of academic interaction and individual consultations between supervisor and student.

The challenge of accomplishing a balancing act as regard the use of English and Afrikaans as languages of instruction at undergraduate level in order to provide access to all South African students, regardless of their first language and proficiency in Afrikaans, has proved to become a prominent issue in the discussions about language policy and planning at Stellenbosch University. This discussion has particularly become dynamic within the wider university community over the past six years since the options of teaching undergraduate classes in English only, or bilingually in Afrikaans and English, have been formally introduced in terms of the university's language policy.

Given the university's, strategic commitment to teaching and research excellence, comprehensive action plans relating to internationalisation of the institution, and increased racial and cultural diversification of the student and staff compostion have also been prominent in discussions on the university's language(s) of instruction at undergraduate level. Increasing numbers of staff members from within South Africa and abroad who have little or no proficiency in Afrikaans have been appointed. This phenomenon has resulted in an increase of English and bilingual Afrikaans and English teaching, at undergraduate level. Under these circumstances, the position of Afrikaans as a vibrant academic language at Stellenbosch continues to be a prominent issue in discussions about language policy and planning within the university and, more widely, in the Afrikaans-speaking university community, given the strategic positioning of the university towards this community and, in particular, its explicit commitment to the promotion of Afrikaans as an academic language at the institution.

The balancing act that needs to be accomplished at Stellenbosch university relates to the question of how Afrikaans can be used in teaching at undergraduate level in a way that ensures its continued status and vitality as an academic language on the one hand, and how Afrikaans can be used in teaching, in conjunction with English and possibly the regional African language, isiXhosa, on the other hand, to maximise access to the university's study programmes for all South African students, regardless of their proficiency in Afrikaans.

In addressing this question, two possible choices have been provided for in the university's language policy, namely the teaching of subjects in separate monolingual periods for Afrikaans and English or, teaching bilingually in Afrikaans and English in the same period, or alternately, in the periods of a module. The choice of separate monolingual classes in Afrikaans and English, respectively relates to the view that students learn best in their dominant academic language, the first language being either Afrikaans or English for the majority of undergraduate students at the university, and the related view that exposure to teaching in a second language does not result in optimal learning by students. This view has, however, largely been held by those who favour parallel teaching, with regard to Afrikaans first language students, rather than English first language students (who comprise approximately 38% of the undergraduate student population, compared to the Afrikaans first language student body, which comprises approximately 58% of the undergraduate student body, and students with one of the indigenous African languages as first language, who comprise approximately 4% of undergraduate students).

The reason for the emphasis some stakeholders of the University have put on the potential negative effect of teaching through English to Afrikaans first language students is largely attributed to the historically strong affiliation of Stellenbosch University to the Afrikaans-speaking community and to the promotion of Afrikaans as academic language. The view was largely held that students who have English as a first language, or dominant academic language, in the case of the majority of black students whose first (or home) language is one of the indigenous African languages, could sufficiently cope with Afrikaans as language of teaching and learning, given some additional opportunity for learning Afrikaans language skills outside the academic classroom, should their proficiency in Afrikaans be insufficient for the purpose of effective comprehension of the lecture content in Afrikaans. It has, however, become increasingly clear that this view cannot be maintained in the case of some students whose first language is English, and for a large group of students and who has an African language as first language, and who have little or no proficiency in Afrikaans. Some of these students, whose dominant academic language is English, also need academic development support in addition to the need for developing their listening skills in Afrikaans to study effectively at Stellenbosch in bilingual modules taught in Afrikaans and English.

To summarise the discussion so far, in order to ensure the accessibility of the institution to all South African students and effective teaching and learning for all students, Stellenbosch University has introduced the language policy option of teaching of academic modules monolingually, in Afrikaans and English, and teaching modules bilingually in Afrikaans and English, where these two languages are used by the lecturer(s) in approximately equal amount, either in the same period, or alternately in the different periods over which the module is taught. The option for separate classes taught monolingually in Afrikaans and English, respectively, is however, limited compared to the possibility of bilingual teaching due to human and financial resource constraints. Such separate monolingual classes are only viable in the case of a fairly big number of students registered for the module, which in most modules, especially at second and third year level of study is lower than required. Thus, the option of bilingual teaching conforming to a CLIL environment is in the case of many modules the only viable option to facilitate effective teaching and learning by all students. An essential condition in this context is that effective support is given in addition to formal lectures to students in the development of their proficiency in Afrikaans or English as a second language, should they initially lack the required threshold level of proficiency in any of these two languages.

A main rationale of the CLIL context relates to the authentic input of discipline-specific language in the second language in which students need to develop their competence. The varied nature of the kinds of academic competencies that are required for students in the second language in different educational levels and contexts, including higher education contexts, have been examined in numerous recent studies (see Biber 2006, Byrnes 2006, Carrio Pastor & Gineno Sanz 2007, Cummins 2003, Gassner & Maillat 2006, Llinares & Whittaker 2006, Met 1998, Rinner & Weigert 2006, Ruiz-Garrido & Palmer-Silveira 2008, Weiseme 2007 a, b and Wolff 2007).

It is evident from these studies that effective teaching and learning in CLIL contexts crucially need to take account of theoretical research on second language learning and development curriculum design and teaching methodology (see Berthoud *et al.* 2001, Dafouz Milne 2006, Smit 2007, 2008 and Veel 1887).

In addition, the nature and development of bilingualism and multilingualism, particularly in relation to academic literacy development, are central to understanding a multiplicity of facets relating to a CLIL environment where both the L1 and L2 of students are used. (See Grosjean 2008 for a comprehensive characterization of bilingualism.) The varied nature of biliteracy is explored by Hornberger (2003 a, b).

The next section will examine the kind of second language academic skills, particularly receptive listening skills, that students need for effective learning and teaching in the bilingual module, in which Afrikaans and English is used in approximately equal amount in the lecturer's spoken discourse, as specified in the design features of the bilingual teaching option in the Stellenbosch language policy. The defining properties of bilingual learning and teaching in Afrikaans and English will be analysed in relation to current views relating to bilingualism and second language development in the bilingual class or module, as a particular instantiation of content language and integrated learning (CLIL).

2.2. *The design features of bilingual teaching in Afrikaans and English in the Stellenbosch university language policy*

2.1.1. Multilingualism in South African education

Given the rich multilingualism of South Africa and the socio-economic inequalities that still obtain in disadvantaged communities as a result of the apartheid history, tertiary institutions need to address a variety of challenges for the purpose of providing access to all South African students. Thus, the languages of instruction at tertiary institutions have to be used in ways that allow students optimal effective study. Choices as regard languages of instruction have in the past largely resulted in a two-fold classification between historically English-medium universities, where the medium of instruction at undergraduate level is exclusively English, and historically Afrikaans universities, of which Stellenbosch University was representative, where Afrikaans was a dominant language of instruction at undergraduate level, although English was also used to a more limited extent in the class to facilitate the teaching and learning of English first language students or black African students who have English as their dominant academic language. Since the introduction of a democratic government in South Africa in 1994, most of the historically Afrikaans universities have expanded their language(s) of teaching to include English as medium of instruction widely in undergraduate teaching in order to be accessible to the majority of the black African population for whom English is the dominant language for academic study (see Webb 2001 for discussion).

The majority of the black African population receive their primary and secondary school education in accordance with a language policy prescribing that their home language, that is one of the nine indigenous African languages, is used as medium of instruction only in the first three years of primary school, after which English is used as the official medium of instruction. These learners take their home language only as language subject. There is a wide realisation that one of the factors that resulted in the educational disadvantage of the majority of many black African learners is the exclusion of their home language as formal medium of instruction at school level, at least in primary school education (see Bloch and Alexander 2003). At present the South African education department strongly encourages the more extended use of the indigenous African languages in especially primary education in schools, where the learners have one of these languages as home language (see, for example, the Western Cape language education policy (http://www.sun.ac.za)).

The requirement of receptive bilingual skills in the modules taught bilingually in Afrikaans and English at Stellenbosch University entails that students minimally develop discipline-specific listening comprehension in their second language. Afrikaans or English is currently the first language of the majority of students. The black African students, especially those who have had their school education in advantaged schools mostly have English as primary language and some may have a limited proficiency in the African language spoken at their homes or in their African language communities. These students may have a basic proficiency in Afrikaans, due to taking Afrikaans as a subject at second or third language level. They often choose to continue with tertiary education, and thus they generally have the required level in Afrikaans to learn effectively, at least in terms of receptive skills in Afrikaans, in the bilingual Afrikaans and English module. For black students who are first language speakers of an African language and who have little or no proficiency in Afrikaans, the challenge of developing receptive skills in discipline-specific Afrikaans is extensive and such a process must entail the assurance that the quality of their learning at tertiary level is not compromised through their insufficient proficiency in Afrikaans.

In post-apartheid South Africa, Stellenbosch university is faced with the challenge of introducing a language policy which can best achieve a balancing act between the use of Afrikaans and English as languages of instruction in undergraduate study programmes that will facilitate effective teaching and learning of students who have different first or home languages, some of whom have Afrikaans as their dominant academic language and some, English as dominant academic language. The challenge of such choices in the use of Afrikaans and English in undergraduate instruction characterises the balance to be accomplished between the wider national commitment to be accessible to all South African students, and the more particular and local social affiliation the University has to the Afrikaans-speaking community, and educational redress, in particular, to the Afrikaans-speaking coloured community. This community, like the majority black African population, was politically, socio-economically and educationally disadvantaged in the previous apartheid dispensation demographically constitute the majority population in the Western Cape Province, in which Stellenbosch is situated, and in the adjacent Northern Cape Province.

2.2.2. *Bilingual learning and teaching at Stellenbosch university*

The Stellenbosch University language policy has, in addition, to the parallel option, that is the option for separate classes taught monolingually in Afrikaans and English (see 2.1), introduced the option of the bilingual teaching option, entailing the use of both Afrikaans and English in approximately equal proportion in the periods of a module. The parallel monolingual teaching and bilingual options are both provided for as alternatives to the predominant Afrikaans and predominant English monolingual instruction options for undergraduate modules in the Stellenbosch language policy, where the former is specified as the generally employed option, and the latter as the exceptional option, which is employed in modules for which international students are registered. In all four the available language of instruction options students have the prerogative to use Afrikaans or English, according to preference in class discussions, for writing assignments, and in answering test and examination papers.

A number of faculties, including, Arts and Social Sciences, Health Sciences and Theology have introduced the bilingual teaching option throughout in undergraduate programme modules, while it has also been widely adopted in other faculities such as Natural Sciences and Agricultural Sciences in undergraduate modules. The description and characteristics of the bilingual module, referred to as the T-language specification, are specified as follows in the Stellenbosch language policy (http://www.sun.ac.za):

“The T language specification

> The T language specification entails the extended use of English in particular learning and instruction contexts where the target group of students have appropriate proficiency in Afrikaans and English.

The level of language proficiency is established in entrance tests. Students will receive appropriate help where necessary.

> The use of Afrikaans in the learning and instruction contexts described below is the same as for the A (Afrikaans) module and is at least 50%, though it can be higher.

The T language specification can take various forms, as illustrated in the following two examples:

Example 1: Material not for assessment (class notes, module frameworks, study guides etc.) is provided **throughout** in Afrikaans and English. In this case the oral communication language of the lecturer in class is approximately 50:50 Afrikaans and English.

Example 2: Material not for assessment is provided **alternately** in only Afrikaans or English, and the language of oral communication of the lecturer in class is alternately Afrikaans or English.

The T language specification is used especially to expose students whose home language is English systematically to the Afrikaans subject language so that they are able at the second-year level to study in modules with an A language specification.

Characteristics

(a) Prescribed textbooks are in Afrikaans and/or English

(b) Class notes drawn up by the lecturer are

(i) fully in Afrikaans and fully in English, or

(ii) alternately in Afrikaans and English.

(c) Other compulsory reading material (e.g. scholarly journals, books, etc.) is in Afrikaans and/or English.

(d) Module frameworks and study guides are

(i) fully in Afrikaans and fully in English, or

(ii) alternately in Afrikaans and English depending on the language of oral communication of the lecturer in the particular classes.

(e) Transparencies and data-projector contents used by the lecturers in lectures, seminar classes, tutorials and practicals are in Afrikaans or English.

(f) The oral communication language of the lecturer in lectures, seminars, tutorials and practicals is

(i) in the same class Afrikaans and English, with the proviso that the use of Afrikaans must be at least 50%, or

(ii) alternately Afrikaans and English in different classes of the module or programme, with the proviso that the use of Afrikaans must be at least 50%

(g) Test and examination question papers are fully in Afrikaans and fully in English on the same question paper.

(h) Written assignments from lecturers for tutorials, seminars and practicals, are

(i) fully in Afrikaans and fully in English in the same handout, or

(ii) alternately in Afrikaans and English depending on the material not for assessment purposes (class notes, module frameworks, study guides, etc.) where the average use of Afrikaans must be at least 50%.

(i) Written answers by students to test and examination questions and assignments may be in Afrikaans or English.

(j) Oral presentations by students in lectures, seminars, tutorials and practicals in the T specification may be in Afrikaans or English according to their preferred academic language."

The nature of the bilingual module, in which Afrikaans and English are used in approximately equal proportion in the spoken language of the lecturer, is characteristic of a maintenance-developmental approach to bilingual teaching and learning according to which the first, or dominant, academic language of students, whether Afrikaans or English is maintained and further developed as regard cognitive academic ability, and the second, or additional, language simultaneously develops through their exposure to the second language and the opportunity for interaction in the classroom as a CLIL environment. The bilingual teaching approach entails, as a minimum requirement, the development of receptive listening proficiency in the second language in the bilingual module, although many students with higher levels of second language proficiency often use their productive skills, both in spoken academic discourse and for academic writing.

The receptive skills required for Afrikaans first language students entails, in particular, listening skills and reading skills in English as their second language, since the textbooks and other scientific literature in the subject content are written in English. The receptive second language skills development required for students who have English as first or dominant academic language entails, in particular, receptive listening skills in Afrikaans for comprehending the subject content in Afrikaans in the lecturer's spoken discourse in the bilingual class. Both groups of students who have Afrikaans and English, respectively as first or home language, have been learning the other one of these two languages as second language since primary school level up to Grade 12, their final secondary school year, with few exceptions. These students largely have the required threshold level in their second language, specifically, receptive (listening comprehension) skills to meet the demands that the tertiary bilingual class makes on their second language listening skills development. The threshold level required for receptive listening comprehension in the bilingual lecture corresponds approximately to the strong threshold level B2 (i.e. an independent user) characterised in the reference levels of the common European Framework of Reference for Languages (2001: 66). This descriptor states that the learner can follow extended speech and complex lines of argument provided the topic is reasonably familiar and the direction of the talk is sign-posted by explicit markers. If students, however, experience gaps in their learning that can be attributed to either insufficient listening comprehension skills in their second language, or to the need for support in the academic content, subject-specific tutorial classes are arranged. The attainment of a sufficient level of receptive academic skills by both Afrikaans and English first language students, and the further development of their second language listening skills in the content and language integrated learning (CLIL) context provided by the bilingual Afrikaans and English class, is facilitated by the linguistic closeness (lexically, semantically and syntactically) of Afrikaans and English as Germanic languages.

It was pointed out above that the majority of black African students take their home language, one of the indigenous African languages, as a language subject at school where English is their medium of instruction for content subjects, and they generally take English as a language subject at second language level. Thus, the majority of the black African students has English as their dominant academic language. They often have little or no proficiency in Afrikaans, hence the Afrikaans discourse in the bilingual Afrikaans and English lectures is, at least initially, not accessible to them. Some black African students who attended schools where they had Afrikaans as second language subject are, like the English first language students, largely sufficiently equipped in terms of listening skills in Afrikaans to learn effectively in the bilingual Afrikaans and English class. Undergraduate students at Stellenbosch who do not have the required threshold level of academic listening skills in Afrikaans therefore require structured Afrikaans proficiency instruction. In addition, they need to get academic support in subject-specific tutorials taught in English only, in which the content of main lecturers is recapitulated and reinforced in order to ensure that students have not been disadvantaged because of their insufficient listening skills in Afrikaans, while they are sill in the process of developing their second language listening skills in Afrikaans to the required threshold level. Furthermore, the use of the home language, isiXhosa, for most undergraduate black African students at Stellenbosch, should be explored in terms of the possibility of enhancing effective learning.

2.2.3. *Variation across faculties in the use of language in lectures*

The practical organisation of bilingual teaching in undergraduate programmes at Stellenbosch University for which provision is made in the University's language policy (htt://www.sun.ac.za) gives evidence of the varied assumptions, views and interpretations among faculty staff concerning the possibilities for the use of Afrikaans and English in lectures. The choices made by faculty staff concerning the use of Afrikaans and English in learning programmes across faculties are based on different assumptions about mainly three aspects: (i) the nature of second language academic proficiency and development, (ii) the amount and ways of use of Afrikaans and English in a bilingual context in which Afrikaans can be said to be promoted as an academic language, and (iii) the value of the exposure of students to peers and lecturers representative of the full diversity of socio-cultural and language backgrounds characteristic of the South African society. These different choices give rise to a variety of configurations for the use of Afrikaans and English in lectures of undergraduate programmes. The different views concerning academic language proficiency in the first as well as the second language required in the bilingual programmes derive form to a range of interpretations about optimal circumstances for the development of academic second language proficiency and the associated language learning policies across faculties.

The faculties of Health Sciences and Arts and Social Sciences have arguably introduced the most progressive language policy option as regards bilingual learning and teaching in that these two faculties have implemented the T(wo –language) specification of teaching in Afrikaans and English throughout lectures in undergraduate modules and programmes. The faculty of Health Sciences has adopted bilingual teaching for approximately seven years already, and the faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, for approximately four years. The faculties of Theology, Education and Law have recently also decided to introduce bilingual teaching in lectures throughout the undergraduate modules according to which Afrikaans and English are used in approximately equal ratio in lectures.

Many departments in these faculties have, in addition, introduced subject-specific tutorials, which are taught monolingually in English, to complement the bilingual lectures as content and language integrated (CLIL) environment which facilitates second language development. The purpose of this tutorial is to compensate for gaps in subject knowledge that may result due to the insufficient listening comprehension in Afrikaans in the bilingual lecture of students who initially have little or no proficiency in Afrikaans when they commence their university studies. These faculties evidently place a high value on the educational benefits of the interaction of students in the multilingual and multicultural class. Since the design of bilingual learning accomplishes additive bilingualism, and entails that students may use their first language, that is Afrikaans or English, in productive skills activities, including all academic writing tasks, the faculties that implement bilingual teaching throughout the undergraduate modules hold the view that Afrikaans as academic language is promoted.

The faculties of Natural Sciences and Agricultural Sciences have introduced parallel teaching for lectures in some subjects at first year level and a limited of bilingual lectures in the second and third year of undergraduate study. A considerable number of undergraduate modules in the faculty of Natural Sciences are mainly taught in Afrikaans. The view is held that students who choose to attend the lectures in the monolingual English stream should develop sufficient proficiency in Afrikaans during their first year by learning basic communication skills in Afrikaans in order to acquire a sufficient level of listening comprehension in Afrikaans for understanding academic Afrikaans in either the bilingual lectures or mainly the Afrikaans lectures. Students who begin their university studies with an insufficient proficiency in Afrikaans register for generic Afrikaans proficiency courses in these faculties with the goal of preparing for the subject-specific listening comprehension required in the bilingual lectures or mainly Afrikaans lectures in their second and third year. Hence, these faculties take into account to a lesser extent the benefits of the authentic input for discipline-specific second language development in the bilingual lectures as a CLIL context which are considered of central importance in the faculties of Health Sciences, Arts and Social Sciences, Theology, Education and Law.

The language policy choices concerning the use of Afrikaans and English in the lectures of the undergraduate programmes of the faculties of Engineering and Economic and Management Sciences exemplify a considerable contrast to the largely bilingual teaching employed in the faculties of Health Sciences, Arts and Social Sciences, Theology, Education and Law. This contrast evidently can be attributed to significantly different views as regard the role of the bilingual lecture in Afrikaans and English as a CLIL environment. In these two faculties less consideration is given to the role of authentic discipline-specific input to stimulate second language development in Afrikaans by those students who have a limited, or no proficiency in Afrikaans, all who have English as a first language or language of academic preference, as is the case with most black African students, when the commence their tertiary studies. The five former-mentioned faculties consider the domain-specific input provided by the bilingual lectures in Afrikaans and English as a CLIL context, as providing optimal exposure for second language academic development. As pointed out above, several departments in these five faculties introduced, in addition, a weekly subject-specific tutorial taught in English, which complements the lectures and compensates for gaps in the learning that occur during the first year of study in the bilingual class of students whose listening comprehension in Afrikaans is initially insufficient. By contrast, the faculty of Engineering opted for a fully parallel mode of lectures in the first and second year according to which separate lectures are taught monolingually in Afrikaans and English. Students in engineering who have little or no proficiency in Afrikaans receive generic Afrikaans proficiency instruction during their first two years of engineering study while attending the monolingual English stream of the parallel lectures. The goal is to equip them with a sufficient level of generic proficiency in Afrikaans, broadly relating to engineering communication, to be able to learn effectively in the mainly Afrikaans lectures in their third and fourth year of engineering study, where parallel teaching is no longer available.

The design of the use of Afrikaans and English in lectures adopted by the Engineering faculty reflects a view which attaches less importance to the educational value of the interaction among students made possible in the bilingual multicultural class during the first two years of undergraduate study, on which a high premium is put, by the five faculties who opted for largely bilingual lectures throughout undergraduate study with the view on students' future professional capacities and South African citizenship. The configuration of the use of Afrikaans and English in the Engineering faculty gives evidence of a particular interpretation of how Afrikaans can be secured as an academic language at Stellenbosch University, which entails that Afrikaans should be used predominantly in a quantitative way in the lectures of undergraduate programmes. The feasibility of this kind of organisation of the use of Afrikaans and English as regard the requirements of access and successful study for all students will need to be evaluated in the near future.

Finally, the faculty of Economic and Management Sciences, which has used mainly Afrikaans in lectures of undergraduate programmes, with the exception of a parallel lecture offering for certain subjects in the first year of study of undergraduate programmes, has recently indicated that it may consider extending parallel teaching throughout undergraduate programmes. This faculty has stated their view that they opted for the mainly Afrikaans teaching in undergraduate programmes in terms of the university's language policy. Students in this faculty whose Afrikaans proficiency is initially insufficient for learning effectively in the mainly Afrikaans lectures receive instruction in generic Afrikaans to enable them to develop the listening comprehension required for mainly Afrikaans lectures. The predominant use of Afrikaans in undergraduate lectures is obviously limiting in providing access to students who have no prior knowledge of Afrikaans, hence for access to all South African students. Thus, the consideration that this faculty is giving to expanding parallel lectures in Afrikaans and English addresses the requirement of providing greater access and successful study opportunities to all South African students. This faculty, however, gives less consideration to the intrinsic educational benefits of the bilingual class than the five faculties that introduced the bilingual lecture system.

3. Conclusion

The South African Language Policy for Higher Education explicitly encourages multilingualism at higher education institutions, specifically an increased use and role for the indigenous African languages with the view to enhance effective teaching and learning of students. This goal is, however, dependent on whether the indigenous African languages can be used to a greater extent in primary and secondary education for learners who have an African language as home language.

From the profile out of students' language competence in the various languages of South Africa, the complexity and challenge of the balancing act to be accomplished by tertiary institutions in South Africa, including Stellenbosch, is evident. At undergraduate level, in particular, universities need to address the challenge of issues regarding language policy and planning that will achieve a balance between providing for the socio-cultural needs of the local environment, on the one hand, and the wider population of South African students across its full demographic spectrum of linguistic, social and cultural diversity, on the other.

The choice of the bilingual option of teaching in Afrikaans and English at Stellenbosch University is informed by two main considerations, namely the importance for students coming from diverse linguistic and socio-cultural backgrounds to interact in their educational experience, and the design of a bilingual teaching and learning approach that at minimum entails the development of second language receptive skills, specifically listening comprehension. The design of this receptive bilingual approach centrally entails a content and language integrated learning (CLIL) experience for all students, some who have Afrikaans as first language and some who have English as first language, or dominant academic language. The CLIL experience of the bilingual class will be demanding to varying degrees to students, depending on their level of proficiency in their language in which they need to have develop second language receptive listening skills.

The Stellenbosch University bilingual teaching option, as is evident from the design features in the language policy, minimally entails a sufficient level of receptive bilingual skills, that is discipline-specific listening comprehension skills. Furthermore, reading skills in English are required for Afrikaans first language students, since the subject content literature is almost exclusively English. Significant numbers of students whose first language is Afrikaans or English also have sufficient productive skills, that is speaking and writing skills, to use their second language to varying degrees. For students who have an African language as home language and who did not have Afrikaans as second (or additional) language at school, the spoken language of the lecturer in Afrikaans poses a challenge in terms of listening comprehension, at least for an initial period of one to two years. Thus, the question addressed is, whether, for these students, classes should be taught in English only, or whether they should be taught in the bilingual module and the subject content in Afrikaans which is initially mostly incomprehensible to these students while they have not yet developed the required proficiency in terms of receptive (listening) skills in Afrikaans to learn effectively in the bilingual Afrikaans and English class must be recapitulated and revised in tutorials taught monolingually in English. The key consideration in making the latter choice, is that these students get the opportunity for content and language integrated learning (CLIL) exposure from the beginning, while they also have additional instruction outside the bilingual class in subject-specific tutorials taught in English, and in Afrikaans listening skills development. The choice of the bilingual class crucially relates to the consideration of the intrinsic value students get through interaction with fellow students from diverse socio-cultural, racial and language backgrounds within the academic environment and thus getting an enhanced learning experience, which is crucial to their development of a South African citizenship for which intercultural and multilingual skills are important attributes.

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Functional French-English Bilingualism Among Anglophones in Cameroon Tertiary Institutions

Jean-Paul Kouega – University of Yaounde I

This paper describes a type of functional French-English bilingualism that has developed in the higher education institutions of Cameroon and in the Civil service of this medium-sized Central African country having French and English as its joint official languages since 1961. The informants for the study are of two types. First, law and economics Anglophone students of the University of Yaounde II at Soa and second, former Anglophone students of this same institution who are presently high-ranking civil servants working in Cameroon. After graduation, these students, like their elders who preceded them, take up jobs in such fields as law (magistrates, bailiffs, notaries etc) and economics (insurance brokers, company managers etc). The data analysed are drawn from two questionnaires, one filled in by a sample of students from this institution and the second by civil servants who themselves graduated from this same institution. Additional data come from interviews with the students on their campus and participant observation of Anglophone civil servants in their places of work. The analysis reveals that, thanks to content materials teaching through the French medium, Anglophone students – who are holders of the British-based General Certificate of Education Advanced Level (henceforth the GCE A' level, the certificate required for admission into a university in Cameroon and in Anglo-Saxon countries) and who had acquired a smattering of French in secondary education – end up being proficient in French and English and, later on in active professional life, they operate fully in a francophone setting.

Keywords: bilingual education, bilingualism, Cameroon, English, French

Introduction

This paper describes one type of bilingual education involving the use of L3 French and L2 English at tertiary level in Cameroon. A similar investigation involving the use of L2 French and L3 English in this same context had been conducted (Kouega 2008). The present study is broken into five sections, entitled background information on Cameroon (1), practice of official bilingualism in the country (2), research design (3), data analysis (4) and discussion (5). These are considered in turn.

1. Background information on Cameroon

Cameroon is a Central African country (see map at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Cameroon) sharing borders with Nigeria to the west and Chad and the Central African Republic to the east. Its over 16 million inhabitants speak over 250 languages (for details on the linguistic situation of Cameroon, see for example *Ethnologue* 2005 and Kouega 2007). Historically, this country has had dealings with all European colonial powers – Portugal, Spain, Germany, France and Britain. When the First World War broke out, Cameroon was a German colony called German Kamerun (see Neba 1987: 4). When Germany lost this war, its possessions in Africa were shared among the victors: Cameroon was divided into two separate territories placed under the administration of France (hence French Cameroon) and Britain (hence British Cameroon). In 1960, French Cameroon obtained its independence and called itself the Republic of Cameroon. As the territory included hundreds of tribes speaking different languages, the first legislators of independent Cameroon decided to adopt French, the ex-colonial master's language, as its official language. In 1961, part of British Cameroon, which had adopted English as its official language, obtained its independence by reuniting with the Republic of Cameroon. The country was renamed the Federal Republic of Cameroon with French and English as its joint official languages. In 1972, the country's name was changed to the United Republic of Cameroon, still with French and English being its official languages. Besides, it was pledged that bilingualism in these two languages will be promoted.

2. Practice of official bilingualism in the country

To ensure the spread of official bilingualism in the country, successive governments have taken a number of decisions – couched in the form of ordinances, decrees, circulars, service notes. A selection of these decisions are listed below:

– linguistic centres were created to enable citizens to learn English and French, an activity which was originally restricted to the British Council, the American Cultural Center and the French Cultural Centre;
– translation services were offered in all State institutions and a school for the training of translators and interpreters (Advanced School of Translators and Interpreters: ASTI) was opened in Buea;
– bilingual secondary schools i.e. schools with Francophone and Anglophone pupils sharing the same campus but not the same courses) were created in various localities in the country;
– the bilingual degree programme was set up in the University of Yaounde and the Higher Teacher Training College (*Ecole Normale Supérieure* – ENS); today this programme is available in all State universities of the country;
– with the arrival of the French and British in 1920, two systems of education were set up in the country, one being French-based with students seeking certificates such as the *Certificat d'Etudes Primaires et Elementaires* – CEPE, the *Brevet d'Etudes du Premier Cycle* – BEPC and the *Baccalaureat*, and the other being English-based with students seeking certificates such as the First School Leaving Certificate – FSLC, the General Certificate of Education Ordinary Level – GCE O'L and the GCE A'L. To bolster its official bilingualism policy, the State made English a subject in all French-medium secondary schools and French the same in all English-medium schools; besides, the second official language became a subject in all public examinations, with Francophone candidates writing an English language paper and Anglophone candidates writing a French language paper;
– the *Official Gazette*, which records the country's daily activities, was printed in the two languages and so was the official daily newspaper i.e. *Cameroon Tribune* published;

– the national radio and TV network (CRTV) alternated programmes in French and English at regular intervals.

Since the year 1996, another battery of measures have been added to these older ones. These measures include the following:

– an order stipulating that every primary school teacher would henceforth teach every subject on the school syllabus including the second official language subject was issued (Order No 21/E/59 of May 15, 1996 organising the Grade One teacher certificate examination);
– a primary school syllabus outlining how each subject including the second official language subject would be taught was designed by the Ministry of Education (MINEDUC 2001, Kouega 2003);
– an order introducing the second official language subject in both the written and oral parts of the First School Leaving Certificate (FSLC) examinations and its French equivalent, the *Certificat d'Etudes Primaires* (CEP) examinations (Order No 66/C/13 of February 16, 2001);
– a National Day of Bilingualism in public and private schools in Cameroon was instituted (Decision no 1141/B1/1464/ MINEDUC/IGE/IGP/BIL of October 28, 2002); on this day, Anglophone pupils are expected to communicate in French and Francophone pupils in English;
– a circular letter instructing primary and nursery education state officials to see that bilingualism is effective in all nursery and primary schools (circular letter No 033/B1/1464/MINEDUC/IE/ IGPBIL of October 14, 2002);
– a circular letter instructing secondary education state officials to see that the National Bilingualism Day is observed in all schools and that, in addition, Language Clubs (LC), to be called *Club Français* for Anglophone pupils and “English Club” for Francophone pupils, be set up in all schools, that the National Anthem be sung in English and French on alternate days and that a prize be awarded to the best bilingual pupils in each class (Circular letter No B1/1464/MINEDUC/IGE/IGE/GP/BIL of December 2, 2002);
– a circular letter instructing teacher training college principals to provide adequate training so that student-teachers be sufficiently equipped to teach the second official language (Circular letter No 009/B1/1464/MINEDUC/IGE/IGP/BIL of April 9, 2003); (see Abang 2006 for an evaluation);
– a decision creating a bilingualism watchdog committee in the Ministry of Education, which is responsible for the observation, verification and supervision of the practice of bilingualism in central and external services of the Ministry of Education (Decision No 1230/B1/1464/MINEDU/CAB of June 12, 2003)

It was envisaged that, after these decisions and measures are implemented fully, every Cameroonian citizen would be bilingual in French and English and every pupil who leaves secondary education would have learned enough French and English to be capable of following courses taught in either official language at tertiary education level. Partial evaluation of what obtains in the field seems to show the reverse, especially among the Francophone population (see Constable 1977, Tchoungi 1983, Biloa 1999, Kouega 1999, 2003, Jikong 2003, Echu 2004, Sokeng 2006 and similar works for details).

3. Research design

The focus here is on the setting of the research (3.1), the informants (3.2) the method of data collection (3.3) and the research framework (3.4). These are taken up in turn.

3.1. *The setting*

Two sub-settings are jointly examined in this work i.e. the University of Yaounde II and the Cameroon Civil Service. The university of Yaounde II is at Soa, a small locality situated some 12 km from the Yaounde city centre. Structurally, this university comprises two faculties and three higher education institutions. The faculties are known as the Faculty of Law and Political Sciences (*Faculté des Sciences Juridiques et Politiques – FSJP*) and the Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences (*Faculté des Sciences Economiques et de Gestion – FSEG*). The FSJP offers courses in French private law, English private law, public law and political sciences and its graduates end up in law-related jobs such as bailiffs, lawyers, magistrates, insurance officers. The FSEG offers various courses in economy. The three higher education institutions are the School of Mass Communication (*Ecole Supérieure des Sciences et Techniques de l'Information et de la Communication – ESSTIC*), the School of International Relations of Cameroon (*Institut des Relations Internationales – IRIC*) and the Institute for Training and Research in Demography (*Institut de Formation et de Recherches Démographiques – IFORD*) (MINESUP 1993: 286). These institutions have in common the fact that they train very small numbers of students, who are selected by way of competitive entrance examinations. As the bulk of the students of this university are in the two faculties cited above, the informant pool for this study is drawn from these faculties.

The second sub-setting is the Cameroon Civil Service, which includes ministers, secretary-generals, directors, managers of State-owned companies, service heads and thousands of workers in such fields as medicine (medical doctors), education (school teachers), administration (clerks), communication (journalists), law (magistrates), agriculture (engineers) to name only these few. These two sub-settings have in common the fact that there is no official policy underlying language use in them apart from the provision in the country's constitution.

3.2. *The informants*

The informants for this study were a total of 69 university students and 40 civil servants, in all 109 Anglophone Cameroonians. These informants had in common the fact that they were currently schooling at the University of Yaounde II or they were graduates of this institution.

3.3. *Method of data collection*

The questionnaire was the main method of data collection. Two questionnaires were used, one for the students, and the other for workers. The students' questionnaire, reproduced in Appendix I, is a 24-item document devised to check the use of French and English in this university. The workers' questionnaire, reproduced in Appendix II, is a nine-item document designed to check language use in the places of work of high-ranking Anglophone civil servants. The data obtained from these two questionnaires were supplemented by information obtained through participant observation, interviews and informal discussions.

3.4. *Research framework*

The framework underlying the study is a juxtaposition of elements drawn from the works of Fishman (1970), Huallachain (1970), Garcia (1997), Baker (2001) and a few other bilingual education specialists. Actually, the bilingual education programme in Cameroon does not fall into any of the ten patterns outlined by Baker. It is not submersion bilingual education, it is not transitional bilingual education, it is not mainstream bilingual education; it is not any known bilingual education programme. It is unique, hence the necessity of adapting existing frameworks to describe it.

4. Data analysis

This section analyses the returns, paying attention to how language is used in each of the sub-settings presented above.

4.1. *Linguistic background of the informants*

The analysis of the first three items of the students' questionnaire confirmed the choice of the informants: they had studied in English and were holders of the GCE A' level. (Q4) asked these students to indicate how prepared they were to follow lectures in French in their university. Strangely enough, 95% of the 69 respondents claimed that they were ill-prepared to follow lectures in French. This finding contradicts the 1961 policy makers of Cameroon, who had thought that, by the time students leave secondary level education in Cameroon, they would have become competent in the two official languages of the country.

4.2. *Reports on language use in the classroom*

Concerning language use in the classroom, many questions were asked. For example, Q5-6 asked the students to indicate the number of courses they were taught in a school year and in which language(s) these courses were taught. It was found that in this university, 67% to 100% of courses were taught in French and the remainder, if any, were taught in English. Actually, language selection in this institution is done on the basis of availability of teachers. When a new post is open, the institution selects the best candidate irrespective of whether this candidate is Francophone or Anglophone. Besides, lecturers' skills in the second official language (OL2) are never alluded to during recruitment, let alone being tested. Q7-8 inquired about the number of different teachers the informants had and about the number who taught in French and in English. They were asked whether these teachers provided summaries of their lectures in one language when they taught in the other. It was found that in the eight courses that they were taught in French, the lecturers never summarised their lectures in English. Conversely, in the four courses taught by Anglophone lecturers in English, summaries in French were provided; occasionally the Anglophone lecturers got carried away while delivering some lectures and, as a result, found themselves teaching a good chunk of these lectures in French.

4.3. *Reports on classroom activities*

Q11-12 focused on one aspect of classroom activities, namely note taking; these questions enquired about the language or languages in which the respondents took down notes when a course was taught in English and when a course was taught in French (Q12). It turned out that, when a course was taught in French, these students took down notes in French (95% of 69 respondents). A few respondents said that they translated the notes into English as the teachers lectured. Unfortunately, there was no time to check this claim. Q13-14 focused on the languages in which examination questions were set by lecturers and answered by students. It was reported that all lecturers teaching in English set their examination questions in English and all lecturers teaching in French set their questions in French. As for answering examination questions (Q15-16), the respondents reported that when questions were set in French, they answered them in French (5% of 69), in English (90%), or in either language (5%). Q17 asked respondents to indicate whether these respondents were generally satisfied with the grading of their scripts written in English by Francophone lecturers. It turned out that 70% of the 69 respondents were dissatisfied with their marks when their scripts were graded by Francophone lecturers. Informal discussions in English with these Francophone lecturers seem to indicate that their level of competence in English may not be high enough for them to be capable of grading scripts in English effectively. Unfortunately, no formal test has ever been carried out to check this.

4.4. *Respondents' life on campus*

The respondents were asked to indicate what language(s) they spoke when discussing a lecture taught in French with an Anglophone classmate (Q18) and when discussing a lecture taught in English with an Anglophone classmate (Q19). Many informants skipped these questions. But participant observation showed that in francophone-anglophone interactions, the language used was exclusively French while in anglophone-anglophone interactions, codeswitching involving French, English and Pidgin

English, a popular lingua franca (Kouega 2002) was common. Q20 asked respondents to look at the notices put up in their Department, Faculty or University and to indicate the languages in which these notices were generally written. It was found that these notices (for example changes in the timetables, lost and found properties, seminar and tutorials schedules etc) were generally written in French and occasionally in both French and English. On close inspection, it was found that when notices were posted in both French and English, they usually dealt with students' school fees i.e. deadline for payment, advantages one derived from paying one's fees in time, risk of expulsion from examination halls etc. Q21-22 asked the respondents to indicate the languages with which they usually interacted with their faculty staff and the language with which their university officials generally communicated with students at meetings. It was found that French was the only language used in these contexts, even when these officials were English-speaking. Q23 asked the respondents whether they had ever been discriminated upon solely because they spoke English. It turned out that they had never been discriminated upon, but occasionally, they were pitied by their Francophone classmates, who felt that they suffered a lot, since lecturers did not take into account the linguistic problems that their students faced.

4.5. *Respondents' life off-campus*

Q24 focused on the off-campus life of these students. They were asked to consider their closest neighbours in their residences and to indicate whether these neighbours were mainly Anglophones, mainly Francophones or mainly a mixture of both. It was found that the vast majority of Francophones had Francophone neighbours and Anglophones had Anglophone neighbours. In fact, participant observation showed that there existed many linguistic enclaves in and around this university campus. In these enclaves, one can communicate freely in one single language, which is French for Francophones and Pidgin English – and occasionally English – for Anglophones (Kouega 2002), with French-English bilingualism among students being totally non-existent.

4.6. *Language use by Anglophone civil servants*

Q25-27 asked the 40 Anglophone civil servants to indicate the languages in which they spoke with their superiors, equals and subordinates in dyadic interactions, and Q28 inquired about the language they used during meetings and work sessions. It turned out that in these contexts, French was dominant. These informants were also asked to indicate the common language of incoming correspondence (Q29) and of outgoing correspondence (Q30). 80% of the 40 respondents reported that their incoming mails were generally written in French and 99% disclosed that their outgoing mails were written in French. These figures confirm the fact that in Cameroon, Anglophone civil servants must have a working knowledge of French in order to operate fully in the community; however, the reverse is not true, as Francophones can operate with little or no English.

5. Discussion

From the analysis outlined above, it can be concluded that the type of bilingual education described here is not planned. First Anglophones who are holders of the GCE A' Level claim that they cannot follow courses in French; this is due to the fact at the secondary school level, very little competence in French is acquired during the seven years of schooling. The common reason put forward to account for the students' poor performance in their second official language at this level include: shortage of qualified teachers, large classrooms, poor teaching methods, low student and teacher motivation, absence of a clear language policy for the country, to cite only these. Secondly, the language of interaction on campus is exclusively French, which makes it difficult for someone with limited French to operate fully in that environment. Thirdly the practice that started up in the university continues in professional life: Anglophone civil servants must use French in dyadic interactions with superiors, equals and subordinates; they receive incoming mails written in French and they process these mails in French. In short, these Anglophone workers operate fully in French, which is not the case with their francophone counterparts.

6. Conclusion

This study has reported on language use among Anglophone students schooling at the University of Yaounde II at Soa and among former graduates of this university currently working in the Cameroon civil service and has reached a number of interesting conclusions. In this university, there are a greater number of courses taught in French and of teachers using French than there are in English. Communication on campus is exclusively in French, which makes it difficult for someone with limited French to operate fully in that environment. This dominance of French on campus enables Anglophone students to pick up the language in a relatively short lapse of time. When these Anglophone students eventually move to professional life, they have no difficulty working in French with their francophone collaborators. If Cameroon government is serious about the development of its official bilingualism policy, it should apply the reverse of this practice so that Francophone citizens should become proficient in English. In concrete terms, a greater number of courses should be taught in English in this university and in similar institutions so that Francophone people should pick up English.

The study has described a situation where the teaching of content materials in French has been one of the significant factors that have contributed to the enhancement of the proficiency in French of Anglophone students. It can therefore be postulated that, at tertiary level, the teaching of content materials in a given language can increase the competence in that language of students speaking a different language. Put in more concrete terms, the teaching of content materials in English can potentially enhance the proficiency in English of university students having as their first language (L1), such languages as Italian, German, Spanish, French, to cite only these few.

Appendix I (Questionnaire for students)

Section I.

1. Are you a holder of the GCE A' Level?
2. What is your faculty called?
3. What is your present level of study (Level 1, 2, 3, 4 or 5?)
4. Are you prepared to follow lectures in French and English (or were you prepared when you came in)?
   Any comment?

Section II.

5. How many (different) courses are you supposed to have in both the first and second semester this year?
6. How many of these courses are taught in French? How many are taught in English?
7. How many lecturers are there in your present class?
8. How many of these lecturers teach in English? How many of them teach in French?
9. When a teacher teaches in French, does he summarise what he says in English?
10. When a teacher teaches in English, does he summarise what he says in French?
    Any comment?

Section III.

11. When a teacher teaches in English, in what language do you take down your notes?
12. When a teacher teaches in French, in what language do you take down your notes?
13. When a teacher teaches in English, in what language does she/he set examination questions?
14. When a teacher teaches in French, in what language does she/he set examination questions?
15. When examinations are set in English, in what language do you write these examinations?
16. When examinations are set in French, in what language do you write these examinations?
17. Are you generally satisfied with the grading of your scripts by lecturers whose first official language is your second official language – yes or no?
18. When you have to discuss a course taught in French with an Anglophone classmate, in what language do you exchange ideas?
19. When you have to discuss a course taught in English with an Anglophone classmate, in what language do you exchange ideas?
    Any comment?
20. Look at the notices put up in your department, faculty or university. In what language are they generally written?
    Any comment?
21. In what language do you generally interact with university staff?
22. In what language do university staff usually interact with students?
23. Have you ever been discriminated upon (e.g. poor treatment, abuse, etc) simply because you speak a different first official language?
    Any comment?

Section IV.

24. Consider your closest neighbours in your residences. Are they mainly Anglophones, mainly Francophones or mainly a mixture of both?
    Any comment?

Appendix II (Questionnaire for civil servants)

(To facilitate cross-referencing, the nine questions below are numbered from 25.)

25. How long have you been working in the civil service for?
26. When you were a student at the University of Yaounde II, was the majority of lectures taught in French as is the case today?
27. In your place of work, in what language do you usually speak with your superiors?
28. In your place of work, in what language do you usually speak with your equals?
29. In your place of work, in what language do you usually speak with your inferiors?
30. In your place of work, what language do you generally use during meetings and work sessions?
31. In your place of work, what is the common language in which incoming mails are written?
32. In your place of work, what is the common language in which outgoing mails are written?
33. Do you feel that you can communicate effectively in English and in French?

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Analysing Communication Inside and Outside the Classroom

Plurilingual Talk-in-interaction in an Initial Teacher Training CLIL Class

Melinda Dooly and Emilee Moore[1]
Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Since the fall of the Spanish dictatorship, Catalan public universities have played an important role in maintaining the use of Catalan. They have partly taken on the mission of giving the language prestige for disseminating knowledge and for 'doing science'. Catalan is considered the vehicular language of all public universities in Catalonia, with Spanish being a co-official language.

Since the widespread promotion of the Bologna process in the EU, new discourses have appeared at Catalan universities. These include the need to foster excellence in higher education, to capture students from around the world, to promote research in conjunction with the business world, etc., as well as encouraging English for certain academic activities, such as the teaching of subject content through a foreign language (CLIL).

In this article, we study interaction in a university CLIL science education lesson. Our analysis explores how participants categorise languages and draw on multilingual resources to engage in talk-in-interaction (construct knowledge, negotiate authority, make jokes, carry our meta-linguistic tasks, etc.).

Keywords: CLIL, multilingualism, classroom interaction, Catalonia

1. Contextualisation of the research

Over the past 20 years, Catalan society has experienced significant demographic and economic changes – led by Barcelona, the capital city – which have had an impact on the sociolinguistic situation in the region (Nussbaum 2005). Barcelona has changed from being an industrial city, to become a centre for tourism and services, attracting a large fluctuating population (tourists, students, executives, artists, etc.). The bilingualism that was officially instated after the Spanish dictatorship has evolved into trilingualism (Catalan, Spanish and English) in certain spaces. On the other hand, the region receives a significant number of immigrants from diverse regions of the world. This immigration also brings about changes in the sociolinguistic configuration and in day to day language practices, which are visible and audible in cosmopolitan urban spaces.

Since the fall of the dictatorship, Catalan public universities have played an important role in maintaining the social use of the Catalan language, in the sense that they have taken on, in part, the mission of giving the language prestige as a medium for disseminating knowledge and for doing science. Catalan is considered the indigenous language of all public universities in Catalonia, with Spanish being a co-official language.

1 This paper is based on the combined research efforts of the following members of the Grup de Recerca en Ensenyament i Interaccions Plurilingues (GREIP, http://greip.uab.cat) from the UAB: Luci Nussbaum (coordinator), Eva Codó, Víctor Corona, Melinda Dooly, Emilee Moore and Virgínia Unamuno.

With the beginning of the Bologna process, new discourses have been created at universities about the need to construct higher education institutions of excellence, to capture students from around the world, to promote research with companies, etc. Discourses about the need to display innovative practices and promote strategies for the university community to adopt English for particular activities have also emerged.

The trilingual classroom sequence analysed here was audio and video recorded at a Catalan University in a CLIL Science Education subject. This subject is part of an educational innovation project, which in turn stems from increasingly large-scale promotion of courses in a L2 at the university. Such promotion is aimed not only at improving autochthonous students' competence in English, but also at attracting foreign students to the university. This fact was made clear by a language policy officer in a speech made in November 2007 at a session organised to reflect on current and future language policies at the UAB, shown in extracts 1 and 2 below:

Extract 1:

Officer: parlar justament del plurilingüisme perquè ara el tema és molt més estratègic\(.) el futur de la universitat i el futur de la internacionalització i de la possibilitat d'intercanvis/(.) es juga (.) amb l'ús de l'anglès i d'altres llengües\(.) amb l'ús bàsic en aquest sentit\ (1) l'anglès en primer lloc no ens enganyem no es que:e hi hagi-(.) també us puc explicar amb una anècdota (.) e:m tenim un acord per fer joint degrees amb la universitat de XXX però ja ens ho van dir\(.) Barcelona és interessant\(.) Barcelona ens interessa\(.) tenim coses en comú\(.) però sigueu conscients\(.) o feu cursos\(.) en anglès\(.) o els nostres alumnes\(.) no: vindran\(.) perquè el que és segur és que el 99 per cent d'entrada(.) no sabrà ni castellà ni català\(.) per tant o venen en un entorn en que (.) es belluguen en anglès i a més a més els oferiu altres coses i aleshores potser aprendran (.) una mica de català i castellà\ (.) altrament no vindran\(.)

Translation of Extract 1:

Officer: now the topic is more strategic\(.) the future of the university and the future of internationalisation and the possibility of exchange/(.) is played out (.) with the use of English and other languages\(.) with basic use in this sense\ (1) English firstly let's not deceive ourselves it's not tha:t there's-(.) I can also tell you an anecdote (.) a:h we have an agreement to do joint degrees with the university of XXX but they already told us\(.) Barcelona is interesting\(.) Barcelona interests us\(.) we have things in common\ (.) but be aware\(.) you either do courses\(.) in English\(.) or our students\ (.) wo:n't come\(.) because what's sure it that 99 per cent to begin (.) won't know Spanish or Catalan\(.) therefore they come in an environment in which (.) they move about in English and also you offer them other courses and then maybe they'll learn (.) a little Spanish and Catalan\(.) if not they won't come\(.)

Extract 2:

Officer: el tema del coneixement de l'anglès\(.) que és un tema urgent (.) i pel contrari/(.) en quatre càlculs vam dir que si fos veritat el que s'ha posat com criteri pel tema de Bolonya\(.) que hauríem d'exigir al final del procés (.) que una de les capacitats i habilitats adquirides/(.) demostrablement/(.) que és el que diu Bolonya fos (1) l'anglès\(.)

Translation of Extract 2:

```
Officer: the topic of knowledge of English\(.) which is an urgent topic
(.) and on the contrary/(.) with some simple calculations we said that
if it were true that it has been made a criteria for Bologna\(.) that we
would have to require at the end of the process (.) that one of the ca-
pacities and abilities acquired/(.) demonstrably/(.) which is what Bolo-
gna says were (1) English\(.)
```

2. Research description and questions

The GREIP team's research into the management of multilingualism at Catalan universities comes under the umbrella of the DYLAN project, a European project that involves 20 research institutions in 12 European Countries (Language Dynamics and Management of Diversity: www.dylan-project.org). The DYLAN project aims to identify the conditions under which Europe's linguistic diversity can be an asset rather than a drawback by taking a close look at three terrains: companies, EU institutions, and educational systems (namely, tertiary education).

The project's analytical framework is organised around four sets of variables: language practices; representations of multilingualism and linguistic diversity; language policies implemented by the authorities and language strategies of private sector companies; and the linguistic environment in which actors operate. Within this framework, the GREIP research team concentrated its efforts over the first year of this five-year project on describing the context and on exploring the categorisations of languages – and especially Catalan, Spanish and English – as of plurilingualism in general, that emerge both in local interactional practices, as well as in language policies and in official discourses.

3. Analytical and theoretical conceptions

In this section, we very briefly outline our approach to data collection and analysis. In regard to the collection of data, we take a qualitative, ethnographic approach, primarily focussing on naturally occurring interactional data. We aim at an emic perspective in deciding what contextual elements and focus events are relevant or not, drawing on the knowledge of insiders (Goodwin & Duranti 1992) and on the data. The fact that we have been researching a context (the UAB) in which we are, ourselves, insiders means that the research context we construct is also based on our own knowledge and experience of the research setting. As Goodwin & Duranti (1992: 25) point out, "the ethnographer attempts a description of what seem to be the most important dimensions of the event, on the basis of culturally defined categories, before or while engaging in linguistic interpretation".

As for our approach to the analysis of data, we find the approaches of Interactional Sociolinguistics (Gumperz & Hymes 1972; Gumperz 1982) and Conversation Analysis (Sacks 1972; 1992) particularly useful. These disciplines allow us to describe the methods through which individuals make sense of, and carry out, day to day actions through language. We believe that it is through in-depth, sequential analysis of the form and content of an interaction that we may understand how situated, context-bound meaning-making processes are carried out by speakers and listeners in interaction. Specifically, we understand that the study of categorisations (Sacks 1992; Watson 1997; Mondada 1999; Psathas 1999) and of conversational code-switching (Auer 1984; 1998; Mondada 2007; Nussbaum 1990) is extremely relevant in order to understand uses of languages and of plurilingualism in our data.

4. Data description

Eva Codó and Emilee Moore from the GREIP team were responsible for the collection of the CLIL classroom data presented in this paper. Contact was established prior to the commencement of the academic year with the teacher of the science education subject, in the degree in primary school teaching. The teacher agreed to our attendance in her classes, which she taught in English, and which she referred to as a CLIL class. The first hour of the class consisted of a theory lesson with the whole group. The class then split in half for lab work sessions, with one group attending the first hour and the other attending the second hour. In the lab, students worked in smaller groups of between 3 and 5 students. After observing the first class of the academic year in order to take field notes, get a feel for classroom arrangement and choose subject groups, the researchers returned in the second week to record in the lab. The recordings were made in both video and audio format, with the help of a technician. Student consent was obtained to use the data for research and dissemination purposes. Text sources were also collected from the class and referred to in the process of transcription and analysis.

5. Analysis of multilingualism as a resource in CLIL classroom interaction

In this sequence, participants are working in a group of 4 female students and 1 male student. They were discussing and formulating questions they could ask primary school pupils about apples in order to relate those questions to the views of science they represented. The extract is part of a longer sequence of 129 turns, which begins with Laia and Sandra both proposing a possible question. Previous to this extract, Laia's proposal had been dealt with. After the question proposed by Laia has been finished, Sandra goes on to recover her proposal (turn 26), which had to do with the 'reproduction' of apples, with the topic change marked by her "*now*" in turn 26. Laia's laugh in turn 29 suggests the term may be awkward, as does Sergi's "*e::h*" in the turn 30. In turns 28 and 32, Sandra modifies *"the reproduction"* to *"the way of reproducing",* but still unsure of the appropriate formulation of the concept she draws on Spanish to request help ("*tu sabes*" – do you know) from her peers at the end of turn 32.

Extract 3:

```
26. sandra: NOW\ (.) the repro- (.)
27. laia:   °sí°\ (.)
            °yes°\ (.)
28. sandra: the  [way of reproducing\ (.)
29. laia:        [sí xxxx\ (.) ((laughs))
                 [yes xxxx\ (.) ((laughs))
30. sergi:  e::h(.)
31. laia:   ((laughs))
32. sandra: the way of reproducing\(.) or: the way of(..) °tu sabes/(.)
            xxxx\(.)
            the way of reproducing\(.) or: the way of(..) °do you know/(.)
            xxxx\(.)
33. sergi:  hm:(..)
34. maria:  com creixen\(.)
            how they grow\(.)
35. sandra: how grow up\(.) how the apples reproduce\(.)
36. laia:   grow\(.)
37. sandra: they\(.) °es que no sé cómo decirlo°\ (..)
            they\(.) °it's that I don't know how to say it°\ (..)
((sergi leans over and takes the recorder and speaks into it))
38. sergi:  com es diu reproduir\(.)
            how do you say reproduce\(.)
39. all:    ((laugh))
40. sandra: ((laughing) es reproduce\(.)   [es reproduce\)
            ((laughing) it's reproduce\(.) [it's reproduce\)
41. sergi:                                 [how- how do the apples
            reproduce/(.)
42. sandra: es reproduce\(.)
            it's reproduce\(.)
```

The interaction thus continues to deal with the difficulty in expressing the idea of the "reproduction" of apples. In turn 34, Maria introduces an alternative, in Catalan ("*com creixen*" – "how they grow"). Sandra switches back to English in the following turn, opting for her original (although modified) question using the word "*reproduce*". In turn 36, Laia retakes "*grow*". In turn 37, Sandra offers "*they*" although she doubts as to how to continue, again switching to Spanish to request help with a language related difficulty ("*es que no sé cómo decirlo*" – I don't know how to say it). After a silence, Sergi takes the voice recorder off the table and asks a question directly into the recorder, in Catalan ("*com es diu reproduir*" – how do you say reproduce). After laughter, Sandra asserts that reproduce is the correct term. In turn 41, Sergi offers "*how do the apples reproduce*" with rising intonation, which is accepted by Sandra in turn 42, who reaffirms both that the correct term is "*reproduce*" and legitimises Sergi in his role of 'expert' in the group.

In the above fragment, we can observe how a language problem is overcome in interaction, an interaction which moves between the central task of writing questions as imagined future teachers, in which English is categorised as the dominant (official) language, and side 'student' sequences of solving language related difficulties, making jokes and managing the discourse in which an array of verbal and non-verbal resources are drawn on. The above sequence also suggests that content learning is highly integrated with language learning, as the participants' problem seemed to be not only how to word the question, but also how to word the concept of the growth cycle of an apple. This metacognitive work endures in the continuation of the sequence, which begins with Maria seeking clarification as to whether the term to write down is reproduce or not (turn 43):

Extract 4:

43. maria: reproduce/ =
44. sergi: =itself/(.)
45. sandra: *es lo que te decía*\(.)
it's what I was telling you\(.)
46. sergi: ((all writing) <ho:w
47. sergi: do:=
48. maria: =**no es tracta de traduir-ho**=
=it's not about translating it=
49. sergi: =the: apples: (..) repro- repro:>
50. sandra: how do the apples\(.)
51. laia: how do the apples/(.)
52. sergi: themselves/(.)
53. maria: reproduce themselves\(.))
54. sandra: *queda muy mal esto de* [themselves *aquí*/
does it fit really bad this [themselves here/
55. laia: [***sí***\(.) how do the apples-
[yes\(.) how do the apples-
56. sandra: xxxxxx(..) *no no no es* themselves\ (.)
xxxxxx(..) it's not not not themselves\ (.)
57. maria: itself\(.)
58. sandra: *si no es* themselves [*pero* xxxx
if it's not themselves [but xxxx
59. sergi: [it's- it's themselves\(.)
60. sandra: *ya pero-*
yeah but-
61. sergi: it's themselves\(.) [ai::
62. sandra: [*pero que no se reproducen* xxx (.)
que no se reproducen themselves\(..)
[but they don't reproduce xxx (.)
they don't reproduce themselves\(..)
63. sergi: no/(.) [*y qué hacen*\
no/(.) [and what do they do\
64. sandra: [how do the apples reproduce *ya está*\(.) or grew or grow\(.)
[how do the apples reproduce that's it\(.) or grew or grow\(.)
65. laia: *o* themselves *y en parentesis*\(..)
or themselves and in brackets\(..)
66. sergi: what are the parts of the growing of the apple/(.)
67. maria: **ja està**:\(.)
that's it\(.)

In the above extract, we can observe how a problem with the translation of the Spanish (*reproducirse*) or Catalan (*reproduir-se*) reflexive verb leads to an extended discussion over whether the verb should be reflexive or not in English. Additionally, the participants are bringing into play their knowledge of science content. In other words, the problem is not only the verb, but also the concept of whether apples in fact reproduce themselves, if they simply grow, etc. In turn 62, Sandra makes this clear to her peers, telling them that apples do not reproduce themselves ("*que no se reproducen themselves*" – they don't reproduce themselves). In turn 63 Sergi asks her to explain what they do, to which Sandra replies in turn 64 that they just reproduce; they do not reproduce *themselves*. She provides another linguistic option to express the concept, being that they *grow*. Laia, in turn 65 suggests putting *themselves* in brackets. In turn 66, Sergi suggests another option, being "*what are the parts of the growing of the apple*", which is accepted by Maria in the final turn ("*ja està*" – that's it). This codeswitch by Maria into Catalan suggests that Maria was content with the outcome of the discussion and was ready to change the topic.

6. Discussion

In the sequence of student interaction presented above, the metalinguistic work carried out by students (reproduce itself/themselves, grows, etc.) soon incorporates metacognitive processes to deal with the subject-related content. Student interaction would seem to create a favourable framework for dealing with both the metalinguistic and metacognitive task and provide novel tools for the construction and for the problematisation of knowledge (Gajo 2007). In the sequence analysed, plurilingualism, which may appear to the outside observer as an obstacle, would seem to be categorised as a resource for subject knowledge construction from the point of view of participants. Furthermore, plurilingual resources allow participants to accomplish interactional discourse-related goals (Auer 1984; 1998) – such as to introduce jokes, specify the addressee, regulate the activity (*"sí", "ya está", "no es tracta de traduir-ho"*...) – and show personal preferences for one of the local languages (Maria switches to Catalan and Sandra to Spanish, being participant-related code-switching in Auer's view). However plurilingual uses also allow the analyst to discover how participants give social meaning to their resources. Thus, the use of Catalan and English (eg. Sergi's use of Catalan to speak to the voice recorder, the use of English for working on task) gives cues as to the categorisation of these languages as institutional or languages appropriate for addressing the teacher and/or the researcher.

In short, participants' use of multiple languages within a speech event is "une ressource mobilisée par les participants de manière contingente, localement située, sensible à l'organisation séquentielle de l'interaction en cours" (Mondada 2007: 169). This conception implies an emic perspective in the analysis, looking at how participants sequentially construct meaning through indexical practices, such as through plurilingual uses.

7. Final Remarks

As mentioned at the beginning of this paper, subjects taught through the medium of students' foreign language (in most cases English) are becoming more and more frequent in European higher education, with the aim being two-fold. On the one hand, such a strategy aims to favor student mobility and, on the other, to promote foreign language learning on behalf of local students.

Although such an approach would appear to favor monolingual practices in foreign languages, our research suggests that participant's plurilingual repertoires may flourish in concrete, informal classroom practices. Exploring plurilingualism-in-use is one of the aims of the DYLAN project; not only to describe it as a phenomenom but also to consider to what extent it may be perceived and put to use by individuals as an available resource for constructing scientific and professional knowledge.

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Annex: Transcription conventions

1. Intonation types:
    a. Falling: \
    b. Rising /
2. Pauses:
    a. Short: (.)
    b. Long: (..)
3. Overlapping: [text
4. Latching: =
5. Interruption: text-
6. Lengthening of a sound: text:
7. LOUD
8. °soft°
9. ‹slow›
10. ›fast‹
11. Transcriber's comments: ((text))
12. Incomprehensible fragment: XXXX
13. Languages
    a. Spanish
    b. Catalan
    c. Could be Spanish or Catalan
    d. English

Strategie di compensazione lessicale nel parlato accademico: una fenomenologia

Lorenzo Spreafico – Libera Università di Bolzano

This paper aims at presenting communication strategies as they emerge in academic speech. In particular it focuses on lexical compensation strategies - the tries made by native and non-native speakers to fill the difference between their communication needs and the vocabulary at their disposal - as used by students and tutors in college seminars held at an Italian multilingual university.

Keywords: communication strategies and the lexicon, academic speech in seminars

1. Introduzione[1]

Alto è il numero di parlanti che, nel corso della propria esistenza, si scontrano con l'impossibilità di individuare le parole adatte per esprimere un concetto oppure con l'incapacità di comprendere il significato di una parola ignota.

In proporzione tuttavia ancora più elevato è il numero di coloro che, abituali frequentatori dell'università, si confrontano con questa situazione. Infatti l'accademia è la sede deputata allo sviluppo di nuove conoscenze complesse (Ciliberti 1999: 17) e alla loro trasmissione attraverso sottocodici "caratterizzati, oltre che dal lessico tecnico, da usi formali della lingua" (Berretta 1991: 101).

Ancora più consistente, infine, è il numero di quanti, inseriti in un contesto bi- o multilingue si scontrano con questa difficoltà. Infatti, soprattutto laddove manchi una politica linguistica capace di contingentare i diversi codici linguistici utilizzabili durante l'interazione, oppure laddove ne viga una che ammette l'uso di più lingue, ciò si traduce nella necessità di gestire un vocabolario plurilingue necessariamente caratterizzato dalla presenza di un numero elevato di lessemi[2].

Nonostante i *deficit* lessicali interessino tanto i docenti quanto i discenti, nonostante essi costituiscano un ostacolo grave per la comunicazione e nonostante si assista a una costante crescita nel numero e nella qualità delle ricerche sul lessico[3], ancora oggi lo studio delle strategie di compensazione lessicale occupa uno spazio piuttosto marginale nella linguistica applicata.

In questo contributo tratteremo della tematica cercando di integrare fin dove possibile le osservazioni contenute in ricerche di analisi della conversazione –si pen-

1 L'autore desidera ringraziare i Curatori di questo volume e Giuliano Bernini per i loro preziosi commenti e suggerimenti. Va da sé che eventuali mancanze e inesattezze sono da attribuirsi a lui solo.

2 Hazemberg & Hulstin (1996) collocano a diecimila la soglia minima di lemmi nederlandesi necessari per esprimersi e comprendere nelle università olandesi.

3 Si vedano, per il solo ambito italiano, i recenti volumi curati da Barni, Troncarelli & Bagna (2007); Bernini, Spreafico & Valentini (2008); Cresti (2008) e i numerosi contributi in essi contenuti.

si ai lavori di Lüdi (1987; 1991) sul *travail lexical* o al più recente studio di Miecznikowski (2005) sulle sequenze metalessicali– con quelle elaborate in seno agli studi sull'acquisizione del lessico in L1 ed L2. In particolare, partendo dalle osservazioni di Broeder *et alii* (1985), presenteremo una fenomenologia delle strategie di compensazione lessicale così come ricavabile dall'analisi di sequenze di parlato accademico non frontale che possa costituire il punto di partenza vuoi per descrizioni dettagliate delle pratiche comunicative in contesto multilingue, vuoi per verifiche empiriche di elaborazioni teoriche quali quelle sulla strutturazione del lessico mentale, vuoi per riflessioni traducibili in pratiche didattiche.

2. Attività didattiche non frontali

La volontà di limitare l'indagine alle sole attività accademiche non frontali consegue quasi naturalmente dall'osservazione delle peculiarità di questa forma di interazione.

Lezioni frontali e attività seminariali costituiscono le due forme di istruzione più diffuse nell'insegnamento universitario. Le prime, dominanti per lo più nelle fasi iniziali dei corsi di studio, sono finalizzate alla trasmissione di nuove conoscenze agli apprendenti e sono caratterizzate dalla presenza di turni estesi di parlato monologico del docente (cfr. Ciliberti & Anderson 1999; Veronesi 2009). Le attività seminariali invece, poiché richiedono ai partecipanti un maggiore coinvolgimento cognitivo, sono di massima confinate negli ultimi anni di corso. Infatti questo genere di attività didattiche non frontali – che comprende seminari, esercitazioni e *tutorials*[4] – è volta alla "comprensione approfondita degli argomenti in oggetto" perseguita attraverso la discussione "più o meno orchestrata dal docente con un incoraggiamento alla formulazione di opinioni, critiche e valutazioni" (Piazza 1999: 135; cfr. anche Baumgart 1974; Tapper 1992; Benwell 1996; Benwell & Stokoe 2002).

In virtù di queste finalità le interazioni tra i partecipanti sono solitamente caratterizzate da frequenti sollecitazioni di processo, piuttosto che, come nel caso di attività didattiche frontali, da sollecitazioni di prodotto. Ciò risulta abbastanza chiaramente anche da due frammenti rinvenuti tra i dati analizzati (esempi 1, 2) ugualmente caratterizzati dalla presenza di riformulazioni del docente finalizzate a stimolare una risposta da parte degli studenti che mostrano chiaramente come ad alimentare e dirigere la conversazione siano i tutori[5] che elaborano soprattutto domande speculative (Kearsley 1976) mirate a elicitare il pensiero dei parlanti.

4 Mancano in letteratura definizioni condivise di seminario, esercitazione o *tutorial*. Le poche disponibili fanno solitamente riferimento alle finalità delle attività in esame –dunque al loro essere sedi di costruzione della conoscenza–, piuttosto che alle proprietà interazionali delle stesse. In tal senso infatti l'unico parametro generalmente considerato è quello del numero di partecipanti all'interazione, che tuttavia ci pare insufficiente. Riteniamo infatti che sarebbe più utile integrare le caratterizzazioni quantitativa con informazioni relative perlomeno al canale (solitamente quello del parlato), alla costellazione dei partecipanti e alla sua strutturazione (il *tenor,* nei termini di Halliday 1978) così da poter abbozzare una definizione di genere.

5 Sebbene il termine *tutor* andrebbe utilizzato esclusivamente per far riferimento al coordinatore di attività didattiche di sostegno (Jacques 1984) in questa sede lo sfrutteremo per indicare il regista designato (peraltro non necessariamente coincidente con quello effettivo) di ciascuna attività didattica non frontale analizzata (Orletti 2000).

(1) PC1, 42:43

```
TUA     come si fa a: a smentire un pettegolezzo?
        (2.170)
TUA     bo
        (2.820)
TUA     smentire il pettegolezzo secondo voi come si fa? cioè se se
        uno mette ‘n giro un pettegolezzo: su: su di voi eh: vi arriva
        all’orecchio: ma come? non è vera questa cosa qui. cosa: cosa fai
        per smentire un pettegolezzo?
```

(2) AC2, 25:08

```
TUB     was würden sie zum beispiel als paternalismus äh in diesem sozia-
        len umfeld [//]
        (1.110)
TUB     beschreiben
        was wäre da paternalismus?
        (3.190)
TUB     wie würde man das erklären?
```

Proprio sollecitazioni di questo tipo, che impongono allo studente di elaborare e organizzare un discorso e quindi, contestualmente, di selezionare i lessemi adatti per assolvere al compito comunicativo, fanno sì che le attività didattiche non frontali rappresentino il punto di partenza ideale per l’osservazione delle strategie di compensazione delle eventuali lacune lessicali.

3. Dati

Al fine di offrire una caratterizzazione delle strategie di compensazione lessicale presentiamo l’analisi di una porzione di dati ricavati da un più ampio campione di parlato accademico elaborato in seno all’unità di ricerca di Bolzano del progetto europeo DYLAN[6]. I dati, raccolti con il consenso dei partecipanti e da noi trascritti impiegando il software Elan[7] e le convenzioni di trascrizione CA-CHAT[8], riguardano una serie di attività accademiche presentate come “seminario” nel manifesto agli studi dell’anno accademico 2006-2007 della Facoltà di Scienze della Formazione della Libera Università di Bolzano.

Le modalità di interazione e la costellazione dei partecipanti alle diverse attività considerate (quattro nel complesso) è variabile[9]. Al primo seminario analizzato (PC1) partecipano un *tutor*[10] - parlante nativo di italiano[11] - e un gruppo di studentesse sudtirolesi di madrelingua tedesca[12]. L’interazione didattica si svolge in maniera articolata: dopo una prima

6 Per maggiori informazioni sul progetto DYLAN (*Language dynamics and management of diversity*) cfr. la pagina web http://www.dylan-project.org.

7 Informazioni sul sistema di annotazione multimediale ELAN sono disponibili sul sito del Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics di Nimega alla pagina web http://www.lat-mpi.eu/tools/elan.

8 Sul sistema di trascrizione CA-CHAT cfr. la pagina web http://childes.psy.cmu.edu/manuals/chat.pdf e l’appendice posta a conclusione del saggio.

9 Per una più articolata discussione delle scelte di lingua sia permesso rimandare a Veronesi & Spreafico 2009.

10 Il codice parlante utilizzato per identificarlo è TUA.

11 Il docente risulta essere competente anche in inglese, come riportato nel *curriculum vitae* personale ufficiale.

12 L’analisi dei dati (cfr. *infra*) mostra che le studentesse sono variamente competenti anche in italiano.

fase di discussione comune dedicata alla risoluzione di un problema pratico (l'irreperibilità di un libro di testo), il *tutor* dà inizio all'attività didattica vera e propria, dapprima proponendo lo svolgimento di un gioco di ruolo teso a coinvolgere le partecipanti e a fornire materiale spendibile per il resto dell'incontro, quindi chiedendo loro di commentare le attività. Successivamente il *tutor* espone alcuni assunti teorici di base della materia trattata. Infine, prima di congedare definitivamente le partecipanti, riprende la discussione del problema pratico iniziale e raccoglie commenti sullo svolgimento del corso.

Gli altri seminari analizzati, invece, sono guidati da un parlante nativo della locale varietà di tedesco[13] (TUB) competente in numerose altre lingue[14] e frequentati da un gruppo di studenti sudtirolesi parlanti nativi di tedesco variamente competenti anche in italiano e inglese. In un solo caso, quello del seminario (EC1), partecipa anche una parlante sudtirolese nativa di italiano con avanzate competenze di tedesco.

La prima delle attività coordinate da TUB (EC1) è strutturata in tre momenti: anzitutto la presentazione di un *Referat* (relazione) da parte della studentessa italofona; quindi una breve discussione collettiva del lavoro; infine un intervento marcatamente frontale del *tutor*.

La seconda (AC1) e la terza attività (AC2) sono invece caratterizzate da due quasi-monologhi del *tutor* dovuti all'apparentemente inusuale ritrosia degli studenti ad interagire, come comprovato dal passaggio riportato in (3).

(3) AC2, 24:47

```
TUB     also sie haben noch °nicht° ein kommentar?
        (4.450)
TUB     heute sind sie sehr schweigsam, warum?
        (3.100)
TUB     mh? (ride)
        (7.450)
TUB     ja. okay ich wollte noch kurz über diese universität ,was sagen
```

4. Analisi dei dati

Analizzando i dati elicitati e muovendo dal modello di Broeder *et alii* (1995) in parte integrato con altre osservazioni è possibile avanzare una proposta di analisi delle strategie di compensazione cui si affidano i parlanti coinvolti nelle diverse attività seminariali (figura 1)[15].

13 Per una descrizione della situazione linguistica altoatesina cfr. Lanthaler (1990); Mioni (1990); Egger (2001). Per una caratterizzazione della varietà di tedesco cfr. quantomeno Wiesinger (1990) e Lanthaler (1997).

14 Rilevanti ai fini di questa ricerca sono tedesco standard *(Hochdeutsch)*, italiano e inglese.

15 Vista la ristretta quantità di informazioni raccolte risulta prematuro offrire qualsiasi analisi quantitativa dei dati, soprattutto alla luce dei promettenti sviluppi delle ricerche di statistica lessicale –si pensi al recente lavoro di Malvern *et alii* (2004)- che però richiedono di un campione più corposo di dati per poter essere dispiegate.

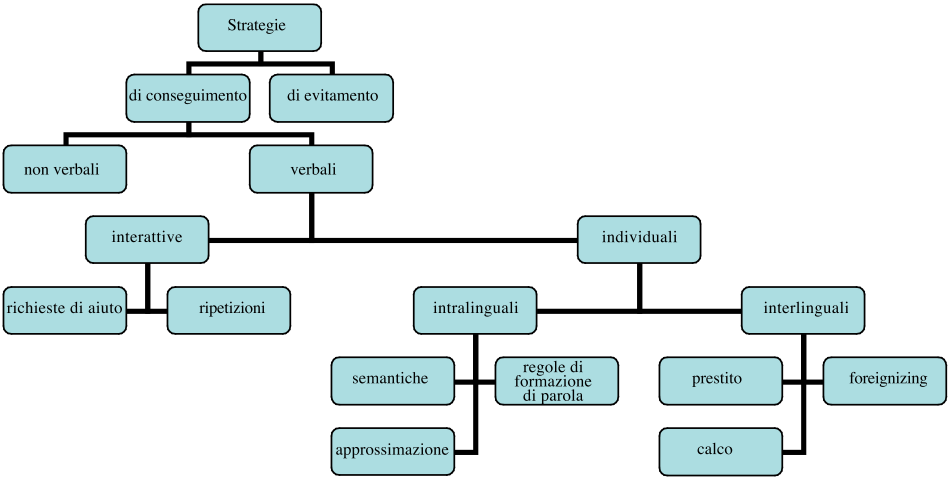

Fig. 1 – Strategie di compensazione lessicale: una proposta

Una prima generale distinzione è fatta tra le strategie di elusione e le strategie di conseguimento. Le prime si manifestano quando un partecipante cerca di esprimere il significando pur evitando la selezione di certi lessemi (Blum-Kulka & Levenston 1983: 122). Risulta difficile individuare nel campione indagato esempi significativi, probabilmente perché il contesto accademico in cui i dati sono stati raccolti sfavorisce o addirittura sanziona la messa in opera di strategie di questo genere, pena la perdita della faccia. Tuttavia, e vi torneremo in seguito, è comunque possibile riconoscere un caso di evitamento di argomento rappresentativo (es. 4), ovvero di abbandono del *topic* discorsivo da parte del parlante incapace di recuperare lessemi sufficienti per proseguire l'interazione.

(4) PC1, 17:18

```
STB     e tutti e due hanno ehm [//] non hanno frenato xx sono andati
        dritti CNV16 e ma tutti hanno suonato il clacson
STC     non ho capito niente
STB     e poi
        (2.440)
STB     ecco non mi ricordo di più
```

Accanto alle strategie di elusione si collocano le strategie di conseguimento che, al contrario di quelle, mirano al mantenimento dell'obiettivo comunicativo pianificato. Tra le numerose strategie di conseguimento sfruttate dai parlanti è anzitutto possibile distinguere quelle verbali da quelle non verbali. In queste ultime, la comunicazione è salvaguardata adottando forme di comunicazione non verbale ov-

16 CNV = comunicazione non verbale. Ad avambracci piegati, paralleli al terreno e con il palmo delle mani rivolto verso l'interno la parlante muove le braccia allontanandole simultaneamente dal tronco, come a indicare un movimento lungo dei binari.

vero affidando la trasmissione del messaggio al canale visivo attraverso gesti o, addirittura, pantomime. Un esempio di queste ultime si ha nella sequenza seguente (es. 5) che riporta il tentativo di una parlante nativa di tedesco di compensare la mancata conoscenza del sostantivo italiano corrispondente al tedesco *Kreisverkehr*, 'rotatoria'.

(5) PC1, 31:10

```
STF    allora mh STE mi ha detto che: ehm
       (3.120)
STF    si bo [//] non so dove è successa↓ solo che c'era un inci [//]
       una [//] sì un incidente non so come si chiama °con la:° CNV[17]
       il traffico con le uscite mh rotondo in mezzo
```

Sebbene la comunicazione non verbale sia tutt'altro che infrequente, come dimostrato anche dal sistematico ricorrervi da parte delle studentesse impegnate nel gioco di ruolo proposto dal coordinatore di PC1 (tracce se ne hanno anche nell'es. 4 e, in misura addirittura maggiore, nell'esempio 12), tuttavia le strategie di conseguimento del tipo verbale sono assolutamente più ricorrenti. Ciò pare essere dovuto soprattutto al contesto istituzionale che, come già osservato, impone a docenti e discenti di saper controllare un lessico specialistico – nello scritto così come nel parlato – col possibile rischio, nel caso in cui ciò non si verifichi, della perdita di prestigio e di stigmatizzazione da parte del gruppo (Goffman 1983; Flowerdew 2008). Infatti, poiché sebbene efficaci le strategie non verbali rendono immediatamente percepibile la presenza del *deficit* lessicale, i parlanti spesso preferiscono evitarle e sostituirle con strategie di tipo verbale.

Come riportato nella figura 1 tra le strategie verbali è possibile distinguere quelle interattive da quelle individuali, ovvero quelle che prevedono o non prevedono l'intervento di altri partecipanti alla conversazione. La richiesta di aiuto è sicuramente la strategia interattiva più comune. Nei dati analizzati le richieste di aiuto si traducono prevalentemente nell'apertura di sequenze laterali (Jefferson 1972; Schegloff 1972) caratterizzate da una domanda esplicita realizzata formalmente tramite una proposizione interrogativa (es. 5).

(5) EC1, 42:44

```
TUB    c'è anche abaco si dice anche in ital[iano?
STA                                         [abaco [sì
TUB                                                [sì
```

Dal punto di vista dell'analisi della conversazione questa strategia individua una sequenza metalessicale, ovvero una sequenza interazionale dove dei locutori si focalizzano riflessivamente su un'unità lessicale al fine di risolvere un problema determinato dall'unità lessicale stessa (Miecznikowski 2005: 21). Nel campione osservato le sequenze di questo tipo, che di fatto costituiscono una forma di eteroriparazione autoiniziata (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1972; Levinson 1983: 340), non comportano, a differenza di quanto registrato per esempio in Lüdi (1991) sempre a proposito di interazioni didattiche, l'apertura di un turno esteso.

17 La studentessa muove la mano destra a mezz'aria disegnando dei cerchi paralleli al suolo.

Nell'esempio (6) è riportata una seconda forma di eteroriparazione autoiniziata. È evidente in questo caso che l'attivazione della sequenza metalessicale, e in particolare l'intervento dell'interlocutore, non è più dovuta alla presenza di una proposizione interrogativa esplicita, bensì a quella di una marca esitativa, *mh* – peraltro realizzata con *creaky voice* –, e dell'allungamento del primo fono dell'elemento lessicale bersaglio, il sostantivo *argento*.

(6) EC1, 28:21

```
STA     abbiamo la festa e il mese della grande maturazione per cui si of-
        fre oro e *mh::* a:
TUB     argento
STA     argento sì grazie
```

Complementari alle strategie verbali interattive sono quelle *individuali* in cui il locutore tenta di risolvere i propri problemi lessicali senza coinvolgere altri parlanti. Le strategie di questo tipo possono essere sia intralinguali che interlinguali, ovvero possono far uso esclusivo del materiale lessicale della lingua in cui è condotta l'interazione, oppure possono impiegare *items* provenienti da altri sistemi linguistici.

L'adozione di strategie *intralinguali* comporta sovente il recupero di parole che appartengono alla medesima area semantica dell'elemento che si vorrebbe lessicalizzare, oppure lo sfruttamento di relazioni semantiche note tra parole della lingua impiegata per l'interazione. Nel primo caso strategie comuni di superamento del *deficit* sono l'approssimazione e il ricorso a perifrasi o circonlocuzioni.

L'approssimazione (es. 7) è conseguente alla selezione di una sequenza di lessemi, *giorni di sfortuna* che, pur non veicolando il concetto richiesto dal contesto, *giorni infausti*, presentano un numero di elementi semantici sufficienti a evocarlo nella memoria degli interlocutori.

(7) EC1, 31:03

```
STA     allora abbiamo detto sono trecentosessantacinque giorni con di-
        ciotto mesi venti [//] di cui eh: ogni mese è composto da venti
        giorni più i cinque giorni
        (1.000)
STA     di ehm: sfortuna chiamiamoli così non lo so↓
```

Il ricorso a perifrasi e circonlocuzioni permette invece di impiegare una sequenza di parole per rimpiazzare un vocabolo, così come risulta evidente in (8)[18] dove il *tutor*, impegnato in uno scambio in L2 con una parlante nativa di italiano, nell'impossibilità di accedere sia al lessema *vanga* che a quello *zappa*, apparentemente entrambi validi traducenti del quechua *chaki taklla* che in quel momento interessava glossare, si affida alla circonlocuzione *è un bastone e con il piede/ questo pe:r muovere la terra*[19].

18 Cfr. anche l'esempio (4): il traffico con le uscite mh rotondo in mezzo.

19 In questo caso stante la finalità dello scambio il ricorso alla circonlocuzione non disturba la comunicazione. Diverso sarebbe stato per esempio il caso laddove si fosse presentata la necessità di utilizzare il termine in chiave non meramente referenziale, come per esempio nel caso della collocazione *darsi la zappa sui piedi*.

(8) EC1, 29:55

```
TUB    lì si vede che gli uomini c'hanno in mano uno strumento che si
       chiama la chaki taklla.
STA    ah↓
TUB    e è un bastone e con il piede questo pe:r muovere la [terra
STA                                                         [la te/
TUB    poiché non avevano l'aratro
```

Le lacune lessicali possono tuttavia essere colmate anche affidandosi allo sfruttamento dei rapporti di significato esistenti tra le parole, come nell'esempio (9) dove invece di ricorrere al lemma *proseguire* la parlante in difficoltà – prova ne sono la presenza del riempitivo *ehm* e della riformulazione *[//] xx sono andati dritti* – preferisce affidarsi inizialmente alla negazione dell'antonimo *frenare* e quindi, date le difficoltà a elaborare ulteriormente il messaggio, optare per una drastica interruzione della comunicazione attuando una strategia di elusione, il cosiddetto *topic avoidance*.

(9) PC1, 17:18

```
STB    e tutti e due hanno ehm non hanno frenato [//] xx sono andati
       dritti↓ CNV e ma tutti hanno suonato il clacson.
STC    non ho capito niente.
STB    e poi +…
        (2.440)
STB    ecco non mi ricordo di più↓.
```

Una seconda strategia intralinguale adottata sia dai parlanti nativi che da quelli non nativi, sia dai tutori che dagli studenti, comporta la produzione di neologismi, ovvero di parole che difficilmente possono essere state udite in precedenza. Spesso i neologismi sono il risultato dell'applicazione o della sovraestensione di regole di formazione di parola e in particolare – come estesamente discusso da Berretta (1991) in un lavoro dedicato proprio alla lingua degli studenti universitari – dei processi di derivazione.

La porzione della banca dati di parlato accademico cui facciamo riferimento presenta almeno due interessanti casi di innovazione lessicale, dovuti all'impiego del morfema {*ment*}. Il primo, *stipamento* (es. 10), dà origine a un astratto deverbale non attestato in italiano se non per usi medici e tecnici, qui non pertinenti.

(10) EC1, 29:31

```
STA    sono sempre inerenti a ciò che si faceva nell'agricoltura tutti i
       passaggi che venivano: fatti sono tutti i dodici mesi per cui rac-
       colto piantagione +…
        (0.500)
STA    ehm lo stip/ stipamento
        (3.500)
```

La seconda innovazione lessicale interessa invece il nome *invertimento* (es. 11). La forma, non attestata in italiano, pare colpire anche il parlante che, infatti, subito dopo aver prodotto l'*item* non solo tace per sei secondi, ma addirittura opera un'autocorrezione autodiretta (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1972; Levinson 1983) che dà come risultato la selezione di un possibile traducente inglese della forma italiana attesa, vale a dire il sostantivo *inversione*.

Sorprendentemente sebbene l'uditorio fosse composto da soli parlanti nativi di tedesco[20], il parlante decide di affidarsi a una strategia interlinguale che prevede il recupero di un lemma appartenente a un sistema linguistico differente. Tuttavia a interessare non è tanto la decisione di selezionare un sostantivo inglese – la scelta è di fatto obbligata visto che il repertorio linguistico individuale del parlante non comprende il tedesco – quanto piuttosto la volontà di non procedere nell'autocorrezione recuperando il lemma italiano atteso, *inversione*. Probabilmente la scelta è dovuta alla volontà del *tutor* di caratterizzare l'enunciato come riformulazione facilitatrice piuttosto che come autocorrezione. Infatti mentre nel secondo caso l'autorità del parlante risulterebbe indebolita (un docente madrelingua non dovrebbe sbagliare le scelte lessicali), nel secondo, al contrario, ne riesce accresciuta (il docente riformula unicamente per facilitare la comprensione dei parlanti non nativi).

(11) PC1, 27:17

```
TUA     ah quindi c'è stato un invertimento ok¿
        (6.000)
        c'è stato uno switch nelle due [//] nelle due veicoli autocarro e
        macchina sportiva
```

Il ricorso all'inglese *switch* da parte del TUA permette di trattare anche delle strategie di compensazione interlinguali, vale a dire quelle i cui i parlanti impiegano materiale linguistico estraneo alla lingua in uso. Il primo tipo di strategia interlinguale è il calco, ovvero la traduzione letterale nella lingua dell'interazione di parole provenienti da un altro sistema linguistico, solitamente quello nativo del parlante.

Un esempio di calco prodotto da una studentessa sudtirolese parlante nativa di tedesco è presentato in (12). In questo caso la parlante ignorando il corrispondente italiano di *Kreisverkehr* 'rotatoria' colma la lacuna offrendone la traduzione letterale *traffico circolare*[21].

(12) PC1, 18:43

```
STD     è successo qualcosa in un dove c'è [//] CNV come si dice? il traf-
        fico circolare [//] CNV dove c'è coso in mezzo CNV e le uscite
```

Una seconda strategia di conseguimento interlinguale è rappresentata dal prestito. Come noto il prestito è il risultato dell'uso nella conversazione di un termine appartenente a un altro sistema linguistico solitamente non adattato né nella fonologia, né nella morfologia. L'osservazione dei dati elicitati mostra come il calco affiori sia

20 Peraltro competenti anche in italiano come già osservato.

21 Nei dati analizzati il ricorso al calco, che solitamente affiora nelle produzioni di parlanti non nativi con un basso livello di competenza nella L2, emerge abbastanza sistematicamente nella selezione del lessema *Kreisverkehr*. Ciò è probabilmente dovuto non tanto alla scarsa competenza lessicale dei parlanti coinvolti nelle interazioni, quanto piuttosto vuoi all'estraneità della parola al contesto accademico, vuoi alla sua rarità nell'*input* di italiano, peraltro legata alla convivenza nella stessa lingua di addirittura quattro sinonimi: i comuni *rotonda*, *rotatoria*, *rondò* e il gergale *isola rotazionale*.

nelle produzioni degli studenti (es. 13, *vertiefet*) sia, soprattutto, in quelle del TUB, il soggetto col repertorio linguistico individuale più ricco (ess. 14, 15).

(13) EC1, 15:39

```
STB    allora siccome la lezione per quanto riguarda in kichwa il kipu e
       il calendario mi hanno interessato molto↓ ho un attimino ehm: ver-
       tiefet approfondito (ride) questa: eh: questi argomenti
```

L'esempio 13, ripreso dal seminario EC1, illustra come la parlante nativa di italiano impegnata sino a quel momento in uno scambio in tedesco con il *tutor* decida di iniziare un turno esteso (*Referat*) in italiano, la sua L1, ma dopo pochi istanti si scontri con l'impossibilità – segnalata dalla marca esistativa *ehm* – di recuperare dal proprio magazzino lessicale il lemma *approfondire* e quindi colmi la lacuna ricorrendo al corrispondente tedesco *vertiefet*[22] immediatamente autocorretto selezionando il più pertinente participio italiano *approfondito*.

Gli esempi (14) e (15) mostrano invece come sia possibile rinvenire anche nel parlato dei tutori diversi casi di prestito lessicale. Nell'enunciato riportato in (14) il parlante, impegnato a parlare in L1, produce, in luogo dell'attesa forma tedesca, la corrispondente italiana *interscambio*. Anche in questo caso – e così come in (13) del resto – l'apertura di una sequenza laterale di riflessione metalessicale risulta superflua perché il parlante stesso interviene a correggere immediatamente la formulazione in L2 facendola seguire dal traducente in L1, in questo caso il tedesco *Austausch* 'scambio'.

(14) EC1, 51:52

```
TUB    und dann ein interscambio [//] ein austausch der dozenten in diesen
       verschiedenen postgrados
```

Non altrettanto si verifica in (15) dove si assiste invece al ripetuto glossare in italiano del tedesco *Fortschritt* 'progresso'. In questa circostanza, tuttavia, appare evidente che la traduzione del termine non risponde assolutamente alla necessità di colmare una lacuna lessicale del parlante, tanto più che il traducente segue il tradotto, quanto piuttosto alla volontà di facilitare l'interazione ovvero, sulla base di una presunta asimmetria di competenza, di riformulare preventivamente così da consentire anche alla partecipante italofona di comprendere l'argomentazione presentata.

(15) AC2, 56:41

```
TUB    und fortschritt progresso fortschritt das war praktisch so zu
       sagen ideologie modernisiert werden fortschritt progresso und ent-
       wicklung
```

Questa strategia di semplificazione del parlato – in cui non esistiamo a riconoscere tratti di *teacher talk* (Chaudron 1988; Ellis 1995) – si ripresenta numerose altre volte nei dati qui considerati, talvolta accompagnata da un (parziale) adattamento morfofonologico del vocabolo alla lingua dell'interazione.

22 La parlante articola *vertiefet* in luogo della forma tedesca standard *vertieft*.

5. Conclusioni

La fenomenologia di strategie di compensazione lessicale presentata in questo contributo costituisce un primo tentativo di caratterizzazione di alcune modalità di interazione tra docenti e studenti in un contesto peculiare, quello di una università trilingue. Seppur nell'impossibilità di generalizzazioni statistiche dovuta alla scarsità dei dati analizzati, risulta possibile osservare anzitutto come il particolare ambiente interazionale contribuisca alla marginalizzazione di alcune strategie e alla centralizzazione di altre.

Anzitutto permette di notare come, per le ragioni esposte in precedenza, le forme di saturazione di matrice verbale prevalgano su quelle non verbali. Quindi illustra come la partecipazione di parlanti lingue diverse agli eventi seminariali favorisca il ricorso a strategie interlinguali tipiche della comunicazione esolingue qui sfruttate, oltre che per compensare dei deficit lessicali, anche per favorire la comunicazione. Infine mostra come, pur nell'impossibilità di trarre conclusioni immediatamente spendibili per elaborare una gerarchia delle strategie di compensazione lessicale basata sulla frequenza e il contesto di occorrenza, sia possibile sfruttare le informazioni disponibili per una più compiuta comprensione delle sequenze metalessicali presenti e delle dinamiche discorsive e conversazionale ad esse soggiacenti.

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Appendice 1: Convenzioni di trascrizione

¿	tono leggermente ascendente	↓	tono discendente
↑	tono ascendente	^	pausa tra parole
:	allungamento del fono	*txt*	voce criccata
¥txt¥	parlato ridendo	»txt«	alta voce
→←	parlato veloce	‹txt›	parlato lento
°txt°	bassa voce	#	pausa breve
/	enfasi	[//]	riformulazione
[%txt]	commenti del trascrittore		

La lezione accademica in contesto plurilingue: prospettive di analisi tra parlato monologico e interazione plurilocutoria

Daniela Veronesi – Libera Università di Bolzano

Taking its departure point from an overview of existing studies on academic discourse, the paper discusses some results of an ongoing research focussing on lectures in a multiligual setting. The analysis, based on a corpus videorecorded at the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano, examines a number of discursive and linguistic phenomena characterizing lecturers' monologic talk, considered for their possible role in supporting comprehension and in shaping the relationship with students. The use of one or more languages within lectures is also observed and commented upon, while final considerations are devoted to research perspectives for the study of lectures as dialogic and multimodal face-to-face communicative events.

Keywords: lectures, metacommunication, dialogicity, code-switching, multilingual higher education

1. Introduzione[1]

Lo studio della comunicazione accademica è da tempo oggetto di indagine linguistica: in seguito all'ampliamento d'orizzonte della ricerca sui linguaggi specialistici, una certa attenzione è stata dedicata da quest'ultima alla comunicazione interna della comunità scientifica; inoltre, parallelamente all'analisi delle pratiche di scrittura che caratterizzano tale comunità come "comunità discorsiva" (Swales 1990, Hyland 2000), sempre maggiore spazio trovano l'esame della comunicazione faccia-a-faccia e delle modalità con cui si attua nell'interazione verbale la co-costruzione del sapere scientifico e la socializzazione dei nuovi membri della comunità stessa.

Se l'inglese si configura in questo contesto come la lingua piú esaminata, anche grazie alla creazione di ampi *corpora* di parlato accademico (MICASE, BASE), non mancano primi approcci allo studio della comunicazione tra docenti e studenti in altre lingue (per l'italiano cfr. ad es. Ciliberti & Anderson 1999, Piazza 2007, per il tedesco Grütz 2002a e 2002b, Bührig & Grießhaber 1999, Boettcher & Meer 2000). Sullo sfondo dei processi di internazionalizzazione che caratterizzano la formazione universitaria, inoltre, si riscontra una crescente attenzione verso il CLIL ed in generale verso l'uso veicolare di lingue seconde/straniere nella didattica universitaria, con particolare riferimento al ricorso all'inglese nell'interazione tra parlanti nativi e non nativi in contesti anglofoni, o di comunicazione in lingua franca (si vedano ad es. Flowerdew 1994 e Jung 2006, come pure i lavori scaturiti dalle banche dati ELFA e VOICE[2]), ma senza dimenticare le lingue diverse dall'inglese, come testimoniato

1 Desidero ringraziare Rita Franceschini e Silvia Dal Negro per i loro suggerimenti e per l'attenta lettura di una prima versione del presente articolo.

2 Cfr. Mauranen (2007) e http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/ page/publications.

tra l'altro dalle ricerche svolte in seno al progetto europeo DYLAN (cfr. oltre) e da alcuni contributi in questo stesso volume.

In questo ampio panorama di ricerca, numerosi sono gli studi dedicati al genere discorsivo "lezione accademica" (lezione *ex-cathedra*, *lecture*, *Vorlesung*), assunto come un tipo di evento comunicativo centrale nella didattica universitaria. Tale analisi è stata affrontata dal punto di vista delle caratteristiche linguistiche e discorsive del parlato monologico del docente con una specifica attenzione verso la metacomunicazione, intesa come strumento di facilitazione della ricezione (cfr. oltre); non mancano inoltre ricerche che, considerando la lezione da una prospettiva interpersonale, analizzano specifiche mosse comunicative del docente (mitigazioni, digressioni, aneddoti, domande)[3], ed il ruolo che queste svolgono nella definizione e negoziazione delle identità dei partecipanti e nello stesso processo di costruzione del sapere.

All'interno di una simile prospettiva, in parte orientata all'analisi della conversazione, l'interesse si va infine ampliando per considerare in un'ottica squisitamente dialogica l'apporto di docenti *e* studenti e l'intrecciarsi dei diversi codici che entrano in gioco nella lezione come interazione faccia-a-faccia (linguaggio verbale, ma anche sguardi, gestualità, prossemica, cinesica, manipolazione di artefatti ecc.), evidenziando come a tali risorse i partecipanti possano far ricorso per il raggiungimento dei propri obiettivi comunicativi (cfr. Roth & Lawless 2002, Crawford Camiciottoli 2004a, Veronesi 2007b)[4].

Numerosi sono gli interrogativi che, sullo sfondo di tali studi, si pongono per l'analisi delle lezioni accademiche in università bi- o plurilingui: in che modo, ad esempio, i docenti strutturano il proprio discorso monologico (che può occupare gran parte della lezione) rispetto a classi variegate in quanto a competenze linguistiche e background culturale? Quale ruolo svolge l'interazione dialogica nella negoziazione dei significati, e come entrano in gioco i repertori linguistici e le risorse non verbali dei partecipanti nella co-costruzione del sapere disciplinare? E, non da ultimo, quali indicazioni si possono trarre dall'analisi delle pratiche comunicative di docenti e studenti per la definizione delle politiche linguistiche istituzionali?

Dopo aver fatto cenno all'orientamento linguistico della Libera Università di Bolzano, all'interno della quale è stata svolta la presente ricerca, si affronteranno alcune di queste problematiche partendo dall'esame di un *corpus* di lezioni accademiche, raccolte nello stesso ateneo. Anzitutto, si analizzerà se e in che misura, sullo sfondo della politica linguistica istituzionale, i parlanti facciano ricorso alle risorse linguistiche potenzialmente disponibili in contesto (§ 4). Ci si concentrerà poi sul parlato monologico dei docenti osservando il ruolo svolto dalla metacomunicazione nell'organizzazione del discorso (§ 5.1), le modalità con cui questi gestiscono la complessità del linguaggio specialistico disciplinare nei confronti di un udito-

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3 Cfr. ad es. Zorzi (1999), Carli (1999), Strodt-Lopez (1987) e (1991), Thompson (1998), Bamford (2005), Wang (2006), Pérez-Llantada (2006a) e Crawford Camiciottoli (2008).

4 Lo studio della multimodalità in contesti didattici ha portanto peraltro ad esaminare tanto le interazioni scolastiche (cfr. Pitsch 2007), quanto le interazioni in lavoro di gruppo e seminari universitari (si veda ad es. Hindermarsh & Heath 2003, Heidtmann & Föh 2007, Paul 2007).

rio non esperto, focalizzando in particolare l'attenzione sulla terminologia (§ 5.2), e si passerà quindi ad esaminare le strategie comunicative messe in atto dai docenti sul piano della relazione interpersonale con gli studenti (§ 5.3). Si proporranno infine (§ 6) alcune riflessioni rispetto alle prospettive di ricerca sulla lezione accademica al di là del parlato monologico, in un'ottica integrata che tenga in considerazione gli aspetti dialogici e multimodali di tale genere discorsivo, anche in ragione dell'utilità applicativa nel quadro dell'esame del plurilinguismo universitario.

2. La Libera Università di Bolzano e le sue lingue

La Libera Università di Bolzano (LUB), fondata nel 1997 e composta attualmente da cinque facoltà, offre nell'anno accademico 2008-2009 piú di venti percorsi formativi (laurea di primo e secondo livello, master, corsi professionalizzanti, dottorati di ricerca) a circa 3.200 studenti, di cui il 13,85% di provenienza estera, principalmente da paesi tedescofoni come Germania ed Austria (7,76%). Numerose sono, entro il corpo studentesco, le ulteriori nazionalità rappresentate (sia da paesi europei che extra-europei), che, estremamente differenziate, riguardano peraltro complessivamente poco meno di duecento studenti. Va inoltre ricordato che, tra gli studenti di nazionalità italiana, circa due terzi provengono dalla provincia di Bolzano[5].

Il plurilinguismo, che figura tra gli elementi caratterizzanti l'ateneo, si concretizza in modo diversificato a seconda di facoltà e contesti didattici: la Facoltà di Scienze della Formazione, rispecchiando le particolarità del sistema educativo locale[6], offre corsi monolingui (italiano o tedesco) o trilingui (italiano, tedesco, ladino) nel campo della formazione primaria, proponendo inoltre percorsi didattici bilingui (italiano e tedesco) per il settore sociale e trilingui (italiano, tedesco, inglese) per futuri esperti di comunicazione. Mentre la Facoltà di Scienze e Tecnologie informatiche ha optato per l'inglese come lingua principale di insegnamento e di comunicazione[7], le facoltà di Design e Arti, di Economia, e di Scienze e Tecnologie fanno uso, in diversa proporzione, di italiano, tedesco ed inglese come lingue veicolari.

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5 Le percentuali riportate sono calcolate sulla base di 3.220 iscritti, come da dati forniti per uso interno dalla Segreteria Studenti LUB (marzo 2009). A fronte dell'aumento degli iscritti rispetto all'a.a. 2004-2005 (circa 2.300 studenti), periodo in cui è stato raccolto il corpus qui in esame, si riscontra un lieve incremento degli studenti provenienti dall'estero (da 11,5% a 13,85%).

6 In base al secondo Statuto di Autonomia (1972), la socializzazione secondaria avviene nella lingua materna degli studenti, mentre tedesco ed italiano sono apprese come lingue seconde; il sistema scolastico è perciò articolato in scuole in lingua italiana, tedesca e scuole delle località ladine. Per una descrizione della situazione sociolinguistica in Alto Adige si veda Egger (2001).

7 L'ammissione alla facoltà avviene sulla base di un test in lingua inglese. Gli studenti possono frequentare un corso di lingua inglese prima dell'inizio dell'anno accademico, mentre il curriculum del corso di laurea di primo livello prevede tre corsi di lingua (italiano, inglese, tedesco) e, al terzo anno, alcuni insegnamenti in italiano e in tedesco. Per i laboratori del primo anno, inoltre, vi è la possibilità di scegliere tra inglese, tedesco e italiano.

Facoltà	**Scienze della Formazione**	**Design e Arti**	**Economia**	**Scienze e Tecnologie**
corsi di laurea trilingui di primo livello	Scienze della comunicazione plurilingue	Design[8]	tutti i corsi	tutti i corsi
requisiti linguistici di ammissione	due lingue	una lingua; principianti assoluti in una lingua	una lingua	una lingua
lingue non certificate[9]	corsi di lingua obbligatori (80-90-120 ore)	corsi di lingua obbligatori (100 ore estive; 120 piú 40 piú 50)	corsi di lingua obbligatori (80-90-120 ore)	corsi di lingua obbligatori (80-90-120 ore)
iscrizione al II anno e ad esami di materia	superamento del LAT[10]	superamento del LAT	superamento del LAT	superamento del LAT
corsi di lingua curricolari	due corsi di lingua (II e III anno)	tre corsi di lingua	due corsi di lingua (II e III anno)	inglese specialistico (II anno)
insegnamento veicolare[11]	40% italiano 40% Tedesco 20% inglese	42% italiano 41% tedesco 17% inglese	41% inglese 30% italiano 29% tedesco[12]	47% italiano 24 % tedesco 29 % inglese

Tabella 1 – Orientamento linguistico della LUB per i corsi plurilingui di primo livello

Come illustrato nella tab. 1, riferita ai corsi trilingui di primo livello nelle diverse facoltà, l'orientamento plurilingue della LUB è sostenuto da una serie di misure istituzionali che vanno dai requisiti linguistici minimi per l'ammissione (la conoscenza, a livello B1-B2 del Quadro Comune Europeo di Riferimento per le Lingue, di una o due lingue ufficiali della LUB) all'obbligo di certificare la conoscenza di italiano, tedesco e inglese entro la fine del primo anno di corso. All'offerta linguistica, nel primo anno di studi, di corsi obbligatori mirati al superamento di un'apposito test somministrato dal Centro linguistico d'ateneo (LAT, *Language Assessment Test*), inoltre, si affiancano due o tre corsi di lingua generale e specialistica curriculari, mentre l'uso di piú lingue viene incoraggiato, in alcune facoltà, tramite misure quali l'assegnazione di crediti aggiuntivi per la stesura di un abstract della tesi di laurea in L2 (Design e Arti), la consulenza nella stesura di testi e la partecipazione ad attività culturali plurilingui (Formazione). Va inoltre sottolineato che, a differenza di istituzioni che offrono percorsi paralleli in diverse lingue (cfr. ad es. Oltean, in questo volume), un importante aspetto della politica linguistica adot-

8 L'offerta formativa è attualmente limitata a questo corso.

9 Il numero delle ore dei corsi varia a seconda dei risultati ottenuti nei test di piazzamento. Per le particolarità della Facoltà di Design e Arti, che prevede la frequenza di un corso intensivo di lingua nel periodo estivo precedente all'iscrizione, cfr. Nickenig (in questo volume).

10 *Language Assessment Test*.

11 I dati sono stati forniti dalle facoltà. Le percentuali si riferiscono alle ore di insegnamento (per la Facoltà di Economia, al numero di corsi) e, nel caso di piú corsi di laurea plurilingui, sono state qui rielaborate riportando la media arrotondata tra gli stessi. Tutti i dati sono da intendere come orientativi.

12 Si discosta da questa impostazione il corso di laurea in Scienze economiche e sociali, che, similmente al corso di laurea specialistica (Management e Mercati internazionali), è maggiormente orientato verso l'inglese (circa 63% dei corsi), oltre a prevedere sei corsi di lingua curriculari.

tata dalla LUB consiste nel fatto che per ogni corso, in particolare per le lezioni frontali, è previsto l'uso di una sola lingua senza che vi sia una 'duplicazione' dell'offerta didattica in altre lingue[13]; a ciò si collega l'obbligo per gli studenti di certificare la conoscenza della lingua dei singoli corsi per poter sostenere i relativi esami.

Ai docenti di ruolo (che possono essere reclutati dall'estero fino ad un massimo del 70%)[14] viene inoltre richiesto di raggiungere entro due anni un livello di competenza B1 in tedesco o italiano, qualora una di queste lingue non fosse ancora conosciute, e viene per questo offerta la possibilità di frequentare corsi di lingua individuali o di gruppo; per il personale amministrativo, infine, è previsto un grado di padronanza, che varia a seconda della posizione assunta, di italiano e tedesco in quanto lingue ufficiali del territorio, mentre la conoscenza dell'inglese viene sostenuta con specifiche misure formative[15].

3. Lo studio della comunicazione accademica alla LUB nel contesto del progetto DYLAN

L'analisi qui di seguito presentata, dedicata al genere discorsivo "lezione accademica", si inserisce nel quadro del progetto integrato europeo DYLAN, che ha come oggetto di studio il plurilinguismo in contesti aziendali, di istituzioni comunitarie e di formazione universitaria. L'attenzione dell'unità di ricerca della LUB che vi partecipa si concentra su quest'ultimo ambito, prendendo in esame lo stesso ateneo bolzanino: partendo dall'analisi delle pratiche comunicative degli attori sociali che vi studiano e lavorano, da un lato, e dall'analisi dei discorsi degli stessi parlanti in tema di lingue e di plurilinguismo, dall'altro, ci si propone di far luce sul rapporto tra istituzione ed individuo nell'adozione o meno di pratiche comunicative plurilingui. Sullo sfondo delle politiche linguistiche ufficiali, dunque, l'obiettivo è quello di analizzare i fattori che influenzano l'emergere dell'uso di una o di piú lingue in diversi contesti dentro e fuori l'istituzione ed i fenomeni di contatto linguistico che ne possono derivare, nel quadro di una piú ampia riflessione su come la diversità linguistica possa diventare una risorsa nel panorama educativo europeo[16].

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13 I singoli corsi, come si legge nella Guida dello Studente (consultabile all'indirizzo http://www.unibz.it/it/ students/prog/default.html, pp. 125, 165, 198, 207), sono svolti "in una sola delle tre lingue ufficiali"; le facoltà di Economia, di Design e Arti e di Scienze e Tecnologie prevedono inoltre la possibilità, per i docenti, di ricorrere alle altre due lingue "per determinate parti del corso" (per Design e Arti, cfr. il Manifesto degli Studi 2008-2009, http://www.unibz.it/it/design-art/progs/design-art/default.html.). Per le attività seminariali si riscontra una situazione parzialmente diversa: la Facoltà di Scienze della Formazione, ad esempio, può attivare uno stesso seminario in diverse lingue, mentre presso la Facoltà di Design e Arti le attività di "progetto integrato" (lezioni frontali accompagnate da due laboratori) sono generalmente svolte da tre docenti in tre lingue diverse.

14 Il personale di ruolo (professori ordinari, associati e ricercatori) è costituito attualmente da 78 docenti, di cui il 35% di provenienza estera; a questi si affiancano quasi 600 docenti a contratto, di cui il 32% stranieri, come da dati forniti dall'Ufficio del Personale docente e ricercatore della LUB (marzo 2009).

15 Sulle problematiche connesse alle conoscenze linguistiche di docenti e personale amministrativo cfr. Nickenig (in questo volume).

16 Il progetto DYLAN (*Language dynamics and management of diversity,* N° 028702, cfr. www.dylan-project.org), è finanziato dal VI Programma Quadro (FP6) dell'Unione Europea e coordinato da Anne-Claude Berthoud. Si vedano anche i contributi di Lüdi, Dooly & Moore, e Oltean in questo volume. L'apporto dell'unità di ricerca della LUB parte dall'analisi, in una prospettiva conversazionale e sociolinguistica, di dati che comprendono interazioni pedagogiche (lezioni frontali, seminari), diari linguistici e conversazioni spontanee tra studenti (cfr. Vietti, in questo volume), incontri di servizio, riunioni di lavoro, interviste narrative incentrate sulle biografie linguistiche dei parlanti, ed infine documenti ufficiali ed esempi di comunicazione scritta.

Per poter esaminare la comunicazione tra docenti e studenti in contesti didattici si è dunque proceduto, accanto alla raccolta di dati relativi a seminari (Spreafico, in questo volume), all'osservazione di alcune lezioni frontali tenute in diverse facoltà.

Le lezioni qui analizzate sono state audio- e videoregistrate, con il consenso dei partecipanti[17], presso la facoltà di Scienze Tecnologiche ed Informatiche (lezione svolta in inglese dal docente italofono EA, a 14 studenti del I anno, di provenienza locale, nazionale ed internazionale), la Facoltà di Economia (una lezione tenuta in lingua inglese dalla docente anglofona TP, a 13 studenti di lingua italiana e tedesca, del I anno del corso di laurea in Scienze economiche e sociali, cfr. la nota 12; una lezione tenuta in italiano dal docente italofono HI a 12 studenti di laurea specialistica italiani e stranieri di lingua italiana, tedesca e russa) e la Facoltà di Design e Arti (una lezione svolta in lingua inglese dalla docente tedescofona BN a 13 studenti, ed una lezione in italiano dal docente italofono ZO a 24 studenti, in entrambi i casi perlopiù italofoni e tedescofoni). Le lezioni, supportate da presentazioni multimediali (powerpoint), hanno una durata di circa due ore; due di esse (TP e BN) sono strutturate in una prima parte espositiva (ca. 50 e 60 minuti), ed una seconda parte di presentazione e discussione dei lavori individuali degli studenti (ricerche e progetti). Il grado di interazione dialogica tra docente e studenti varia ampiamente all'interno degli eventi esaminati: nel caso di EA e TP (relativamente alla prima parte), ad esempio, si riscontra un numero limitato di sequenze domanda-risposta[18] e l'assenza di interventi non sollecitati degli studenti; nelle lezioni di ZO e HI, per contro, momenti monologici espositivi estesi si alternano a sequenze domanda-risposta (iniziate tanto dai docenti quanto dagli studenti) e a vere e proprie discussioni collettive, collocando queste due lezioni circa a metà tra i due poli del continuum monologicità-dialogicità. BN, infine, organizza l'evento in termini di continuo confronto dialogico con gli studenti, chiamandoli a commentare gli esempi pubblicitari che ella mostra di volta in volta nel corso della lezione.

4. Dalla politica linguistica istituzionale all'uso delle lingue in classe

Come illustrato sopra (§ 2), l'orientamento linguistico adottato dalla LUB prevede che ogni insegnamento venga tenuto in una sola lingua (solitamente annunciata all'inizio dell'anno accademico), pur riconoscendo ai docenti la possibilità di avvalersi delle altre due lingue ufficiali per singole parti del corso.

Tale spazio d'azione, tuttavia, pare essere sfruttato in modo alquanto limitato nelle lezioni frontali qui analizzate, dove, tanto nelle fasi monologiche quanto nelle fasi dialogiche, i partecipanti si orientano decisamente alla politica linguistica ufficiale. Non si rintraccia infatti nel *corpus* alcuna sequenza di negoziazione o di alternanza

17 I dati fanno parte di un primo *corpus* raccolto nell'a.a. 2004-2005 in seno alle attività del Gruppo di Lavoro Lingue, un organismo interfacoltà istituito con l'obiettivo di analizzare e promuovere il plurilinguismo all'interno della LUB (cfr. Nickenig, in questo volume).

18 TP riceve risposta a due delle tre domande che rivolge agli studenti, mentre nella lezione di EA si rintracciano due sequenze ("coppie adiacenti", cfr. Schegloff & Sacks 1973) domanda-risposta e cinque domande a cui non segue alcuna reazione da parte degli studenti.

di codice (cfr. Auer 1998); accanto alla menzione di un oronimo in tedesco e ad un breve commento metalinguistico[19], il ricorso a lingue diverse da quella ufficiale del corso, da parte dei docenti, interessa principalmente termini menzionati in lingua inglese all'interno delle lezioni tenute in lingua italiana (ZO e HI). Tali termini, come si è analizzato piú in dettaglio altrove (Veronesi & Spreafico 2009) sono accompagnati da segnali metacomunicativi ("cosiddetto", "quella che viene chiamata", "come si dice", cfr. anche § 5.2) e da glosse esplicative in italiano, oltre ad essere enfatizzati sul piano prosodico, in modo tale da renderne piú agevole la comprensione tanto linguistica quanto concettuale.

Fanno eccezione a tale impostazione sostanzialmente monolingue la lezione della docente BN, che mostra esempi di annunci pubblicitari in inglese e tedesco[20], e ancor piú la lezione del docente HI, che fa uso di diapositive in lingua inglese, e che occasionalmente inserisce nel proprio discorso ulteriori elementi di lingua comune in inglese, conferendo così alla materia giuridica, insegnata in italiano, un carattere 'internazionale' quale si addice ai temi trattati (mercati finanziari)[21].

Complessivamente, tuttavia, non si può non osservare come le risorse linguistiche potenzialmente disponibili nel contesto istituzionale, oltre alla lingua ufficiale del corso, non siano utilizzate dai docenti nella gestione dell'evento comunicativo; dal canto loro, come già accennato, gli studenti ratificano tale pratica, convergendo con i propri contributi monolingui (sollecitati o meno) sul codice stabilito globalmente e localmente per l'interazione[22].

Come si possono spiegare tali pratiche di comunicazione monolingue all'interno di un contesto dichiaratamente plurilingue? Diversi fattori contribuiscono alla convergenza dei partecipanti su una sola lingua, ed essi paiono riguardare non solo o non tanto la politica linguistica ufficiale di per sé, come non tanto il formato della lezione stessa (monologico *versus* dialogico) quanto piuttosto l' 'interpretazione' che ne danno i docenti, sulla base della propria visione del plurilinguismo universitario e della propria attività didattica in tale contesto, come sulla base della propria valutazione dell'interazione in corso. In quanto "registi" (cfr. Orletti 2000) dell'interazione pedagogica, poi, questi forniscono un esempio di uso delle lingue che, come si è notato, non viene contestato dagli studenti.

19 Si tratta, nella lezione di TP, di "Rosengarten" (in italiano Catinaccio); la stessa docente, parlando di generalizzazioni, cita inoltre l'esempio di sostantivi che terminano con il suffisso "ation", fornendo il corrispondente tedesco ("or ismus in german").

20 In un'occasione la docente verifica la comprensione di un lessema tedesco ("Schallschutzfenster") che compare in una diapositiva, fornendone poi il significato in inglese.

21 Si tratta di sostantivi, ma anche avverbi e sintagmi preposizionali (come *disk,* ricerche di *law and finance, paper,* libri di *finance, slides,* un/il *cash, pile of cash,* montagna di *cash, worldwide, headquarters, business*). Non ci si sofferma in questa sede sul ruolo svolto da tali inserti (cfr. Auer 1998 e 1999) nel duplice 'lavoro' che il docente compie in termini di categorizzazione della materia e della propria professionalità e competenza linguistica, a cui saranno dedicati futuri studi.

22 Per quanto riguarda i repertori linguistici dei partecipanti, va notato che tutti i docenti in questione (come riscontrato in interviste e sulla base di osservazione partecipante) conoscono almeno un'altra lingua, tra quelle ufficiali della LUB, oltre a quella usata nell'insegnamento e che il loro uditorio è costituito perlopiù da studenti italofoni e tedescofoni, fatta eccezione per la classe di informatica, di composizione marcatamente internazionale.

Ciò che ne emerge è una rappresentazione del plurilinguismo come una serie di eventi monolingui (di volta in volta in una lingua diversa): il fatto che tali interazioni pedagogiche possano configurarsi anche come contesti di apprendimento linguistico oltre che disciplinare può d'altro canto contribuire a spiegare tale orientamento[23]; ugualmente, possibili esigenze di salvaguardia della 'faccia' (cfr. Brown & Levinson 1987) potrebbero entrare in gioco in questo contesto, dato che un cambiamento di codice potrebbe essere interpretato come attribuzione (o auto-attribuzione) di limitata competenza nella lingua usata in precedenza. Che il modello 'un evento-una lingua' non sia tuttavia l'unico possibile in ambito universitario, e che la nozione di 'competenza plurilingue' non debba risolversi in una somma di competenze monolingui ma possa implicare la capacità di gestire piú lingue all'interno della medesima interazione è però evidente, e rappresenta anche all'interno della LUB, dove alcuni seminari osservati (Spreafico in questo volume, Veronesi & Spreafico 2009) mostrano l'emergere di pratiche squisitamente plurilingui, un modo diverso di sfruttare la diversità linguistica per il conseguimento dei propri obiettivi comunicativi, come pure per la socializzazione degli studenti 'non esperti' alle pratiche discorsive e linguistiche della comunità scientifica e professionale in questione.

5. L'analisi della lezione accademica come monologo

L'orientamento dei docenti verso l'uso di una sola lingua in un contesto di comunicazione caratterizzato da asimmetrie non solo conoscitive ma anche, per parte degli studenti, linguistiche, porta dunque a interrogarsi su come la lingua in questione venga utilizzata nelle lezioni accademiche, e su quali pratiche comunicative i docenti pongano in atto per il raggiungimento delle proprie finalità didattiche in tale contesto, come si illustrerà in dettaglio qui di seguito.

5.1. *Un primo strumento di orientamento: la metacomunicazione*

In numerosi studi sul genere discorsivo "lezione accademica" si sono indagate le strategie discorsive utilizzate dal docente concentrando l'interesse sulle caratteristiche del parlato monologico in classe: sullo sfondo dei momenti dialogici (domande/risposte, discussioni collettive) che vedono impegnati docente e studenti, e che pure si riscontrano, in misura estremamente variabile, all'interno della lezione, l'interesse si è in gran parte focalizzato su come i docenti organizzino e strutturino la propria esposizione, in funzione degli obiettivi pedagogici che governano l'evento stesso, considerando la lezione frontale come un genere discorsivo di tipo essenzialmente monologico e asimmetrico, in cui "a priori è attribuita l'iniziativa e la

23 Dalle interviste condotte con i docenti BN, EA e HI, come pure con altri docenti, analizzate in via preliminare, emerge la consapevolezza del possibile effetto di apprendimento linguistico delle proprie lezioni frontali; l'orientamento plurilingue della LUB, inoltre, viene menzionato come uno dei motivi della scelta di tale ateneo da parte di alcuni studenti intervistati in seno al progetto.

quasi totalità dello spazio discorsivo al docente, responsabile della scelta e della presentazione dei contenuti" (Zorzi 1999: 65)[24].

Accanto a ricerche su aspetti lessicali e sintattici svolti sui *corpora* MICASE e BASE (cfr. Vázquez 2006, Thompson 2006, Nesi 2002), grande attenzione è stata riservata in questo ambito al ruolo della metacomunicazione, sia a livello di macro- che a livello di microstrutture discorsive. Nel modello proposto da Young (1994), basato su un *corpus* di lezioni in inglese a parlanti nativi e non-nativi, ad esempio, si individuano sei tipi di attività discorsive ricorrenti (strutturazione del discorso, conclusione e valutazione, di tipo metacomunicativo, e teoria/contenuto, esemplificazione ed interazione), che si intrecciano costantemente le une con le altre nel corso della lezione, dando conto del suo sviluppo interno sullo sfondo delle sequenze di apertura e di chiusura dell'evento comunicativo. Tra queste, le attività ("fasi") di tipo metacomunicativo assumono secondo l'autrice un ruolo decisivo per facilitare l'ascolto e, potenzialmente, la comprensione. Con le attività di strutturazione discorsiva, infatti, il docente annuncia ciò che seguirà nel discorso (argomenti che saranno trattati, esempi e descrizioni che verranno forniti, formulazione di domande retoriche e risposte, fornite dal docente stesso, segnalati verbalmente come tali), focalizzando l'attenzione degli studenti sulla nuova informazione; con le attività di conclusione questi riassume l'argomento di volta in volta affrontato, mentre con le fasi valutative chiarisce il valore da attribuire a singoli concetti, teorie, modelli trattati durante la lezione.

Similmente, è stato sottolineato il ricorso dei docenti alla metacomunicazione come strumento di strutturazione della progressione tematica della lezione, con l'uso di espressioni che svolgono il ruolo di "macro-organizers", che introducono ad es. la menzione o la ricapitolazione di un argomento, o annunciano il passaggio da un argomento all'altro (si tratta di performativi come ad es. 'cominciamo con…', 'per sintetizzare…', 'vediamo ora…', 'andiamo avanti')[25], o, ancora, sono usati per segnalare il ritorno al tema principale dopo una digressione (Zorzi 1999: 71).

Tra le risorse che il docente ha a propria disposizione per orientare l'uditorio nella ricezione del parlato figura inoltre, ad un livello micro-discorsivo, l'uso di *verba dicendi*, che denominando l'atto del dire o indicando un'attività verbale ('chiedere', 'rispondere', 'asserire', 'chiarire', 'definire', 'parlare di', 'scherzare' ecc.), esplicitano il tipo di mossa comunicativa che questi andrà ad effettuare o ha già effettuato, ed il valore illocutivo ad essa associato (cfr. Hansen 1994, che si rifà a Schiffrin 1980, Grütz 2000a, Pérez Llantada 2006b: 71).

Ancora, l'uso di specifiche 'etichette' nominali riferite a brani di conversazione ('esempio', 'constatazione', 'domanda', 'problema', 'osservazione') indica come sia

24 Tale attribuzione aprioristica, tuttavia, non esclude che le differenze dovute alla asimmetria del rapporto tra gli interlocutori non possano essere negoziate nel corso dell'evento, e che l'asimmetria stessa venga co-costruita da tutti i partecipanti, come sottolineano anche Ciliberti & Anderson (1999: 22).

25 Cfr. De Carrico & Nattinger (1988), che li definiscono "lexical phrases", Pérez-Llantada (2006b), che ne tratta in termini di "textual metadiscourse", e Grütz (2000a), che le definisce "metasprachliche Handlungen"; sul tema si vedano inoltre Mauranen (1993: 158) e Berretta (1984).

da intendere quanto precede o segue, fornendo a chi ascolta un ulteriore segnale di contestualizzazione; anche nomi astratti generici quali 'idea', 'ragione', 'fatto', 'punto' e persino 'cosa' avrebbero, come osserva Swales (2001: 35), un ruolo di orchestrazione nella gestione del discorso accademico, svolgendo dunque funzione metadiscorsiva sul piano dell'organizzazione testuale[26].

La metacomunicazione, va da sé, è un fenomeno che può interessare qualsiasi tipo di evento comunicativo, oltre che qualsiasi aspetto dell'interazione diadica o plurilocutoria: si tratta di un'attività che rientra in generale in quelle che sono state definite, in ottica conversazionale, come "formulazioni" (Garfinkel & Sacks 1970, Heritage & Watson 1979) o anche "pratiche di glossa" (Orletti 1983, 2000: 45-71), cioè "commenti o caratterizzazioni relative ad aspetti passati, presenti e futuri dell'interazione in corso" (Orletti 1983: 81) che rendono oggetto di conversazione specifici aspetti dell'interazione (ruoli, identità sociali, cambiamenti tematici, ecc.), fornendo così a chi partecipa all'evento delle "indicazioni su come interpretare un frammento delimitato del flusso interazionale" (Orletti 2000: 52).

Di particolare interesse in questo contesto, tuttavia, paiono quelle sequenze metacomunicative che contribuiscono a dare ordine all'interazione sul piano dell'andamento tematico del discorso, rendendo espliciti "i legami fra i vari pezzi di testo che si stanno costruendo, indicando la successione e i nessi fra i temi, esplicitando la forza illocutiva di quanto seguirà, in genere commentando quanto s'è fatto o si farà" (Franceschini 1998: 125-126)[27], in virtù del fatto che proprio queste sembrano contraddistinguere in modo particolare le interazioni caratterizzate da un maggior grado di formalità (cfr. Franceschini 1998: 101, Orletti 1989: 82-3, Orletti 2000: 54-55, Berretta 1984 e 1989), come appunto possono configurarsi, almeno in parte, le lezioni accademiche[28].

Quest'ipotesi trova conferma anche nelle lezioni qui analizzate, la cui strutturazione globale e locale viene costantemente resa esplicita tramite metacomunicazione. Cosí, all'inizio dell'evento comunicativo i docenti annunciano i temi che verranno trattati a lezione, siano essi del tutto nuovi (HI), oppure una ripresa o continuazione (EA, ZO, BN, TP) di argomenti affrontati in precedenza, mentre al termine della lezione annunciano gli argomenti della successiva lezione (EA, BN), ovvero come

26 Cfr. Bamford (2004) e Lorés Sanz (2006: 89), che, seguendo Flowerdew (2003), parla di "signaling nouns" come di risorse lessico-grammaticali usate per "signpost and signal information and/or (...) to manage the information flow and contribute to the construction of argument", operando coesivamente come pro-forme anaforiche o cataforiche.

27 Come nota Orletti (1984: 53, citata in Franceschini 1998: 148), le funzioni tematiche della metacomunicazione possono riguardare l'indicazione, l'introduzione o il mantenimento di un *topic*, la presentazione dell'ordine in cui verranno svolti diversi *topics*, la digressione dal *topic* principale, come pure la conclusione del *topic;* a queste si affiancano, secondo Franceschini (1998: 148-156) la segnalazione del cambiamento tematico e la menzione discorsiva (la ripresa di elementi tematici di un altro interlocutore, dell'attore collettivo "noi" o dello stesso parlante).

28 Nel considerare il rapporto tra formalità e messa in atto di pratiche metacomunicative nelle lezioni accademiche non si può dimenticare il carattere più o meno monologico dell'interazione ed il ruolo di "regista" (Orletti 2000: 9-44) assunto dal docente. Nella sua analisi contrastiva, ad es. Pérez-Llantada (2006b: 69-70), osservando come in lezioni e *colloquia* si riscontri una maggiore occorrenza di metadiscorso testuale ("textual metadiscourse") rispetto ad altri generi della comunicazione accademica (*discussion sessions, dissertation defenses,* laboratori, ricevimenti ecc.), collega tale dato allo scopo dell'evento ("those events in which disciplinary knowledge is transmitted") e al suo carattere principalmente monologico, laddove "the main speaker controls discourse organization and, in doing so, seeks optimal understanding from the audience."

sarà strutturata una futura interazione successiva alla lezione (un test, ZO; l'esame, HI), come esemplificato dagli estratti 1 e 2[29]:

Estratto 1 (01:44-02:30, HI)

allora oggi facciamo, (.) le ultime due ore di lezione, (1)
e sostanzialmente, parliamo (1.2) mh del: (1.7) <ruolo> (1.2) de:i
revisori contabili, (0.2) parliamo del: ruolo della consob, (1.2)
e poi facciamo: una mezz'ora, se ci riusciamo (0.5)
di: racconto di: uno scandalo finanziario notissimo,
ovviamente (0.2) il caso: ((NOME AZIENDA)), (0.4)
e vediamo un attimo, mettiamo un po' a punto
le varie cose che ci siamo: raccontati nell'ambito dei nostri (cors x)
(0.54) e nell'ambito del corso (così) cerchiamo di chiudere (0.2)
queste trenta piú trenta ore eh che abbiamo fatto, (1.2) insieme,

Estratto 2 (01:40:27-01:41:16, EA)

*okay. we will see these things, (0.6) tomorrow, (1.4)I just wanted to,
(7) * (5)
** alla tastiera, fa avanzare la presentazione **
what will be the: (0.5) the menu for tomorrow? (0.8)
the menu is, (.) we go on looking at […] and so on.
basically we take a look at that. (0.3)
and another thing we will see tomorrow i:s […]

La stessa successione degli argomenti all'interno della lezione, inoltre, viene marcata da sequenze metacomunicative (SMEC, nella terminologia di Franceschini 1998) che segnalano la chiusura di un argomento (illustrato dal docente e/o oggetto di discussione comune) e annunciano il successivo, proiettando inoltre l'ordine sequenziale di eventuali sottotemi[30].

La lezione del docente ZO può bene illustrare questi meccanismi: dopo aver annunciato il tema generale della lezione ("oggi finiamo la parte sulle teorie dei media") e aver dato indicazioni procedurali su un test previsto per la settimana successiva, ZO annuncia il primo argomento, presentandolo come una ripresa dalla lezione precedente e come possibile spunto di discussione:

Estratto 3 (I-04:50-05.20, ZO)

va bene. domande sul test?
(1.6)
andiamo avanti allora.
(1.4)
dunque, volevo, pensavo di riprendere brevemente:,
eh la teoria critica (0.6) >(quello) di cui abbiamo parlato< la volta scorsa.
se e:h .h se vi può interessare, per eh: così, sintetizzare un po'
in (.) in poche (.) battute (.) qual è il punto. (0.4)
eventualmente per discuterne. (0.5) okay?

29 Gli estratti sono riportati seguendo in gran parte le convenzioni di trascrizione elaborate in seno all'Analisi della Conversazione (cfr. Jefferson 2004), illustrate in appendice. Per ragioni di leggibilità si è deciso di non riportare le pause su una riga separata, se non quando rilevante per l'analisi.

30 Cfr. Franceschini (1998: 153-154) che parla per casi simili di "discorsi proiettati".

Dopo circa dieci minuti di esposizione, ZO chiude la 'sintesi', aprendo una fase di discussione ("okay? (4) questo per (0.2) eh riassumere in termini (0.4) schematici quello che abbiamo detto la volta scorsa sulla teoria critica. (1) eh è tutto chiaro? (1.3) vogliamo riprendere: la discussione, (5) della volta scorsa?"), che 'segmenta' attorno a tre "questioni di fondo" (tre affermazioni che scrive alla lavagna), sollecitando gli studenti ad esprimere il proprio parere. Il dibattito che segue, a cui contribuiscono diversi studenti, si protrae per circa venti minuti; dopo aver negoziato la conclusione di questa fase ("okay? (6) domande:: (0) passiamo oltre,") a cui segue una richiesta di precisazione da parte di una studentessa, il docente, fornendo la risposta, chiude il proprio contributo, e contemporaneamente anche la fase di discussione, annunciando una nuova fase espositiva ("va bene! (4.3). andiamo avanti. (4.6) °se qui riprende,° (6.3) andiamo avanti e: arriviamo a quello che è eh l'ultimo capitolo di questa carrellata,")[31].

Nel contributo espositivo che segue, di fatto HI riprende nuovamente (per circa nove minuti) le teorie dei media già affrontate in precedenza nel corso, menzionandole e ricordandone le finalità; a queste contrappone "le nuove teorie" (teorie degli effetti a lungo termine), diverse per impostazione (rr. 3-5), la cui trattazione viene annunciata metadiscorsivamente (rr. 6-8):

Estratto 4 (I-44:03-44:41, ZO)
1 okay?
2 * (3.6) *
    * si avvicina alla cattedra in posizione centrale *
3 le nuove eh teorie invece eh, (0.5) abbandonano questa,
4 queste domande funzionali al sistema e si pongono, al di fuori del sistema
5 e si chiedono come funziona il sistema.
6 *(2.5) .h eh: (1.9) .h volevo, vederne, (0.6) *
    ** abbassa lo sguardo, consulta appunti sulla cattedra **
7 ne vediamo tre di queste teorie. (0.7)
8 okay? (0.6) eh abbastanza rapidamente (.) per capire,
9 il tipo di approccio il tipo di domande e anche qualche risposta (0.3)
10 che si pongono.

La prima di queste teorie (annunciata come tale: "la prima si chiama la teoria della: agenda setting") viene introdotta dal docente per circa sette minuti; nel momento in cui ZO, dopo aver concluso un'affermazione, consulta gli appunti che tiene sulla cattedra, una studentessa interviene traendo una conclusione dal discorso del docente, innestando cosí una sequenza dialogica di quasi tre minuti con il docente. Al termine di quest'ultima, ZO definisce retrospettivamente il proprio discorso precedente (rr. 1-2) ed esplicita prospettivamente un secondo sottotema (r. 3), che menziona brevemente prima di riferirsi al terzo sottotema (rr. 10-11):

Estratto 5 (I-54:41-55:26, ZO)
1 okay? (0.55) allora questo è eh (0.6) il primo punto della: (.)
    >teoria dell'agenda setting< (3.1)
    c'è anche un altro aspetto interessante. (0.2)
    e cioè (1.3) le, e:h i media, non solo stabiliscono (0.7)
5 <che cosa è> (1.57) sta all'ordine del giorno (0.7)

31 Durante le pause qui riportate il docente si avvicina al computer, facendo avanzare la presentazione.

ne stabiliscono anche (0.3) la priorità, (0.8) no?
che cosa sta (.) al- al primo punto dell'ordine del giorno
e che cosa sta in fondo,
(2.56)
E POI, terza cosa, ci danno le categorie mentali anche, (0.9)
per (.) <interpretare> (0.2) ciò che sta all'ordine del giorno.

Per illustrare quest'ultimo punto, il docente introduce "un esempio concreto" (la presentazione mediatica di un fatto di sangue in Iraq) e sollecita poi l'intervento degli studenti con domande ed ulteriori esempi di trattamento di simili notizie in diverse testate giornalistiche, toccando dunque anche il secondo "aspetto" precedentemente menzionato.

La discussione, gestita dal docente, porta ad una sua digressione di circa un minuto, segnalata retrospettivamente come tale e poi chiusa esplicitamente con un performativo ("cosa succede allora (3.8) a seguire diete mediali diverse? (1) cosa succede? qui adesso, (.) usciamo dal problema della, (3.7, *ZO dai banchi vicino agli studenti ritorna verso la cattedra*) della teoria dei media ma [...] chiusa parentesi"), dopodiché il docente annuncia l'ultimo sottotema ("ultima cosa poi vi lascio fare la pausa,"), che tratta brevemente prima di una pausa di dieci minuti.

Alla ripresa della lezione, ZO riprende per così dire il filo del discorso, riferendosi all'annuncio fatto in precedenza (l'illustrazione di tre teorie degli effetti a lungo termine) commentando e motivando la propria trattazione e proiettando nuovamente il *topic* e l'andamento della seconda parte della lezione:

Estratto 6 (II-01:20:17- 01:21:08 , ZO)

dunque vi ho detto che, avremmo parlato di tre teorie,
degli effetti a lungo termine, e mi rimangio la parola,
>per il semplice fatto che non abbiamo il tempo.< (0.3)
però mi sono: soffermato di piú sulle teorie, (0.4)
>sulla teoria dell'agenda setting< perché ehm (1.2) e::h
potreste trovarla eh nel test (del)la settimana prossima (0.3) e [...]
mentre quello di cui vi parlo adesso è (0.4) delle: eh (.)
di cui avrei voluto parlarvi adesso (1.6) eh ve le accenno solo così,
per (0.2) eh vostra informazione (di) cultura generale (insomma.) (1.8)
ma eh le passiamo via molto rapidamente (1) per arrivare poi
al: al punto finale.

La lezione prosegue con il solo contributo del docente (circa venticinque minuti), che passerà in rassegna la seconda ("c'è poi la, e:h teoria della spirale del silenzio") e la terza teoria ("la terza teoria è quella del, cosiddetto knowledge gap") per arrivare infine al "punto finale", ugualmente introdotto metadiscorsivamente: "ultimo: eh (1.5) argomento, che volevo toccare oggi. (0.7) e cioè le: teorie piú recenti. (1.6) le teorie piú recenti che sono, vanno sotto il nome di audience studies,". Tale argomento viene infine concluso con un segnale di verifica della comprensione ("okay?") a cui segue un commento sulla modalità di trattazione, determinata dalla brevità del tempo a disposizione ("eh: mi rendo conto che sono stato molto sommario sulle audience studies ma: sono le dodici e quindici e vi lascio andare. okay?"), a cui segue una breve fase dialogica riferita al test della settimana seguente.

Come si è visto, dunque, l'esposizione di ZO è 'punteggiata' di segnali metadiscorsivi che ne segnalano lo sviluppo in senso tematico, proiettando la trattazione di argomenti e sottoargomenti, evidenziando il passaggio da fasi espositive monologiche a fasi dialogiche, come pure l'apertura e la chiusura di digressioni. Frequenti sono inoltre i riferimenti intertestuali (interdiscorsivi) con temi trattati in precedenti lezioni o da trattare successivamente, che vanno così a creare coesione tra la lezione stessa e la sua collocazione all'interno del corso.

Tali possibili 'punti di orientamento generale' offerti all'uditorio sono presenti in maniera variabile nel corpus esaminato[32]; accanto ad essi, si riscontra l'occorrenza di *verba dicendi* ed etichette nominali (cfr. sopra) che evidenziano prospettivamente o retrospettivamente, su un piano di organizzazione micro-discorsiva, come sia da intendere quanto espresso, e dunque il valore illocutivo delle enunciazioni in questione. Si può trattare, ad esempio, di attività comunicative che i docenti riferiscono a sé stessi, usando il pronome di prima persona singolare ("vi *ho già mostrato un caso* in cui [...] ora *vi faccio un altro caso*", HI), o che attribuiscono collettivamente a tutti i partecipanti, includendoli nell'attività discorsiva successiva ("il revisore come abbiamo detto, *cerchiamo di riassumere* questo, questo discorso sui revisori", HI)[33].

Ancora, l'uso di etichette nominali puó essere accompagnata da elementi valutativi (ad es., aggettivi), che evidenziano cosí il 'peso' assunto da tali elementi entro l'argomentazione, offrendo una chiave di lettura per considerare in modo pertinente quanto illustrato dal docente[34], come evidenziato dai successivi esempi ("and that's an *important* question", TP, r. 5); "the *nice* thing", EA, r. 7)[35]:

Estratto 7 (06:26-07:22, TP)

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and huntington asserts that people have levels of identity, (0.6)
and civilisation is the broadest.(0.3)
now he does NOT however say at this point (0.5) eh that this (0.2)
ehm (0.5) depends on whether people internalise this identity.
and that's an important question.(0.5)
he lists, seven civilisations with a possible eighth (0.6)
the western, the sino confucian, (0.3) the japane:se, the islamic, (0.3)
the hindu, the slavic orthodox, latin-american
and possibly african.
```

32 Mentre i docenti ZO, EA, HI e BN fanno ampio ricorso alla metacomunicazione con funzione di organizzazione testuale, il passaggio da un tema (o sottotema) all'altro non viene generalmente evidenziato ("formulato") in maniera esplicita nella lezione di TP, che segnala piuttosto il procedere dell'esposizione e dell'argomentazione tramite segnali discorsivi (*now, so*). In tutte le lezioni, invece, sono presenti riferimenti inter- e intradiscorsivi a temi o aspetti trattati in precedenti lezioni o nel corso della lezione stessa.

33 Dopo una fase di discussione sul "revisore contabile" (che era stata stimolata dal docente con una richiesta, ad una studentessa, di esporre i compiti di tale figura, e che si protrae per quasi dieci minuti), il docente chiude il tema con una sintesi di alcuni minuti (introdotta appunto con la formulazione sopra citata), passando poi ad un altro argomento.

34 Sulla funzione valutativa dell'uso di etichette nominali, in particolare *problem*, cfr. Bamford (2005).

35 È interessante notare come, in entrambi i casi, il tentativo del docente di aprire una fase di discussione cada nel vuoto e come dunque l'etichetta nominale (*question, comments*) venga 'riciclata': per chiudere il punto e passare al successivo nel caso di TP ("we'll raise the question again", r. 15) e per chiudere un sottopunto ed offrire egli stesso dei commenti piú generali (elencati nella successiva diapositiva) nel caso di EA ("let's make some comments", r. 5).

```
10   (1.6)
     ehm do you have any eh problems with this *list?
     (0.8)
     do you have any comments on this list?
     *(11)*
     *si sposta lateralmente, guarda la presentazione sullo schermo, ritorna in
     posizione centrale davanti alla cattedra*
15   (well) we'll- eh keep it in mind we'll raise the question again.
```

Estratto 8 (32:03-32:28, EA)

```
1    any comments on this?
2    *(4)*
     *guarda la classe*
3    °no, (okay)°
4    *(4)*
     *fa avanzare la presentazione, compare diapositiva intitolata "comments"*
5    so what are our com- (what a-) let's make some comments on, using semaphores
6    as a synchronisation device. the=the (0.2) advantages and disadvantages.
7    the nice thing about, is (the) >is that they're easy to un- semaphores,
8    that they're easy to understand and use,
```

5.2. *Tra linguaggio specialistico e lingua comune*

Se l'impiego della metacomunicazione (ed in particolare, di sequenze metadiscorsive), come si è visto, contribuisce a rendere visibile l'organizzazione discorsiva globale e locale della lezione e, potenziamente, a facilitare il processo di comprensione[36], ulteriori elementi paiono contraddistinguere il lavoro di "recipient design" (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974) compiuto dal docente in vista di una maggiore esplicitezza e chiarezza del proprio parlato monologico, concettualmente denso e caratterizzato dall'uso di uno specifico linguaggio specialistico. Si osservi a questo proposito il successivo estratto:

Estratto 9 (9:51-10:31, EA)

```
1    *so (0.3) I just remind you that,*(.) *last time we saw that,
     *si gira e guarda lo schermo         * guarda la classe
2    sometimes we can (.) sort of rely on hardware, (0.3) facilities, (0.2)
3    for ensuring that. (0.4)
4    *and we may have*   *hardware that*         *(0.3) eh gives us an instruction
     *guarda schermo* *punta allo schermo*  *guarda la classe
5    which is called test and set instruction.
6    .h and test and set instruction is atomic.
7    in the sense that *it cannot be interrupted.*
                       *muove la mano in alto e in basso*
8    you cannot .h eh (0.2) interrupt the execution of a process, (1.5)
9    eh (0.4) when it has (0.5) tested (0.4) eh a test and set variable (0.2)
10   eh (an=an) and you must wait until (.) the test variable has been set.
11   *(0.4) so,* *you see the, process on the right *handside* here.
     *guarda schermo* *punta a schermo con dito     *tocca lo schermo*
```

36 Chaudron & Richards (1986) riscontrano degli effetti positivi dei segnali metadiscorsivi sulla comprensione di lezioni accademiche in L2 (verificata con test *cloze, multiple choice* e domande vero-falso), mentre Dunkel & Davis (1994), non riportano differenze significative dovute alla presenza o all'assenza di tali segnali. Un ruolo di facilitazione è stato invece riscontrato da Flowerdew & Tauroza (1995) e dalla stessa Jung (2006), che nella sua ricerca di tipo qualitativo utilizza materiale autentico tratto da una lezione, aprendo così la strada ad ulteriori indagini per un campo che rimane ancora poco esplorato.

Dopo aver annunciato, all'inizio della lezione, il primo tema che sarà trattato (ovvero la ripresa di alcuni temi visti nella lezione precedente: "synchronising processes and threads"), il docente di informatica EA caratterizza per circa un minuto il concetto di „sincronizzazione" ("synchronisation"), ribadendo metacomunicativamente il carattere di ripetizione della propria attività discorsiva ("so (0.3) I just remind you that", r. 1) e collegando tale attività ai contenuti illustrati nella diapositiva mostrata in quel momento, verso la quale egli si orienta con lo sguardo.

Una volta stabilito tale riferimento, il docente volge lo sguardo nuovamente all'intera classe, menzionando un tipo particolare di istruzione fornita dall'hardware, la cui precisa denominazione terminologica "test and set instruction" è preceduta da una segnalazione esplicita ("which is called"). L'illustrazione della principale caratteristica ("atomic") di tale istruzione viene poi preceduta da un segnale discorsivo di riformulazione ("in the sense that", r. 7), mentre la costruzione passiva "it cannot be interrupted" viene riformulata con una costruzione attiva ("you cannot interrupt eh the execution of a process"), con un passaggio di prospettiva che viene mantenuto nella successiva specificazione delle circostanze in cui tale impossibilità si applica ("when...", r. 9) e delle conseguenze di tale impossibilità ("and you must wait...", r. 10). Una volta ultimata la spiegazione, il docente stabilisce ancora una volta un riferimento all'esempio illustrato sullo schermo, indicato con un gesto puntatore mentre si avvicina allo stesso fino a toccarlo[37].

Le modalità linguistiche che il docente EA utilizza per gestire l'introduzione, nel discorso, di un nuovo termine, come pure il lavoro di riformulazione che egli dedica alla spiegazione dello stesso, sono ampiamente documentate all'interno del corpus. In particolare, la segnalazione metacomunicativa dello status terminologico di un dato concetto, e l'impiego (successivo o precedente) di parafrasi e riformulazioni che ne esplicitano il significato, paiono essere delle specifiche strategie utilizzate dai docenti nel gestire l'utilizzo del linguaggio specialistico della rispettiva materia, come esemplificato anche dai successivi estratti. Nel primo di essi, la docente BN introduce la prima delle tecniche usate in pubblicità, a cui è dedicata la lezione, evidenziandone lo status terminologico ("which is called", r. 2) e procedendo poi a spiegare in che cosa essa consista, esplicitando cosí la base metaforica del termine stesso. Nel secondo, il docente HI ripara (cfr. Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977) l'espressione generica "vantaggi personali", utilizzata da uno studente nel proprio intervento (r. 3), con il corrispondente termine "estrazione di benefici privati del controllo" (rr. 7-8). Il termine viene segnalato come tale e attribuito al linguaggio specialistico degli economisti; viene inoltre enunciato in modo lievemente rallentato e con accento enfatico, ed in tal modo evidenziato ulteriormente, e successivamente glossato con l'utilizzo di una struttura infinitiva

37 Il comportamento non verbale (sguardo, avvicinamento allo schermo, gesti) del docente EA contribuisce a orientare l'attenzione dell'uditorio, di volta in volta, verso la presentazione sullo schermo e verso sé stesso come 'attore' principale dell'azione (la spiegazione verbale), rivelandosi dunque una componente non secondaria dell'attività comunicativa.

che segna il passaggio dal sostantivo (“estrazione”) al corrispondente verbo (“estrarre”, r. 9)[38].

Estratto 10 (13:55-14:18, BN)

I start with eh (.) one tecnique which is being used a lot, eh
which is called slice of life, (1)
which (0.2) basically takes a small slice, (0.2) from an everyday,
situation (0.5) of (0.4) people like you and me of normal people, (0.4)
and that’s something which has been used a lot in the (0.3) a:h
nineteen fifties nineteen sixties,

Estratto 11 (06:17-06: 06:41 HI)

((precedente intervento di ST2))
PRO hm. *cioè okay, va benissimo,*
tende la mano, rivolta a ST2, palmo aperto ((come in ‘stop’))
PRO ma >vediamo di di ridirlo in un’altra maniera, giorgio,<=
ST3 =il premio di controllo è collegato al: (ai) vantaggi personali anche
del: (0.3) eh dell’individuo che=ha, che ha il controllo. (°perché/che
ha°)
PRO e questi vantaggi personali, che chiamiamo di- col termine degli
economisti vostro quindi .h <estrazione di benefici privati del
controllo,> quindi avere il controllo di una società vuol dire anche
(.) estrarre benefici privati. ci faccia degli esempi,

L’utilizzo di riformulazioni non è confinato peraltro a singole espressioni terminologiche, ma può interessare ampie porzioni di parlato: a volte precedute da specifici segnali discorsivi (‘cioè’, ‘in altre parole’, ‘in altri termini’, ‘that is’, ‘that is to say’, ‘namely’ e simili), esse possono assolvere numerose funzioni nelle lezioni accademiche, fornendo specificazioni, spiegazioni, definizioni, conclusioni e sintesi (cfr. Murillo Ornat 2006, Murillo 2006) di quanto precedentemente enunciato. Si tratta dunque di un’ulteriore modalità comunicativa messa in atto nel discorso monologico dei docenti, con la quale, ancora una volta, la complessità e densità concettuale tipica di questo genere discorsivo può essere mediata (cfr. Gajo 2007) in funzione di una maggiore fruibilità, come già osservato in precedenti analisi (cfr. Veronesi & Spreafico 2009).

5.3. *La dimensione interpersonale della lezione monologica*

Nell’analisi delle lezioni accademiche, come già accennato, non sono mancati gli studi incentrati sugli aspetti interpersonali e relazionali del parlato monologico dei docenti: questi, nella trasmissione del sapere disciplinare, utilizzano infatti un’ampia gamma di modalità discorsive volte a suscitare e mantenere l’interesse ed il coinvolgimento dell’uditorio, ed a stabilire dei rapporti di solidarietà che mirano ad abbassare il grado di asimmetria in funzione di una maggiore coesione tanto sul piano personale quanto, e soprattutto, in termini di affiliazione alla specifica comunità discorsiva.

38 Per ragioni di spazio non si riporta qui il precedente intervento di ST2, rispetto alle cui caratteristiche (erroneo accordo di genere grammaticale, ricerca di parole) la richiesta di riformulazione rivolta a ST3 (che aveva segnalato alzando la mano, durante il turno di ST2, l’intenzione di intervenire) pare configurarsi ugualmente come richiesta di riparazione anche linguistica.

Tra tali strategie figurano ad esempio l'impiego di elementi che evidenziano la rilevanza di quanto affermato (*audience-oriented relevance markers* come, in inglese, *important*, *key, crucial*, *remarkable* e simili, cfr. Crawford Camiciottoli 2004b; si vedano gli esempi 7 e 8)[39], l'utilizzo di pronomi di prima persona plurale in enunciati metadiscorsivi (Walsh 2004: 45, cfr. gli estratti 7 e 8), o l'uso di *hedges*, in sequenze metadiscorsive in prima persona singolare, che rivelerebbero un certo grado di informalità (Pérez Llantada 2006b: 76-77).

Similmente, le digressioni possono essere finalizzate a rafforzare la dimensione interpersonale dell'evento comunicativo, facendo emergere "il punto di vista del professore in relazione ai contenuti che sta trattando o alla funzione didattica che sta svolgendo" o mirando a "ridurre la distanza posizionale fra studenti e professori attraverso azioni tipiche della comunicazione paritaria" (Zorzi 1999: 77-79). Si tratta ad es. di giochi di parole, battute, aneddoti personali, come osservato anche da Strodt-Lopez (1984) e Wang (2006), e come riscontrato in analisi preliminari di parte del corpus qui esaminato (Veronesi 2007a: 27-28), dove, accanto a battute scherzose, riferimenti compiuti dai docenti alla propria esperienza personale e professionale (episodi e annedoti) ed esemplificazioni vicine all'universo conoscitivo (sfera mediatica e musicale) degli studenti stessi, un importante strumento di coesione risulta essere la categorizzazione (Sacks 1992) degli studenti in quanto specialisti o futuri esperti della materia ("you as a (.) designer", "you are (.) the=the (.) professionals or you will be the professionals (.) in target communication", BN, cfr. Veronesi 2007a: 27; si veda anche l'es. 11, rr. 6-7), e dunque in quanto membri a pieno titolo della comunità scientifica e professionale in questione.

Vi sono poi ulteriori elementi che evidenzierebbero la dimensione interazionale del parlato monologico accademico, come ad esempio richieste di conferma della ricezione ('d'accordo?', 'va bene?', *okay?*, *right?*, cfr. Pérez-Llantada 2006a), e, ancor piú, domande che i docenti pongono fornendo loro stessi la risposta[40]. Si tratta di una strategia che, facendo leva sulla rilevanza condizionale che si viene a stabilire tra le due parti della coppia adiacente (una domanda proietta una risposta) e creando così un'attesa nell'uditorio, viene utilizzata dai docenti per suscitare l'attenzione degli studenti (Bamford 2005: 143) nel momento in cui, con la domanda, sollevano delle problematiche di ampio respiro o 'preparano' l'introduzione della nuova informazione contenuta nella risposta immediatamente seguente (Thompson 1998: 142-144)[41].

39 Gli autori qui citati fanno riferimento ad una nozione estensiva di metacomunicazione, alla quale si associano, nella comunicazione accademica, non solo funzioni di organizzazione testuale-discorsiva, ma anche funzioni interpersonali (cfr. Bamford & Bondi 2005: xvii-xviii).

40 Non è stata condotta in questa sede un'analisi sistematica di questi due fenomeni, pur presenti nel corpus in esame; a titolo di esempio si vedano gli estratti 3 ("okay?"), 5 ("no?") e le seguenti sequenze domanda-risposta, realizzate dai docenti: "so the question is, how many semaphors do I need? well (0.3) the solution of this problem [...] is very easy." (EA); "la teoria degli effetti limitati si chiamava così perché? (.) perché il ragionamento era [...]" (ZO); "you have (0.4) a satisfaction in having, deciphered something, (1) there's an element of enter<u>tainment</u>, (0.3) and what is the result? the result is that the message (0.4) <u>lea</u>ves a stronger <u>tra</u>ce, and is therefore (0.3) more memorable (0.3) and will be remembered." (BN).

41 Similmente, per Crawford Camiciottoli (2008: 1225-1231) questo tipo di domande (definite "content-oriented") avrebbero la funzione di focalizzare l'informazione o di stimolare la riflessione teorica.

6. Considerazioni conclusive e prospettive di ricerca

L'analisi delle lezioni accademiche qui presentata, incentrata principalmente sul contributo dei docenti, ha mostrato come questi, orientandosi alla politica linguistica ufficiale, si servano principalmente di una sola lingua per gestire l'evento comunicativo. La 'mediazione' della materia ad un uditorio non esperto, dunque, anziché avvalersi delle risorse linguistiche disponibili in contesto, si traduce piuttosto in un fine lavoro linguistico e discorsivo nella lingua ufficiale di insegnamento, che pare mirare ad obiettivi di chiarezza e comprensibilità per un uditorio non esperto e spesso non-nativo. Si è visto infatti come i docenti organizzino la propria esposizione fornendo agli studenti, con il ricorso alla metacomunicazione, una serie di punti di orientamento per seguire piú agevolmente lo sviluppo tematico del proprio monologo; si è osservato inoltre come la complessità del discorso specialistico venga gestita con l'aiuto di glosse esplicative e di riformulazioni. Uno sguardo al modo in cui i docenti tengono conto nei propri interventi degli interlocutori a cui sono rivolti, ricercandone l'accordo, suscitandone l'attenzione e considerandoli come membri della comunità accademica o come futuri professionisti, ha permesso infine di esplorare in parte la dimensione interpersonale del parlato monologico accademico.

Non vi è dubbio, tuttavia, che si tratti di un approccio parziale all'analisi di questo genere discorsivo, tanto piú se collocato in un contesto plurilingue: per rendere conto della sua complessità, infatti, pare imprescindibile l'adozione di una prospettiva decisamente interazionale, che porti ad esaminare l'apporto di tutti i partecipanti alla costruzione dell'evento, considerato in primo luogo come comunicazione faccia-a-faccia. Tale ampiamento di prospettiva solleva una serie di questioni finora poco affrontate, se non del tutto trascurate, prima fra tutte la necessità di un'attenta analisi delle caratteristiche prosodiche del parlato monologico dei docenti, rispetto al quale, al di là della generale caratterizzazione in termini di eloquio marcato (cfr. ad es. Beretta 1986, che parla di lentezza di eloquio e uso di accenti enfatici), mancano ancora descrizioni specifiche che sarebbero senza dubbio utili anche in un quadro di insegnamento veicolare.

In secondo luogo, pare indispensabile superare la visione 'monologicistica' della lezione accademica e aprire lo sguardo all'interazione dialogica all'interno della classe[42], sinora osservata perlopiù in generi discorsivi quali il seminario: poco si sa, infatti, dei meccanismi con cui avviene il cambiamento della struttura partecipativa (cfr. Goffman 1987), all'interno dell'evento, nel passaggio da turni lunghi del docente a sequenze dialogiche minime (domanda-risposta) o piú estese (fasi di discussione con la partecipazione di piú studenti) e viceversa, a cui si è solo accennato nel corso del presente saggio, e che molto potrebbero dire su come sia possibile gestire e sollecitare la partecipazione attiva degli studenti, anche sullo sfondo di competenze linguistiche variabili.

L'analisi dell'interazione dialogica, a sua volta, potrebbe fornire una visione più completa ed integrata di come, sullo sfondo del rapporto asimmetrico (in senso

42 Si veda su questo punto anche Anderson & Ciliberti (2002: 93).

conversazionale, conoscitivo e di competenze linguistiche) tra docenti e studenti, il sapere venga non solo 'trasmesso' ma anche co-costruito e negoziato in interazione, e di come in tale processo intervenga l'uso della L1/L2.

Una prospettiva integrata della lezione accademica in quanto comunicazione faccia a faccia, infine, non puó non interessarsi al fine intreccio tra modalità verbale e non verbale e al ruolo svolto dalla comunicazione non verbale, tanto nella strutturazione dei contributi monologici del docente (si veda l'es. 9), quanto nell'attività di coordinazione e di orientamento dei partecipanti stessi rispetto a mosse conversazionali e fasi della lezione (cfr. Veronesi 2007b).

La ricerca sulla comunicazione accademica in contesti plurilingui, ci sembra, potrà solo beneficiare dallo studio della dimensione dialogica e multimodale: per meglio comprendere come attori sociali con diverse competenze sfruttino le risorse a loro disposizione per il conseguimento dei propri obiettivi di insegnamento e di apprendimento in una o piú lingue, per capire come le politiche linguistiche istituzionali delle università bi- e plurilingui si traducano concretamente nelle pratiche comunicative della vita accademica quotidiana, e per riflettere su come queste possano a loro volta consolidare il progetto stesso di una formazione universitaria plurilingue nella realtà educativa del nostro tempo.

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Appendice - Convenzioni di trascrizione

TESTO	volume alto (maggiore intensità)
ºtestoº	volume basso (minore intensità)
›testo‹	accelerato
‹testo›	ritardato
test-	troncatura di un suono
te:sto	prolungamento di un suono
testo, testo	enfasi particolare
te(h)sto	parola pronunciata in modo ridente
.	intonazione discendente, conclusiva
,	intonazione continuativa
?	intonazione ascendente, come in una domanda
!	pronuncia animata
↑; ↓	ascesa tonale rapida; discesa tonale rapida
.h; h	aspirazione; espirazione
ha, he	risata
ma=ma	continuità di emissione vocale, senza stacco
(.)	pausa breve (inferiore a 0.2)
(0.3), (1)	pausa superiore a 0.2 (misura)
[testo]	inizio e fine di sovrapposizione tra parlanti
(testo)	espressioni dubbie
(xx)	espressioni inudibili o incomprensibili
((testo))	commento
[...]	materiale omesso nella trascrizione
**cammina* *	inizio e fine di un'attività non verbale

Multilinguismo in interazione: descrizione dei repertori linguistici di studenti universitari

Alessandro Vietti – Libera Università di Bolzano

The article provides a preliminary description of the patterns of language use and their relation to the strategies of language contact in a multilingual context. The analysis is based on a corpus of sociolinguistic data collected at the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano by two university students. The corpus consists of both audio recordings of spontaneous students' verbal interactions and language diaries (written self-recordings of daily language use). These two different empirical sources are investigated in order to outline (a) a chart of language use in situation and (b) a description of language contact phenomena. Language diaries proved to be useful to draw a map of speakers' language choices in relation to their social networks and, on the other hand, verbal data were the basis for the exploratory analysis on language contact strategies (e.g. bilingual mode, native – non native communication, communication among non native speakers).

The conjectural outcomes are that:

1. there is a (strong) relation between code choice and social network, since multilingual practices are more likely to emerge in weak ties,
2. the type of speaker (in terms of linguistic repertoire and social network structure) is probably connected to a limited range of language contact phenomena.

Keywords: code-choice, language contact, social network, language diary

1. Problemi e obiettivi dell'indagine

In questo contributo si esporranno le prime riflessioni su di un corpus di dati relativi alla comunicazione tra studenti presso la Libera Università di Bolzano (LUB)[1].

Come ricordato anche da Veronesi (in questa sede e cfr. Veronesi & Spreafico 2009) la LUB rappresenta un contesto accademico unico per via delle politiche linguistiche adottate dall'ateneo. Essa è infatti un'università trilingue (italiano, tedesco, inglese) sebbene attraverso strategie e scelte linguistiche anche molto diversificate: accanto a corsi che prevedono una distribuzione più o meno bilanciata delle tre lingue attraverso il curriculum (come nelle facoltà di economia o design), se ne trovano altri che propendono per l'uso di una lingua di lavoro dominante, sia essa l'inglese (come alla facoltà di informatica), il tedesco o l'italiano (come per esempio nei corsi di formazione primaria presso la facoltà di scienze della formazione).

L'obiettivo primario di questo studio è tracciare alcune possibili linee di indagine che abbiano come comune denominatore la descrizione dell'uso delle lingue nei vari contesti comunicativi spontanei ed evidenzino alcune classi di fenomeni che possono verificarsi in ragione del contatto linguistico. Il punto di partenza è pertanto l'osservazione dell'uso quotidiano del repertorio multilingue da parte di due studenti

1 I dati e i risultati presentati in questo contributo rientrano all'interno del progetto DYLAN (*Language dynamics and management of diversity*) finanziato dall'Unione Europea nell'ambito del VI Programma Quadro.

universitari presi ad esempio. L'osservazione si basa su un corpus di dati spontanei raccolti dai parlanti stessi in diverse condizioni di vita quotidiana, unitamente a un diario di annotazioni e valutazioni compilato sempre dagli stessi due studenti.

Considerando la natura esplorativa e prevalentemente metodologica di questo contributo, si possono delineare due intenti centrali all'indagine:

a) effettuare una mappatura delle lingue effettivamente utilizzate dagli studenti universitari (oltre a quelle "istituzionalmente" presenti);
b) descrivere gli effetti di un ambiente multilingue su alcune di tali lingue e varietà di lingua (in particolare per quanto riguarda l'italiano).

Con il punto a) si intende non soltanto una sorta di censimento delle lingue usate, ma anche un tentativo di rilevare le tendenze e gli schemi più frequenti riguardo all'uso delle lingue. Mentre il punto b) si presenta come un laboratorio di osservazione dei possibili effetti che un ambiente multilingue può esercitare sulle varietà di lingua dei repertori individuali (non soltanto pratiche di commutazione di codice, ma anche varie forme di interferenza tra i sistemi linguistici in contatto sul piano fonetico/fonologico, morfologico, sintattico e lessicale).

2. Metodi e dati

Se ci si propone di esaminare il tema della *language choice* e dei conseguenti schemi d'uso delle lingue di un repertorio, si apre immediatamente un ventaglio di metodi ben consolidati per la raccolta di dati sociolinguistici. Da un lato, troviamo lo strumento *par excellence* delle scienze umane, l'osservazione partecipante, ovvero un metodo di raccolta diretta dei dati; dall'altro, si pone un'ampia famiglia di tecniche basate sull'autovalutazione del comportamento linguistico proprio e altrui da parte dello stesso soggetto indagato. Fanno naturalmente parte di questa seconda classe i questionari, così come strumenti meno noti nell'indagine sociolinguistica come i diari linguistici (*language diaries*, v. Romaine 1983, Milroy 1987, Gibbons 1987 e recentemente Lawson & Sachdev 2004)[2]. Come è spiegato chiaramente in Lawson & Sachdev (2004: 52):

> In the same way as an ordinary diary functions as a record of events and emotions, the language diary is a record of a speaker's perceptions of their language choice over a given period of time and thus provides the researcher with insights into the basis for those language choices.

Gli studenti che hanno collaborato alla raccolta hanno pertanto tenuto per cinque giorni un diario scritto delle proprie interazioni, compilando un modello con le seguenti informazioni:

- tempo (ora e durata),
- situazione (luogo, circostanza: p.e. *classe, aspettando il professore*),
- stile (amichevole, discussione animata, chiacchiera, litigio ecc.),
- argomento,

2 La tecnica del diario viene applicata anche in sociologia nello studio delle reti sociali (Marsden 2005).

- parlanti principali (età, genere, ruolo, provenienza),
- lingua (italiano, tedesco, dialetto sudtirolese ecc.).

Accanto all'auto-descrizione del proprio comportamento linguistico, allo studente è stato anche richiesto di documentare la propria vita quotidiana attraverso la registrazione audio di alcune interazioni spontanee in una sorta di audio-diario linguistico.

Sulla base di queste informazioni è possibile non soltanto conoscere il differente utilizzo delle lingue di un repertorio individuale, ma anche ricavare preziose informazioni sociolinguistiche sulla natura delle reti sociali di studenti universitari.

Se tra i principali vantaggi di questa tecnica possiamo senz'altro rilevare la ricchezza e la rapidità di raccolta di dati, sia di autovalutazione che spontanei, va anche altresì rilevata la spesso lacunosa informazione contestuale (partecipanti, ruoli, posizioni e movimenti nello spazio) e naturalmente il forte rischio di una rappresentazione normalizzata della realtà comunicativa secondo stereotipi e aspettative sociali. L'audio-diario linguistico, se lo possiamo chiamare in questo modo, consente perciò di osservare fenomeni "naturali" difficilmente esaminabili con osservazione diretta, scavalcando il paradosso dell'osservatore attraverso la trasformazione del comune partecipante in osservatore privilegiato. Ovviamente, anche questa operazione prevede il costo di una rappresentazione non scientifica e non necessariamente emica della realtà, piuttosto una visione tipizzata secondo l'occhio del parlante. Nella Tab. 1 è rappresentato un esempio elaborato di diario linguistico tenuto da uno studente pachistano.

Language Diary

24/03/2007

	Situation					Principal Speakers				
Time (Min)	Place	Circumstance	Style	Subject	Role	Education	Sex	Age	Background	Language
20	Park	Jogging	Friendly	Cycling Track in Bolzano	Friends	PG	M & F	23-27	Mixed	English
10	Park	Jogging	Friendly	Quality or Roads in Europe	Friends	PG	M & F	23-27	Mixed	English
20	Shop	Buying Stuff	Friendly	Import of Spices from Asia	Shop Keeper		M	30-40	Pakistani	Urdu
20	Canteen	Lunch	Friendly	Pepsi or Coke which is strong	Friends	PG	M	27	Bangladesh	Urdu
8	Library	Study	Friendly	Library Structure	Friends	PG	M	27	Bangladesh	Urdu
20	Common Kitchen	Dinner	Friendly	Asian Food Biryani	Friends	PG	M	23-27	Mixed	English
15	Playing Room	Kickero	Friendly	Rules of Kickero	Friends	PG	M	35-40	Mixed	English
5	Ice Cream Bar	Fun	Friendly	Favorite Ice creams	Friends	PG	M & F	23-27	Mixed	English
5	Train Station	Recption	Serious Discussion	Buy Train Ticket	Reception Officer		M	40-45	Italian	Italian

Tabella 1 – Un esempio di diario linguistico

In questa prima fase sono stati compilati tre diari linguistici ma soltanto due verranno qui discussi, quelli di AA studente pachistano di informatica e di CC studentessa italiana (Lombardia) di ingegneria. I due parlanti hanno documentato le proprie interazioni anche con delle registrazioni audio[3] e più specificatamente 11 interazioni (1h 30' circa) per AA e 53 conversazioni (6h 30' circa) per CC .

In questo modo è possibile ottenere dati sui pattern di uso delle lingue e anche sulle caratteristiche linguistiche delle varietà di lingua utilizzate effettivamente dagli studenti.

3. Analisi esplorativa del corpus

In questa sezione sono esposti i primi tentativi di esaminare i dati raccolti nella duplice prospettiva di tipizzazione degli schemi di uso delle lingue e di descrizione dei fenomeni linguistici indotti dal contatto tra le lingue.

3.1. *Usi linguistici di due studenti universitari*

Come prima cosa è necessario presentare alcune caratteristiche dei studenti-raccoglitori: AA è un giovane pachistano di 22 anni iscritto al primo anno del corso di laurea specialistica nella Facoltà di Scienze e tecnologie informatiche, mentre CC è una studentessa di Ingegneria logistica di 21 anni proveniente dalla Lombardia.

Senza pretesa di esaustività, ma con l'unico scopo di fornire qualche dettaglio contestuale, va ricordato che nella Facoltà di Scienze e tecnologie informatiche i singoli corsi sono tenuti al 90% in lingua inglese e che nell'anno accademico 2006-2007 i 60 studenti iscritti al corso di laurea specialistica (Ma) provenivano da 19 paesi diversi e gli 81 del corso di laurea (Ba) provenivano da 15 distinti paesi. Nella Facoltà di Scienze naturali e tecnologia i corsi si tengono invece nelle tre lingue ufficiali dell'ateneo (inglese, italiano e tedesco) e gli studenti iscritti, per esempio, al corso di Ingegneria logistica sono prevalentemente sudtirolesi.

3.1.1. *Studente pachistano (AA)*

Aggregando le informazioni contenute nel diario linguistico di AA si possono ottenere due quadri differenti che forniscono una visione d'insieme abbastanza chiara delle lingue usate in situazione e per interlocutore. Le descrizioni dei partecipanti alle diverse interazioni sono accorpate in macro-classi di interlocutori (qui con un solo scopo esplorativo/conoscitivo) e in particolare *familiari*, *amici* e *altro*. Allo stesso modo le situazioni comunicative sono state aggregate in domini d'uso denominati *famiglia*, *ostello* (studentato, collegio ecc.), *università*, *tempo libero*, *interazioni di approvvigionamento* (negozi, bar, ristoranti ecc.). I risultati di questa operazione sono contenuti nelle Tabb. 2-3 e consentono di osservare quali lingue sono parlate da AA in relazione a macro-categorie di interlocutore o di situazione.

3 Le registrazioni non vengono effettuate necessariamente per ogni "entrata" del diario, ma sono eseguite liberamente dal parlante.

	Inglese	Urdu	Italiano	TOT
Amici	17	6	0	23
Famiglia	0	11	0	11
Altro	0	3	2	5
TOT	17	20	2	39

Tabella 2 – Lingue usate per tipo di interlocutore (AA)

	Urdu	Inglese	Italiano	TOT
Famiglia	3	0	0	3
Ostello	3	4	1	8
Università	6	7	0	13
Tempo libero	1	6	0	7
Negozi, bar, ristoranti ecc.	7	0	1	8
TOT	20	17	2	39

Tabella 3 – Lingue usate per situazione (AA)

Da un'osservazione cursoria delle due tabelle si possono notare alcuni fatti notevoli. In primo luogo, lo hindi-urdu[4] si profila come la lingua più usata in assoluto e anche quella che ha una più equilibrata distribuzione per contesti e tipi di interlocutori: sorprendentemente l'urdu serve un'ampia gamma di funzioni comunicative, dalle "chiacchiere" amicali alle interazioni in un negozio, a più prevedibili conversazioni familiari. Per opposto, colpisce invece che non vi siano che tracce irrilevanti dell'italiano e la totale mancanza del tedesco. L'italiano compare soltanto sotto forma di varietà basica per esigenze strumentali di interazioni di servizio (acquistare un biglietto ferroviario o gestire brevi interazioni con il personale dell'ostello). Il ruolo di raccordo tra il mondo "etnico" (ben rappresentato, vivo e socialmente diversificato) e quello accademico è svolto evidentemente dall'inglese che serve le funzioni educative alte e di comunicazione tra pari, per lo più stranieri (che non conoscono lo hindi-urdu).

Molto ci sarebbe ancora da rilevare anche sulla base di questi dati limitati, basti considerare in questo schizzo l'impiego delle riscorse del repertorio linguistico rappresentato, da un lato, dalla forte componente etnica nella rete comunicativa grazie alla quale, tramite i legami con la comunità pachistana locale, vengono soddisfatte le esigenze primarie; dall'altro, dall'orizzonte internazionale offerto dall'uso dell'inglese, lingua dell'istruzione e della futura professione (informatica). Nel progetto di vita di AA (trasferitosi poi in Inghilterra) non c'è una necessità di radicamento e interazione con lo specifico contesto locale, questo anzi può essere in qualche modo scavalcato combinando le radici etniche – di una lingua molto impiegata nel sub-continente indiano come lo hindi-urdu – con l'in-

4 Lo hindi-urdu è una lingua del gruppo indo-ario del ramo indo-iraniano della famiglia indoeuropea. È lingua ufficiale in Pakistan ed è una lingua di grande comunicazione in una vasta zona del sub-continente indiano che va dal Pakistan fino al Bangladesh. Si stima che lo hindi-urdu sia parlato da 60-80 milioni di parlanti nativi e sia una delle prime cinque lingue più parlate nel mondo (www.ethnologue.com).

ternazionalità di una lingua come l'inglese che consente l'accesso a un'istruzione universitaria.

3.1.2. Studentessa lombarda (CC)

Completamente diversa è l'immagine della studentessa CC che si ricava dall'osservazione dei dati delle Tabelle 4 e 5. La maggiore varietà e vitalità dell'attività comunicativa di CC ha reso necessaria l'aggiunta di alcune categorie di interlocutori e contesti, in particolare per quanto riguarda le relazioni che si svolgono nell'ambiente di provenienza (un paese della Lombardia occidentale). Come quella di molti studenti universitari fuori sede, la struttura della rete sociale di CC è suddivisa in due grandi insiemi di relazioni, quello dell'ambito di origine e quello della città nella quale si compiono gli studi universitari.

	Italiano	*Italiano + Dialetto lombardo occidentale*	*Italiano + Dialetto sudtirolese*	*Italiano + Tedesco*	*Tedesco*	*TOT*
Amici (casa)	4	0	0	0	0	4
Relazioni di II ordine (casa)	0	4	0	0	0	4
Famiglia	1	9	0	0	0	10
Ostello (studentato femminile)	4	0	0	2	1	7
Tempo libero	9	0	1	0	0	10
Negozi…	1	0	0	0	0	1
Università	9	0	7	0	0	16
Altro	1	0	0	0	0	1
TOT	29	13	8	2	1	53

Tabella 4 – Lingue usate per situazione (CC)

	Italiano	*Italiano + Dialetto lombardo occidentale*	*Italiano + Dialetto sudtirolese*	*Italiano + Tedesco*	*Tedesco*	*TOT*
Amici	13	0	1	0	0	14
Compagni di università	6	0	7	0	0	13
Giovani dello studentato	4	0	0	2	0	6
Membri della famiglia	1	12	0	0	0	13
Professori	3	0	0	0	0	3
Negozianti ecc.	2	1	0	0	1	4
TOT	29	13	8	2	1	53

Tabella 5 – Lingue usate per interlocutore (CC)

Un primo esame mette in luce non soltanto la differente realtà sociale di CC (in riferimento a quella di AA), ma anche il modo di intendere e rappresentare la propria attività comunicativa. Infatti, in entrambe le tabelle (a) si prevede l'uso di più codici nella stessa situazione o con i medesimi interlocutori, cosa che invece non accade o non viene colta in AA, e (b) vengono rappresentati e documentati sia i codici attivamente usati da CC che quelli presenti nella situazione. Ispezionando la tabella 4 si può registrare inoltre come nei contesti "universitari" (*università + tempo libero + studentato*) trovino spazio principalmente l'italiano o l'italiano in combinazione con il dialetto tirolese, mentre il tedesco (da solo o sempre in combinazione con l'italiano) è relegato ai margini[5].

Nella sfera di relazioni accomunate dal contesto di provenienza (*famiglia + amici a casa + relazioni di II ordine a casa*) compare l'uso del dialetto lombardo occidentale insieme all'italiano nel dominio familiare e con conoscenti del paese, mentre con il gruppo dei coetanei e amici sembra esserci un orientamento verso l'italiano[6].

La visione per tipi di interlocutori della tabella 5 conferma ulteriormente il ruolo dell'italiano come lingua preferita per le relazioni amicali sia a Bolzano che in Lombardia. Se invece ci spostiamo da questi verso legami meno intensi (pur all'interno della categoria del gruppo dei pari), osserviamo come, accanto all'italiano, compaia anche il dialetto tirolese (con una competenza passiva) e tracce di tedesco (L2), rispettivamente con i compagni di università e le ospiti tedesche dello studentato.

Dati come questi consentono di abbozzare delle prime riflessione circa il ruolo dell'opposizione tra legami deboli e forti (Milroy & Milroy 1992) nel repertorio plurilingue degli studenti: pare infatti che si possano concepire zone distinte nelle rete sociale di rapporti tra pari, da quelle più intime (amici) a quelle dei rapporti quotidiani non particolarmente significativi (altri studenti universitari), fino a quelle ancora più sfumate, caratterizzate dai legami fragili e radi delle compagne del convitto. Su binari quasi paralleli sembrano viaggiare le lingue usate: da codici preferiti (non necessariamente meglio conosciuti e padroneggiati) a varie forme di coesistenza di altri codici a fianco di quello principale. L'italiano nel repertorio di CC non rappresenta soltanto la lingua "preferita", ma è anche una lingua di ampio uso, con un ventaglio di funzioni esteso anche ai contesti di contatto interlinguistico, nei quali sembra servire da sfondo e da veicolo primario della comunicazione.

3.2. *Descrizione di alcuni tipi di fenomeni di contatto linguistico*

La compresenza di più codici linguistici, usati attivamente o per i quali si mostra una competenza passiva o, ancora, che costituiscono una risorsa linguistica non conosciuta ma facente parte dello sfondo linguistico (come p.e. il dialetto tirolese), produce, come ben noto, una gamma di effetti sulle varietà di lingua del repertorio in larga parte connessi al contesto sociolinguistico più ampio.

5 Ovviamente gioca un ruolo fondamentale il livello di competenza della lingua. Nel caso di CC il tedesco è senz'altro la lingua più debole poiché il percorso di apprendimento è cominciato all'università.

6 In linea con le finalità sociologico-linguistiche dell'analisi di superficie esposta in questo paragrafo viene del tutto "azzerata", per così dire, la dimensione variazionistica dei codici. Nel caso specifico dunque non si tiene conto delle molte caratteristiche che contraddistinguono questi usi come varietà di italiano regionale lombardo (occidentale), trascurato e con tratti di "giovanilese".

A un primo esame delle trascrizioni del parlato registrato dai due studenti si segnalano alcuni fenomeni emergenti di contatto che possiamo raggruppare in tre grandi categorie: pratiche discorsive bilingui (code-switching e code-mixing, prestiti lessicali e strutturali), comunicazione tra parlanti nativi e non nativi (p.e. uso di varietà di L2, varietà native semplificate ecc.), comunicazione tra parlanti non nativi (varietà veicolari, lingua franca ecc.).

Qui di seguito presenterò alcuni dati soltanto a mo' di esempio e con una funzione puramente emblematica, senza una chiave interpretativa definita (per la trascrizione sono state adottate le convenzioni dell'analisi conversazionale così come appaiono in MacWhinney 2008: 86, v. Appendice in chiusura).

[1]

1 A i will na net in der firma lossn do (.) do was woas i: (.) wenn oaner hundrt euro auf seite tuat- tuat die firma a hin hundrt euro.
2 non lo lascerò in azienda, che ne so, se metto da parte 100 euro l'azienda ne mette da parte altri 100
3 (3)
4 B eh il tiefferre dove cazzo (lo) fai mettere?
5 C devo ancora decidere [(sai).]
6 B [anch'io.]
7 C non so
8 B alla ditta non lo lascio di sicuro: perché:
9 (2.5)
10 A **tanto** (.) es wird net viel sein wos wir weg tian.
… non sarà tanto quello che riusciamo a mettere da parte
11 B **no**: (.) **però diciamo** es hängt olm auf der pension und i hon olm drei jor erforn
12 und auf seite. (**cazzo**) (..) und **noi altri** miassn:: (..) vierzig jor norret
13 (..) und mir sein siebnunddreißig jor orbeitn (..) (**per**) **tre anni cazzo** (..)
14 und alle fünf jor wird ins a jor gschenkt (..) oder lets ins geat.
… dipende sempre dalla pensione a io ho sempre 3 anni di esperienza da parte… e noi dobbiamo diventare matti per 40 anni e a me ne restano ancora 37…e ogni 5 anni un anno è regalato o ci va male
15 C (xxx)
16 B (o beh) però (..) tanto devi cominciare lo stesso eh↑ (2.5) si vedrà (anche)
17 nel tuo futuro eh (..) non è che cambi (xxx) INPS (..) pensplan (..) laborfond
18 C (xxx)
19 B no (.) non alla ditta (..) lo dai:: (..) alla banca
20 D al terzo mondo
21 B no (.) grazie (..) son io il terzo mondo (1.5) sono bisognoso

L'interazione riportata fa parte del corpus della studentessa CC e si tratta di uno scambio di battute prima di una lezione universitaria i cui protagonisti sono due studenti lavoratori altoatesini (A, B, C), presumibilmente parlanti nativi di dialetto tirolese.

L'intera sequenza è un buon esempio di *bilingual mode*, ovvero una modalità discorsiva nella quale le due grammatiche vengono attivate (consapevolmente o meno) quasi simultaneamente con lo scopo di sfruttare pragmaticamente e conversazionalmente i diversi codici a disposizione. Un'osservazione superficiale alla componente lessicale della commutazione ci consente di notare come all'interno di un'articolazione del testo prevalentemente in dialetto tedesco trovino spazio alcune categorie lessicali espresse in italiano e segnatamente i segnali discorsivi (*tanto, no, però, diciamo*) e i pronomi (*noialtri*). I segnali discorsivi rappresentano il caso più tipico di interferenza interlinguistica, il primo gradino in una scala di prestabilità (Thomason 2001: 70-1), in quanto costituiscono l'estrema periferia nella strutturazione sintattica di un messaggio, svolgendo piuttosto una funzione nella macro articolazione del testo.

[2]

```
M  >habt ihr morgen früh schon also so zu sagen oder wieder mal zu uni<
A  eh::: mi ero disconnessa (.) ich habe nicht verstanden
M  (hast nicht verstanden)
A  he he he
M  geht ihr morgen noch mal zur uni[oder?]
C                                  [ja ja  bis hal]b fünf.
A                                  [ja ja  bis:::::]halb fünf
C  halb fünf (.) und ich habe dem zug em:: um [halb sechs]
A                                          ha[lb sechs] und ich um neun am
   abend [°habe ich dem zug°]
C        [ja e::::]
M  wann bist du dann zu hause?
C  [ja ja]
A  [ja ja] ich::
M  spät? (.) also nacht erst (.) oder (.) [du auch]
A                                     [ja ] ich=ich übernachte im zug (.) no
   aber sie: sie: wohnt nicht so weit von hier
C  na (.) ich um zehn uhr:: bin ich eh:: zum hause
M  (das geht ja)
A  <zu hause>
C  zu hause ((pernacchia)) dai (..) via
A  sembravi che andavi dal topo (.) zumaus he he:::
C  he he he
```

[2] è invece un buon esempio di comunicazione tra nativi e non nativi presente sempre nel corpus di CC. Il brano è tratto da una conversazione spontanea tra CC, una sua compagna di università (pugliese) A e una ospite del convitto (M), proveniente da Amburgo, a Bolzano per seguire uno stage.

Le caratteristiche delle varietà linguistiche in gioco e quelle connesse con il parlato spontaneo rendono la comprensione reciproca in più di un caso problematica, come si può notare rapidamente in tre fenomeni di questo episodio.

Le caratteristiche del parlato nativo emergono in modo evidente nei primi turni, nei quali l'alta velocità di elocuzione di M (*allegro speech*) nella domanda posta al primo turno sembra porre A nella condizione di dover segnalare esplicitamente, in italiano, la propria mancata comprensione (*eh::: mi ero disconnessa*) e richiedere, in tedesco (foneticamente L2), una riformulazione da parte di M (*ich habe nicht verstanden*). M accoglie dunque la richiesta di A e riformula semplificando il messaggio, sia attraverso mezzi prosodici (rallentando il ritmo di enunciazione), sia attraverso mezzi sintattici (riduzione del materiale lessicale, costruzione di una domanda polare).

Il secondo fenomeno rilevante riguarda la natura linguistica della varietà di tedesco L2 prodotta da A e CC che presenta tratti tipici delle varietà semplificate (e interferite).

Sul piano fonetico-fonologico solo per esemplificazione:

- la dittongazione della vocale anteriore alta labializzata [y] › [ju] ([fynf] › [fjunf], righe 6-7),
- la mancata realizzazione della fricativa glottidale [h] ([halp] › [alb], 6-7),
- minore rapidità di enunciazione,

ma sarebbero molto più numerosi i fatti foneticamente interessanti.

Accanto a questi si evidenziano molte difficoltà di pianificazione (presenza di esitazioni, interruzioni, cambi di pianificazione), sintassi per lo più elementare e un lessico piuttosto ridotto.

Questo breve esempio consente di rilevare almeno un terzo fatto notevole concernente la dimensione conversazionale. Negli ultimi sei turni (18-23) si può notare una sequenza di pedagogia naturale che A decide di aprire nei confronti di CC, in ragione della sua migliore competenza in tedesco (*zum hause › zu hause*). Senza entrare nel dettaglio, questo fenomeno ci permette un'annotazione di natura speculativa: la lingua in contesti multilingui sembra essere molto più in primo piano, ovvero tenderebbe con più facilità a emergere in considerazioni metalinguistiche dei parlanti e a diventare oggetto di conversazione.

[3]

```
 1    B   N + (xxx)
 2    N   what
 3    C   for this (...) for chicken (.) thank you
 4    N   (xxx)
 5    AA  do you say there are foɽti people but (.) there are [only]
 6    C                                                       [ya only]
 7    AA  (..) one two ((to:)) three ((tɹi:)) for five
 8    D   forty people?
 9    B   fourteen
 10   AA  fourteen
 11   D   (xxx) for chicken
 12   N   eh?
 13   D   (for chicken) thank you (.) shukran (...) shukran?
 14   N   (ciao) (2) la shukran
 15   C   la shukran
 16   (5)
 17   N   la shukran
 18   C   la shukran
 19   N   ʽalā wājib
 20   C   allauadʒib
 21   N   please don't (.) thank you for eh: (..) it's my duty.
 22   C   ah: okai (.) la shukra: ʔaua-
 23   N   wājib
 24   C   wājib
```

In questo esempio, tratto da corpus raccolto da AA (studente pachistano), abbiamo invece un contesto situazionale molto differente da quelli osservati in precedenza: è una cena in ostello tra studenti stranieri di informatica (B, N, C, AA, D dei quali non sappiamo molto, con l'eccezione di AA) e nel particolare episodio stanno ringraziando N (studente marocchino) per aver portato dell'ottimo pollo. In modo unicamente ostensivo si possono indicare due aspetti rilevanti: da un lato, la presenza e l'uso di varietà veicolari di inglese lingua franca e, dall'altro, l'emersione di altre lingue di grande comunicazione come l'arabo.

Rispetto al primo punto, si può osservare come a un retroterra fortemente multilingue si imponga di necessità una pratica monolingue affidandosi e i parlanti si affidino a una lingua comune, l'inglese, senza parlanti nativi. Nel caso di AA, parlante nativo di urdu, la sua varietà di inglese presenta numerosi fenomeni di contatto e semplificazione tra i quali spiccano la realizzazione dell'approssimante alveolare dell'inglese con un flap retroflesso e della fricativa interdentale con una occlusiva alveolare, fatti tipici delle varietà "urduizzate" di inglese, per non menzionare la dimensione prosodico-ritmica. Anche in questo caso la comprensione locale è legata a caratteristiche strutturali del sistema fonologico dell'inglese L2 e il risultato è che l'intercomprensione e la comunicazione tra non nativi è messa in seria difficoltà.

L'altro fenomeno interessante è il ribollire, per usare una metafora geologica, di altre lingue di grande comunicazione al di sotto della crosta apparentemente inamovibile dell'inglese. In questo caso appare l'arabo, ma tra gli studenti del vicino, medio e estremo oriente sono a disposizione altre lingue di ampia comunicazione (con centinaia di milioni di parlanti) come l'hindi/urdu, il bengali, l'indonesiano e così via.

Qui si osserva come uno studente bengalese (C) cerchi di ringraziare N (marocchino) in arabo, avviando così una sequenza pedagogica che sottolinea lo status prestigioso che l'arabo riveste come lingua religiosa e di cultura[7]. *En passant,* si noti come anche in questo caso la percezione del suono e la sua realizzazione, p.e. la fricativa postalveolare [ʒ] scambiata con l'affricata [dʒ] (righe 20-21), sono emblematiche dell'estrema dinamicità del parlato in contesti multilingui e della notevole flessibilità che il parlante deve esercitare anche in situazioni in apparenza monolingui, ma che si distinguono radicalmente da queste per la forte e intensa variabilità inter- e intra-linguistica.

4. Note finali

In conclusione, si riportano alcune annotazioni sia di tipo metodologico che di merito sulla breve rassegna di dati e fenomeni. Innanzitutto, una prima valutazione positiva del metodo di raccolta dei dati che consente di ottenere dati ricchi sia sul versante più sociologico dell'uso delle lingue nel contesto relazionale, sia sul quello linguistico e conversazionale. Alcuni limiti sono rappresentati senza dubbio dalla mancanza di controllo da parte del ricercatore sul contesto di elicitazione che si riflette spesso in una bassa qualità tecnica del dato, in un certa povertà di informazioni contestuali (ricostruibili solo in parte a posteriori) e in una forte matrice induttivo-esplorativa, ovvero, per esprimere sinteticamente queste contraddizioni, il metodo del diario linguistico "sonoro" è (insieme con l'osservazione diretta) estremamente utile per formare delle ipotesi, per

7 La coppia adiacente è *shukran* 'grazie', *la shukran 'alā wājib* 'prego' (lett. 'no grazie per il mio dovere').

esplorare una realtà sconosciuta, ma va affinato, ben diretto ed anche affiancato ad altri strumenti di raccolta, soprattutto laddove si desideri approfondire la descrizione dei fenomeni linguistici.

Una considerazione di superficie dei due piani di indagine indicati al punto 3., l'uso delle lingue e la descrizione delle varietà impiegate in un contesto multilingue, permette una prima enucleazione di fatti e temi rilevanti per indagini più approfondite e poggiate su basi di dati più ampie. Oltre alla varietà di fenomeni legati a varie forme di compresenza situazionale delle lingue (non tanto o solo nel repertorio individuale), sembra essere attraente l'idea che tale multilinguismo contestuale determini una maggiore variabilità interna alle differenti varietà di lingua parlate, dalle varietà native (standard e non) a varie forme di non- o sub-standard motivate dal contatto o dall'apprendimento. Questa accresciuta variazione intra-linguistica potrebbe comportare poi, sul piano psicologico sociale, un differente atteggiamento del parlante: se in linea di principio ci si potrebbe aspettare in un contesto multilingue una più alta flessibilità e tolleranza ai comportamenti variabili e, in particolare, divergenti dalla norma, tuttavia l'osservazione della pratica sembra disattendere questa congettura, in particolare se guardiamo alle sequenze di pedagogia naturale rivelatrici, non di rado, di una forte attitudine normativa del parlante. In forma un po' brachilogica si potrebbe schematizzare questa ipotesi in questo modo: un intenso contatto multilingue porta una maggiore variabilità nelle lingue parlate che a sua volta genera una maggiore *diffuseness* normativa[8] del parlante? Formulata in questo modo l'ipotesi si presta a essere falsificata per esempio determinando con maggiore chiarezza cosa si intenda per "intenso contatto multilingue" o definendone un'applicazione contestuale più rigorosa (in quali contesti e attività comunicative si verificherebbe tale ipotesi?).

Tuttavia qui ci fermiamo, il districare la complicata relazione tra multilinguismo, presenza di varietà non standard (se non marcatamente sub standard) e atteggiamenti dei parlanti è compito di future e più accurate indagini empiriche e non certo di questo contributo meno che introduttivo.

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Appendice – Convezioni di trascrizione

Significati	**Simboli (analisi conversazionale)**
Pause lunghe (misura)	(2.3)
Pause brevi	(.) (..) (...)
Pausa inter-turno	(3.0) su una riga
Intonazione ascendente-sospensiva	,
Intonazione (finale) discendente	.
Intonazione ascendente	?
Enfasi con intonazione discendente	!
Interruzione	parola-
Allungamento	ca:ne
Inizio *latching*	parola=
Fine *latching*	=parola
Ritmo più rapido	› testo ‹
Ritmo più lento	‹ testo ›
Enfasi su una parola	<u>parola</u>
Maggiore intensità	» testo «
Minore intensità	ºtextº
Ascesa tonale rapida	↑
Discesa tonale rapida	↓
Materiale discutibile	(material)
Materiale poco chiaro	(xxx)
Commento	((text))
Inizio sovrapposizione	[
Fine sovrapposizione	]

English as a Lingua Franca

Under the Microscope: English for Plurilingual Academic Purposes

Iris Schaller-Schwaner – University of Fribourg-Freiburg

This contribution pulls together descriptive, conceptual, policy-related and pedagogical threads pertaining to English as used in academic settings in the plurilingual context of a French-German university of Switzerland. It uses English for Plurilingual Academic Purposes (EPAP) to conceptualize the overlap of English as a Lingua Franca and English for Academic Purposes. The need for this concept arises from a qualitative study of three communities of practice (CoPs) at the bilingual institution which throws differences in motivations, purposes, functions and effects of English into sharp relief. One of its many different faces – as a special-purpose tool integrated from below into local disciplinary practice and socialisation in the sciences – is focused on here in terms of what emic perspectives might be indicative of. Glimpses into plurilingual practices with EPAP, cast as 'trilingual anarchy', as well as the inception of a new officially 'monolingual' policy highlight factors ranging from the linguistic scenario via language attitudes to disciplinary expectations, which co-determine uses and outcomes of EPAP in bi- and multilingual higher education contexts. EPAP is not monolithic and its appropriation necessarily varies from CoP to CoP.

Keywords: English, lingua franca, plurilingualism, science, academic purposes

1. Introduction[1]

As many of the contributions in this volume illustrate, English is fast becoming omnipresent as a medium of instruction in international programmes at Continental European universities. The internationalisation of European higher education (HE), which in certain fields began long before the Bologna Declaration, does not only affect international programmes, however. It also affects local programmes and local decisions. In fact, grass-roots practices and decisions involving English at the Swiss university examined here preceded official policy changes and provide insight into bottom-up plurilingualism in which English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) has been sustaining special-purpose language needs.

From the conceptual vantage point, this new applied linguistic concept of ELF seems to have caught on simultaneously with the proliferation of English-medium programmes delivered in HE in non-Anglophone countries. The term English as a Lingua Franca is liberally being applied to contexts in which non-Anglophone L1 speakers use English together. It is argued here that a differentiated picture needs to be drawn that takes into account the direction from which English is brought into play (implemented from above or resorted to from below, made obligatory or nego-

1 I am grateful to the current editors for their patience and attention to detail and to the anonymous referee(s) for their stimulating comments. I also wish to acknowledge the support and encouragement of Claudine Brohy and Michael Langner. Special thanks are due to my colleague Tisa Retfalvi-Schaer for close reading and discussion of this paper. Most of all I am indebted to my 'research population' for permission to record their linguistic practices. The responsibility for the views expressed and any errors committed is entirely mine.

tiated online?), thus who the agents of change are, as well as to what degree and for what reasons English is actually needed or desired communicatively in situ. If a group of people who all shared the same L1 were to perform in English together, the consequences on the function and form of English could very well differ from contexts with ELF as the only common communicative denominator of a group. The point of this paper is to start filling the descriptive gap and to sketch a differentiated picture of linguistic scenarios with English, putting EPAP under a descriptive microscope for the first time.[2]

The structure of this paper is as follows. It proceeds from a brief overview of different types of institutional bilingualism that co-determine the ways English is used at Switzerland Bilingual University (UFR, cf. below) to a clarification of what the eponymous concept of English for Plurilingual Academic Purposes is meant to capture vis-à-vis the concept of ELF. It then clarifies the notion of communities of practice (CoPs) and sketches three settings and instantiations of such CoPs at UFR. It homes in on one of them, highlighting aspects of local language policy changes and discussing them in the light of the practices that predated them and to some degree brought them about. It takes up the theme of *Let's Talk Science* - used to promote local scientific communication and teaching through English by one of the faculties- to discuss what disciplinary communication and socialisation can be characterised as and what this means for the use of English. It finally presents an extract of academic talk as the medium of academic communication and socialisation and hence a discipline-specific oral tradition (cf. Mauranen 2002) in ELF in order to consider factors that help shape the way ELF is used in academic settings in non-Anglophone HE institutions, factors which are likely to influence the outcomes of such efforts.

2. Switzerland's Bilingual University[3]

The University of Fribourg/Freiburg (here UFR) has been a bilingual institution since its originally Catholic foundation in 1889, offering tertiary education programmes and degrees taught through the medium of French as well as through the medium

2 As far as I am aware, neither the acronym nor the explicit concept have been used before. As will become clear below, EPAP is conceptualized as a specific case of EAP (English for Academic Purposes) as embedded in or surrounded by local and other academic languages and based on considerations of ELF (Seidlhofer 2001) and ELFA (Mauranen 2003) as well as notions of English as a third language, European multilingualism with English (Cenoz & Jessner 2000; Hoffmann 2000, James 2000) and International Scientific English (Wood 2001). Initial arguments for the precursor concept of ESAP were developed in Schaller-Schwaner (2005).

3 In 2007, 9829 students were enrolled in five faculties: 3.9% in Theology, 18.2% in Law, 23.2% in Economics & Social Sciences, 41.2% in Arts, and 13.5% in Science. According to official statistics, 2048 studied bilingually in French and German, 3297 in French, 4027 in German, 139 in English and 318 in other languages (cf. http://www.unifr.ch/unibref/pdf/stat_2006.pdf). Generally speaking, Swiss school-leavers with Federal Maturity qualifications (or equivalent) are eligible to study in any language. Holders of non-Swiss university entrance qualifications in a medium other than French or German need to demonstrate sufficient language competence or take a language test in either language to study for a Bachelor's degree. Whereas of the latter group those who wanted to study in an English-medium Master's programme were required from 2006 to demonstrate sufficient competence in English, according to the Rektorat's Directives of February 26, 2008 Paragraph I. 2. Art. 3 applicants for (post-)doctoral -as previously- and most Master's studies -the new addition- have been exempted from proving sufficient language competences unless otherwise stipulated in the respective study regulations (cf. http://www.unifr.ch/rectorat/reglements/pdf/515.pdf last accessed 23/12/2008).

of German, enabling students to choose either German or French as a language of instruction and protecting them from forced linguistic assimilation. Although the first bilingual degree options were introduced by Law and Economics in the late 1980's (Langner 2003b: 48), a notion of bilingualism as studying in two languages was still the exception even a hundred years after UFR's foundation. This broad situation at the Cantonal university, to which there had always been apparent exceptions (cf. Section 3), came under question in the course of the 1990's, resulting in a new 1997 University Law whose article 6.3 (cf. below) explicitly stipulates the encouragement of bilingual studies in French and German:

Loi sur l'Université /Gesetz über die Universität 1997[4]

Art. 6 Langues	**Art. 6 Sprachen**
1 Les langues d'enseignement et d'administration sont le français et l'allemand.	1 Französisch und Deutsch sind die Sprachen der Lehre und Verwaltung.
2 Les facultés peuvent autoriser d'autres langues d'enseignement.	2 Die Fakultäten können andere Unterrichtssprachen zulassen.
3 L'Université favorise et développe la compréhension entre les personnes de langues et cultures différentes; elle encourage en particulier les études bilingues en français et en allemand.	3 Die Universität begünstigt und fördert das Verständnis zwischen Personen aus den verschiedenen Sprachgebieten und Kulturkreisen; insbesondere fördert sie zweisprachige Studien in Französisch und Deutsch.

While more often than not individual bilingualism still remained optional, the new law was preceded and followed by a new type of discourse as part of what I would call a bilingual imperative[5], highlighting the option of becoming individually bilingual through studying in two languages and urging the addressees (in the university and in the Canton) to promote this, also through university language courses. Around 2001, UFR began to position its institutional bilingualism as its unique selling proposition and its brand bilingualism began to take shape in the form of varied options for bilingual degrees as well as in its new brand name *L' Université Suisse Bilingue /Die zweisprachige Universität der Schweiz*, 'Switzerland's bilingual university'.

Let me exemplify the historic(al) dimension spanned by this development. In 1994 the university community and Cantonal public opinion, which had first established

4 http://www.unifr.ch/rectorat/reglements/pdf/1_0_1.pdf last accessed 23/12/08.

5 Following a June 1994 information initiative in the university's glossy and an October 1994 student initiative of nine propositions on bilingualism ("9 Thesen zur Zweisprachigkeit der Universität Freiburg") addressed to the university senate as well as a 1995/96 external university audit recommending the reinforcement of bilingualism as the university's greatest competitive advantage, the university's discourse on bilingualism in 1996, 1997 and subsequent years frequently urged, obliged or exhorted a dynamic reinterpretation of institutional bilingualism as an educational and policy aim. Note, for example, the obligational modal verb *müssen* in the 1997 Rektorat's guidelines on bilingualism policy: "Zweisprachige Studien deutsch-französisch sowie der interkulturelle Dialog zwischen Französischsprachigen und Deutschsprachigen ***müssen*** gezielt gefördert werden". The imperative also comprised the appointment of a Bilingualism Committee (Zweisprachigkeitskommission) in 1997 to ensure the promotion of bilingualism in other university bodies. (cf. Langner 1997: 22f, my emphasis) It was promoted to standing *Rektoratskommission,* given formal regulations in 2001 and additionally commissioned in February 2004 to support and advise the Rectorat in matters concerning English as a medium of instruction, particularly in connection with Master's programmes. Cf Section I, Article 2i of its regulations at http://www.unifr.ch/rectorat/reglements/pdf/7231.pdf last accessed 18/11/08.

the equality of its two official languages in a 1990 revision of its constitution, was still considered by UFR opinion-makers as needing information and persuading. The June issue of *Universitas Friburgensis*[6], the university's glossy, featured articles casting light on the subject of bilingualism from legal, political, linguistic, geographical, cultural, historical and didactic perspectives and then *vice-recteur* Alain Berrendonner appealed to readers to see the university's bilingualism not just as an expensive necessity but as a potential trump card to be played wisely as a competitive advantage and deserving of financial and human resources. By 2003, however, fewer than ten years later, UFR was hosting the first Multilingual Universities Conference "Practice and Standards"[7], co-organized by Langner and Brohy (*Centre d'Enseignement et de Recherche en Langues Etrangères/ Lern- und Forschungszentrum Fremdsprachen*) and the *Rektorat*. UFR's bilingual infrastructure, language policies and language teaching provisions as well as its bilingual degree options had become cast as an exemplar of bilingualism and as providing important reference points for new or emerging bi- and multilingual universities elsewhere in Europe (cf. e.g. Langner 2003a).

As section 3 will explain, apparent exceptions to institutional bilingualism as twin monolingualism, alternatively regarded as variants of institutional bilingualism, in any case continued through the years. French and German were neither neatly divided into peaceful coexistence all over the university nor was their coexistence necessarily peaceful where there was or had been segregation[8] into linguistically regulated chairs or sections, newly united into departmental organisation around the year 2000. Unfavourable attitudes towards adapting one's teaching habits for the sake of L2 users of the respective language and a tug-of-war atmosphere between proponents and opponents of the new bilingualism and perhaps to some degree the two institutional languages were observable.[9] Tension, competition or vying for resources as they may exist in any workplace or organisation were readily interpreted in terms of the respective 'other'. English, on the other hand, had no official status but an increasingly important role even in the years before 2005/06 as a language for scientific/research/academic purposes. This was interpreted or represented as

6 https://www.unifr.ch/spc/UF/94juin/edito.html last accessed 23/12/08.

7 „Mehrsprachige Universitäten und Hochschulen: Praxis und Standards/ Universités et Hautes Ecoles plurilingues: pratiques et standards" University of Fribourg/Freiburg, 19-20 September 2003. Its 2003 website *Netzwerk Mehr-Sprachige Universitäten/Réseau Universites PluriLingues* is not accessible any more. For a short conference report in the university news *Unireflect* of 16 October 2003 cf. http://www.unifr.ch/scm/fr/publications/UR/03/UR1_03_04.pdf.

8 Cf. Windisch *et al.'s* (1994) chapter "Freiburg/Fribourg, ein Bild der sprachlichen Koexistenz", esp. pp. 195-212 on linguistic tensions in and particularly about the university as well as Stotz (2006) on why the cohabitation of language communities in Switzerland may be regarded as a peculiar kind of peace.

9 My participant observation/lived experience as a language lecturer for English at UFR since 1998 can be supported by textual evidence. For example in 2000, *Vizerektor* Ruedi Imbach reiterated the university's task as not just providing tertiary education to monolinguals in their language of choice but as making students bilingual ("Die Chancen einer zweisprachigen Universität" *Universitas Friburgensis* June 2000) and in 2001 *Recteur* Paul-Henri Steinauer had to remind university readers and friends of the university in his editorial in *Universitas Friburgensis* June 2001 that the university's new logo 'Switzerland's Bilingual university' conformed to both official policies and the university law and would be a valuable trump card while neither excluding teaching in other languages nor ruling out studying in one language only.

Wilde Dreisprachigkeit, 'trilingual anarchy', by influential individuals within the university, not only informally. In a footnote, Langner (2003b:50) explains that in some subjects, students in the science faculty "sind zu dieser Dreisprachigkeit gezwungen, dennoch gibt es momentan keine offizielle Anerkennung durch ein mehrsprachiges Diplom ('wilde Dreisprachigkeit')"[10]. The expression originated with Langner[11] in the Bilingualism Committee (*Zweisprachigkeitskommission/ Commission Bilinguisme*), of which he was a deputy chair at the time.[12] Inside as well as outside the university, in public political discourse, this coincided (and was sometimes conflated) with the "language strife" (Stotz 2006) that developed following the introduction of English as a first foreign language to be taught in primary schools by the economically powerful German-speaking Canton of Zurich in 1998, followed by a change to English before French as foreign languages in primary schools in most central and eastern Cantons in 2004/05.

3. Ambiguity of institutional bilingualism

Following Brohy (2005), it is instructive to distinguish at least three types of institutional bilingualism as realized at UFR. The distinction is particularly pertinent for appreciating differences in the use and functions of English discussed later on in this paper.

What Brohy refers to as "Parallel Bilingualism", the coexistence of two monolingualisms at the same institution serving the protection of individuals' language rights, can actually be regarded as twin monolingualism and often amounts to language segregation in twin sections of departments, twin chairs - each functioning in one of the languages- and twin programmes of study. This was the 'expensive necessity' concept of institutional bilingualism alluded to above, reflecting territorial language concepts and the language divides of the city, the canton and the federation.

"Complementary Bilingualism" is the term that is applicable in the description of, for example, bilingual degree options: the optional combination of monolingual parts from both German-medium and French-medium programmes resulting in a bilingual total of courses and study results.

"Integrated Bilingualism", in Brohy's terms, is rather different from the previous two

10 '... are forced into this trilingualism; nevertheless there is at present no official recognition through a multilingual diploma ('trilingual anarchy')' (my translation).

11 Confirmed in a personal email on 18/11/2008.

12 References to *the hors sol*, i.e. artificial, character of English in Switzerland and the science faculty's *"Wilde Dreisprachigkeit"* at my place of work as an English language lecturer (known as the *Centre d'Enseignement et de Recherche en Langues Etrangères/ Lern- und Forschungszentrum Fremdsprachen* from 1999-2008) strongly influenced my perception of English being regarded as illegitimate in this linguistic landscape - until I became aware through my research that the 1997 University Law, quoted in Section 1, also permitted faculties to authorize other languages of instruction (Art.6.2) , covering- at least to some extent- teaching in English at the science faculty and rendering this much less anarchic than the expression suggests. It would appear that an additional function of this representation may have been to capture and reinforce a more general attitude towards English in which strengthening students' English was and is often seen as contradicting or competing with the cause of bi- and plurilingualism- a widespread perception not just at UFR but in Switzerland and beyond, and an important argument against extending English language support at UFR.

forms in that it makes the receptive use of both languages compulsory. French and German are taken for granted without the awarding of bilingual degrees. There are no twin chairs or infrastructures and speakers of different languages cooperate in the achievement of common goals. The science faculty – with its tight financial resources and high research profile as well as its hands-on teaching – has always been the best and most typical example of "Integrated Bilingualism". UFR scientists often profess to what I have termed 'language-blindness' in parallel with colour-blindness: their attitude is that the language does not matter, what counts is the content. They also argue that Scientific English is more science than English (e.g. chemistry professor Titus Jenny's contribution as a panellist at the 2003 Multilingual Universities Conference cf. fn 6) and start using it when the need arises.

Even though these three broad types of institutional bilingualism are helpful, they are abstractions or idealisations of sorts. For instance, while professors in the sciences usually work plurilingually, one can happen upon language-divide 'issues' even in the science faculty. When I addressed a technician in the 'wrong' language during my period of observation[13] there, this French speaker refused to understand my simple inquiry in Standard German but immediately pointed me to the right door when I switched to English.

4. English as a Lingua Franca and English for Plurilingual Academic Purposes

Drawing mainly on Seidlhofer, Jenkins, Mauranen, James, House, Meierkord, and Widdowson (see references), my current understanding of ELF is that it is a non-monolithic way of looking at English as a means of communication between speakers from a wide range of L1 backgrounds (Seidlhofer 2001, Seidlhofer 2004) as situated language use/practice in its own right. Users of English with primary linguistic socialisation in other L1(s)/2(s) are seen as multicompetent speakers with bi- and plurilingual linguistic repertoires. Linguistic features emerging from empirical studies of naturally occurring ELF (e.g. Breiteneder 2005, Klimpfinger 2007, Ranta 2006, Metsä-Ketelä 2006) are described as products of linguistic processes that result from the possibilities of English in a plurilingual repertoire and of the way English is variably learned and shaped by use, e.g. the setting, the purpose, the roles and relationships of its fairly fluent users. The focus is on language as an emergent social practice rather than as a stable, unified competence or formal standard. James' (2005: 142) combination concept of shifting "constellations of dialect-register-genre" appears to be particularly insightful for the present purpose. Due to the situated nature of ELF, it will variably emerge in situ according to who the speakers are (dialect is a type of variety according to the user), what they are speaking at the

13 It mainly covered the period from October 2005 to November 2006, in which I attended and recorded twenty-two presentations in a weekly biochemistry seminar setting as well as another eighteen presentations on a Biochemistry Presentation Day. I also conducted two formal as well as several informal interviews during that period and was able to observe and occasionally interact with members of the biochemistry unit in corridors or during coffee breaks when I was on biochemistry premises. With the exception of one group interview, for which I was invited to a small cubicle in a lab, I rarely entered the labs, where I felt my presence was perceived as intrusive.

time (register is a type of variety according to use – or special purpose- to express occupational/professional meanings, messages and texts) and what social/rhetorical action they are taking (genre is a type of variety according to using, what actional mode one is speaking in) (James 2006: 226).

I am using the acronym EPAP to mark off the use of English in plurilingual academic settings and for disciplinary socialisation under plurilingual conditions from English for Academic/Research/Science Purposes (here EAP for short) under monolingual L1 conditions and to hint at the ultimately applied interest of finding out about English in plurilingual settings. While the influence of disciplinary differences, contexts and expectations within academic discourse has become widely acknowledged, the underlying default assumption often remains a monolingual one: academic English is understood to be the English used by professional academics in L1 English dominant countries such as the USA and Great Britain, which also happen to be the "research-superpowers", to use Swales' (2004) epithet. There is growing awareness, however, that language use in the academy is not only about a specific register, but equally about communication, i.e. the processes of text and talk creation, "recogniz[ing] that contextual factors are crucial to language choices because we communicate as members of social groups" (Hyland & Tse 2007: 250). Under the heading of EPAP I thus try to argue for a 'thicker' description of how academic settings and disciplinary socialisation shape the ways English is used for diverse local purposes and in local roles, to emphasize how ELF overlaps with EAP in the particular context of a bilingual university, where L1 speakers from a(n at times limited) variety of language backgrounds use English in the academic settings studied. I am thus also drawing heavily on English as a Lingua Franca in Academic settings ELFA (Mauranen 2002, 2003, 2006) as well as on Smit's (2003, 2008) qualitative study of ELF for classroom interaction in one international higher education setting.

If we communicate as members of social groups, it makes sense to look at how the local CoPs shape the ways ELF is used - local CoPs in which participants may share other languages and be aware of this. It will be argued that the CoPs' event-types/genres (Swales 2004) and their purposes can be seen to guide language choice and that plurilingual practices and phenomena are part of the picture. My case study of English as a Lingua Franca in Fribourg/Freiburg Academic settings (thus ELFFRA settings in Section 6 below), from which this contribution derives, thus homes in on this local situatedness of ELF(A) at the bilingual institution, where English is often a third or fourth language for the individuals concerned. The EPAP acronym signals applied interests and draws attention to the importance of specificities of contexts, settings and CoPs.

5. Communities of practice

The concept of CoPs as developed in Wenger (1998: 73, 100f) describes how the three dimensions of joint enterprise, mutual engagement and the sharing of a repertoire of practices constitute community for its participants and bring about learning through participation in a community. Eckert (2000) adopted CoPs as a sociolinguistic concept to account for linguistic variation as social practice. House (2003) drew attention to the suitability of the concept for describing interactions between people whose shared (professional) repertoire includes ELF as the three dimensions seem to apply. The shared repertoire of negotiable resources "…consists of English linguistic resources, involving the joint construction of a communicative repertoire instrumental in greatly varying contexts, both real and in the minds of the interactants" (House 2003: 572f). With regard to socialisation into a CoP the notion of "legitimate peripheral participation" (LPP) is crucial. Modified forms of participation open the practice to newcomers, who are granted legitimacy as potential members. LPP involves exposure to actual practice with less intensity, risk, cost of error, production pressures, but observation is a prelude (Wenger 1998: 100f). Specific roles models can be important. LPP must provide access to mutual engagement, old-timers' negotiation of the enterprise, the repertoire in use. Practice is seen as a "shared history of learning that requires some catching up for joining" (Wenger 1998: 102).

It can thus be argued that the use of ELF, and what is deemed appropriate for different settings, is influenced by the learning and languaging of different CoPs.

6. Three ELFFRA settings

When I started my investigation of English as an academic lingua franca at UFR it was as an exploration aiming to find and document where English was actually being used - outside language teaching and outside English Studies at the *seminaire d' anglais* - in an environment that was regarded as a strictly bilingual institution. Put metaphorically, I was looking for the niches in which English, rumour had it, might be observed. It was difficult, however, to find access to contexts in which English was said to be used, such as by international research teams. In the linguistically sensitive context of UFR it seemed that professionals/professors were reluctant to have a stranger (whose main institutional role was that of an English language lecturer) record their interactions in the "informal privacy of the lab" (Rowley-Jolivet 2002: 122). Data collection thus took place in public events officially conducted in English. Permission to record was obtained in three settings: I, a lunch-time event at the arts faculty; II, a lunch-time event at the science faculty; and III, a lecture course plus practical class in computer science in a department jointly run by the sciences and the economics faculties. I audio-recorded the monthly speech-events of setting I for two years, the weekly events of setting II for roughly one year (cf. fn 11) and the lecture course plus *Übung* in setting III for one semester, as well as individual or group interviews for each setting, amounting to approximately one-hundred hours of audio-recording in total. To preview preliminary findings in a nutshell, it became apparent over two years that in Setting I English was a relatively new, deliberate choice and mainly functioned as an additional language for conducting an emerging research event fostering disciplinary communality 'across' the language divide in a department with a tradition of "Parallel Bilingualism". In Setting III, English was used as a relatively new official teaching language advertising and promoting the anticipated internationality of the master's programme of which it was part. In Setting II, however, English was a sine-qua-non and an established tool as the only language shared by all members of this CoP. The events I recorded were attended by everyone in this unit of the life science department and mainly served to socialise doctoral students, many of whom were from India, into the CoP and into the academic talk of the discipline, for which English was indispensable. It is to this setting/CoP that I will return below. Before doing so, however, the surprise and twist in the official language policy that was in store for me during my research needs to be revealed.

7. Languages and the science faculty

In many places in the faculty of mathematical and natural sciences, with its "Integrated Bilingualism", EAP and ELF had been included plurilingually for up to fifteen years at least in the education and socialisation of doctoral students. The integration of English in the local practices of science CoPs not from above but from below, bottom-up by 'agents of change' among the scientists, had not been favourably received or the need for it officially recognized. Statements about English in a specially featured "Dossier: Universitaire et bilingue - Erlebnis Zweisprachigkeit" in *Universitas Friburgensis* of June 1999 may serve as an illustration. While physiology professor Jean-Pierre Montani was quoted among others as saying that English was the primary research language not only for publication, "De plus, nous avons aussi des assistants étrangers (Chine, Etats-Unis, Hollande, Yougoslavie, Italie) qui ne maîtrisent pas les deux langues locales"[14], from Langner's point of view as a promoter of bilingual degrees in the same issue of *Universitas Friburgensis*, the science faculty's trilingualism constituted "Wildwuchs", i.e. undesirable proliferation, and *Rektor* Paul-Henri Steinauer ruled out English as the language of study programmes in the same article.[15] Even in 2003, when Multilingual-Universites-Conference panellist Titus Jenny predicted that in 2004 science master's programmes would be taught completely in English[16], no one seemed to take any notice publicly. Then, however, the university's official language policy changed. Apparently out of the blue on the *Dies Academicus* of November 2005 it was announced to the public that the science faculty had started teaching its master's programmes in English and that English was now the "lingua academica". "2 plus English" was introduced as a short-hand formula. Soon afterwards, however, I started hearing influential members of the university refer to these science master's programmes as "die Englisch-Master", making the policy sound even more monolingual, and an oblig-

14 'What is more, we also have foreign assistants (China, United States, Netherlands, Yugoslavia, Italy) who do not master the two local languages' (my translation) in an articles by Yves Bertrand entitled "English als wichtigste Forschungssprache" https://www.unifr.ch/spc/UF/99juin/p11bertrand.html last accessed 27/12/08.

15 Quoted in Yves Bertrand's article "Auf dem Weg zum zweisprachigen Abschluss" cf. https://www.unifr.ch/spc/UF/99juin/p14bertrand.html last accessed 27/12/08.

16 Advertised succinctly by the science faculty in the course programme of 2004/05 as "Les cours de Master seront essentiellement enseignés en anglais" (p. 208) and "Die Master-Veranstaltungen werden in der Regel auf Englisch unterrichtet." (p. 209).

atory English language access test, parallel to the tests for French and German for international students, was insisted upon by the administration. It appeared that a language-for-special-purposes concept of English as lingua academica had been overridden by a territorial language concept of English on which order needed to be imposed. The faculty itself however maintained many aspects of tri- and plurilingualism. For example in 2006/07, as made explicit in the Master's programmes study guide (see reference in Section 8 below), three out of seven Master's programmes were taught in French, German and English[17], four were taught primarily in English. Students are entitled to use French and German for academic work requiring productive language use. This language use is now regulated by the science faculty on the level of faculty-approved *Studienplan/Plans d'étude* (variably referred to as *Curriculum* or *Study Prospectus* in English). For instance, the "Curriculum for the obtention of the degree of Master of Science in Biology" accepted by the Faculty of Science on March 21, 2005 stipulates on p.3: "English is the official language for all activities. However, students may choose the language of the examinations (English, French or German)"[18] while Mathematics has specified since March 2004 that teaching in the MSc programme can *also* [my emphasis] be conducted in English and that students may choose the language of seminar presentations, written work and exams (German, or French, or English).[19] Plurilingual practices with and without English continue outside teaching. The language test, which the administration demanded in 2006[20], subsequently became a site of struggle in 2007 as the science faculty thought it unnecessary and counterproductive. They argued that their Master's programmes where "consecutive", i.e. follow-up of the local French-and-German-medium Bachelor's programmes, and that international students could join them without a test.

Various layers of meaning seemed to coexist and sometimes clash within UFR. There was a 'pre-emptive' discourse/policy to legislate "2 plus English" which treated English in its now official status as if it were like French or German in the (twin) monolingual sense of the only language available, from which it followed that a lan-

17 Cf. for example information provided by computer sciences on their website http://diuf.unifr.ch/home/multilinguism/ last accessed 27/12/08:
"The Department of Informatics puts passive obligatory bilingualism into practice : There is no real need to be able to speak the other main national language - understanding it is sufficient. Students can always ask questions, submit exercises, present projects and pass exams in French, German or English. However, the teaching staff give lectures in the language of their choice (in French or German for Bachelor courses, often in English for Master courses). In general, the numbers of courses given in French and German is quite similar. "

18 http://www.unifr.ch/science/current/pde_pdf/pde_2005/Cur_MSc_BL-BC_05.pdf The phrasing has remained identical in the most recent of the annual updates: http://www.unifr.ch/science/current/pde_pdf/pde_2008/Cur_MSc_BL-BC_08.pdf both last accessed 28/12/08.

19 Cf. p. 5 of http://www.unifr.ch/science/current/pde_pdf/pde_2004/SP_BSc-MSc_MA_04.pdf or p.7 of the 2008 version http://www.unifr.ch/science/current/pde_pdf/pde_2008/SP_BSc-MSc_MA_08.pdf.

20 The *Rektorat*'s Directives 'on proof of sufficient language competence for admission to UFR' in their original version of 11 April 2006 obliged holders of foreign university entrance qualifications in a medium other than English to prove sufficient language competence in English in order to be admitted to explicitly English-medium Master's studies through either previous language studies, or recognized language diplomas or passing the language test. The February 2008 revision of the directives exempted all Master's students (except for Law) from this general requirement. cf. fn 2.

guage test had to be made compulsory just as for German or French. On the other hand, there was a 'socialisation' discourse and policy in which English was seen in its role as an additional language whose productive use was regulated by the CoPs. This was why the science faculty demanded EAP support for its students and that the test be abolished. In the section below an example of the latter, socialisation, discourse is given.

8. "Let's talk science"

The excerpt below (for translation cf. footnote[21]) is from the 2006/07 UFR study guide, versions of which are available in German and French:

Example 1:
Master. […] Das Wesentliche des wissenschaftlichen Vorgehens zu erfassen und fundamentale Arbeitsweisen wie Strenge, kritische Analyse und Durchführung von Experimenten kennenzulernen, das sind die Ziele des Masterstudiums. Hier wird auch die in der wissenschaftlichen Kommunikation vorwiegend gebrauchte Sprache erlernt, denn ein großer Teil der Vorlesungen wird auf englisch gehalten, und in dieser Sprache findet der wissenschaftliche Austausch unter den Forschenden statt: **let's talk science**. [my emphasis]" (Master's Programmes Study Guide p. 132 accessed at http://www.unifr.ch/guide/pdf/unifr_ma_0607_de.pdf)
Master […] Comprendre l'essence même de la démarche scientifique et en affiner les outils fondamentaux que sont la rigueur, l'analyse critique et l'approche expérimentale sont les objectifs des études de Master. C'est aussi le lieu de l'apprentissage de la langue de communication par excellence du scientifique. En effet, la plupart des courses donnent en anglais et c'est dans cette langue que les échanges avec les chercheurs se développent: **let's talk science**.» [emphasis added] (Master's Programmes Study Guide p. 132 accessed at http://www.unifr.ch/guide/pdf/unifr_ma_0607_fr.pdf)

The last words are rendered in bold above to stress that they are in English in both the German and the French originals. The way English is thus embedded into both matrix languages (loosely as in Myers-Scotton 1992 and Jake, Myers-Scotton & Gross 2002) can be regarded as metaphorical, reflecting the way English is actually made use of: indispensable in science education and communication, but a special purpose tool to be utilised by (future) scientists of other L1 backgrounds, not an end in itself. The wording is not: *let's talk English*, it is: *let's talk science*. English is represented not as a language but as part of the scientist's professional repertoire. English is displayed as a sign in itself, claiming it as part of the local tertiary socialisation. A reading of the excerpt as socialisation discourse is also supported by the noun *apprentissage* 'apprenticeship; learning; being initiated into' (Collins-Robert [5]1998: 45) in the French text and, in the passive of the third German sentence, by the verb *erlernt* '(being) learned' , which through the semantic modulation of the prefix *er-* emphasizes the purposive activity required for achievement (Duden [3]2002: 325). Prospective students are informed about English as one of the means of working that they will be using and learning.

21 My translation of the German text: 'Comprehending the essential of scientific procedures and getting to know fundamental means of working such as rigour, critical analysis and conducting experiments, these are the aims of the master's studies. This is also where the language is (being) learned which is predominantly used in scientific communication, for a large part of lectures are given in English and in this language the scientific exchange among researchers takes place:' LET'S TALK SCIENCE. [capitals indicate what is in English in both original versions].

This passage illustrates both a plurilingual self-image and the disciplinary confidence that special-purpose English is more about the special purpose than about English in a foreign language sense and that it can be and has been appropriated by agents of change adopting English “on their own terms” (Pölzl & Seidlhofer 2006) to include it into the tertiary/disciplinary socialisation and the education of Master’s students. To this end, it may have been necessary for the science faculty to go for official status of English as a teaching language but they fought hard to retain the sovereignty to define what they meant by English, what interpretation this regulation should receive. In January 2008, the language access test was in fact dropped in compliance with the science faculty’s wishes.

9. Under the microscope

It is important to underline that the glimpse into the language attitudes and practices of one of the CoPs in the science faculty provided below is a glimpse not into what is new and what is being realized at the moment of writing in the Master’s programmes but more a glimpse into anteriority and into what worked in doctoral education up until and including the academic year 2005/06, in which the data was collected. Under consideration here is a weekly series of lunch-time events established for years in the biochemistry division of the department of medicine in the science faculty, formerly referred to as the Biochemistry Institute. In the year of observation and recording there were about 25-30 people who attended regularly: core members of the division from Switzerland and neighbouring countries as well as from India (usually a quarter to a fifth of doctoral student assistants are from this country) as well as occasional and regular attendants from other parts of the university or outside. Of the division’s five professors, one was permanently on leave and his research group (usually one post-doc and four doctoral students who are also assistants for around five years) was therefore ‘orphaned’ but participating regularly. The “style BYOL[22]- beverages sponsored” presentation + discussion events took place in a seminar room on division premises. Their programme was advertised on the division website every semester, inviting everyone to attend. There were either chaired invited speakers or un-chaired “journal clubs” by doctoral student assistants. Attendance was compulsory for all sessions for the whole division also outside teaching weeks as well as for advanced students during teaching weeks. There was a bell summons –the professor in charge walked round the three-storey premises ringing a hand-bell often for minutes- during which the last participants joined the audience in the seminar room. Students had to sign an attendance list. There usually was a case of drinks at the door, remarked upon if missing; few participants brought food. The language of presentation was not mentioned and invariably English, i.e. English was taken for granted.

The following perspective on English as the language of the biochemistry lunch-time events, called Beer & Lunch (BL) Seminars at the time of observation (and be-

22 Bring Your Own Lunch.

fore) and functioning both as a journal club for doctoral students and as a forum for invited speakers, was elicited from one of its professorial participants:

Example 2:

The choice for BL-Seminars (and some other courses) to be given in English came very naturally and spontaneously. English is the vernacular language in science, it is today's Latin. As the best textbooks in the field are in English, we decided some 15 years ago to impose an English textbook to the students and to schedule the classes in Biochemistry according to that textbook. This both as a pedagogical means and as a means to let students progressively be familiar with the language, a step absolutely mandatory for reading and understanding the literature, which is exclusively in English. Also for that reason, as a training for students, it has been decided, some 15 years ago, to have BL-Seminars in English. Since papers presented during this BL-Seminars are in English, it is far easier for the students to do their presentation in the same language. […]

The choice of English is presented as a communal on-line decision (*naturally and spontaneously*) by professors triggered by several factors. Lines 2 and 3 cover the de-facto dominance of English in science, the instrumental role of special-purpose English for science communication and its equivalence to Latin, implying that it is a staple of higher education in Europe which anyone who takes the trouble to study can use. The fact that cutting-edge publications in the life sciences are in English and the wish to safeguard up-to-date standards in biochemistry classes motivated them to prescribe one of these as a set textbook. From the end of line 4 additional light is shed both on the pedagogical and socialisation intention of this practice and the means-to-a-receptive-end approach. As English also needs to be used productively, however, students also need *training* (line 6), i.e. learning as participation and becoming through doing. The next aspect mentioned is highly interesting with regard to managing or learning to manage one's plurilingual repertoire. *Papers* (line 7) refers to articles recently published in prestigious journals, invariably in English, which doctoral students report on in their journal club presentations. The claim is made that it is *easier* (line 8) for students to do so if no language switch is involved. While it is often more economical not to search for L1 equivalents of terminology learned in English, the L1 (or a more developed L2) may in fact play an important role for initial stages of handling academic reading in English, especially for retaining information; hence the importance learners in tailor-made EAP classes often attribute to "translation" (cf. Schaller-Schwaner 2005: 82). While initially it is not easy, it needs to become less taxing, however, for young scientists to retrieve and retain information and become operational in English for their purposes, emulating bi-/plurilingual professionals who as a rule seem to use the language of the intended textual end-product for as much of the production process as possible. (Day & Wagner 2007: 393) Once the connection between reading in English about research and speaking in English about research is entrenched, it is indeed perceived as simpler to stay in the language that dominates the genres, at least where such single language domination applies.

However, multilingual competition and language maintenance work in Jessner's sense will remain greater for plurilinguals than for bilinguals. "[M]ultilingual (psycholinguistic) systems" are less stable than monolingual ones in languages-in-contact/languages-in-competition situations, which can lead to weakening or attrition processes, engaging the individual in strenuous “language maintenance work” in the face of “constantly changing (perceived) communicative requirements of the environment” (2003: 241). Experiences with English as an only language (when the academic register has to be developed and maintained in the L1) will differ from experiences with English as a dominant additional language (when people can go into monolingual mode in the L2 English and may not have a fully developed academic register in their L1) which will differ from those made with English as a third or fourth (or even fifth) language, which is quite often the case at UFR. While many Europeans study English as a foreign language at school for ten or more years before they enter university, young people in Switzerland have, until the recent changes in most German-speaking parts of Switzerland, studied one or two national languages as foreign languages before English with- if at all- five or six years at (upper) secondary level. English can also become the weakest link, as it were, through studying bilingually in French and German, which requires a great investment in developing the L2(s for Italian speakers, for example). There can be more and more dynamic competition between linguistic resources both in the communicative context and ‘inside’ the plurilingual repertoire for people who use three or more languages in academic settings, often switching between at least two languages with the same people depending on what they are doing together at a given moment (actional mode/genre).

In the example below, English is the presenter’s (S1, a doctoral student assistant) fifth language. Taking into account that she only had one year of English at school, spent one month in England prior to coming to UFR and did one presentation skills course, the success of her four-year socialisation into what she herself perceives as an English-medium work and study experience at UFR is impressive. Her use of English with her Indian and German-speaking peers as well as for her presentation marks her not as an expert but as an effective ELF user, her own awareness of the difference being reflected in remarks she made about the problems she had in English. Other speakers mentioned in Example 3 are S2 and S4 (doctoral student assistant peers), S3 (L1 German, post-doc), S5 (L1 German, professor) and S6 (outside regular). [23]

Example 3:
Journal Club presentation by a doctoral student assistant (S1) on an article published three weeks earlier

{empty seminar room, voices passing by in the corridor, chatting and laughing in English:
S1 (L1s Spanish/Italian, L3 French, L4 German) and S2 (L1 German, doctoral student)}
S1: (.) yeah i don’t know.@@ (.) @@ xxx
{S1 and S2 still outside, S3 (L1 German, post-doc) enters and sits down with a heavy sigh. S3 starts speaking German to SSX, then French to S4 (L1 Italian, doctoral student). S4 and S1 are speaking Italian while S1 is setting up laptop and beamer.}
{multiple parallel conversations, mainly but not exclusively in English}

23 For transcription conventions see appendix. They generally follow those established by VOICE (see references). For most recent full versions see VOICE Project 2007 Transcription Conventions [2.1] http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/documents/VOICE_mark-up_conventions_v2-1.pdf and http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/documents/VOICE_spelling_conventions_v2-1.pdf (30/12/08).

S5: ‹L1sdü›(muadamou) mitem glöckli umelaufe‹L1sdü› {‘(shall have to) run round with the bell’ and goes round the corridors ringing the bell for almost a whole minute, summoning the inhabitants of the unit to the BL}
{S4 and S6, a regular who is not an L1-Italian speaker, chatting in Italian in low voices}
{ringing of bell, waiting, low voices, scraping of chairs}
S5:‹L1sdü›isch chaut da inne eh?‹L1sdü› {‘it’s cold in here isn’t it?’}
S1:@@
{more waiting, chatting in low voices}
S1: so: (.) erm (.) hello everybody. (3) er the title of the paper that i will present you today is (2) hypomethylation-linked ‹ipa› hɪpɒmetɪ'leɪʃn 'lɪnkɪd ‹ipa› activation of PAX2 mediates tamoxifen-stimulated endometrial carcinogenesis. (.) it was published in ‹name of major publication› at december 2005 by ‹last name› *et al.* (2) so my presentation today is divided in three parts. the introduction part where i will explain to you what is tamoxifen and what is PAX2 gene and what is hypomethylation ‹ipa›'ɪpɒmetɪ' leɪʃn‹ipa›. the er results parts where i will **[end of excerpt]**

As exemplified in the example above, there are people with whom S1 speaks English by default, but there are others with whom she speaks Italian. She also speaks French and German (though not in this excerpt), and is co-addressed in Swiss German (*sdü* in the transcript) by S5. Then however, without any externally apparent cue but likely triggered by the CoP’s genre expectation and the fact that it is the only resource shared by everyone, she switches to English to greet the audience and give her powerpoint presentation, speaking freely without notes, being paced by her slides.

As in previous years, in which I had monitored the programme, there was a mix of invited presenters reporting on their own research and student presenters doing journal clubs. Of the twenty-two BL seminars recorded, fourteen were such journal clubs in which a doctoral student-assistant presented an article recently published in a peer-reviewed journal, followed by discussion. The above example is from the third journal club I recorded in 2005/06. In none of them, neither before nor after, was language choice for presentation and discussion negotiated or made explicit. The only time there ever was a question for confirmation about language of presentation was by the first invited presenter, from the ‘Helvetic Institute of Technology’ in the German-speaking part of Switzerland. This was also the very first time I recorded in this setting, which may have been a distraction for the organizer. He had been chatting with me and the presenter in German and continued in German when welcoming the audience to the new semester, asking students to sign the attendance list and introducing the presenter, which was done in English by chairs for invited presenters on all other occasions. Having been assigned the floor by first name following a stretch of speech in German, the presenter hesitated, saying to the chair in a low voice “okay (.) erm (.) uf (.) i (werd) uf änglisch rede”[24] to which the chair replied in a loud voice “(ja/yah). (.) please in english(.) yeah sure”. The invited presenter was not used to the, for him, ‘cold’ switch to English which, as far as I was able to ascertain, the local CoP members took for granted but which was usually performed by a local chair for invited presenters. In contrast to the lunchtime events of Setting I, in which there were five official or core phases exclusively in English embedded into phases of comparatively loud and seemingly pointed

24 ‘in (.) I (will?) speak in English’, the intonation indicating an invitation for confirmation, the word order being declarative.

code-switching not necessarily including English or use of one or both of the local languages (Schaller-Schwaner 2008: 264ff), for journal clubs in this setting people waited quietly or generally kept their voices down while chatting privately in interpersonally suitable languages before the beginning of the respective presentation in English. This sounded somewhat abrupt at times, at other times, however, more like resuming a previous conversation in English. It always appeared to be expected and unremarkable for the CoP and the genre. According to informants, it had been common practice for many years, presumably established in the period after the decision referred to in Example 2 was taken.

10. An emic concern

While the socialisation into the CoP and into EPAP was arguably rather successful for virtually all of the presentations observed, the general lack of student participation in the LB discussion phases –regardless of participants' L1 background or proficiency in English- was perceived as disappointing by organizers and senior participants. This can be explained as LPP, and thus a natural stage of the socialization process. Mauranen (2002: 117) also argues that "[s]poken academic genres constitute very much an oral tradition [...] acquired tacitly by observation and feedback". The implicit social learning of a CoP's seminar behaviour happens in a very subtle way. But issues of floor could play an important role, too. Due to compulsory attendance and the bell summons, students may have been tempted into principle-of-least-effort classroom behaviour in the BL seminar. In teacher-fronted classrooms, only teachers can speak as much as they want and teachers own the question turns[25]. In addition, compared with the genre etiquette on other occasions, one element was conspicuous by its absence in journal clubs, namely chairing. There was no one to assign the floor to student participants, not even to the presenter (cf. Example 3 above). While invited guest speakers in the same setting had a host-cum-chair or even a host and a chair, doctoral student assistants in the journal club sessions did not. Whereas the organizers hoped for informal de- and co-construction of knowledge and communal professional development in the discussion phases, only participants from post-doc status upwards joined, reinforcing the perception of a classroom cross-examination. In fact, in interview several doctoral students claimed they refrained from asking questions out of solidarity. From a problem-solving perspective, it might thus be judicious for this CoP to have the journal clubs chaired (by students) to signal that the floor is really open, or even to engineer a distribution of question turns to strengthen doctoral students' research personae. While more explicitly didactic measures might speed up LPP, extended observation indicated that the crucial step from 'pupil' to 'researcher' is ultimately taken by the participants when they -in and on their own terms- stop seeing the classroom and begin to see the research genre, when they appropriate EPAP not only as the register but also as the social action research talk entails.

25 The widely recognized Initiation-Response-Feedback/Follow-up (IRF) classroom exchange pattern is thought to favour teacher talk in that usually the teacher asks a question, a student responds and the teacher gives feedback on the response. Since this leaves the teacher with two out of three turns, it is not surprising that student talk has been reported to account for less than 30 per cent of talk in teacher-fronted classrooms. (cf. Tsui 1995:81, Lemke 1990:8, 11; for alternative realisations of the pattern cf. Sunderland 2001).

11. Concluding remark

English plays a dominant role in the sciences. This is a top-down factor disadvantaging non-Anglophone researchers. A group of plurilingual scientists at UFR started to adapt and “help themselves” (Murray & Dingwall 1997) by adopting English on their own terms as an additional resource for their local scientific purposes. This bottom-up process turned the situation to their advantage, enabling them to live internationalisation successfully. The science faculty also conveyed that what is appropriate in English for plurilingual academic purposes is best determined by those whose purpose it is, relying on disciplinary socialisation to regulate its use as an additional resource.

Due to the qualitative nature of this work, any conclusions as to what can be generalized to other contexts must be left to readers. The concepts of ELF(A) and EPAP as well as the kind of ‘thick’ description of contexts attempted here may enable them to differentiate what is suitable for theirs and to determine where to look to in terms of what is appropriate for their CoPs.

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Appendix

Transcription conventions following VOICE (see references and fn 22)

.	falling intonation
:	lengthening
(.)	brief pause
(3)	pause of e.g. 3 seconds
()	uncertain transcription
xxx	unintelligible speech
@@	laughter
‹ipa›	pronunciation variation in phonetic representation
‹L1sdü›	words or utterances in the speaker's first language, e.g. Swiss German
{}	translations and contextual information are given between curly brackets

A Quick-and-dirty SWOT Analysis on Master's Degree Programmes Conducted in English in Non-English Environments

Tuula Lehtonen, Kari Pitkänen, Roy Siddall and Anu Virkkunen-Fullenwider – Language Centre, University of Helsinki

In fond memory of Pearl Lönnfors (1939-2008),
one of the pioneers in giving support for instructors teaching
through English at the University of Helsinki.

The development of the internationalized university setting has meant an increase in English-medium Master's Degree Programmes at the University of Helsinki, Finland, as well as in many other institutions. The aim of this article is to discuss the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats in setting up and running these programmes at our university. Using the points of view of each stakeholder, several strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats are highlighted to develop an evaluative overview. This overview reveals more strengths than weaknesses, but more threats than opportunities. We would like to see the value in our analysis transmitted to new contexts.

Keywords: English-medium instruction, Master's Degree Programmes, SWOT analysis, internationalization

1. Introduction

European universities have seen a number of changes in recent years. Internationalization of the university context, brought about by the Bologna Process and other societal processes, is possibly among the most notable changes. In regard to internationalization, two traits are important here. One is offering a greater number of students the opportunity to take part in various exchange programmes. The other is providing students with the possibility of internationalization at home (see e.g. Beelens 2007 for the concept of "Internationalization at Home"). In the near future, European universities will have to decide what kind of investment in internationalization is worth their while.

In the internationalized university setting, one clear pattern of development can be observed: the language used in teaching. Where most universities used to offer teaching in the native language(s) of the country, they now increasingly provide English-medium Instruction (EMI) in addition (see e.g. Coleman 2006). This introduction of English has created a situation where teachers, students and other staff members communicate in English, a language that very few have used widely in a university context before. This language is often referred to as English as a Lingua Franca (see e.g. Jenkins 2007). It is evident that these English-medium situations invite new challenges.

In general, people involved in EMI – either as students, teachers or administrative staff members – recognize that many of the elementary parameters normally present are different in this form of teaching. The use of a language that is not one's own is one challenge. However, it is not the only one. For example, cultural differences are often seen both as an advantage and a disadvantage, and the academic conventions each stakeholder brings along may also vary. When discussing EMI-related matters with staff members from our own University, the University of Helsinki, as well as other European universities, we have noticed that clear, evaluative overviews of the situation are lacking.

We hope this article is able to start filling the gap by offering an evaluative overview of one university's English-medium reality, taking into account all the stakeholders we have encountered in our work. The specific aim of this article is to discuss English-medium instruction at the University of Helsinki, Finland, with a focus on the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats in setting up and running English-medium Master's Degree Programmes (EMDP). Ideally, our analysis will be thorough enough to allow the readers to "replicate" the analysis in their own contexts and thus evaluate their situation. As language teachers, we are stepping into areas that are not ours, such as the University administration. It is possible we omit important issues, but we hope that our readers will help us paint a clearer picture at future conferences on bi- and multilingual universities.

The idea for the analysis originally stemmed from our decade-long work within English-medium settings at the University of Helsinki: we have been involved in two projects that have investigated various matters pertaining to this context, for example, teachers' and students' perceptions regarding their own and each other's skills (see e.g. Lehtonen *et al.* 1999), and we have also provided a number of courses for teachers teaching through English. Since 2007, we have been engaged in a new project that aims at ensuring high-quality teaching at the University of Helsinki by:

1. mapping out the various language needs of students in English-medium Master's degree programmes;
2. responding to these needs by developing and testing various support systems; and
3. after piloting, setting up language support systems in which we hope to be able to play a role in the future. (see the Support for English-Medium Master's Programmes Project site)

This new project, funded by the Teaching Development Funds of the University, was set up when the University uncovered its plans to establish a number English-Medium Master's Degree programmes.

While working in the project, we have established contacts with several faculties, departments and other units at the University. The expertise gained through these contacts has helped us evaluate the overall situation from different points of view.

This article takes the form of a SWOT analysis, which was developed by Albert Humphrey for business purposes in the 1960s and 1970s. SWOT analysis is a strategic planning tool used in business to evaluate the (internal) strengths and weaknesses and the (external) opportunities and threats for a company or business venture. The underlining idea in the analysis is to focus on all the relevant stakeholders and factors, and evaluate the situation realistically. SWOT analysis has also been applied in strategic planning in a range of non-business areas, including education (e.g. Storr & Hurst 2001; Tsiakkiros & Pashiardis 2002).

The context of our SWOT analysis is the whole University of Helsinki. As stated in the University of Helsinki Strategy 2007-2009, the University aims at offering high-quality education and at increasing the number of its English-medium Master's degree programmes to about 30 by 2009. Thus, the objective we need to bear in mind in the SWOT analysis is for the University to offer high-quality EMI. The major stakeholders are:

- students,
- University instructors,
- the University administration,
- the University and
- society at large.

Students, in our SWOT analysis, refer to those students who apply for or take part in an EMDP. University instructors signify all the teaching staff that use English as a medium of teaching and other teaching-related activities, independent of their rank. The University administration here stands for the administration that plays a role in establishing, supporting and possibly funding the emerging or already established EMDPs. In the case of the University of Helsinki, this would involve at least the International Office, the Teaching Development Unit and the various international coordinators in the eleven faculties. We understand the University as some kind of abstract form, the personified University that we encounter in University documents. When using the term "society at large", we mean those parts of Finnish society that may be affected by the EMDPs, such as the sectors that are short of university-educated employees, a trend that is likely to emerge.

2. Strengths

When considering the ability of the University to offer high-quality EMDPs, it is not difficult to distinguish several strengths. EMDPs, as well as any EMI courses, constitute a fruitful framework for internationalization at home for those who cannot participate in student exchanges or other study-abroad/work-abroad programmes. The international atmosphere in EMDPs helps expose people to and thus develop skills in intercultural communication and foreign languages. It is often thought that these international encounters give rise to innovations and cooperation opportunities. In some sense, many of the EMDPs are different from the studies offered previously in that they are more interdisciplinary: they cater for students with Bachelor's degrees from various fields and have sometimes been established as a joint project between two or more faculties.

The Finnish Ministry of Education finds internationalization at home a worthy cause and expects the universities to attract foreign students. Funding is thus available for EMDPs, which the University of Helsinki has included as one of the foci of its policies (see e.g. University of Helsinki Strategy 2007-2009). In practice, this means that most faculties are involved in planning or running EMDPs. Up until 2005, some short programmes as well as scattered courses were offered in English at the University of Helsinki, but no EMDPs. EMDPs are generally considered beneficial, because they ideally help individual students become part of a group, which is important to students from abroad. Being part of a department, part of a community, enhances the chances of successful study.

The University has good facilities on the whole. The Admissions Office tries to guarantee that motivated students are accepted. There are many skilled teachers with high expertise in their fields. In most cases, these teachers are also proficient in English because of the good and equal education opportunities in Finland. In addition, their participation is based on their own voluntary choice. They have been offered an opportunity to participate in pedagogical and language support courses and to raise their own awareness of multicultural teaching contexts, and quite a few have done so. They also have the opportunity to receive support in developing teaching materials in English, and language revision is available.

The University of Helsinki began running support courses for instructors teaching through English in 2000, and we have now run such a course approximately twice a year. The main format has been an intensive course, consisting of 28 contact hours over 7 days, taught within two weeks, if possible. The participants (max. 12 per course) have been cross-disciplinary staff members. Based on our previous research and experience, the focus has been on the following aspects:

- Cross-cultural issues
- Language-related issues in English-medium instruction
- Pedagogical issues
- Learning from a video-recorded teaching simulation,
- Self and peer evaluation,
- Discussion and presentation skills, and
- Evaluation of student work.

Students, especially those who come from abroad, find EMDPs very beneficial because there are no tuition fees for university students in Finland, unlike in many other countries (see Threats for introduction of fees). The programmes tend to be flexible in accepting various Bachelor's degrees as a prerequisite for the EMDPs. In these programmes, language and subject matter are learnt side by side, and students have language support at their disposal, at least for the time being. Many of the accepted students are highly motivated and experienced in their fields, which helps them to compensate for possible language weaknesses. These strengths are based on informal discussions with students, instructors and programme co-ordinators as well as our observations in the English support courses in the various programmes.

Experience has also shown it is better for the students that complete programmes are offered instead of scattered courses in English. This makes it possible for the students to be better goal-oriented and more focused. An additional strength in our context is that some students come to study at Helsinki because of a reputable professor or the know-how in a particular programme.

3. Weaknesses

In addition to the strengths highlighted above, weaknesses are relatively easy to identify.

The drive to establish more EMDPs is ministry-sponsored. Because EMDPs are considered important and money is available, it is possible that the University will establish too many programmes and, because of their oversupply, will fail to attract motivated and proficient students. In many cases so far, the numbers of students accepted onto the University of Helsinki EMDPs have not met the targets. If the programmes have difficulties attracting the right kind of students, the departments might start "sexing up" the programmes by lucrative or empty promises. They might also water down the high quality of these programmes by starting to attract exchange students whose language skills, for example, have not undergone the same kind of scrutiny or by inviting other Degree students to join, without checking their language qualifications. Students applying for the University of Helsinki EMDPs have several ways to show their proficiency in English, for example by indicating an adequate TOEFL score, IELTS score or a University of Helsinki language test score. Students who have studied English as a part of their Finnish Bachelor's degree requirements are exempted from an extra proficiency test.

The intake of EMDPs is sometimes relatively small, which forces the departments to kill two birds with one stone by accommodating both Master's students and exchange students who, in some cases, have weaker language and subject skills. This approach might make the running of the programmes less smooth. In addition, Master's programmes often tend to attract students who have completed their Bachelor's studies abroad. This often leads to a situation where foreign students acquaint themselves with other foreign students and where foreign and Finnish students form enclaves of their own.

Now that the University offers EMDPs instead of only scattered courses, students are able to take part in well-structured programmes. However, students sometimes complain about insufficient information concerning the programmes, the University in general and practical matters, such as student accommodation. They are also critical of the vague or non-existent orientation for incoming students. These issues have surfaced in discussions with students who are new to the University. According to them, there is no advance preparation for an intercultural study environment. For example, the student-teacher relationship in Finland tends to be rather informal and thus different from that in many other countries, according to both students and instructors. International instructors also need advance orientation to the Finnish academic culture. They need to know, for example, that a university lecture starts a quarter past the full hour. This is an area where all the stakeholders have to accommodate, and this often appears as a topic of discussion in the support courses for instructors teaching through English.

The use of English in EMDPs might be a cause for concern. The students' prior language test results (e.g. TOEFL) are no automatic guarantee for academic or linguistic success. On the other hand, students who have been educated through English are not necessarily academically proficient. In addition, some teachers who have enthusiastically started working through English as a Lingua Franca find that their language skills might need improvement and that intercultural communication is complex. Yet another weakness may emerge in the terminology used in EMDPs. Terms such as "essay" and "seminar" in the Finnish context sometimes bear meanings that differ from other contexts, and variation exists even within the University. Similar problems have been referred to in articles from other contexts (see e.g. Xu 2008).

The development of a student's L1 is an area of weakness. In Finland, a university graduate is expected to be able to communicate in the two official languages of the country, Finnish and Swedish, and at least one foreign language. However, in EMDPs, students whose L1 is not English find insufficient opportunities to use their L1 in university studies and to develop L1 professional skills. In addition to these linguistic challenges, students face the challenge of adjusting to a new society. If the students studying in EMDPs are expected to integrate in Finnish society, they would need to know Finnish. However, some students do not want to invest their time in studying the local language(s), because this would be too time-consuming and, in the end, they might not stay in Finland.

On a general level, even though the level of education is high, Finland might not be considered an ideal destination. It is far away, and its climate might not attract students from certain regions.

4. Opportunities

International programmes have the possibility of creating a fine international image of the University. It is possible that administrative staff will be able to make valid information available about the programmes and the University, and it will then be easier to recruit good students and qualified teachers. The University will improve its international contacts, not only in instruction but also in research.

Students will have good opportunities for high-quality instruction and internationalisation at home, in addition to internationally relevant degrees. After graduation, the students are highly likely to be employed – either in Finland or elsewhere. In many cases, students graduating from these programmes will have gained a good interdisciplinary degree in an international setting which has allowed them to build useful international networks.

With continued funding, the programmes could be further developed and their number increased. English language support, at the moment offered on project basis, could receive permanent funding and continue as part of the Language Centre's duties.

Ideally, the number of Master's programmes that are offered in Finnish and the EMDPs will be balanced so that students have a choice. No one will be forced to study in English for the lack of a programme in Finnish.

5. Threats

Threats are not difficult to detect. The basic threat that EMDPs face is the availability of funding. At the moment, EMDPS are, in most cases, financed through projects, i.e. only for a limited period. In addition, language support currently given for students in EMDPs is based on project funding. Thus, the future is unclear. Time may be needed for EMDPs to stabilize and find their "niche", but it is equally possible that not enough time will be given. If the current programmes fail to attract enough students, the whole trend might change. If students do not graduate from the current programmes, the consequences for the programmes might be drastic. If Finnish students do not find EMDPs worth applying for, a two-tier system might evolve: Finnish students and foreign students might study in separate programmes. So far, students taking EMDPs have not had to pays university fees, but a fee for non-EU students will soon be introduced. The effects of this fee-charging policy remain to be seen.

The success of any EMDP depends on the number of interested and qualified teachers. If the current programmes fail to attract the right type of teachers, the future of the programmes will be threatened. Their popularity will decrease if there are complaints about a poor quality of teaching or administration or insufficient English language skills.

In the absence of teachers who want to teach in English, some departments might have to force their staff to cater for their EMDPs. This might be the case if the number of EMDPs drastically increases.

In some departments, subject teachers with expertise in their own fields might not be equipped to deal with language problems. One area of special difficulty is grading Master's Theses and other written assignments. This is a problem especially if students with weak language or subject skills are recruited, and poor language skills might, in fact, have an effect on grading. How does a teacher know whether the students know the subject matter, if they are unable to express their ideas in English? Is the teacher supposed to guess and fill in the blanks?

All stakeholders may have false expectations: programmes may not meet student needs, the “wrong” students may enroll, graduates may have poor employment prospects, teachers may find their work loads growing because of new responsibilities and the administration may not have the necessary time to deal with social, cultural and language problems that may appear.

The success of any EMDP also depends on attracting students who are interested in their own field and proficient in English. One threat that has been expressed in public in Finland is connected with the free-of-charge education in Finland. According to some critics, the no-fees policy might create problems if students from outside Europe who are ill-equipped to study enter the country, lured by the prospect of studying for free or of entering the country with no intention to study. On the other hand, a threat also lies in the possible policy of closing the country and its higher education to students outside Europe.

The greatest threat of all is that there will be no instruction in the national languages in the future. Will Finnish students suffer from the recently introduced policies?

6. Conclusions

This SWOT analysis presents the situation at the University of Helsinki as seen through the eyes of four language teachers involved in a project that aims at helping EMDPs provide teaching that is of high quality. It is possible that our overview is not thorough, as not all stakeholders have been involved in the writing process. However, representatives of many stakeholders who attended the conference “Bi- and multilingual universities: European perspectives and beyond” commented on our SWOT analysis; in this sense, their voices have been heard.

In our analysis, the strengths seem to outweigh the weaknesses, which is positive. This signifies that, on the whole, the EMDPs at the University of Helsinki show potential. However, the threats slightly outweigh the opportunities. This picture might have arisen because the EMDPs are in their early stages, and it is easy to initially be over-cautious. However, care needs to be taken to maintain an analytical approach in the future and to realistically assess what the University of Helsinki is doing. Based on our experiences, language support in EMDPs is definitely needed. We are optimistic that the trend of including an English language element as a compulsory part of the EMDPs is going to spread, guaranteeing our future students the same kind of language support as that provided in our project.

In order for any SWOT analysis to be successful, the information used needs to be relevant and exact. This is the type of information we have tried to use in writing this article, but it is likely that we have overlooked some important elements. In addition, for this analysis to bear any proper relevance, it would need to be revisited on a regular basis to see how the four aspects in the analysis have changed, if at all.

We would like to encourage the readers to carry out a SWOT analysis in contexts that are similar to ours, i.e. contexts where English is used as a lingua franca in teaching, in order to evaluate their situation and to compare it with others.

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The English "Problem" at the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano: A Response

Jemma Prior
Language Centre at the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano

The Free University of Bozen-Bolzano is a multilingual university situated in a predominantly German-speaking area of Italy where English sits shoulder to shoulder with Italian and German as a teaching language. It functions as a lingua franca in various faculties for the academic staff. However, despite English's seemingly equal role as a language of instruction at the University, it is still a foreign language. There are very few native English-speakers at the University. Daily communication between students and staff often takes place in German or Italian. Students have very few opportunities to interact in English outside the English-language classroom. All these factors create great challenges for the students, the English-language teachers, the lecturers in the faculties and the University in general.

For several years Tandem activities, where language learning occurs through authentic communication with native speakers, have been integrated into the services of the university's Language Centre to complement standard language courses in order to foster Italian and/or German language acquisition. However, due to the very few native English-speakers at the University, Tandem activities had never been used for English-language acquisition.

This paper will discuss an e-Tandem English-German language exchange that was set up with a group of American students. The e-Tandem exchange was not by email, but by video conferencing, in which my students (all native German speakers) practised their spoken English with the American students, and they, in turn, practised their German with my students.

The paper will outline how the exchange was set up, what was undertaken in the various sessions, as well as provide some reflections on how a similar scheme could be used to provide university students with opportunities for authentic interaction in English with native-speakers.

Keywords: Tandem, South Tyrol, interaction, English, EFL

1. Teaching context

I work as an EFL teacher at the Language Centre of the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano in northern Italy. The University, situated in a predominantly German-speaking area of Italy, is a multilingual university where most undergraduate degrees are taught in the three official languages of the University: German, Italian and English. Students studying for three-year undergraduate degrees at the School of Economics and Management, for example, have roughly a third of their subjects taught in German, a third in Italian and the remaining third in English. Although the University follows this multilingual teaching model, it has a certain difficulty in attracting many students from non-Italian or non-German-speaking areas of the world: of the entire student body in the 2007/08 academic year, 39.77% of students had sat their secondary school leaving exams in Italian, 56.56% in German and therefore less than 5% came from a non-German or Italian-language school. For a multilingual university with English as one of its three languages, therefore, there are very few English-native speakers, either in the student body or on the academic staff. Indeed, most subjects taught in English are done so by non-native speakers in formal lectures, and smaller seminars tend to be held by teaching assistants who often teach in their own first language, which is either German or Italian. Students have long manifested dissatisfaction with this situation, as many are attracted to the University because of its trilingual model and its promise that students will become trilingual during their studies, and they blame their lack of fluency in spoken English on this seeming lack of authentic opportunities to interact in English.

Many first-year students, however, do have to follow English-language courses at the University's Language Centre, but only if they do not sit or do not pass the Language Assessment Test, which is a test administered by the Language Centre prior to the beginning of the first year to gauge students' initial language competence. The test comprises three sections; an authentic text that has to be summarised in English, a writing component based on a format used by the TOEFL's Independent Writing Task test and an oral exam where examinees have to talk about themselves. The marking criteria used for the test are at the Common European Framework of Reference's B2 level, but the test itself is less complex than Cambridge ESOL's First Certificate in English so the level required to pass the test successfully is between the B1 and B2 levels. Consequently, most learners following these compulsory English courses at the Language Centre are around the A2 – B1 level.

2. Background learning situation: opportunities for interaction in English

In order to ascertain whether the students' complaints about the lack of opportunities to interact in English had any foundation, a questionnaire was distributed to 82 first-year students where they were requested to state what type of opportunities they have to interact in English as well as how often these opportunities present themselves. All of these students were following trilingual degree courses either at the School of Economics and Management, or the Faculty of Design and Art, or the Faculty of Education or following the BSc in Logistics and Production Engineering, and were also all attending compulsory English-language courses at the Language Centre in the 2006/07 academic year.

The data collected seemed to indicate that our students have relatively few opportunities to interact in English in their daily lives; in fact, half of those questioned stated that they only have opportunities to speak English at the University. Further, when asked to whom they have an opportunity to speak English at the University, while 75% of the total number of students indicated their subject lecturers, almost all of them also said their English-language teacher with whom they were studying in the first year. However, when asked how often they spoke English to these people, all of the students said they spoke to their English-language teacher at least two or three times a week whereas a mere 20% spoke to their subject lecturers at the same frequency or more often. The opportunities to speak English to fellow students were even fewer; only 28% stated that they had opportunities to speak English to other students more than once a week. Many learners of English experience a similar situation around the world where English is learned as a foreign language since "for many language learners the classroom constitutes the primary and perhaps only opportunity to engage in face-to-face interaction in the L2" (Ellis 1999: 250).

Furthermore, data collected from one of the University's faculties (the Faculty of Design and Art, fig. 1 and 2) demonstrated a similarly unbalanced situation where English is one of the three official teaching languages, but has proportionally fewer hours allocated to it than the other two languages, German and Italian.

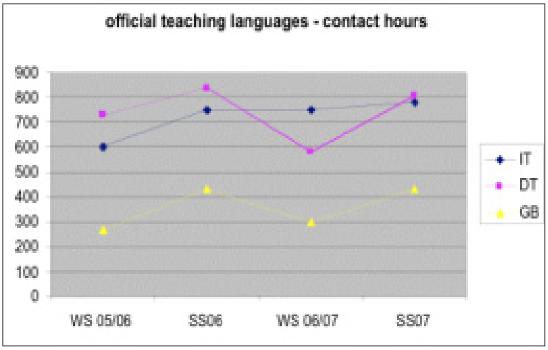

Fig. 1

These data concern two academic years (WS = winter semester, SS = summer semester) and show the total number of contact teaching hours in each of the three languages.

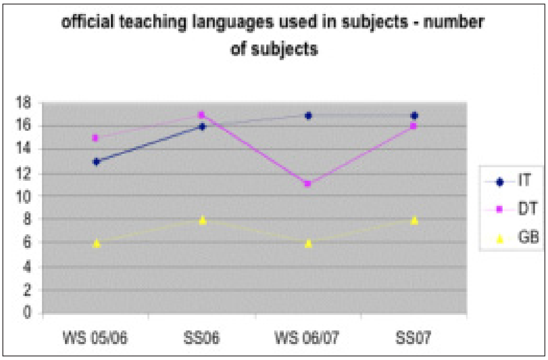

Fig. 2

Figure 2 shows the total number of subjects taught in each semester (WS = winter semester, SS = summer semester) in each of the three teaching languages.

3. Tandem activities at the Language Centre

Given that the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano is situated in a mainly German-speaking area of Italy, where many people have competence to a greater or lesser degree in both German and Italian (Mioni, 1990), and from where the vast majority of our students come, Tandem language exchange activities, which have been integrated into the services of the University’s Language Centre to complement standard language courses, have been used successfully to foster language acquisition for many years.

However, because Tandem is language learning where authentic communication with a native speaker takes place, one of the keys to successful Tandem exchanges is that the participants should be native or near-native speakers of the language that they are giving, and that the principle of reciprocity is adhered to, whereby equal time is spent on both languages.

Tandem activities are therefore an excellent means to foster Italian and German-language acquisition due to the large numbers of students who have German and Italian as their first languages, but our multilingual university, as I have mentioned, still has very few native or near-native English-speaking students and academic staff. This, therefore, causes great difficulties in pairing up Tandem partners when one of the most requested “received” languages is English.

4. The English Tandem problem – and solution

Tandem is usually conducted orally face-to-face, although over the last few years with the more ready availability of email and Internet in schools and universities, there has been a growth in the number of e-Tandem written exchanges. However, my group of students in question – Italians, but all native German speakers – had plenty of opportunity to practise their writing skills in English as part of their university studies. What they wanted to do was to communicate in English with native speakers who were not just their language or subject teachers. As their language teacher, I was also keen to encourage them to interact with other English-speakers since research indicates that there is a link between second language acquisition and interaction. In his Input Hypothesis, Krashen (1985) argues that modified input, in the form of comprehensible input, which is language a little more advanced than a learner’s interlanguage (i+1) and so is understood with some effort, fosters language acquisition. However, others (Long 1983, Swain 1985) have argued that language acquisition is not necessarily developed by input alone but by the effort to produce comprehensible output, which is created when the learner is forced to interact with others. Producing comprehensible output is part of negotiation of meaning (Long 1983), where speakers modify their language while interacting in order to make themselves understood. Indeed, as Allwright and Bailey argue, “it is the effort made by the learner to comprehend the input that fosters [language] development. Where this effort is made in face-to-face interaction, we may suggest that it is the interaction itself which is productive” (1991: 121).

An opportunity for our learners to interact with native-speakers other than their English-language teachers was created when an English-language spoken Tandem exchange was established at the University's Language Centre with a group of American students studying German in the United States. This opportunity occurred with the arrival of a visiting professor from the United States, who came to our University to teach computer graphics at the Faculty of Computer Science. He was also interested in language learning and had already had some experience of creating online language exchanges, so he suggested the same could be undertaken with some of his American students and some of the students from Bolzano. After several meetings it was decided that an e-Tandem exchange would be undertaken, not by email, but by video conferencing, in which my students would practise their spoken English with the American students, and they, in turn, would practise their German with my students.

5. The Transatlantic Tandem

5.1. *Initial organisational considerations*

In order to organise the exchanges, several months' work prior to the online exchanges was needed. I contacted the Americans' German teacher, who had had very little, if any, experience of Tandem before, and after various email exchanges and trial chats using the video conferencing equipment, we decided to organise four afternoons of an hour each when our two lessons coincided (the American college is in Pennsylvania, six hours behind Italy). We wanted to have several exchanges but knew that as this project was taking place in the middle of the academic year, we could not take too much time away from each class's planned course schedule. Four weeks, with a week break for the Americans' semester break, seemed ideal – enough time to develop relationships between the students, but not too many sessions as that might make the whole enterprise too laborious.

Following the principle of reciprocity, it was decided that the students would speak for the first 30 minutes in English, and then swap so that everyone would speak German. The second session would start in German and then change to English, and so on. In Italy, we set up a video camera in such a way that each time a student spoke, the camera could move from one to another, and of course we had the opportunity to have a group shot. The Americans were equipped with a webcam on their classroom computer, which meant that each student had to come to the camera to talk. We were also equipped with a projector in our classroom so we could see the Americans on a big screen.

5.2. *The Tandem sessions and their content*

The first exchange was dedicated to 'getting to know you' activities in which my students introduced themselves to the American students in English and then the Americans introduced themselves in German, with a question and answer session at the end of each 30-minute slot in the language of the particular slot.

The following three sessions were based on topics that the students wanted to talk about. These topics were established through brainstorming activities and negotiation in the two classrooms. The second session was dedicated to presenting the students’ local area, traditions and customs, and was followed by a third very interesting session on national habits and pastimes. My Italian students were shocked at how much higher education costs in the USA; the Americans envied the Italians’ ability to go out for a drink.

Most exchanges were accompanied by a powerpoint presentation, prepared and sent via email prior to the actual exchange. This facilitated comprehension and made the sessions more than just a listening comprehension exercise. These powerpoint presentations were shown on a second computer in each classroom so that, in our case in Italy, the students could see both the image of the Americans on the big screen, and the presentation on the smaller screen.

The final, and probably most successful, meeting was a general and mostly spontaneous question and answer session in which we achieved conversation as near to ‘real’ as possible. By that time, my students had built up quite a good relationship with their American counterparts, and the session was characterised by informal, friendly exchanges about sport, attitudes to life and even George W. Bush.

5.3. *Problems that were experienced and how they were solved*

Of course, despite careful planning and a succession of trial connections before the first classroom exchange, we encountered a series of problems that almost ruined the whole project before the students even saw each other. Problems mainly concerned technical aspects, such as very poor audio quality in the classroom when listening to the Americans. This was finally resolved by using a set of portable speakers for the computer instead of the speaker incorporated in the projector that was showing the image. We also had problems with insufficient bandwidth which frustratingly interrupted the first two sessions. A further problem, which caused the final session to be postponed by a week, occurred when the clocks went forward an hour in Europe one week before Daylight Saving Time in the States and thus the lessons no longer coincided. This had not been foreseen, but then you do not normally have this kind of problem with face-to-face Tandem exchanges!

6. Reflections and reactions to the exchange

All in all, the whole exchange was a very positive experience for me, as their teacher, and certainly for the students themselves. In a questionnaire that I distributed to my students afterwards, they commented that one of the most enjoyable and worthwhile parts of the experience was that they were able to improve their English fluency by speaking to real English speakers face-to-face about topics that Interested them and were relevant to their daily lives. Many expressed a desire to continue corresponding with the Americans via email, and a couple even wanted to continue talking to them via the Internet.

As a teacher, I was delighted to witness my students interacting naturally and fluently with the Americans in English, and was impressed by the very professional powerpoint presentations that they had prepared in English and sent to the States. They were also very accommodating when speaking German and used conversational strategies, such as reformulating and checking for comprehension, to facilitate communication when the American students had difficulties understanding what was being said in German.

Our Tandem exchange was undertaken by two classes and despite the fact that the class numbers were small (six students in Italy and five in the States), the amount of time each participant had to speak was certainly much less than if the exchanges had been one-to-one. As a follow-up to this project, it would be interesting to develop individual Tandem exchanges via the Internet, much like what we offer for face-to-face exchanges. With the increased availability and use of VoIP Internet technology such as Skype, access to “live” conversation partners is relatively inexpensive and easy to set up. These exchanges could then be complemented by further exchanges using email so students have to the opportunity to practise both their written and spoken skills.

It seems likely that our university will continue to attract relatively few English-speaking students, so e-Tandem exchanges like the one described in this paper might very well be one of the only ways for our students to engage in authentic communication with native speakers of English. It could also be considered in other similar situations where there are few native speakers available for traditional face-to-face tandem exchanges.

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Further information about Tandem exchanges is available from the following websites:

Tandem Fundazioa website: www.tandemcity.info

E -Tandem Europa website: www.slf.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/learning/idxeng11.html

International Tandem Network website: www.slf.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/index.html

English as a Medium of Instruction for Political Science at Pavia University

Cristina Mariotti – Università di Pavia

In 2006 the faculty of Political Science at Pavia University organized a course where English was used to lecture on History and Sociology. The course mainly addressed Erasmus students, but was also open to Italian students. The present study reports on the teaching methodology adopted in this course and attempts to measure the effects of English-medium instruction on the note-taking skills of students. At the beginning and at the end of the course the participants were asked to jot down notes while the researcher was reading a passage in English from a Sociology book. The parameters taken into consideration were the quantity of retained lexical items, the conformity to the source text and the presence of linking words. A comparison between the pre- and the post-tests shows no significant improvement in the students' ability to recognise lexical items in the input and no improvement regarding syntax. This can be explained considering that only a few lecturers adopted an interactive teaching style, stimulating learners to take part in the lecture, and thus encouraging them to elaborate syntactically on their output.

Keywords: L2-medium lectures, open-ended questions, learner output, note-taking skills

1. Introduction

The organization of L2-medium courses for higher education calls for careful consideration of various critical factors, such as didactic methodology, content choice and testing procedure. The characteristics of these factors can vary depending on the target learners' linguistic competence and the type of course, which may range from a pilot project to a part of a well-established internationalization scheme.

Among the various elements that should be taken into account when planning L2-medium courses, nevertheless, input presentation strategies always represent a central issue, shared by all types of L2-medium instruction.

The present paper reports on the input presentation strategies adopted by lecturers in an English-medium course on Sociology and Political Science held at Pavia University, focusing in particular on the production of output-eliciting moves on the part of the lecturers and their effects on the note-taking skills of students.

The aim is to provide a contribution to the study of teaching styles in L2-medium higher education and raise awareness about the importance of specific lecturer training when planning to use an L2 to teach curricular subjects.

2. Description of the English-medium course on Sociology

Among the various fields in which English ranks as the most widely spoken language in the world, higher education certainly plays a prominent role. As ongoing research has pointed out, it seems that everybody wants to use English to increase their visibility, but this "accelerated Englishization" can bring with it a number of problems and open questions linked to language policies and the role of non-native teaching professionals (cf. among others Seidlhofer 2001 and Coleman 2006).

To the present day, the adoption of English as a medium of instruction at Pavia University has been carried out mainly in the form of short modules aiming at testing the feasibility of a large scale implementation.

In 2006 the faculty of Political Science devised a three-month course called "An Erasmus Window on Italy". The course was divided into three thematic modules ("Socio-Economic Aspects of Italian Society", "Italy in an International Perspective" and "Italian Politics and Society") and addressed Erasmus students attending courses at the faculty of Political Science in Pavia for at least one semester. Moreover, the lecturers welcomed also Italian students interested in broadening their horizons about their country's historical and sociological issues in European perspective and in practising their L2 receptive and productive skills in a content-based environment.

The course was carried out by seven lecturers, six of whom are native speakers of Italian and one a native speaker of English. Each module lasted twenty hours. In order to be credited with 3 CFUs (Crediti Formativi Universitari), the students were required to attend at least 80% of one of the modules and to write a short paper (8/10 pages) on one of the issues tackled during the lectures.

The students involved in the project were free to choose which module to attend on the basis of their curriculum and personal interests. An average of twelve Erasmus students followed each module on a regular basis. They came from Austria, Belgium, France, Denmark, Poland, and Portugal. Only two Italian students attended the course.

The data needed for the analysis of the communicative style of the lecturers were collected by recording and transcribing the lectures. Learner output, instead, was elicited following the procedure described in section 4. It was not possible to analyse spontaneous spoken productions as the students rarely self-selected during the lectures, and even on those occasions uttered just a few words.

2.1. *Research Hypotheses*

It has been argued that L2-medium instruction promotes teacher-learner communication even in educational settings that are typically poor in interaction, such as frontal lessons. This may happen because in L2-medium instruction participants need to make sure that the subject matter contents taught have been properly understood. The increase in the rate of communication may in turn affect the learning context in a positive way (Wolff 1997; Baker 2001; Pavesi 2002). In higher education there are studies showing that lecturers using an L2 to teach curricular subjects tend to check learners' comprehension and address them directly even during frontal lectures in order to create an integrated communicative environment (Veronesi 2007).

In addition to this, conversational moves which encourage learners to produce output play a special role in terms of both content and L2 acquisition. At content learning level, they enable students to improve information processing and memory retention. At language learning level, then, output production has been identified as a crucial factor for interlanguage development because it can lead learners to deploy their linguistic knowledge and compare their hypotheses about the L2 with target-like structures provided by the more proficient speaker. In other words, the production of output can bring about improvements in accuracy and precision because by applying syntactic rules learners are stimulated to process the L2 more deeply, i.e. with more mental effort (Swain 1995, 2005).

Drawing on these premises, it was hypothesised that the lecturers recorded for this study would adopt an interaction-fostering style and, in particular, that they would produce output-eliciting conversational moves. For this reason, the data were analysed looking for open-ended, non-rhetorical questions, i.e. questions introduced by wh-adverbs to which an answer is required of the students (Long & Sato 1983; Brock 1986; McCormick & Donato 2000). For the purpose of this study, open-ended questions were taken into consideration only when they addressed students directly and when the lecturer had provided data enabling the students to formulate their own conclusions about the topic under discussion.

3. Analysis of the communicative style of lecturers

Before analysing the results, it should be mentioned that the lecturers who took part in this project had not received any specific training in L2-medium instruction. Variations in their communicative styles should therefore be ascribed only to their individual characteristics.

The data show that only two out of seven lecturers adopted a communication-fostering style. These lecturers encouraged critical thinking by asking open-ended questions about the content of the lecture and student output was welcomed and expected. The end of the open-ended question became a TRP (Transition-Relevance Place, cf. Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974), where students could self-select in order to answer. Examples of this are provided in (1) and (2):

(1) Lec: Why do you think the expenditure was so high during this period? (12 secs)
St: Because there had been losses […]

(2) Lec: What do these data tell us about the real reason for the disproportion between students enrolling and graduating from university? (6 secs) What are the real reasons according to you from what you can see in this graph? (4 secs)
St: The students decided to go to work.

It is worth noting that these answers were not preceded by a request to speak. This may hint at a levelling of the asymmetry characterising lecturer-student interaction, with students perceiving themselves as interlocutors rather than passive recipients of the lecture's contents.

One of the two lecturers who made use of open-ended questions (18 occurrences in a ninety-minute lecture) is a native speaker of English and was educated in Great Britain. The other lecturer (who produced 13 open-ended questions in the same time span) is a native speaker of Italian but has had lecturing experiences in European countries where English is used as a medium of instruction. The discourse-enhancing behaviour of these lecturers, thus, may be interpreted as an expression of their individual teaching style. However, it may also reflect their familiarity with Anglophone higher education environments, which, according to some studies, are characterised by an overall more dialogic attitude (Zorzi 1994; Duguid 2001).

The remaining five lecturers adopted a monologue-like style. In these cases, open-ended questions were produced but no student output was expected. On those occasions the lecturer did not wait for an answer on the part of the students, or waited only one or two seconds and then went on speaking. Thus, no real TRPs were created and, as a consequence, the students were not able to self-select. This is shown in excerpts (3) and (4):

(3) Lec: Do you remember what Keynes said about this? (2 secs) Keynes said that [...]

(4) Lec: Why did this happen? (1 sec) It happened because Italy spent quite a lot [...]

In (3) and (4) the lecturer was commenting on a chart and apparently tried to involve students by giving them the possibility to answer his questions on the basis of the data he had previously provided. In formulating the questions he addressed the students directly, alternatively watching them and the chart. It seemed clear that the lecturer was trying to elicit an answer from the students, nevertheless he did not wait for them to self-select and provided the answer himself.

It can be argued that this behaviour does not depart from the standard, since university lectures tend to be delivered as monologues. This is true especially in Italy, where higher education discourse is characterized by a one-way flow of speech (Anderson & Ciliberti 1999, 2002).

Nevertheless, the use of an L2 as a medium of instruction should lead the lecturer to interact with the students, taking particular care of testing their comprehension by producing frequent comprehension checks (Faerch & Kasper 1983) and stimulating them to produce output by means of open-ended questions.

These data show that in the case of the "Erasmus Window" course the lecturers did not spontaneously apply these pedagogic principles and suggest that specific training may be required in order to make the most out of L2-medium lecturing.

4. Effects of English-medium instruction on the note-taking skills of students

One of the aims of the present study was to test the effects of English-medium lecturing on the learners' ability to understand input and elaborate syntactically on their output. Nevertheless, it was not possible to match spoken input with either spontaneous or elicited spoken output, since the students rarely spoke during the lectures and did not take part in post-lecture conversations with the researcher. They accepted, though, to jot down notes on issues related to the topics that had been tackled during the lectures.

It was hypothesized that the exposure to six hours per week of English-medium lectures over a three-month period would result in an improvement in the students' aural comprehension skills and in their ability to jot down information during lectures.

The students were asked to take a pre-test and a post-test. During the pre-test, which took place at the end of the first lecture, the students jotted down notes while the researcher was reading a text about democracy. This topic seemed appropriate since it was pertinent to all the modules. In order to make prosody similar to that of academic lectures, each proposition was read without pauses and was separated from the following one by a five-second interval to give the students time to write. The students were asked to focus on the content of the text and to try and express syntactic relations linking lexical items together. All of these students but three had already taken part in English-medium lectures held in their countries of origin and were used to taking notes in English.

After three months, the students were asked to perform the same task, taking notes from a different text (see Appendix 1). The topic, though, did not change.

Unfortunately, it was possible to compare the pre-tests and post-tests of just two students out of twelve, since the remaining ten students did not show up for the post-test. The two students were part of the group who had already taken part in English-medium courses in their countries.

The notes written by the students were analysed highlighting their ability to recognise lexical items in the input and to elaborate syntactically on them. Their recognition skills were tested by checking the data for missing words or phrases and non-target English forms, whereas an indication of their syntactic competence was provided by the presence of paraphrases and linking words that were semantically equivalent to those found in the source text. In excerpt (1) an example of coding of the students' notes is provided:

Student 1 (Pre-test)

Democracy as many criticals many points › political spectrum. › Attacked › for left › %and% for right. Some of the most bitting criticisms however come from supporters of democracy itself. Some critics argue that democracy it's a hopeless visionary idea based on an number of impossible principles %%that can never really work%%. › They plan that ideas like human equality can full tide dreams › at best they say that the elite really rules in a democracy. The fact that the general public believes it is running the system proves that the › are beyond of the understanding of the ordinary people[1].

The notes produced by the students in the pre-test were then compared with the ones produced in the post-test. The results, reported in table 1, show a slight improvement in the students' ability to recognise lexical items in the input, but no advances in the use of syntax.

	Student 1		Student 2	
	Pre-test	Post-test	Pre-test	Post-test
Missing word	0	3	7	2
Missing phrase	5	3	3	2
Non-target form	11	12	3	5
Semantically equivalent linking word	1	0	0	0
Paraphrase	1	1	2	1

Table 1 – Comparison between the written output produced by the students during the pre and post-tests.

Naturally, it is not possible to generalise findings obtained from such a small-scale sample. Moreover, various variables may have affected the students' performance. For instance, notwithstanding the instructions given by the researcher, their individual note-taking styles may have prevailed. Nevertheless, these results may be connected with the fact that over the monitored three-month period the students were not encouraged to produce output in English, with the exception of the two lecturers reported on in section 3.

5. Conclusions

The above reported observations suggest that a shift in the language used to convey academic contents may not be a sufficient condition for lecturers to adopt an interaction-fostering style that is in keeping with the principles underlying L2-medium instruction (Wolff 1997; Baker 2001; Pavesi 2002; Swain 1995, 2005).

It might be interesting to conduct further research in environments similar to the ones described, in order to collect more evidence in favour or against this finding. Also the note-taking task presented in this paper could perhaps be put to the test by applying it to more students. These could be divided into two groups respectively exposed to "traditional" monologic lectures and to lecturers who had received specific interaction-enhancing training. The results of such an investigation might provide a contribution to the discussion of the effects of L2-medium instruction on output production.

On a final note, it should be remarked that using an L2 to convey academic con-

1 *** missing word, › missing phrase, _________ non-target form or different form from the source text, % % semantically equivalent linking word, %% %% paraphrase.

tents may be vary demanding and require specific lecturer training activities. Nevertheless, the adoption of an appropriate lecturing style can affect all the organizational aspects of L2-medium instruction and, ultimately, may lead to an effective implementation of this approach to whole academic courses.

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Appendix 1

Text read during the pre-test:

Democracy has many critics at every point of the political spectrum. (.) It is attacked by the far left as well as by the far right. (.) Some of the most biting criticisms, however, come from supporters of democracy itself. (.) Some critics argue that democracy is a hopelessly visionary idea based on a number of impossible principles. (.) These principles can never really work because they are too idealistic. (.) They claim that ideas like human equality are futile dreams that can never be carried out. (.) At best, they say, the elite really rules in a "democracy". (.) The fact that the general public believes it is running the system proves that the subtleties of government are beyond the understanding of ordinary people.

Text read during the post-test:

These are just a few of the criticisms of democracy. (.) Many more specific criticisms could be made, but a catalog of these attacks is unnecessary. (.) The general comments made here should be considered carefully, however, because they are supported by some of our most brilliant thinkers. (.) To think of democracy as the best possible form of government is not to make it so. (.) Some questioning of its viability in the face of such challenges as genetic engineering, psychological, chemical and electronic control of human behavior, computerization, and so forth cannot be delayed any longer. (.) To fail to acknowledge the pressing economic, social, and political changes thrust upon us by technology is to ignore the inevitable and to fail in our responsibilities as citizens of a free society.

Subject-matter Lectures

Becoming Bilingual: Support for Staff Language Development

Virve-Anneli Vihman – University of Tartu
Jennifer Uhler – University of Tartu/Georgetown University

The nearly ubiquitous trend toward greater internationalisation among universities (in Europe and world-wide) presents both opportunities and threats to educational institutions. Turning the various challenges into advantages is a key to successful implementation of the aims and objectives of internationalisation. This paper examines a particular program developed at the University of Tartu, Estonia, in response to the challenge presented by offering an increasing number of courses taught in English. We give an overview of the program, including courses for staff teaching in English as well as administrators dealing with incoming internationals. In evaluating the short- and long-term challenges and benefits of the program, we look at four crucial issues which arose in proposing and developing the program. These involve the difficulty of teaching a class with such diverse needs; optimising the resources available for central institutional support of this kind; reaching the audience the program targets; and ensuring the long-term sustainability of the program. If long-term sustainability is achieved, then programs like this one can be crucial in bringing aims of the administrative policy-makers closer to academic staff and bringing more enthusiastic participants on board in the inevitable process of internationalisation of curricula.

Keywords: internationalisation, English teaching, staff training, university, curricula

1. Introduction

This paper introduces an innovative program developed at the University of Tartu (UT), Estonia, as an approach to alleviating some obstacles to internationalisation which derive from insufficient language proficiency. The language issue is one which universities across Europe are facing, and they have responded to this challenge in various ways, from indifference to faculty-based programs or university-wide solutions (e.g. Hellekjaer & Westergaard 2001). At the University of Tartu, administrative staff from international relations units identified a problem with at least two dimensions: on one hand, fear of inadequacy inhibits faculty from initiating or contributing to English-language programs, sometimes regardless of the actual level of English language competence; on the other hand, teaching staff who have committed to teaching in English may not always be at a sufficient level of linguistic proficiency, meaning at least at the same level we require of students entering English-language programs. As no general test is required for those teaching in English, the self-selection process can err in both directions, impeding development of English-language teaching and damaging the quality of programs delivered in English.

As internationalisation has been named a key breakthrough field at UT, English-medium teaching is a fundamental area to develop, in order to integrate international staff, recruit increasing numbers of international students, and develop the international face of the university. In 2006, a team from the International Student Service and the International Relations Office wrote a project for bringing an English language specialist to UT, whose job would be to teach those members of staff who are currently or will soon be teaching in English and facilitate the improvement in clarity, self-confidence, and general language skills necessary for teaching in an academic context.

2. A Case Study: the University of Tartu

2.1. *Background*

Despite Tartu's long history (founded in 1632), teaching in Estonian did not begin until 1919, when the university was reorganised as the national university of the new Republic of Estonia. During the Soviet period (1944-1991), Estonian-medium teaching continued in parallel with Russian-medium curricula. The multilingual past (teaching in Latin from 1632 to 1710, German for most of the 19th century, and Russian from 1893 to 1918) has led to a certain protectiveness toward teaching in Estonian, heightened by the assumption that Estonia, with its population of only 1.3 million, can survive as a modern nation only if the language is viable and vibrant. Keeping up Estonian as a language of higher education and research is seen to be crucial to this aim (see, e.g. Development Strategy of the Estonian Language 2004-2010). In the post-Soviet period, Estonian has been named the official language of instruction, with exceptions made for particular curricula taught in other languages (mostly English and Russian), as well as philology in foreign languages.

Moreover, as Estonia's "National University", Tartu has responsibilities to maintain, contribute to, and research the national heritage[1]. This status also involves the more general and ambitious program of upholding Estonian as an academic language, including developing terminology, teaching, publishing textbooks and research in Estonian, and ensuring that the language develops along with the fast-paced development of science and research.

However, the converse of upholding Estonian as an academic language is keeping activities on an international standard. This means using international benchmarks to ensure quality and timeliness in research and teaching, and including international staff and students to bring in fresh ideas and keep a dynamic research environment alive. Internationalisation is inevitable in the globalisation of higher education, but it is also crucial in maintaining standards of quality and up-to-date methods. International exposure is vital in a research career, and a global outlook is critical for research excellence. In addition, the Estonian student pop-

1 The University of Tartu is legally named the national university in the University of Tartu Act (passed 16 February 1995), but this is not further explicated. The University of Tartu Strategic Plan 2008 states as part of its mission that it aims to „act as the guardian and advocate of a highly educated Estonia" and sets „strengthening the role of the national university" as one breakthrough field. The new strategic plan (to be adopted in December 2008) aims to make the meaning of this more explicit, as well as mandating the development of a university language policy.

ulation is in decline (as in so many countries in Europe), also forcing institutions of higher education to look beyond national borders to offset the decrease in student numbers.

Currently, ten faculties and five colleges host a total of about 17,000 students at UT, including around 600 international students, some of whom are studying in Estonian. The first program allowing international students to enrol in English-language studies was in the Faculty of Medicine, in 1995. The official language of instruction is Estonian, but exceptions to this now include several English-language Masters programs (six programs available as of fall 2009, in addition to three joint Masters programs) and courses taught in English in every faculty, open to both exchange and domestic students (with a total of about 500 courses taught in English as of the 2007-2008 academic year).

2.2. *The Path of Internationalisation*

Universities with aims to act as players in international research have no option but to attract international staff and students. A critical mass of foreign students is needed to provide an international atmosphere and encourage further internationalisation. For attracting international students, it is imperative to provide high-quality international studies and an international learning environment, and this inevitably means developing courses and curricula in English (Bollag 2000, Carli and Ammon 2007, but see also, e.g. Sticchi Damiani 2005).

In order to achieve the aims of its internationalisation strategy, the university has encouraged the development of new English-language courses and study programs, both for domestic and international students, through various means, including competitions to centrally fund development of international programs. The impetus to develop English curricula is both top-down and bottom-up, but the will to attract international students and teach in English must be in the faculties. The few curricula which were developed as a response to directions from the top management have not lasted long, lacking enthusiastic student recruitment as well as sufficiently broad faculty support.[2] Mellion (2005), discussing a failed program in the Netherlands, concludes that it is "particularly the commitment and competencies of the faculty and staff which determines the success or failure of the English-based curriculum." Wächter (2005) warns that a critical mass of programs is also needed before "the university leadership might start to abandon its role as an aloof observer and develops an active and supportive policy on English-taught programmes" (Wächter 2005: 22).

How, then, can the central administration facilitate the birth of English-language curricula? The answer in Tartu has lain in a three-pronged approach: English-medium curriculum development can be encouraged by providing (1) incentives for the staff to become involved, (2) marketing support for student recruitment, and (3)

2 Examples include a Masters program in Public Health, which, after six months of recruitment was never actually opened, and an interdisciplinary program in Biomedicine, which lasted for only one admission period.

practical support in administration of the curricula. The project for English language training has served as both motivation as well as practical support, in addressing a potential obstacle as well as providing training crucial for any academic career (De Wit 2005). It was also meant to serve as necessary training for administrators who are directly involved with incoming students and staff who are teaching in the programs. The rest of the paper is concerned with how these needs were addressed once the program was established at the University of Tartu.

3. English for Faculty and Staff

Emerging from the development of international and multilingual programs was the recognition of a need for language support for faculty, staff, and administrators working with internationals. This section focuses on this recognised need and how a specific English program for faculty and staff provided such support. For two academic years (2006-2008), the University of Tartu hosted an English Language Fellow from the U.S. State Department, Jennifer Uhler. Uhler's fellowship focused on creating language support curricula for faculty and staff, teaching, and adapting the curricula to better fit the local environment.

3.1. *Needs Assessment*

Quality instructional programs carefully assess the environment and situation in which they take place. Many factors, including data collection and a pilot study, informed the creation of UT's program.

One year previous to Uhler's arrival, the university organised a pilot program through another U.S. State Department program for English Language Specialists. The specialist visited the university and taught short-term courses for both administrators and faculty. The month-long courses were a success, but reactions from participants indicated a need for a longer-term program with multi-level classes. The specialist's recommendation was to submit a project proposal for an English Language Fellow to continue faculty and staff language courses over the whole academic year.

To ensure that the long-term courses would be optimal for all of those involved, the needs analysis incorporated a variety of sources of input. In addition to feedback, evaluations and course materials from the pilot program, Uhler observed courses taught in English at UT and met with faculty interested in enrolling in English courses. Additional data was gathered from enrolled faculty and staff through placement tests and questionnaires.

Faculty participants were given a written placement test that included academic reading, structure and written expression, and listening comprehension using a practice version for the paper-based TOEFL exam modified for length and allotted completion time (ETS 2008). The test was chosen because of its availability, convenience, and validity as a measurement of academic English. In addition to the placement test, faculty took part in short Oral Proficiency Interviews to provide information about their speaking and listening abilities in real time. Results of the placement tests indicated a wide range of abilities as well as both perceived and real needs for improved English abilities, especially in speaking and listening. Administrative staff took a written placement test that focused on English for the workplace (a practice test for the TOEIC was used for this purpose). Overall, administrators scored extremely well on the test, suggesting that many had high levels of proficiency in work-related English.

As a follow-up to placement tests, participants filled out an electronic questionnaire which focused on their academic profiles, language learning backgrounds, preferences for instruction, and perceived English language needs. Most of them had some previous formal English instruction, although few had lived or worked in an English-speaking environment. Strong interest in practicing writing skills and grammar arose on the part of the faculty participants, while administrators were more interested in refining oral skills used for meetings and speaking on the telephone.

One final step in developing a program responsive to local needs was the co-construction of course syllabi. Involving participants in needs assessment from the initial course building helps "learners reflect on their own learning, identify their needs, and gain a sense of ownership and control of their learning" (Graves 2000: 98). During the first two weeks of class, the instructor and participants read and spoke about creating curricula, writing learning outcomes, and putting together syllabi. Co-constructing the course revealed that faculty members were very interested in focusing on discussion- and presentation-based class activities and that, as a whole, they had little previous formal instruction about educational practices and teaching methods. The resulting first semester syllabus focused on interactive activities, including discussion leading and participation as well as mini lectures.

3.2. *English for UT Administrators*

Courses focusing on professional English were opened to UT administrators during the fall 2006 semester. An unanticipated number of administrators were interested in the course resulting in 55 participants being split into four groups according to proficiency as demonstrated through the placement exams. The courses met twice a week for 60-minute lessons and focused on telephone skills, email writing, meeting visitors, job descriptions, and business writing. Over the course of the semester, it became clear that the two more proficient groups were able to cope with nearly all of their work-related tasks in English, whereas lower groups struggled with basic communication skills necessary for everyday tasks. Instructor resources were also stretched by the range and number of group levels, suggesting that programmatic changes would be necessary for future semesters.

Several modifications were made to English courses for administrators in the following semesters. Because the goal of the language support program was work-related proficiency for administrators, and the upper-level groups far surpassed this basic ability, the administrative support program was reduced to two fifteen-member groups meeting twice weekly. To accommodate more advanced learners of English, the instructor hosted open bi-monthly brown bag lunches for administrators, during which participants could bring their lunch and discuss a topic. Despite the instructor's enthusiasm, participants did not take advantage of the brown bag lunches, as the concept of lunch hour meetings was not an attractive alternative for administrators. The cultural gap between the American instructor's intended learning opportunity and the Estonian participants' perception of lunch hour came into conflict. In the U.S. these optional lunch hour session are often seen as a reprieve to the usual working day; a way of learning and socialising without relinquishing time from regular office work. In Estonia, the concept of a brown bag lunch is not well-known. Meeting over lunch for English practice during an otherwise free hour was not an appealing alternative to a more structured class for administrative staff. It is difficult to say if the brown bag lunches might have been more successful in another setting, but it is worth noting the importance of cultural models and discourse communities in language learning (Gee 1999). Future initiatives might take into consideration the unfamiliarity with the practice of brownbag lunches and work on encouraging participation through invitations, special marketing, and incentives such as free dessert or guest speakers.

Throughout the four-semester program, the English for administrators program maintained consistent numbers of learners. Final post-tests as well as course evaluations indicated that participants made significant gains in using English appropriately in the workplace, especially in handling phone calls, visitors, and common writing tasks. Participants reported increased self-confidence and comfort with using English and also expressed general satisfaction with the course and a desire to continue learning.

3.3. *English for Academic Teaching Purposes*

The faculty courses, English for Academic Teaching Purposes (EATP), consisted of two groups of participants divided according to English proficiency as measured through the written and oral placement exams. General proficiency ranged from B1 to C1 on the CEFR, and the groups were organized so that learners of equivalent levels could study together; however, special considerations were made for participants with scheduling conflicts, so the resulting two groups were not homogenous in English abilities. The two sections of EATP met twice a week for 90 minutes, with 12-16 participants in each group. Faculty who registered for the course came from a broad range of disciplines. Interested professors, lecturers, and researchers teaching in English were eligible to join, and the course was filled and included a waiting list each semester it was announced.

The course curricula consisted of several modules adapted to learners' English abilities and group dynamics. The first semester module consisted of activities designed to enhance academic speaking and listening abilities, including discussion skills and presentation basics. The instructor observed participants' regular classes delivered in English and gave constructive feedback on teaching and language skills during post-observation meetings. The demanding course schedule was well received by participants committed to developing their language skills; a majority of first semester students continued to enrol in subsequent EATP courses.

The second semester module for continuing participants focused on intercultural teaching practices. The content for the course came from literature on best practices in teaching in higher education (see, e.g. Fry, Ketteridge & Marshall 2005; Biggs 1999; Moon 2004; and Exley & Dennik 2004). Participants took turns incorporating reading materials by leading classroom discussions on themes in education. Intensive listening comprehension practice with a focus on classroom-specific discourse and academic vocabulary development were also added. Participants were observed teaching in English once again, but they also observed and discussed English-medium lectures delivered either on campus or in virtual classrooms. Pedagogical content was considered attractive largely because it was embedded in an English language class. However, there was positive washback from the content as many participants reported experimenting and implementing new instructional practices as a result of taking the course.

A large number of participants wanted to continue in third and fourth semester courses, which called for continuing course design of additional modules and materials. Third and fourth semester EATP courses were reduced to one meeting a week, and nearly twenty faculty members took part. Third semester EATP focused on delivery of „lecturettes," mini-course lessons delivered to other participants. Participants were able to test their skills in communicating their discipline to an educated and interested audience, much like the introductory courses they deliver in English in their disciplines. Lecturettes received critical peer and instructor feedback, as well as thorough self-assessment using digital recording. Self-assessment with video recording in the third semester of EATP work was extremely fruitful. Using feedback from peers and instructor from previous semesters and incorporating the work done during class, participants proved to be their own best critics, analyzing communication breakdowns, "noticing the gap" in perception and production, and identifying areas for future work (Schmidt & Frota 1986: 310-315). Such awareness-raising was more powerful than explicit instructor feedback in pushing learners to make adjustments in their own language use.

The fourth semester course combined listening practice with analysis of typical speech types in lectures, such as giving instructions and describing a process. Participants modelled speeches and received feedback from peers and the instructor. A new feature of this module was a simultaneous focus on grammar and vocabulary through weekly home exercises discussed and reinforced during class meetings. This explicit instruction was introduced after repeated requests. Most participants learned English in a more rigid grammar-translation classroom environment and saw overt practice in memorization and grammar drills to be valuable. Despite the instructor's belief in teaching grammar more implicitly as it arose during class (see Long 1991, Ellis 2003, and Larsen-Freeman 2003), Uhler recognized this cultural and generational difference as important in giving the students a feeling of accomplishment. Including grammar/vocabulary homework pleased learners without compromising in-class activities that focused on more interactive tasks. Seventeen participants from the fourth semester completed at least three semesters of EATP coursework, ten of whom completed all four semesters.

EATP participant feedback was generally positive. Participants expressed gratitude for the English support and a desire to continue learning. Typical evaluations included comments such as the following:

"This course is very useful for me. Specially encouragement for speaking. Such courses must to be continuously, not only semester or two. Course for writing skills could be useful."
"The course helps to keep my English skills alive and it improves them. Knowing well English helps me to more fluently to communicate with foreign students and colleagues."

The EATP experience suggests a clear need for continuing language support for faculty as the pressures of accurately and appropriately speaking, writing, listening to, and teaching in English in the academic community increase.

3.4. *Academic Writing Resource Lab*

An innovation in the instructional program for faculty was the creation of a writing centre. A response to consistent feedback about the need for writing instruction, the Academic Writing Resource Lab was intended to give faculty a chance to consult about their writing in a small tutorial setting, with the ultimate goal of creating informed, autonomous, and confident writers. Academics need excellent English to be able to publish to a wider audience, but many UT faculty members do not feel prepared to submit their writing for publication in English without the assistance of proofreaders or translators.

The Academic Writing Resource Lab was conceptually based on the idea of student writing centres prevalent in many universities (International Writing Centers Association 2006). Through weekly drop-in and virtual hours via Skype, Uhler offered feedback and resources related to writing that would enable writers to analyze written work in their field, ask questions about the writing process, consult others about writing concerns, improve flow and cohesion, and better understand sentence-level errors. Visitors to the Writing Lab were introduced to reference books and online resources to aid their writing. The Lab hosted bi-monthly workshops on recurring themes and topics from tutorials such as comma usage or writing heuristics. An online list of resources and documents was also maintained to help writers between drop-in and virtual hours.

Like the brown bag lunches, the Academic Writing Resource Lab was conceptually new to UT faculty. This presented some challenges in marketing and carrying out the aims of the Lab. Although many faculty writers attended the initial orientation sessions of the Writing Lab each semester, few took advantage of drop-in or virtual hours. Participants reported satisfaction with the Writing Lab in yearly evaluations, but expressed uncertainty that discipline-specific writing problems and global writing concerns could be addressed in such a format. Writers often were unsure how to work with a tutor or could not self-identify areas to work on during sessions. Expectations of the Writing Lab as an editing service were troublesome for the instructor (see Myers 2003). Marketing the service and accurately conveying its purpose did improve with time, however, as word of mouth spread and time and experience tested the Writing Lab services. Writing workshops were the most successful and well-attended events, in part because they were a class-like and teacher-directed environment, where participants were more comfortable. Future plans for writing classes would certainly be well-received by faculty, in addition to continuing support through self-directed services such as the Writing Lab.

3.5. *Seminars on Language Development and Intercultural Teaching*

Evaluations made it clear that language classes requiring less commitment than a semester-long course would be welcomed to address specific needs and refine language skills. In response, a series of bi-weekly, stand-alone, Friday morning seminars was developed to accommodate additional interested faculty members. Teaching faculty could choose from a semester-long menu of seminars and attend one or more sessions throughout the year. Offerings included seminars focused specifically on teaching practice and topics related to language development. A range of topics selected from participant and instructor feedback included Critical Listening, Discussion-Based Teaching, Writing Basics, and others. A packet of related materials and resources on each topic was given to attendees, and an online portal was maintained to allow continued exploration of topics.

The seminar format was successful in that it allowed an additional population to access tools to improve English skills for teaching and research. Each semester, the instructor offered 7-8 new seminars that balanced teaching and language themes. Seminars averaged 10-12 participants in attendance, and most were repeat attendees who came to between 4-8 seminars in total. Feedback indicated that participants found the range of choice in content met their language learning needs.

4. Lingering Programmatic Questions

Examining this program from the perspectives of both the instructor and the administrative offices hosting it, this section presents some questions on what was learned in the process and how we foresee the continuation of the program, either at the University of Tartu or other universities with similar needs.

4.1. *Diverse Needs*

When compiling a proposal for a program like this one, one of the primary issues to arise is how to meet the diverse needs of academics in an advanced-level language class. As mentioned above, the placement tests and questionnaires revealed great variety in language proficiency and perceived needs. Diverse skills among students often present a challenge in language classes, but in this case the challenge is underscored by the attempt to teach high-level skills to academics from multiple disciplines.

The approach to resolving this potential stumbling block lies in keeping a balance between different teaching methods, focusing on interactivity and student input, and in giving a large amount of autonomy to students. This last also alleviates possible concerns on the part of professors with regard to their self-esteem, in cases where English classes may be perceived as a challenge to their authority within their own discipline.

Balance between discipline-specific needs and a course including a wider academic community was achieved by designing tasks that allowed learners to contribute using materials from their own teaching experiences. Discussions included room for explanation of different teaching methods used in specific fields. This served as an educational experience for listeners in class and a chance to explore assumptions about practices in participants' own classrooms. Assignments such as discussion leading, presentations, and even vocabulary presentation were designed to allow participants to explore their own disciplines while educating others. Learners from other fields were able to offer valuable feedback as veteran instructors, while acting as an inexperienced student audience in the particular field. In essence, classroom presentations acted as litmus tests for speakers' abilities to articulate ideas effectively, comprehensively, and appropriately to a new audience, mimicking the real-life encounter of teaching an introductory course to university students not familiar with the topic. This balance of being an expert informer, novice listener, and equal course participant acknowledged faculty expertise and encouraged on-going collegiality in class.

An interactive focus was also an important element of the course structure. Using class time to work on discussion, presentation, and teaching skills encouraged the development of a learning community as classmates got to know each other over several semesters. Learning in this way is a situated activity in which learners become part of a community of English teaching faculty through "legitimate peripheral participation" in the language classroom (Lave & Wenger 1991: 33). The EATP experience acted as a conduit connecting individual faculty members to other communities. Interaction acted both as a social and instructional tool, allowing for a diverse and multi-level classroom (van Lier 1998).

Autonomy as a necessary skill and the ultimate language learning goal for faculty was woven into the program. Faculty attending English courses were often initially uncomfortable admitting weaknesses with language and reticent in sharing personal work in a class setting. Acknowledging these delicate factors, coursework included self-directed, optional activities for extra practice, web-based resources for individual practice, and regular assignments such as journals and emails shared only between instructor and learner. Instructional conversations (see Lantolf 2000;

van Lier 1996) which honour the voice and value of the participation of both student and teacher were vital in establishing learner autonomy. Learners also sought meaningful autonomy through investigating discipline-specific language resources and reflecting on their and their peers' findings (Khumaravadivelu 2003). Learners took part in short- and long-term goal setting to support out-of-class learning. The encouragement toward autonomy helped legitimize individual concerns and led to more confident and successful on-going learning.

4.2. *Resources*

Another question to arise in preparing a program like this one is: *Why centrally provide a university-wide English program for faculty?* The needs of members of faculty teaching in English are dependent on what they teach and the specific expectations in their field. Academic culture and teaching styles vary across disciplines and add to the challenge of bringing this diverse group of learners under one umbrella.

A minimal response to this question is that the university perceived a need cutting across faculties and attempted to provide a democratic response using available resources. Perhaps an ideal solution would be individual language teachers for different research areas, but we also saw benefits to the central, single instructor solution. As an incentive for members of faculty to develop English curricula, the centrally provided courses tapping university-wide resources carried the message of how much importance UT places on English language development and teaching in English. This signals the vital information that UT conceives of English curricula as a university-wide issue. Hence, the incentive value is enhanced by the courses offered on the central level.

Second, it is important to underline the English language courses as a quality measure for teaching in English that takes place in any unit in the university (see, e.g., Woolf 2005: 47-50). The courses were provided as a means to address a general internationalisation issue, but in fact they only reached a small group of the hundreds of faculty members who might be in need of improving language skills. The aim of this program was to identify what courses would be most useful, achieve practical instruction and development, and provide a catalyst for future progress that may include some faculty-based English courses.

Thirdly, a positive result of the centrally provided courses lay in cross-disciplinary co-operation. The discussions that arose from meetings between representatives of very different fields were lively, engendering genuine questions and interest from academics who typically do not attend lectures on such diverse topics. The tight-knit social groups that formed through one and two-year-long interaction in class helped faculty reach valuable conclusions about teaching practice and community at UT. The pedagogical benefit of cross-disciplinary discussions about teaching and language learning led to eye-opening academic contacts and stirring discussions and debates.

Finally, all faculties benefited equally from this program. The democratic nature of the courses meant that all the faculties felt an added value, again providing motivation to increase teaching in English as well as initiating thought on how to provide more support for English proficiency on various levels.

4.3. *Target Audience*

A concern often associated with further training options for faculty and language teaching in general is the question of how to ensure that those who need the training are those who get it. If registration for courses is a self-selecting process, course administrators may be concerned about how to reach the intended participants. It is true that relying on staff to identify their own needs may carry the danger of excluding those who most critically need the instruction. Nevertheless, several factors contribute to both intrinsic and extrinsic motivation for those who genuinely need to improve language proficiency to join the courses.

Intrinsically, members of faculty recognise the usefulness of English proficiency in furthering their careers. Fluency in English is no longer considered an optional bonus for an academic career; it is a basic skill like computer literacy (Carli and Ammon 2007). The ability to conduct research in international collaboration and to write up results and publish internationally is fundamental to any academic career. Improved job satisfaction ought to be a self-evident outcome of improved ability in English. Finally, personal interest in English is also an intrinsic motivating factor for joining the classes.

On the side of extrinsic motivation, it is clear that job security also depends on high proficiency in English. Not only is English fluency an asset in and of itself, but English skills are also useful for nearly all the external measures of job performance, including publishing and the ability to teach to various groups. Other extrinsic factors include the expressed goals of the University of Tartu in its development strategy, which is used as a foundational document for a multitude of institutional development projects. Finally, the social environment in academic communities worldwide rewards facility in English. Language as a “social accomplishment and a social tool” used for both professional and personal development in these communities cannot be underestimated as a motivating force (Atkinson 2002: 526).

In sum, there are many reasons for individuals to assess their linguistic abilities and take advantage of free, centrally provided courses for improving English proficiency as a valuable professional development tool. The University of Tartu’s culture would not currently support more forceful institutional requirements for language development, and so we have – thus far – stopped short of enforcing language testing among staff.

4.4. *Long-Term Outlook*

A final question involves the future: *How can the university maximize the benefits of this program?* Bringing in funds for a creative English instructor with much experience and energy for two years is a laudable initiative, but in order to make a lasting difference, this project has to be sustainable. What has the university done to guarantee that this program will bear fruit for the long-term outlook?

First of all, this initiative sparked interest in various units to create similar positions. A few successful examples of English-taught curricula form an invaluable tool for increasing interest in teaching in English and improving English proficiency. It is impossible to overstate the value of also encouraging teaching and studying abroad.

It is also important to officially recognise the added effort that goes into self-improvement, further training, and teaching in a foreign language. These elements need to be built into the assessment of job performance. This has not been realised yet but it is part of discussions for the next development period in UT. Future programs will also include doctoral student skills, crucial for training future generations of academic faculty who will be ready to perform in an international context, be it a conference or a classroom.

Finally, sustained central support is necessary for the full actualisation of the potential of this program. Happily, we can report that for next year, funds from an Estonian national government program for additional training will continue to support a new English language trainer for academic staff. The previous instructor's materials, coursework, and suggestions have all been passed on to the next instructor, making it likely that much that was learned about participants' needs and the particulars of this unique classroom setting will not remain limited to a two-year project, but will be passed on for the benefit of future staff. This will prove the lasting value of the project, and will, in the long run, contribute to a fuller program of internationalisation at UT and a community of better qualified researchers and teachers.

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Inequity in Teaching Content in Different Languages: A Case Study of an English Native Speaker Teaching Professional Skills in Dutch

Robert Wilkinson – Maastricht University

Within EU countries many educators are required to teach disciplinary knowledge in a language other than their mother tongue, especially where English-medium education is provided. This is common practice for native speakers (NS) of languages other than English. But it seems less common for English NS to do so. The assumption seems to be that 'everybody can understand English'; so there is no demand put on the English NS. In an international university this may not appear a problem, but in a bilingual university the situation could be different.

This paper presents the case study of an English NS teaching professional skills through Dutch. Comparison is made with the findings of studies investigating disciplinary teaching by non-English NSs (Vinke 1995; Klaassen 2001), indicating some salient differences and suggestions for further research.

Keywords: inequity, professional skills learning, non-native-speaker teaching, case study

1. Introduction

In 2006-07 I was asked to train students on an Arts and Heritage Master's programme in presentation skills. A routine request: I had been training students and academic staff in presentation skills for many years. However, what was unusual was that the programme coordinator asked me to give the training in Dutch to Dutch native speakers. Up to this point all our training had been in English. I was (am) an English native speaker (NS) and a member of the English section of the Language Centre at Maastricht University, a Dutch-English bilingual institution. To teach in Dutch would be a challenge, and many questions went through my mind. Would I be able to do so? Was my Dutch good enough? Would the students be very critical of my Dutch? How would I handle questions? How could I give effective feedback?

Originally I had been recruited as an English-NS to teach the language and academic and professional writing and speaking skills[1]. As a member of the Language Centre, I was in a different position from academics recruited to the faculties. At Maastricht University, faculties recruit academic staff primarily on the grounds of proven or expected expertise in the discipline which he or she will teach, but an additional and important factor is the ability to do so in English[2]. The inability to teach in Dutch would not necessarily be an exclusion criterion. Indeed, academics may well

1 For many years, I have also taught professional skills in French, particularly in the business sector; but that falls outside the scope of this paper.

2 While there is no explicit document that specifies this requirement, recruitment advertisements usually indicate "teaching in English" or "excellence in English, spoken and written" (see also Universiteit Maastricht 2006).

not need to speak Dutch at all, although knowledge of it (and other languages) would be an advantage.

Broadly, bilingual or multilingual universities (BMU) vary according to the status they give to the instructional languages in terms of student requirements. Universities in bilingual communities or on linguistic 'fault lines' are likely to use both indigenous languages as instructional languages (e.g. Italian and German at the Free University of Bolzano), with perhaps the addition of a third (e.g. English). At bilingual universities like Maastricht, it is different. Instruction is in the local language Dutch and in English, with an increasing preponderance of instruction in English[3]. Maastricht University no longer makes use of the proximity of the French and German linguistic areas[4], except as recruitment zones for its English-medium programmes and in research collaboration. At Maastricht, it is expected that Dutch academics (and some others) will teach in both Dutch and English, while English NS academics (and many others working in English-only programmes) will teach in English only. In this inequitable environment (cf. Phillipson 2006; Erling & Hilgendorf 2006), it is not surprising that the quality of the non-English-NS academics' English comes in for criticism from students, as testified by course evaluations over the years (cf. Hellekjaer & Wilkinson 2003; see also Wilkinson 2008). Instances of an English-NS teaching in Dutch are relatively rare, but may help to rectify the inequity. However, the quality of non-Dutch NSs teaching in Dutch has not been investigated, and it is uncertain if Dutch students have similar criticisms when they are taught in Dutch by an English NS. In other words, do students treat deficiencies in the linguistic ability of their teachers equitably, or is this critical attitude specific for teaching in English?

This paper reports on a case study of an English-NS (me) teaching presentation skills in Dutch to a group of Master's students, arising from my curiosity about the differing reactions of students to NNS teaching in English or Dutch. The case study may be seen as action research (Lewin 1946), in that the researcher is inquiring through acting in the research context (see Susman & Evered 1978).

2. Case study

2.1. *The object of the case study*

The case study concerns a presentations training course in a Master's degree programme in Arts and Heritage (Cultuur, Beheer en Beleid), which focuses on policy, management and educational practice with respect to cultural heritage and art. The course is taught entirely in Dutch, although some of the literature and some guest lectures could be in other languages (especially English, German, and French).

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3 In 2006, just over half of all bachelor's programmes were given completely in English, with some programmes (notably in psychology and health sciences) involving a mixed Dutch-English structure. About 75% of Master's programmes were offered in English, with some available in both English and Dutch. (Universiteit Maastricht 2006).

4 In the late 1980s/early 1990s courses were given in French and German at the Faculty of Economics, partly in collaboration with the Université de Liège and the Rheinisch-Westfälische Technische Hochschule (RWTH) Aachen, both about 30 km away.

2.1.1. *The participants*

The study was conducted in the academic year 2006-07 among one group of 14 students. The students were Dutch or Belgian, with occasional students from other countries (even one from the UK in the year under study)[5]. Most students had worked for a year or more in cultural organizations, such as a local authority, a museum, or a ministerial department. All students are expected to be native or near-native speakers of Dutch.

2.1.2. *The teacher: competences and tasks*

As the teacher in this case study, my task was to train the students to give effective presentations on the history and policies of cultural heritage; students working in teams could choose their own topic but the focus (history and policy) was given. I had acquired Dutch as L4, having learned the language largely osmotically, without structured teaching. While I felt confident enough to be able to cope with the challenge of teaching in Dutch, I was well aware that my Dutch was deficient in many respects (e.g. limited vocabulary, frequent grammatical errors especially word order, occasional pronunciation problems) (Katja Verbruggen, personal communication, 12 September 2007).

2.1.3. *The procedure*

In an action research design, during and after each session, I noted down all the comments and remarks that the students had about my Dutch in terms of use of grammar, pronunciation, hesitations, and expressions (choice of words, nuances). At the end of the course, students were requested to assess the training during an oral evaluation; no structured evaluation form was used.

The action research design implies that findings from one particular case may not be generalizable to other contexts. However, it has its value in suggesting hypotheses and raising questions for future research.

2.1.4. *Expectations*

Before the training, I expected that the Dutch students would level the same kinds of criticisms at an English teacher teaching in Dutch as students at the university had commonly made at non-English-NS academic staff teaching in English. In course evaluations at Maastricht (especially in the early years of English-medium instruction in the 1980s and 1990s), students frequently commented on language issues that had a negative effect on learning quality: notably, “the teacher’s grammar”, without actually specifying what they meant by grammar, and “pronunciation”, without commenting in any detail. However, Vinke’s (1995) study identified more clearly aspects that affect the clarity and effectiveness of teaching through English: reduced expressiveness (pace and intonation), reduced clarity (hesitation,

5 There is a parallel programme in English which attracts many international students.

false starts, vague terminology), reduced redundancy (limited use of summaries and repetition, few examples), and reduced ability to improvise. I therefore expected Dutch students to be critical about (a) inaccurate language and vague expression, (b) hesitant delivery, slow pace, (c) searching for words, and (d) difficulty in expressing nuances. In addition, the students were expected to criticize my ability to handle questions. I thus hypothesized that the English teacher teaching in Dutch would receive the same kind of criticism as non-English-NS teachers teaching in English had received about their teaching in English.

2.2. *The training sessions*

The training comprised a series of six two-hour sessions two days before content workshops that were managed by the content staff of the Faculty concerned[6]. Training focused on presentation skills (e.g. organization and structure, intonation, pausing and emphasis, slide design, handling questions). My role was to introduce and discuss the skills that formed the theme of each session, to provide feedback, to handle questions, and to post information on the electronic learning environment. Thus, the language itself was not a specific goal of the training, although the expressions chosen can have an impact on the effectiveness of a presentation, and language could well be a focus in the feedback.

In the first session the training began with a short introduction to the goals and various matters of logistics, primarily which students were going to present when and on what topics. Then each student had to give a short (3-4 minutes) unprepared presentation introducing themselves, indicating what attracted them to the Cultuur, Beheer en Beleid (Arts and Heritage) programme, and specifying what they thought was the value of the programme. After each presentation, I requested spontaneous reactions from the students, and tried to collate the points about presenting that the students had observed after every third presentation. I refrained from giving my own judgements until everyone had presented. At the same time I would write down some comments (in Dutch of course) on a personal evaluation form, at this stage concentrating on what the presenter did well and what was evidently less good (the latter aspects were usually already noticed by the peers). Next I asked students to work in teams of three or four on preparing a presentation, using overhead sheets, about what makes an effective presentation. The feedback procedure was more or less the same. The session ended with my presenting the key features of effective presentations.

For the second session[7], the students had to prepare a team presentation, using slides, on cultural heritage (what it means with examples). Again the feedback procedure was similar to that in the first session. Discussion focused on the structure

6 In the workshops, the content staff were concerned solely with the content of the students' presentations, and gave no feedback on how the students presented. For logistical reasons, I could not be present at the workshops.

7 In 2006-07 the presentations were recorded on DVD, with the aim of showing relevant extracts in the following session. However, due to incompatibility of some of the equipment, this was not very successful. For this reason, and due to lack of time, recording was abandoned after the third session.

of presentations and aspects of use of voice (especially intonation and emphasis). These discussions were interactive, allowing the students to raise and discuss issues as I presented a slide and acted as moderator.

The remaining sessions were based on prepared presentations given by the teams that had to present in the content workshops later the same week. These presentations were quite long (20-30 minutes) and involved three or four speakers. Peer feedback predominated here, with criticisms and suggestions on the content, structure and organization. My feedback tended to concern aspects such as structure (including slide design), intonation, and delivery aspects, and also how the presenters handled questions. Each session I also presented slides on the various presentations skills. Occasionally, if time allowed, I requested some students to give spontaneous presentations based on abstract art or statements about cultural heritage from 'famous people'.

Thus, my active role involved introducing presentation skills, presenting slides, moderating the discussions, providing feedback (oral and written), and stimulating the group to reflect on their performance. Separately, I noted down any comments the students made about my Dutch or my teaching performance. I should add that I explicitly asked the students to correct my Dutch especially if I was unclear.

3. Outcome and implications

Surprisingly, in not one of the sessions in 2006-07 did the students make any overt criticism of my Dutch. They did not correct any errors in grammar nor in pronunciation. They did not comment on my hesitation. They did occasionally provide help when I was searching for a specific word or expression, especially if I explicitly asked for them to supply the word or expression. In the evaluation at the end of the training, they only commented on their own learning and the benefits of practising different presentation techniques in front of their peers and receiving constructive feedback from them. They did not comment on my linguistic performance, but they did comment (positively) on my helpfulness in training presentation techniques.

The absence of linguistic criticism suggests that the particular group of mainly Dutch and Belgian students had a high degree of tolerance for imprecision in my Dutch language. They tolerated what could be seen as less precise feedback and guidance than perhaps they would have received from a Dutch native-speaker. (In passing, they tolerated my attempts at linguistic humour in Dutch, even if they feigned their amusement.)

It should also be noted that the powerpoint slides that I used were generally but not always checked by a Dutch native-speaker, while the announcements and course information on the Blackboard learning platform was not – nor were the e-mail messages.

Although the extensive use of peer students to provide guided feedback for each presenter or team of presenters may well have been a factor in the lack of linguistic comments on my feedback, this lack of criticism or negative reactions to my imperfect Dutch was highly unexpected, especially if compared with the comments that have characteristically appeared in evaluation forms concerning courses in English at Maastricht University.

These comments reflect students' concerns about the grammar and pronunciation used by the non-English-NS teachers, concerns about fluency (hesitation, searching for words, expression), and concerns about the ability of the teachers to handle questions[8]. In other words, it would seem that students on English-medium programmes expect their teachers to be NSs of English or near-NSs; some of them may well prefer their teachers to have some qualification in English for teaching. This may suggest an inequity in the evaluation of linguistic ability: while an English teacher teaching in Dutch does not get criticized, Dutch or other NS teachers teaching in English do. Why is this so?

There are in fact different processes going on. The Dutch and Belgian students in this small study had no need to improve their Dutch language skills: that was not one of their motivations. In contrast, students in English-medium education in non-English-speaking countries generally have the goal not only to acquire the relevant competences in the disciplines they are studying, but also to improve their English language skills too (see also Hellekjær 2007). Therefore, they may assume that their English would not benefit from exposure to what they may perceive as 'deficient' English from the teaching staff and react negatively. Still, as Klaassen (2001) has found, students' perception of effective teaching is not directly dependent on language ability.

Other factors may also play a role: for the most part, the students concerned had a sufficient knowledge of English to follow English-medium education[9] (and some other languages too) and so could easily understand Dutch pronounced with an English accent. As Dutch is a relatively less widely spoken language, a foreigner speaking 'tolerable' Dutch tends not to get corrected when making mistakes – the Dutch listener more or less understands[10]. Moreover, perhaps I underestimate my ability in Dutch; perhaps it is better than I think. However, my experience in meetings and negotiations in Dutch and in general conversation, together with comments from Dutch teachers, suggests that this is not the case.

Preserving face may also have played a role. Students may have felt that direct criticism of my Dutch in the classroom setting would affect my ability to manage the

8 It is noticeable that these concerns are mentioned when students' attention is explicitly drawn to language and communication matters. However, the current electronic evaluation forms used at one faculty in Maastricht (Economics & Business Administration) does not include any questions on language. The open questions do not seem to elicit any comment on language (year 2007-08).

9 Most students had successfully completed partially English-medium programmes previously.

10 Learners of Dutch typically have had problems in getting adequate speaking practice in authentic settings, since Dutch speakers have a habit of switching to English immediately they detect the speaker is not a native Dutch speaker. This 'tongue-jerk' reaction may be changing as the Dutch become accustomed to hearing more foreigners speaking Dutch. See for further information Smeets (2001), Ginsburgh & Weber (2005), Van Tubergen & Kalmijn (2008). See BBC Voices for comments from individuals on Dutch speakers' immediate switching to English: http://www.bbc.co.uk/voices/multilingual/dutch.shtml.

learning process and lead to a loss of face for me. Comparison in this case (oral evaluation) with criticism reported anonymously on evaluation forms (in the case of non-English-NSs teaching in English) is thus questionable. However, Dutch students in my experience are generally not slow to voice publicly their comments on a teacher's performance, although not specifically criticism of language, at least in the problem-based learning environment at Maastricht University. Face-saving behaviour, nevertheless, probably is a factor in the findings in this case study.

Overall, the absence of complaints in this Dutch-teaching context compared with the findings of English-medium instruction might be due to the different environments and learning goals. Dutch-medium instruction occurring in a Dutch-medium environment seems natural. Furthermore, since the students are not learning Dutch, they do not complain about somewhat defective Dutch from a teacher.

4. Conclusions

This small case study, in the framework of action research, arose in what for me was an unusual context: a non-NS of Dutch teaching content skills in Dutch to Dutch NS. Would the students be as critical of my Dutch as equivalent students tend to be of non-native-speakers of English teaching content through English? The results revealed an absence of criticism[11] of my language use, despite my known weaknesses in Dutch.

The case study has revealed an apparent inequity in student reactions to non-NS teaching in Dutch and in English. At Maastricht University, course evaluations of English-medium programmes, especially in the first few years, have regularly yielded negative comments about the language competences of the academic staff. Analogously, a new course in Dutch given by a non-NS of Dutch could be expected to result in similar complaints, but it did not. However, a lack of criticism revealed in this case may in fact reflect a different trend that is also apparent at Maastricht University: criticism of non-English NSs teaching in English declines over time. At Maastricht, with over two decades of English-medium instruction in a non-English-speaking environment, complaints about the language tend to decline once programmes have been running for more than five or six years. This decline in complaints is due to increasingly varying linguistic background of the students and the recruitment of academic and administrative staff who are already competent in English. In contrast, in terms of learning effect, a small number of isolated courses through the medium of another language may lead to a high level of complaints about the language and to a lower perceived content learning effect than would be the case if the courses had been given in the mother tongue or host language, even if there is

11 It is noteworthy that in the year 2007-2008 (after the Bolzano conference) the students did make some criticisms of my lack of fluency of expression. The difference with the 2006-2007 group may be partly a group atmosphere effect. The 2006-07 group was very harmonious (with almost 100% attendance every session), and worked well together in teams, providing each other with a lot of support. The 2007-08 group was more disparate; several students were present only once or twice, and teams reported much difficulty in collaborating outside the sessions. In this atmosphere, criticism was voiced more quickly.

a perceived language learning effect (Dijcks, Dolmans & Glatz 2001). However, when the number of courses increases and gains critical size, then the perceived effect on content learning may be neutral or even reversed. Thus, Dutch-medium training given by a single non-NS of Dutch in a Dutch programme and a Dutch environment is not an isolated course, even if new. The absence of criticism may not be as surprising as I initially thought.

A small case study does not allow general conclusions. However, it does raise questions that merit further study, particularly concerning the study design and the validity of course evaluation. An action research design does not permit general conclusions. At many universities, courses are evaluated by the consumer, the student, and the results are taken into account in future planning. In some cases, it may not be the language that generates criticism of the instruction, but rather less effective instructional methods, as Klaassen (2001) has noted. In other cases, if students are unduly critical about less than perfect language use when they are taught in one instructional language, but they are not so about similarly imperfect language use when taught in a different instructional language, then there are strong grounds for investigating the factors behind the differential evaluation. Exploratory studies, for instance using focus groups, could identify why students evaluate teaching in different languages differently and so enable institutions to make evidence-based decisions about whether to continue, expand, or even curtail content and skills teaching in a specific language. With respect to teaching, for example lecturing, in different languages, experimental studies should be conducted to investigate student reactions to linguistically deficient lectures in different languages. Such studies could identify factors of influence on the students' perceptions of quality, and determine which factors can be manipulated to enhance learning effect.

More broadly, it would be valuable to investigate the impact of the language of instruction on content learning in a bilingual or multilingual university. Many studies in content and language learning have focused on the extent to which learners' language competences improve (e.g. Sylvén 2004; see also Bjorklund, Mård-Meittinen, Bergström & Södergård 2006). This may well be an important goal in primary and secondary education where it is important to provide scope for language learning in curricula that are increasingly crowded. In higher education, however, while there may still be a need to improve language competences, the primary goal in non-language programmes is for the students to acquire and master the competences (knowledge, skills, and attitudes) of the disciplines studied. The goal in most cases is not explicitly, but only incidentally to improve the students' language competences. Nevertheless, in bilingual or multilingual universities, the situation is likely to be different: the goal of learning languages assumes greater importance. Three areas of research may be suggested here. One is to examine to what extent language learning has an impact on content learning (and vice versa) and to identify and measure the factors leading to potential synergistic benefits and drawbacks of learning content and language. A second area is to study the impact of the teacher's language use on student performance. Teachers are generally believed to have a significant impact on student learning. Dolmans *et al.* (2002) have reviewed studies investigating the different kinds of effect tutors have on learning in problem-based learning environments, concluding that tutors need to know how to deal with subject matter expertise as well as to facilitate the learning process. They note that tutor performance is not stable, but is situation-specific. However, the studies reported in Dolmans *et al.* do not address the issue of the instructional language. As a third research area, it would be valuable to investigate the effect multilingual teachers have on student learning according to which instructional language they are using. Teachers have reported changing teaching strategies when they change language (Wilkinson 2005), but the impact on student learning is uncertain.

Inequity in education has always existed. In this case study the inequity has been perceived as the different student response to language competences of the teacher. However, the inequity may in fact be different. Learning through one's mother tongue has been seen as a right (UNESCO, 1953; but see Gfeller & Robinson 1998). Therefore, an instructor teaching non-language knowledge or skills through the students' mother tongue, assuming at least 'tolerable' language competence on the part of the instructor, will neither be surprising nor provoke criticism. On the other hand, if students are learning content through a foreign language and their instructor is perceived to be less competent in that language, then this may in fact be the inequitable situation for student learning. Does the language itself put students' content learning at risk?

Acknowledgement

Grateful thanks to Glenn Ole Hellekjær for his insightful comments for this article.

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English Language Test for Scientific Staff at D.U.T.

Renate Klaassen, Madeleine Bos & Tim Roubos
Delft University of technology

Delft University of Technology (DUT) screened her (non-native English) scientific staff on their level of language proficiency over the year academic 2006/2007. In this paper the large scale operation, involving planning, policy decisions, assessment means, advise and training are discussed. Results are framed against the background of becoming an International University.

Keywords: English-medium instruction, language proficiency assessment, screening, professionalisation, language policy

1. Introduction

Presently more and more higher education programmes in the Netherlands are providing English-medium instruction. Delft University of Technology contributes to this trend by providing all her master programmes in English since the academic year 2005-2006. Although the original idea was that the language proficiency of the non-native speaking lecturers is at a sufficient level to provide English-medium instruction (Klaassen 2001, Hellekjaer & Westergaard 2003), an increasing number of students complained about the lecturers' level of English (AAG 2005). An advisory committee "English as a second language" dealing with issues related to the introduction of English as a second language at our University, recommended to take stock of the level of language proficiency of the lecturers, as it would help to identify language planning policy issues and additional course needs of lecturers and facilitate staff language development. Equally the complaints of the students would be accommodated. The Board of directors of Delft University of Technology decided to screen all scientific staff (around 1300) during the academic year 2006/2007 on their English language proficiency.

Professors, Associate and Assistant professors have been tested on a mandatory basis. Ph.d. and supportive personnel with educational tasks have been invited to take part on a voluntary basis and have been tested during June and July 2007. This paper will discuss the results of the group that has been tested on mandatory basis.

Leading questions with respect to the screening of lecturers are:

- What is the average language level of scientific staff?
- Which courses are needed?
- Is the International English Language Testing System (henceforward IELTS) level 7.5 requirement realistic?
- Which language policies should be implemented to realise a minimal level of language proficiency?

1.1. *The test*

The assessment consisted of a diagnostic computer-test of half an hour and an oral language assessment of half an hour. For the computer test the Oxford Quick Placement Test (QPT) has been used. This test assesses the passive skills reading, listening and grammar and provides an indication of the level of language proficiency of the participant. More emphasis was placed on the oral assessment in which the active language proficiency skills were tested needed for providing English-medium instruction. The oral assessment always took place with an interviewer and a language assessor. The assessor used criteria derived from the Common European Framework of Reference (European Council 2001) to establish the level of language proficiency of the participant. Indicating criteria were spoken fluency (consisting of vocabulary, grammar, phonology), addressing audiences, exchanging information, coherence and cohesion and discussion. The Oral test consisted of a 30 minutes test in which the lecturer was required to:

- have an introductory talk,
- give a 5 minute presentation,
- describe on the basis of a picture and in interaction with the interviewer a trend in their disciplinary field
- conduct a role play between a student and a lecturer

The 5 minute presentation could be prepared. All the other parts consisted of spontaneous conversation. Weight acknowledged to the oral exam would be double as opposed to the QPT results.

Based on the oral assessment the participant would receive an advice with respect to the level of language proficiency and a recommendation with respect to language training courses which could be followed to improve on their language proficiency skills.

1.2. *Adapting Language Policies*

Point of departure for the advice was a provisionary decision by the 3TU Federation consisting of the three technical Universities in the Netherlands; Delft University of Technology, University of Twente and Eindhoven University of Technology (internal language policy document, 2006, official source not available). This decision was to require staff to have a language proficiency level of IELTS 7.5.

Delft has specified this requirement as follows;

- The level of language proficiency of staff will always have to be one level higher as the level of language proficiency of the students at a particular programme level.

It is assumed that the entry level language proficiency of students in the Bachelor is B1 of the Common European frame of reference, improving to C1 at the end of their Master studies. In the fig. below this model is further specified.

CEFR level	Expected student level	Min. Level desired from lecturers
C2	Final level master student English language and literature/ Near Native speaker	C2
C1	Final level Master student	C2
B2	Final level Bachelor student/ Entry level master programme	C1
B1	Final level secondary school/entry level bachelor	B2
A1+A2		

Fig. 1 – CEFR levels required from staff

Although the three technical Universities initially proposed a C2 level for all the lecturers, Delft University of Technology decided to opt for the more realistic C1 level to start with. The board of directors has decided that 80% of the lecturers should reach a C1 level in 2010 and 90% before September 2013. Furthermore, 50% should reach the C2 level in 2013[1]. Equally the board has indicated language proficiency;

- to be an obligatory part of the annual job appraisal process of those lecturers obtaining a lower score than C1;
- to be a minimum entry requirement for job applicants, within a time span of 3 years from their appointment they should qualify at a C1 or C2 level and;
- to be enhanced by means of teacher training on language proficiency skills to scientific staff.

(Final Report, English Language Assessment Programme 2007)

Delft University of Technology, has decided as result of the test outcomes to require a 7.0 level at the IELTS and has not adapted to the 3TU-federation yet (internal communication).

1.3. *Practical Organisation of the assessment*

To manage a large scale assessment operation a number of requirements have been formulated with respect to efficiency, costs management and services. These requirements were along with others for the efficiency criterium: (1) an optimal match between participants and testing capacity, (2) max. registration response and show on appointed test date and (3) max. throughput. With respect to cost management requirements the following criteria were used (1) reduction of overhead costs and administrative costs which might occur due to inefficient planning. Finally service criteria consisted of (1) easy access to registration, (2) optimal provision of information and (3) a large offer of test moments. This resulted in a process scheme-supported by ICT infrastructure and management activities. In the following figure this process scheme is depicted.

1 Ratified in the "Concept Decision Board of Directors with respect to English Language test november 2006 (official minutes of internal meetings are not available for public use).

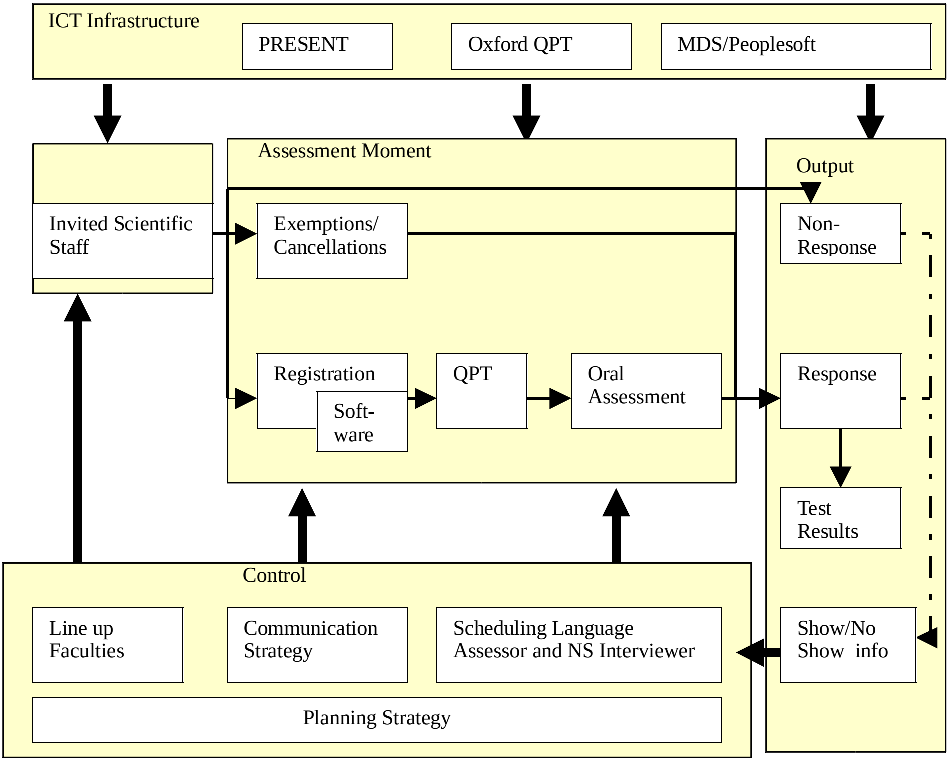


Fig. 2 – Process schema test organisation

In June 2006 the board of directors has communicated to the entire staff that they will be obligatorily assessed on their English language proficiency, unless they are exempted on the basis of the following criteria:

A. IELTS test level 7,5

B. Paper-based TOEFL 625

C. Master degree in English language and literature

D. A pass port of a so called First language country (UK/USA/Canada/Australia/New Zealand) and representative documents of having followed primary and secondary education in the first language country

Also included in the letter to the scientific staff were sincere apologies for those who mastered the English language in any other way to a level that sufficiently met the D.U.T. criteria. Staff would, however, have to come up with representative proof for exemption.

Test registration facilities (by means of an online registration tool) would be open for two faculties at the same time. A limited number of registration time would be open until 85% to 100% of the time slots available would be covered. Successively, more time would be open for registration. In this way it would be possible to have 54 tests per week. A team of 8 interviewers and assessors (4 each) would be able to manage this amount of oral assessments during the week.

The dean of a faculty would initially invite the entire staff to register for the test. In this initial invitation it was communicated to the staff that the dean would first sit the test him/herself such to create acceptance among staff. Then the project-group would invite the staff and provide all the procedural details with respect to registration and testing. Staff would be able to register immediately after the invitation of the project-group.

Staff could either, request exemption, or cancel with reason and/or reschedule due to particular circumstances. Cancellations took place for several reasons, such as going on pension, long term illness, sabbatical, maternity leave, guest lecturer, unofficial exemption on the basis of nationality or other reasons. All these cases were officially ratified by the dean of the faculty. In some cases the test moment would be rescheduled at another moment

Those who did not register were reminded by the dean of the faculty after two weeks and urged to do so as soon as possible. After a few weeks the dean would be informed of those participants who did not respond at all (failed to ask exemption or rescheduling or cancellation). These lecturers would again be invited and urged to partake in the test.

Results are stored digitally. From this ICT-programme overall test results could be generated and would be extended to the dean of the faculty including all the specific information of particular lecturers in the faculty.

1.4. *Response Rates*

In June 2007, (N=) 1400 staff members across 8 faculties and one research institute have been invited for the Language proficiency test. (N=) 920 (65,7 %) of those staff members (lecturers) have made the test, (N=) 40 (2.9%) members have received official exemption, 295 (21%) members have requested cancellation and a remainder of 14 (1 %) still have to do the test. The total response rate amounts to 90.6% Results per faculty are as follows:

	AP		AE		ID		3ME		Total	
Parameter	**N=**	**%**	**N=**	**%**	**N=**	**%**	**N=**	**%**	**N=**	**%**
Tested	126	68	60	73	101	78	104	67	920	65.7
Cancellation	48	26	14	17	10	8	31	20	295	21
Exemption	5	3	4	5	2	2	3	2	40	2.9
Non-response	7	4	4	5	16	12	16	10	131	9.4
Remainder	0		0		1	1	1	1	14	1.0
Invited staff	186	0	82		130		155		1400	
Response-rate		96		95		88		90		90.6

Table 1 – Faculties response rates; AP= Applied Physics, AE= Aerospace Engineering, ID= Industrial Design, 3 ME = Materials, Maritime Engineering

	EE		TPMM		OTB		CE		A		Total	
Parameter	**N=**	**%**	**N=**	**%**	**N=**	**%**	**N=**	**%**	**N=**	**%**	**N=**	**%**
Tested	144	76	113	66	10	77	106	61	156	52	920	65.7
Cancellation	16	8	36	21	1	8	34	19	105	35	295	21
Exemption	3	2	9	5	0	0	6	3	8	3	40	2.9
Non-response	25	13	10	6	2	15	28	16	23	8	131	9.4
Remainder	2	1	2	1	0	0	1	1	7	2	14	1.0
Invited staff	**190**		**170**		**13**		**175**		**299**		**1400**	
Response-rate		87		94		85		84		92		90.6

Table 2 – Faculties of EE= Electrical Engineering, TPM= Technology Policy Management, OTB, CE= Civil Engineering, A= Architecture

% Note that percentages have been rounded off and do not add up to a hundred in both tables

Response rates per faculty vary between 84% for Civil Engineering (CE) to 96.2 % for Applied Physics. The percentage of tested staff members varies from 52.2% for Architecture (A) to 77.7% for Industrial Design (ID). Interesting is that Architecture has the highest cancellation rate 35.1% as opposed to the lowest cancellation rate 7.7% for Industrial design.

Results

In the table below the average results on the QPT passive language proficiency (listening/reading) and the Oral Assessment active language proficiency skills (within and beyond the professional domain) are represented. Note that staff exempted from the test is not included in the table.

	TNW		L&R		IO		3mE		EWI		TBM		OTB		CITG		BK		Totaal	
Eindniveau (CEF)	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
C2	25	19,8%	16	26,7%	12	11,9%	24	23,1%	38	26,4%	39	34,5%	1	10,0%	29	27,4%	28	17,9%	212	23,0%
C1	81	64,3%	39	65,0%	66	65,3%	61	58,7%	78	54,2%	60	53,1%	7	70,0%	61	57,5%	93	59,6%	546	59,3%
B2	19	15,1%	5	8,3%	22	21,8%	18	17,3%	26	18,1%	14	12,4%	2	20,0%	15	14,2%	34	21,8%	155	16,8%
B1	1	0,8%	0	0,0%	1	1,0%	1	1,0%	2	1,4%	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	1	0,9%	0	0,0%	6	0,7%
A2/A1	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	1	0,6%	1	0,1%
Totaal	126		60		101		104		144		113		10		106		156		920	

Table 3 – Final Level, Faculty numbers #, percentages % for TNW/AP= Applied Physics, L&R/AE= Aerospace Engineering, IO/ID= Industrial Design, 3ME= Material & Maritime Engineering, EWI/EE = Electrical Engineering, OTB, CITG/CE= Civil Engineering, BK/A= Architecture

In the group of 920 tested staff members 59,3 % have achieved the C1 level of the CEFR, 23% achieved a C2 level. In total 82, 3% has achieved the C1 level or higher. Including the exemptions, who already were at a C2 level, this percentage is raised to 83.1 percent.

	TNW		L&R		IO		3mE		EWI		TBM		OTB		CITG		BK		Totaal	
Deelscore PC-toets	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
C2	97	77,0%	39	65,0%	53	52,5%	62	59,6%	93	64,6%	82	73,2%	6	60,0%	59	55,7%	82	52,6%	573	62,4%
C1	17	13,5%	16	26,7%	34	33,7%	22	21,2%	28	19,4%	22	19,6%	3	30,0%	29	27,4%	35	22,4%	206	22,4%
B2	8	6,3%	4	6,7%	10	9,9%	17	16,3%	19	13,2%	7	6,3%	1	10,0%	14	13,2%	25	16,0%	105	11,4%
B1	4	3,2%	1	1,7%	3	3,0%	2	1,9%	4	2,8%	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	4	3,8%	12	7,7%	30	3,3%
A2/A1	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	1	1,0%	1	1,0%	0	0,0%	1	0,9%	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	2	1,3%	5	0,5%
Totaal	126		60		101		104		144		112		10		106		156		919	

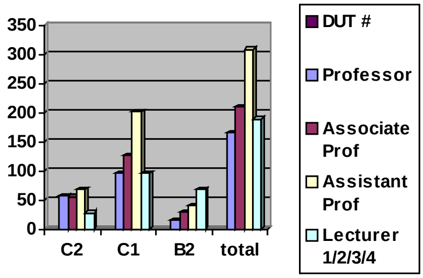
Table 4 – Oxford-QPT results

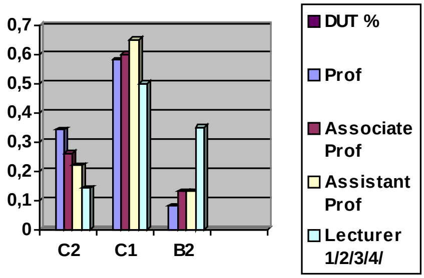
Note that the level on the computer test is on average much higher than the results achieved in the interview. Discrepancies run up to 40% achieving a lower level on active language proficiency as opposed to the QPT at the C2 level, 35 % for the C1 level and 5% at the B2. A dramatic drop in proficiency level. In general the level in the oral assessment was on CEF-level lower than the QPT. Similar results in the difference of active and passive language skills have been found at Leiden University with 800 lecturers who did the Dialang and the same oral test. Apparently, it is much harder to activate passive language proficiency skills than assumed by most of us. Indeed several studies indicate that the validity of authentic performance assessment is more predictive of the validity in the work situation than any paper and pencil test (Uhlenbeck 2002).

	TNW		L&R		IO		3mE		EWI		TBM		OTB		CITG		BK		Totaal	
Deelscore interview	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
C2	25	19,8%	14	23,3%	12	11,9%	24	23,1%	38	26,4%	40	35,4%	1	10,0%	27	25,5%	26	16,7%	207	22,5%
C1	81	64,3%	40	66,7%	66	65,3%	62	59,6%	76	52,8%	59	52,2%	7	70,0%	63	59,4%	95	60,9%	549	59,7%
B2	19	15,1%	6	10,0%	22	21,8%	17	16,3%	28	19,4%	14	12,4%	2	20,0%	15	14,2%	34	21,8%	157	17,1%
B1	1	0,8%	0	0,0%	1	1,0%	1	1,0%	2	1,4%	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	1	0,9%	0	0,0%	6	0,7%
A2/A1	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	1	0,6%	1	0,1%
Totaal	126		60		101		104		144		113		10		106		156		920	

Table 5 – Interview results

In the tables below the Delft University of Technology score is represented in number on the left hand side according to the function profile of the Scientific Staff, who did take the test (N= 837). On the right hand side the same overview in %.





Noteworthy is the higher the function level, the higher the level of Language proficiency on the Common European Frame of Reference. Faculties working with a larger number of Scientific Staff at lecturer level will have a larger representation of lower levels of language proficiency. The quality of education may suffer due to the lower language proficiency of the appointed teaching staff.

1.5. *Training*

The number of Language training's programmes that were advised on the basis of test results are as follows:

		TNW	L&R	IO	3mE	EWI	TBM	OTB	CITG	BK	Totaal
CEF	Aanbevolen cursussen	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#
C2	X										
C1	Proficiency Course III	74	83	64	58	75	56	7	61	92	570
	Proficiency Course II	24	17	14	16	25	20	4	22	50	192
	Proficiency Course I	4	5	5	0	3	1	1	7	15	41
B2	English Admission Course III	20	5	22	18	25	14	2	15	34	155
	English Admission Course II	7	0	7	6	5	6	0	4	9	44
	English Admission Course I	3	0	2	1	2	2	0	1	3	14
B1	External training Remedial English (e.g. British Council)	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	1	0	5
A2/A1	Excluded from English-medium Instruction	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Totaal		132	110	115	100	137	99	14	111	204	1022

Table 6 – Course Advise

It is assumed that a lecturer will need 180 hours of training to go from a B2 level (English Admission Course I) to a C1 level (Proficiency course I). Similarly a lecturer will need a minimum of 180 hours to go from C1 to C2 level. As not everyone will have the same B2 or C1 level the advise is based on a low, medium or high B2 level and make the invested hours more reasonable and better adapted to the level of the lecturer. Furthermore, it is decided not to train teachers who acquired a B1 level of language proficiency. The effort is too much to bring them up to a reasonable level of English language proficiency. They are therefore directed to outside institutions. A2/A1 levels are excluded from teaching in English-medium instruction. Courses typically involve 14 sessions of 2 hours and 2 hours of homework each week. 336 lecturers will have to follow a course to achieve the required C1 level. To bring the entire staff up to a C2 level a number of 1120 staff members have to be trained. The course requirements can be called substantial, even though a large number of lecturers achieved the required level of language proficiency. The first training followed by a lecturer is restituted to the faculty by the central board. Follow up courses are financed by lump sum reservation at faculty level. Lecturers themselves can follow the training free of charge, when given permission by their supervisor.

2. Conclusions

Leading questions were as follows:

- What is the average language level of scientific staff?

The Majority of the Scientific Staff has a language proficiency level at C1 of the Common European Frame of Reference. This level is approximately equivalent to an IELTS Level of 6.5/7.0.

- Is the IELTS 7.5 requirement realistic?

At present the IELTS 7.5 (minimum C2) is a rather ambitious level to achieve, as only 26.3% of the scientific staff included achieves a C2 level. 23 % of the tested group is distributed across function level: Professors 34%, Associate Professor 26%, Assistant Professors 22% and Lecturers 14%. Which means Scientific Staff at large about 74% does not reach this level. DUT has therefore decided to set the Cut off point at IELTS 7.0. Accordingly targets have been set for 2013 where 50% of the staff should have a C2 level and 90 a C1 level.

	AP		**AE**		**ID**		**3ME**		**EE**		**TPM**		**OTB**		**A**		**Total**	
Final levels	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
C2	30	22.9	20	31.3	14	13.6	27	25.2	41	27.9	48	39.9	1	10	36	31.3	252	26.3
C1	81	61.8	39	60.9	66	64.1	61	57	78	53.1	60	49.2	7	70	61	54.5	546	56.9
Total % C1 +C2		**84.7**		**92.2**		**77.7**		**82.2**		**81**		**88.5**		**80**		**85.7**		**83.1**

Table 7 – C1+C2 results in numbers and percentages

- Which language policies should be implemented to realise a minimal level of language proficiency

Besides the Cut off point and targeted improvements. Test results of this screening is included in the Annual job appraisal and agreements will be made with the personnel department and supervisors for staff training to reach the required CEFR level (Cut off point) which matches specific teaching appointments (Master/Bachelor level only).

- Which courses are needed?

Finally, it can be concluded that a substantial time/effort investment is required from the scientific staff to reach the aimed for IELTS 7.5 level. At the Institute of language and Technology of the University courses are provided from the first moment to improve language proficiency skills of the scientific staff.

- Follow up?

Scientific staff who do not meet the required language proficiency level are requested to follow a teacher training and demonstrate when they have acquired the adequate language proficiency level. Furthermore, track records of language proficiency will be included in the annual job appraisal system to encourage lecturers to keep their language proficiency up to the desired levels.

- Student evaluations

The whole screening operation was a result of complaints of students about the dismal level of language proficiency of their lecturers. As the test results were rather reasonable no more complaints have been made by students. It seems, students now realise they will have to work themselves on their language proficiency skills as well. Moreover, earlier research demonstrated evaluations of lecturers were more deeply influenced by pedagogical skills than language proficiency skills (Klaassen: 2001).

This first screening gives a representative blue print of the language proficiency level of the scientific staff at Delft University of Technology. Although the results are more positive as students would have us belief, it does alert Delft University of Technology to improve quality requirements with respect to language proficiency of staff is, if it wants to become a University with a truly International Profile.

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Formazione accademica bi-plurilingue: quali implicazioni per la didattica?

Enrica Piccardo – University of Toronto

... non solum scire aliquid artis est,
sed quaedam ars etiam docendi
(Cicerone, De legibus, 2, 47)

Si impara da coloro che a loro volta hanno imparato
H.G. Gadamer

Introducing a bi/multilingual dimension in university education can provide a unique opportunity for didactic reflection at the academic level.

Tertiary education is enriched by the contribution of research and it is constantly aimed at innovating its curricular offering, nevertheless we cannot really affirm that the didactic dimension is given due attention.

Bi/multilingual education has made it clear that we need to reflect on the professional pedagogical training of university professors, particularly of those who will be teaching a non linguistic subject in a foreign language.

This contribution is based on the first results of an exploratory survey which is being conducted on a sample of universities located in different geographical areas. The parameters of this research are the following: presence of training/development courses oriented to academic didactics and especially intended for university professors, presence of material offered by the institution and aiming at the same goal, offer of seminars open to all university professors in periods which are free from professional obligations, criteria for career improvement, presence of official evaluation procedures of academic teaching. The sample has been chosen on the basis of geographical criteria (areas taken into consideration: English and French speaking areas, Germany and Italy).

University internet sites have been explored, as to the presence of development courses/material for academic teaching and the participation of the institution in international programmes aimed at fostering quality in the academic process.

A possible role of CLIL as a catalyst for didactic reflection is investigated both in general terms and the specific care of bi/multilingual university. The contribution explores actual tendencies in researching transparency and quality in the teaching of languages and, on a more general basis, in academic teaching. The conclusion is a reflection on possible synergies within bi/multilingual universities and on the potential key role of these universities in fostering the quality process itself.

Keywords: CLIL teaching at tertiary level, academic didactics, professional development, quality in academic teaching.

1. Università = sinergia ricerca e insegnamento

Il valore aggiunto dell'università rispetto ad altri organismi di ricerca consiste nella coesistenza della sue diverse missioni. L'insegnamento universitario è per sua natura legato alla ricerca nella misura in cui esso si rifa alla ricerca ed è da questa nutrito. Non si tratta della somma di due parti: un'istituzione che fa ricerca più/e un'istituzione preposta all'insegnamento. È nella sinergia e nell'interazione fra queste due dimensioni che la "forza" dell'università si manifesta.

Il contributo della ricerca si evidenzia principalmente nell'apporto di contenuti via via più ricchi e aggiornati ed è in funzione di questi contenuti che la struttura dei corsi si delinea ed evolve. Si offrono corsi che integrino i fondamenti epistemologici delle discipline e che al tempo stesso siano aperti agli sviluppi della ricerca.

Nel grande sforzo di rinnovare l'università l'ottica di un'innovazione costante dell'offerta formativa ha assurto un ruolo di primo piano: il processo di Bologna, con la ristrutturazione dei piani di studio che ne consegue, non è che la punta dell'iceberg di un movimento più profondo, in cui si collocano dibattiti e azioni concrete concernenti il rilascio di titoli professionalizzanti, la valorizzazione della dimensione internazionale dell'insegnamento, l'offerta di insegnamenti in lingua straniera, l'esistenza di master organizzati da diverse istituzioni chiamate a collaborare, di dottorati in cotutela, di collegi dottorali che raggruppano più università… e la lista non è certo esaustiva.

Questa dinamica ha prodotto già un cambiamento radicale nel mondo accademico. Un processo irreversibile è in atto che avanza pur se tra mille ostacoli, al termine del quale l'organizzazione e la struttura dell'insegnamento superiore non saranno più le stesse.

Se l'aspetto organizzativo e procedurale dell'istituzione accademica è al centro del processo di revisione non altrettanto purtroppo si può ancora dire della dimensione didattica dell'insegnamento universitario: quest'ultima è infatti oggetto di un'attenzione non generalizzata, né dal punto di vista geografico-culturale, né dal punto di vista disciplinare.

Tuttavia il cambiamento di un'istituzione chiave per la società quale l'università non può restare estraneo ad altri processi di cambiamento che sono già in atto in altri settori, né alla filosofia di un'epoca. L'attenzione alla qualità dei processi come quella alla tracciabilità dei prodotti investe anche il mondo accademico. Questo fenomeno si mostra già nella revisione dei corsi di studio, nel ripensamento dei carichi di lavoro in termini di crediti, nella disponibilità a confrontare con "l'altro" il proprio operato in occasione della mobilità docente nonché – indirettamente - in occasione della mobilità degli studenti.

Per una delle due componenti chiave della realtà accademica, quella della ricerca, la qualità è entrata a far parte degli obiettivi prioritari, e, poiché non si considera che la capacità di fare ricerca sia innata, si dedica molto tempo ed energia alla formazione dei futuri ricercatori, con processi che includono l'accompagnamento, il tutoraggio, lo scambio, la verifica, che si svolgono in spazi e tempi ben definiti funzionali alla formazione stessa.

L'altra missione dell'università, l'insegnamento, non è oggetto invece di altrettanta attenzione e preparazione. E questo per diverse ragioni, alcune di ordine culturale, altre di ordine concettuale altre ancora di tipo pragmatico-organizzativo. Ciò che rende il problema assai complesso è il fatto che queste ragioni non si ritrovano in maniera isolata, bensì in una percentuale variabile secondo i contesti, le discipline, le tradizioni.

2. Processo di Bologna e rinnovamento dell'università: quale peso alla didattica?

In diversi ambienti il dibattito sulla "necessità" o meno di una formazione pedagogica non è mai completamente morto. I partigiani dell'idea secondo cui sapere equivale a saper insegnare non hanno mai cessato di sostenere la propria tesi, semmai hanno spostato il livello, l'ordine di scuola, cui riferirsi.

La posizione che Ferdinand Brunetière, accademico, responsabile della *Revue des deux Mondes*, sosteneva alla fine dell'Ottocento, e cioè quella di farsi beffe della pédagogia perché questa sarebbe implicitamente contenuta in una non meglio definita dignità della professione docente, potrebbero ancora trovar spazio su un certo tipo di media.

Certo, nessuno più oserebbe tenere questo tipo di discorso parlando dell'insegnamento primario, né – sebbene a partire da un'epoca più recente - riferendosi all'insegnamento secondario, ma che ne è dell'insegnamento superiore?

La dimensione pedagogica dell'insegnamento superiore rimane ancora in molte realtà – in particolare del mondo latino - assai indeterminata, quando non è totalmente assente.

In questo ambito esistono differenze evidenti tra le diverse tradizioni culturali. Come sempre è molto difficile schematizzare, ma si percepisce una postura più aperta e dinamica nel mondo anglosassone in senso lato, comprendente quindi i paesi di lingua inglese, tedesca e scandinava, e nelle realtà di contatto linguistico-culturale come la Svizzera, il Benelux e il Quebec.

In tali realtà esistono diverse iniziative di supporto alla didattica universitaria e seminari di formazione rivolti a docenti e relativi ad aspetti specifici dell'insegnamento superiore sono offerti da molte università con una frequenza ed una organizzazione temporale tale da permettere un processo di autoformazione modulabile e flessibile.[1]

Nel modo anglofono la necessità di tener conto di questa dimensione sembra essere ormai considerata naturale. Non solo non si è necessariamente in grado di fare

1 In Germania per esempio si trova una vasta offerta di seminari di formazione alla *Hochschuldidaktik,* compresi seminari intensivi aperti e di breve durata che consentono di approfondire aspetti specifici della professione. Solo per citare due esempi: lo *Hochschuldidaktisches Zentrum* dell'Università di Dortmund con la DOSS (Dortmund Spring school for academic staff developers) giunta alla sua terza edizione e il *DiZ Zentrum für Hochschuldidaktik der bayerischen Fachhochschulen,* istituzione ministeriale che esiste dal 1996 preposta allo sviluppo e al miglioramento della didattica del superiore, che offre un programma di formazioni ricco e diversificato, fornisce supporto e sostiene progetti e altre forme di attività. In Svizzera si sono create delle reti di sostegno all'insegnamento superiore nate dalla collaborazione di più istituzioni e che perseguono un approccio integrato dello sviluppo professionale dell'insegnamento superiore basato sulla formazione e su un quadro di riferimento delle competenze. Nella Svizzera romanda quattro istituzioni universitarie hanno dato vita ad una rete di consiglio, formazione, valutazione a supporto dell'insegnamento superiore (indirizzo del sito: http://www.unil.ch/rcfe), in cui si trovano tra l'altro materiali specifici, servizi di counseling, seminari di formazione, annunci di formazioni. Sempre in Svizzera è stato istituito nel 2001 l'OAQ Organo di accreditamento e di garanzia della qualità delle istituzioni universitarie svizzere http://www.oaq.ch/pub/it/02_01_00_auftrag.php.

qualcosa per cui non si è stati formati, ma è normale che si abbia bisogno di accompagnamento su aspetti specifici della professione.[2] Ma anche in ambito francofono la problematica della dimensione pedagogica dell'insegnamento superiore avanza in particolare grazie all'attività dell'AIPU (*Association internationale de pédagogie universitaire*)[3].

Benché la riflessione specifica non vada molto indietro nel tempo,[4] la presenza di istituzioni consolidate, di materiale di supporto e di ricerca in questo campo è ormai una realtà.

Si tratta di una visione pragmatica di questo ambito di studio: non soltanto l'obiettivo è quello di creare un legame più stretto tra ricerca e insegnamento, in un'ottica di scambio e arricchimento reciproco, ma anche la ragione della maggior attenzione all'aspetto pedagogico dell'insegnamento accademico è dovuta alla riflessione sui mutamenti sociali e, all'interno di essi, sulla mutata funzione dell'università.

Siamo di fronte a quelle differenze che ho definito di ordine culturale. Evidentemente si tratta anche di differenze geografiche, ma la diversa collocazione geografica è in stretto legame con la diversa prospettiva culturale soggiacente.

Veniamo ora alla seconda distinzione, quella che ho definito concettuale.

Nell'ambito dell'insegnamento superiore si sta assistendo al ripetersi, *mutatis mutandis,* del fenomeno che ha interessato l'insegnamento secondario. Ma i due mondi, quello della scuola e quello dell'università, sono spesso assai separati e ciò non consente un travaso e una mutualizzazione delle esperienze e dei processi .

La pedagogia stenta ad avere dignità accademica per una ragione fondamentale che si manifesta già a partire dall'etimologia del termine: il termine deriva dal greco παιδαγογια, da παιδος (paidos) « il bambino » e αγω « guidare, condurre, accompagnare ». Nell'antichità il pedagogo era uno schiavo che accompagnava il bambino a scuola, portandogli il materiale, facendogli anche ripetere le lezioni e seguendolo nell'esecuzione dei compiti. Il fatto di associare la pedagogia esclusivamente (o quasi) alla prima fase dell'educazione è un fenomeno che si è registrato con diverse varianti nelle varie culture educative e spesso la dignità accademica della pe-

2 Tanto per citare solo qualche esempio la University of Queensland in Australia mette a disposizione dei docenti una sintetica guida agli "essential components of university teaching" direttamente sul proprio sito in un sezione denominata *Teaching & learning support,* nella quale i docenti trovano un link ad una "teaching toolbox".
Nel Regno Unito esiste una "Higher education academy" che ha per obiettivo quello di riflettere sulla dimensione dell'insegnamento e apprendimento universitario e di fornire supporto alle istituzioni che intendono percorrere questa strada http://www.heacademy.ac.uk/. L'Oxford learning Institute, che fa parte dell'Università di Oxford, offre un *Postgraduate Diploma in learning and teaching in higher education.* Alcuni premi sono anche previsti per l'eccellenza nell'insegnamento.
In Canada un "Faculty Development Summer Institute" della University of Prince Edward Island offre formazioni per docenti universitari su *active learning & teaching in university & college.*

3 Sito web dell'associazione: http://www2.ulg.ac.be/aipu/. Come ho detto le regioni francofone del Canada, del Belgio e della Svizzera appaiono più dinamiche, la Francia ha ospitato un primo importante convegno nel maggio 2008.

4 I primi testi di riferimento appaiono alla fine degli anni 70 in lingua inglese e sono seguiti da pubblicazioni anche in altre lingue a partire dagli anni 80, alla fine degli anni 90 si comincia a riflettere operativamente sull'importanza della dimensione didattica a livello accademico, ed è intorno al 2000 che si assiste al moltiplicarsi di documenti, programmi di formazione, indagini.

dagogia si limita al fatto che l'università **fa ricerca** in ambito pedagogico e **forma** i (futuri) insegnanti.

Se già la pedagogia ha acquisito dignità di scienza autonoma assai di recente (metà del secolo XIX) in un processo di affrancamento dalla filosofia, essa ha visto la propria influenza estendersi nella pratica assai lentamente passando dall'insegnamento dell'infanzia via via fino all'insegnamento liceale.

Tuttavia, come ho accennato prima, le ragioni concettuali sono legate a quelle culturali poiché le varianti dovute alle diverse culture educative sono notevoli.

In Francia ad esempio il docente universitario è definito istituzionalmente *enseignant-chercheur*. In questo binomio la duplice natura di questa professione sembra chiara al legislatore. Nei fatti tuttavia la dimensione ricerca è senza dubbio predominante, è quasi esclusivamente in relazione alla produzione scientifica che si determina l'avanzamento di carriera, con un effetto ben noto in didattica per cui ciò che non viene valutato finisce per essere considerato meno importante.

L'esempio francese è sintomatico del problema e lo illustra assai chiaramente.

Il terzo gruppo di ragioni che ci aiutano a spiegare la difficoltà ad integrare l'aspetto pedagogico nell'insegnamento terziario è quello che ho definito di tipo pragmatico-organizzativo.

Tutta una serie di questioni emergono in questo ambito: quale ruolo per il docente universitario in formazione? Chi potrebbero essere gli attori di questa formazione? Quale relazione tra insegnamento e ricerca? Quali forme di valutazione potrebbero essere introdotte? Da parte di chi? Con quali ricadute? Quale ritorno di questo investimento eventuale in autoformazione ai fini della carriera? Eccetera eccetera.

Tali questioni sono ancora ben lungi dal trovare una risposta soddisfacente e soprattutto generalizzata. Tuttavia, malgrado tutte le resistenze e i problemi, ci troviamo in una fase potenzialmente molto stimolante: per analogia con quanto avvenuto nella didattica del secondario dove l'introduzione di una prospettiva pedagogica nell'insegnamento ha dato luogo a dei cambiamenti irreversibili e ad un processo a catena che ha spostato il centro di attenzione dell'azione educativa dal docente al discente, è lecito pensare che una dinamica simile potrà avere luogo a livello accademico. Questa ipotesi è supportata dai risultati di progetti europei, in particolare il progetto *Tuning Educational Structures in Europe,*[5] che mostrano in effetti come sia in atto un movimento in questo senso.

Il movimento di innovazione dell'insegnamento superiore iniziato con la dichiarazione di Bologna del 1999 contribuisce notevolmente a favorire la riflessione sugli aspetti didattici riducendo la distanza tra insegnamento e ricerca. Le azioni formati-

5 Lanciato nel 2000 e fortemente supportato dal punto di vista morale e finanziario dalla Commissione europea, il progetto Tuning, coordinato da due università (Paesi Bassi e Spagna), concerne gran parte degli attori implicati nel processo di Bologna. Sito del progetto in diverse lingue: http://ec.europa.eu/education/policies/educ/tuning/tuning_en.html (versione inglese). Il progetto Tuning è coerente con l'EQF for HE European quality framework for higher education (2005) e con l'EQF for LLL European quality framework for life long learning, vedi anche nota 11.

ve via via più numerose possono rappresentare a loro volta dei terreni di indagine e di sperimentazione di modalità innovative e tali da selezionare gli aspetti chiave su cui porterà in futuro l'azione formativa.

Il terreno appare quindi pronto ad accogliere il seme del cambiamento anche in realtà storicamente meno aperte a questa dimensione.

3. Ruolo delle università bi/plurilingue nel processo di rinnovamento

E' in questo scenario che si collocano le università bi/plurilingue.

L'istituzione di università bi-plurilingue rappresenta una sfida coraggiosa sia in realtà sociali dove il bilinguismo è istituzionale, sia in zone essenzialmente monolingui anche se esiste una differenza di fondo tra le due realtà: nel primo caso l'aspetto culturale è prevalente, nel secondo si punta più sull'aspetto innovativo ad ampio raggio della lingua straniera, con un ruolo meno marcato della dimensione culturale. Sarebbe molto interessante analizzare queste due differenti tipologie di università bilingue, tuttavia il mio intervento prescinderà in parte da quest'ultima dimensione per concentrarsi su un aspetto ben preciso, le implicazioni didattiche - effettive o potenziali - che questa nuova realtà porta con sé.

Il fine che mi prefiggo è quello di mostrare in quale misura questa innovazione può favorire un processo di riflessione sulla didattica destinato a medio termine ad estendersi ben oltre la realtà specifica delle università bilingui.

Ponendosi su un continuum che va dall'introduzione di singoli insegnamenti in L2 alle università bi/plurilingui, si può osservare come questa nuova tipologia di corsi possa rappresentare un fattore di accelerazione del processo di innovazione didattica in atto.

Ci sono tre livelli di influenza che si distinguono soprattutto in base alla maggiore o minore considerazione e indagine di cui sono oggetto.

Il primo livello, subito evidente, ha un impatto notevole anche perché legato ad aspetti pratici che richiedono risposte immediate: si tratta della riflessione sulla componente linguistica. Una regolazione è attuata per quanto riguarda la gestione dei livelli di competenza linguistica da un lato (livelli minimi in entrata e in uscita, tempi e durata di esposizione alla lingua, supporti allo sviluppo della competenza linguistica – guidati e in autonomia) e il riconoscimento dei contenuti acquisiti dall'altro: validazione in termini di ECTS, complementarità rispetto ad altri corsi, integrazione nel piano di studi.

Un secondo livello, che è senza dubbio meno indagato, è quello della relazione tra competenza linguistica e acquisizione dei contenuti disciplinari.

Gli studi degli ultimi 15 anni provano l'accresciuta competenza linguistica degli studenti cui era stato impartito un insegnamento non linguistico in L2, e questo a varie fasi della scolarità. Molto più riservato appare il giudizio sul fatto che l'acquisizione di contenuti appresi in L2 sia dello stesso livello di quelli appresi in L1. Uno studio importante (Badertscher 2005) ha dato una prima risposta a questo quesito affermando che non vi è minore acquisizione anche se talvolta si deve ricorrere alla L1 per spiegare quanto è stato appreso. Altri studi sono in atto per verificare questi primi risultati (Stohler 2006).

Il terzo livello - la dimensione metodologico-didattica – è il più significativo per questa nostra analisi, ma anche il meno analizzato nell'ambito dell'insegnamento superiore, soprattutto dal punto di vista della formazione dei docenti. In che misura occorre mettere in atto una nuova maniera di fare corso? come mettere in sinergia lingua e contenuti per avere un valore aggiunto di carattere non solo linguistico? come rendere gli attori più consapevoli del processo?

Questi tre livelli di riflessione non sono tuttavia indipendenti l'uno dall'altro: evidentemente il primo appare più necessario in una prima fase, diciamo operativa, ma ben presto si deve passare al secondo e al terzo se si vuole arrivare a sfruttare tutte le potenzialità dell'insegnamento bilingue. Tale interdipendenza è apparsa chiaramente nell'introduzione delle pratiche CLIL[6] a livello di insegnamento primario e secondario. E sono proprio i risultati delle ricerche ormai ampie e consolidate in ambito CLIL in questi ordini di scuola che possono costituire un punto di partenza per ripensare l'aspetto metodologico nell'insegnamento superiore.

4. Università bi-plurilingui e CLIL: un possibile trasferimento di savoir-faire

E' ormai ben noto il fatto che insegnare una disciplina in L2 non significhi trasporre semplicemente un corso L1 in L2, certo nulla vieta di farlo e ciò è purtroppo una prassi che si osserva ancora troppo spesso in ambito superiore, ma si perde un'occasione di rinnovamento didattico fondamentale.

Consideriamo i punti chiavi del processo di insegnamento/apprendimento:

– che cosa viene appreso e da chi
– come (e a quale ritmo)
– con quali mezzi e supporti
– e, *last but not least*, per quali obiettivi e con quali risultati.

Confrontiamo adesso le dimensioni fondamentali dell'insegnamento CLIL. Uno dei modelli che ritengo più chiari e sintetici in questo ambito - quello del progetto ALPME[7] – ne evidenzia quattro che chiama "*the four Cs*"

– content
– communication

6 *CLIL*: *Content and Language Integrated Learning*, insegnamento di disciplina non linguistica in lingua straniera, in ambito francofono designato come *EMILE* (*enseignement de matière intégrée à la langue étrangère*) o semplicemente come *DNL* (*discipline non linguistique*).

7 *ALPME: Advanced Level Programme in Multilingual Education*, progetto internazionale (9 istituzioni implicate), basato presso la Universitat Pompeu Fabra di Barcellona, mira a porre le basi concettuali di una prospettiva europea nella formazione dei docenti CLIL. Indirizzo web: http://www.upf.edu/dtf/alpme/process.htm.

– cognition
– culture

Nel passaggio alla fase operativa questo modello esplicita le quattro C come segue: *content*: le esigenze/i contenuti disciplinari, *communication*: la lingua come strumento sia per apprendere sia per comunicare, *cognition*: il fatto di sviluppare abilità di pensiero e di apprendimento, e infine *culture*: la definizione di opportunità pluriculturali.

Pur nella variabilità dei contesti questo modello aiuta a definire gli obiettivi di insegnamento. Il modello delle "quattro C" si completa con un quinto fattore fondamentale: gli esiti del programma in termini di risultati di apprendimento, espressi sotto forma di acquisizioni e abilità/saper fare alla fine del programma stesso

A questi aspetti di fondo si aggiungono altre caratteristiche essenziali del CLIL:

– la variabilità e l'adattabilità in funzione dei contesti, delle condizioni e dei bisogni
– la relazione di interdipendenza e la sinergia tra teorie disciplinari, teorie dell'acquisizione di una L2 e teorie dell'apprendimento in generale
– l'interdipendenza lingua-cultura
– l'attitudine alla pratica della riflessione come cardine dello sviluppo professionale e, come corollario a ciò, la considerazione degli stili di insegnamento/apprendimento che implica un lavoro mirato non solo su tali stili ma anche sulle abilità di comunicazione, cognitive e metacognitive
– la necessità di ripensare le forme di comunicazione al fine di migliorare veramente la competenza comunicativa (grande varietà di opportunità comunicative e *students' initiated talking time*)
– la necessità di selezionare, adottare, creare materiali specifici; la necessità di utilizzare più codici anche in un effetto di ridondanza, cosa che sollecita diverse tipologie di intelligenza
– la necessità di pianificare, monitorare, valutare i processi oltre che i prodotti
– la necessità di differenziare le modalità di valutazione (evaluation/assessment, valutazione nel CLIL e valutazione di risultati CLIL, valutazione L2, portfolio - personale o condiviso).

Purtroppo spesso nell'insegnamento di una disciplina in L2 si definiscono solo i contenuti e la comunicazione si limita all'aspetto puramente linguistico, perdendo così il valore aggiunto del CLIL.

Laurent Gajo in un contributo molto illuminante apparso sulla rivista "Education et sociétés plurilingues" nel giugno 2006[8], distingue tre generazioni di metodi relativi all'insegnamento bilingue in funzione della loro problematicità: una prima in cui l'apprendimento si basa sul superamento contestuale di problemi di comunicazione (nozione di "*incidental learning*" Schmidt 1994), una seconda generazione in

8 La versione consultata è quella reperibile sul sito IRRE-VDA poiché la prima pubblicazione dell'articolo cui si fa cenno era in versione ridotta, http://www.irrevda.org/nuovairre/gi_erre_am/deposito/gajo_art.pdf.

cui si utilizzano i problemi contestualmente possibili nella L2 per giungere a conoscenze linguistiche più generali e sistematiche (nozioni di "*explicit learning*", "*reflective teaching*", "*corrective feedback*", Lyster & Ranta 1997). In entrambi i casi la lingua trae vantaggio dalla DNL[9] (anche se nel primo caso la DNL è assolutamente prioritaria). Ma la terza generazione, secondo Gajo, mostra un doppio interesse per la DNL e le lingue (L2 e anche L1): i loro legami sono analizzati e i problemi linguistici messi sotto la lente di ingrandimento a vantaggio della disciplina. La nozione di apprendimento integrato è via via più importante. Perché l'insegnamento bilingue sviluppi tutta la sua forza occorre una nuova considerazione dei legami tra L2 e disciplina in cui la prima non si limiti a veicolare l'insegnamento della seconda. Perché questo avvenga occorre una riflessione approfondita sulla natura linguistica dei saperi disciplinari e sul ruolo del discorso nell'apprendimento. Gajo propone uno schema per riflettere sulla tali fattori:[10]

Savoirs linguistiques ———— Discours ———— Savoirs disciplinaires

Remédiation **Médiation**

Fig. 1 – Fonctions du discours et opacité, Gajo: 2006, versione on line

Mentre normalmente l'insegnamento della L2 si concentra sulla *remédiation*, l'insegnamento della disciplina si focalizza sugli aspetti di mediazione del discorso disciplinare specifico (salvo passare alla *remédiation* quando necessario). Nel caso dell'insegnamento bilingue si può ipotizzare che i problemi di *remédiation* favoriscano la considerazione della funzione di *médiation*.

L'opacità diventa quindi – secondo Gajo - un'occasione per sottolineare e lavorare sulla densità.

In questo processo è evidente una notevole complessificazione dell'insegnamento che comporta, con un effetto a catena, l'integrazione di molte – se non della totalità - delle caratteristiche del CLIL che ho elencato prima.

5. Dal CLIL alle competenze: per una maggior trasparenza del processo di insegnamento/apprendimento

La necessità di integrare una complessità così forte nell'insegnamento bilingue è assolutamente coerente con le linee di riflessione sulla didattica universitaria in via di delineazione e con il già menzionato progetto *Tuning Educational Structures in Europe*.

Uno degli elementi fondamentali di questo progetto è l'approccio per competenze cui si collegano i risultati dell'apprendimento.

Nella prima pagina della versione inglese della descrizione del progetto si trova la definizione di competenza: "competences represent a dynamic combination of cognitive and

9 DNL: *discipline non linguistique*/disciplina non linguistica, definizione comunemente usata in Francia per riferirsi all'insegnamento di materia in lingua straniera.

10 Gajo, L. cit, p. 4.

meta-cognitive skills, knowledge and understanding, interpersonal, intellectual and practical skills, and ethical values" e alla pagina 2 un'affermazione degli esiti prevedibili di questo tipo di approccio: "the use of the learning outcomes and competences approach might also imply changes regarding the teaching, learning and assessment methods which are used in a programme" e nella declinazione delle competenze si evidenziano "generic competences e subject specific competences". Le seconde sono state definite per una serie di discipline e il processo è ancora in corso, mentre per quanto attiene alle prime – di cui si sottolinea l'importanza e la trasferibilità – esse vengono distinte in

- *instrumental competences* (abilità cognitive, metodologiche, tecnologiche e linguistiche)
- *interpersonal competences* (abilità proprie all'individuo come abilità sociali-interazione/cooperazione)
- *systemic competences* (abilità e capacità che concernono sistemi nel loro insieme – combinazione di comprensione, sensibilità e conoscenza – e che presuppongono l'avvenuta acquisizione delle due tipologie precedenti)

Ragionare in termini di competenze e di esiti dell'apprendimento è – come sottolineato dal progetto - essenziale per definire programmi di studio centrati sullo studente e orientati all'output, cioè al risultato del processo.

Questo nuovo orientamento implica anche un grande cambiamento nella valutazione: la delineazione di un quadro delle competenze si inserisce nell'ambito di un'attenzione alla qualità. Lo spostamento dell'asse della formazione verso un'azione student-centred e il lavoro sulle competenze implica una valutazione del processo oltre che del prodotto.

La complessificazione della valutazione passa per la differenziazione degli strumenti e la complementarietà delle tipologie di valutazione. Non è un caso che si sottolinei la coerenza fra il progetto *Tuning* e l'*EQF for HE* (*European Qualifications Framework for Higher Education* - 2005) e con l'*EQF for LLL* (*European Qualifications Framework for Life Long Learning*)[11].

Nell'ambito delle lingue straniere una descrizione analitica delle competenze in termini di sapere, saper fare, saper essere e saper apprendere ha portato alla definizione del Quadro comune europeo di riferimento. A partire da questo documento un processo si è avviato che comporta una forte riconsiderazione delle modalità di apprendimento e di insegnamento, nonché una ridefinizione del ruolo della valutazione e delle sue procedure.

L'utilizzo di strumenti di tipo portfolio permette di lavorare specificamente sulle competenze e sull'aspetto metacognitivo, e anche di avviare una dinamica di riflessione e di feedback.

11 L'EQF è un progetto europeo in corso che ha come risultato quello di definire uno "Schema europeo dei titoli". Scopo principale dell'EQF è essere un punto di "traduzione" e di riferimento neutrale per comparare i titoli tra i vari regimi di istruzione e formazione e approfondire la cooperazione e la fiducia reciproca tra le relative parti interessate. L'elemento chiave dell'EQF è un insieme di 8 livelli di riferimento che descrivono ciò che il discente conosce, capisce e sa fare, cioè i risultati dell'apprendimento, indipendentemente dal sistema e dal contesto in cui la qualificazione è stata conseguita.

In un insegnamento veramente integrato di lingua e contenuto (quello che Gajo definisce di III generazione) il percorso effettuato dalla didattica delle lingue, con l'integrazione dell'approccio centrato sullo studente e mirato all'acquisizione di saper fare operativi e di saperi metacognitivi oltre che di conoscenze, può essere la base di partenza per un ripensamento dal punto di vista didattico della disciplina non linguistica.

Se il terreno appare pronto a recepire queste innovazioni fondamentali e il momento propizio a un cambiamento profondo, il percorso si presenta comunque ancora arduo e irto di ostacoli, soprattutto per quanto riguarda l'apertura alla dimensione internazionale e multiculturale della formazione universitaria.

Sulla base dei dati raccolti nel corso del progetto *Tuning* un aspetto che colpisce è la scarsa importanza attribuita alle competenze che possiamo definire genericamente "internazionali", con un alto grado di correlazione al fatto che, in termini di risultati cui le università devono tendere, gli aspetti internazionali non sono visti come prioritari.

In un convegno svoltosi a Barcellona all'Universitat Oberta de Catalunya nel giugno 2006[12] Ian Tudor dell'Université libre de Bruxelles sottolinea come spesso il problema fondamentale sia quello di convincere gli attori istituzionali del ruolo che le lingue possono avere nella formazione degli studenti, nell'inserzione professionale, nella dimensione e nel riconoscimento internazionale dell'istituzione, ecc. Occorre una "vision" delle lingue e della vocazione internazionale.

6. Università bi/plurilingue e potenzialità delle lingue-culture

In un contesto di questo tipo le università bi/plurilingue sono chiamate ad un ruolo chiave, la riflessione sulla natura dell'università bi/plurilingue implica un'attenzione particolare alle conseguenze didattiche, accademiche e amministrative delle scelte effettuate.

La definizione di competenza plurilingue e pluriculturale data dal Quadro Comune Europeo di riferimento (Consiglio d'Europa 2002) è particolarmente interessante se applicata alle università bi/plurilingue:

"Con competenza plurilingue e pluriculturale si intende la capacità che una persona, come soggetto sociale, ha di usare le lingue per comunicare e di prendere parte a interazioni interculturali, in quanto padroneggia, a livelli diversi, competenze in più lingue ed esperienze in più culture. Questa competenza non consiste nella sovrapposizione o nella giustapposizione di competenze distinte, ma è piuttosto una competenza complessa o addirittura composita su cui il parlante può basarsi." (Consiglio d'Europa 2002: 205)

L'elaborazione dei curricoli e della progressione non potranno esimersi dal seguire un approccio trasparente che porterà a riflettere su alcuni punti precisi evoca-

12 Titolo del convegno: L'EEES i les competències comunicatives bàsiques dels estudiants i del professorat, Barcellona, 1-2 giugno 2006, conferenza di Ian Tudor (1 giugno 2006) coordinatore del gruppo di lavoro ENLU sulle politiche linguistiche delle università, dal titolo "Les estratègies multilingües de les universitats europees en l'EEES".

ti dal Quadro, in particolare il fatto che la conoscenza di una lingua (compresa la L1) è sempre parziale e le conoscenze parziali sono in realtà meno parziali di quanto sembri (le conoscenze e abilità legate ad obiettivi anche limitati possono essere trasferite ad altri scopi).

L'aver appreso una lingua implica avere molte conoscenze in diverse altre lingue, conoscenze che richiedono un processo di attivazione e di consapevolezza.

In coerenza con questa filosofia il plurilinguismo – e di conseguenza il bilinguismo che di questo è un caso particolare – è da considerare come un obiettivo e non come una condizione d'accesso.

La ricaduta di ciò è evidente in termini di **politica universitaria** (forte attenzione alla situazione linguistico-culturale della regione, necessità di spostare il centro di gravità verso una dimensione interculturale, necessità di elaborare un progetto coerente per l'apprendimento della L2 – ed eventualmente L3, L4- incoraggiamento del bilinguismo in particolare nel I ciclo-concetto di rampa[13] -....), in termini **amministrativi** (riconoscimento più agevole dei crediti ottenuti fuori dall'università, degli insegnamenti seguiti nell'altra lingua all'interno e all'esterno dell'università, ma anche utilizzo delle diverse lingue dell'amministrazione, sviluppo della competenze plurilingue degli insegnanti...) e - soprattutto importante per la nostra riflessione - in termini **didattici**.

Se – come sottolineato nel progetto ALPME che ho citato prima- ci si limita a definire dall'esterno degli obiettivi di contenuto e di lingua e si dimenticano le altre due C (*cognition e culture*) si diminuisce fortemente il valore aggiunto dell'insegnamento CLIL.

E' invece nella complessità che tale valore aggiunto trova tutta la maniera di esprimersi appieno.

Questa complessità comprende la necessità di un lavoro a diversi livelli:

sull'aspetto linguistico come momento di riflessione sulla disciplina (lavoro mirato sull'"opacità")

- sulla comunicazione
- sulle competenze dissociate
- sui contenuti linguistici
- sui contenuti disciplinari
- sulla dimensione metacognitiva
- sulle abilità "generiche", in particolare quelle interpersonali
- sulla dimensione pluri/interculturale
- sulla valutazione dei processi e dei prodotti
- sulla produzione di materiali

13 Si usa la metafora della rampa perché il plurilinguismo è un concetto aperto e l'apprendimento delle lingue si può immaginare come destinato ad arricchirsi.

In un insegnamento CLIL efficace la suddivisione proposta dal Quadro in sapere, per essere, saper fare e saper apprendere si arricchisce della dimensione interculturale (*savoir s'engager*) e della dimensione metacognitiva (*savoir comprendre*)

	Skills Interpret and relate *(savoir comprendre*)	
Knowledge of self and other; of interaction; individual and societal *(savoirs)*	**Education** political education critical cultural awareness *(savoir s'engager)*	**Attitudes** relativising self valuing other *(savoir être)*
	Skills discover and/or interact *(savoir apprendre/faire)*	

Fig.2 –Factors in intercultural communication, Byram 1997: 34

e si accorda pienamente con lo schema delle competenze del progetto *Tuning* e con quello delle qualificazioni dell'*EQF*.

Il contesto, gli insegnamenti, il modo di operare di un'università bi/plurilingue possono costituire un vero laboratorio didattico. Ciascuno dei punti summenzionati richiede infatti una riflessione metodologica specifica e può essere un momento di forte crescita professionale del docente.

Come per tutti i processi di innovazione, la pratica riflessiva costituisce un elemento centrale dello sviluppo professionale. Il fatto stesso di essere confrontati ad una situazione innovante impone la necessità di operare continuamente delle scelte a diversi livelli e su aspetti differenti. Si tratta di una sfida difficile, ma potenzialmente in grado di favorire una riconsiderazione del ruolo della dimensione didattica nell'insegnamento superiore.

Se, come abbiamo visto, la necessità di lavorare sulla qualità dei processi, comincia ad essere percepita e codificata, così come la necessità di un lavoro sulle competenze centrato sullo studente, l'ottica di una formazione professionale continua dei docenti diventa centrale. La prospettiva diventa quella di acquisizione di una prassi riflessiva e di un quadro di *lifelong learning* della professione docente capace anche di integrare una modalità cooperativa.

Per raggiungere questo obiettivo è necessario un lavoro esplicito sugli elementi che costituiscono la complessità dell'insegnamento bilingue, e ciò implica un'azione di programmazione dettagliata non solo dei contenuti, ma di tutte le altre componenti, a partire dalle altre tre C indicate dal progetto ALPME per arrivare via via agli altri aspetti del CLIL che ho evocato. A questa azione corrisponde una valutazione degli esiti, che si opera attraverso una molteplicità di strumenti di tipo più o meno standardizzato, di natura più o meno formale, strumenti di auto/eterovalutazione, e di tipo Portfolio utilizzati sia dai docenti sia dagli studenti. Ciò permette di fatto l'avvio di un processo di autoformazione operato attraverso una forma di ricerca-azione, e, a termine, porta ad una presa di coscienza dei processi messi in opera e di conseguenza ad una loro ottimizzazione.

Un'azione di questo tipo giustificherà sempre di più il fatto che dalla formazione continua si passi inevitabilmente anche alla formazione iniziale. E il processo di esplicitazione avrà permesso la creazione di materiali mirati che a loro volta favoriranno l'avvio di un processo di formazione professionale.

Si tratta, come ben lo testimonia Patricia Kohler-Bally dell'università bilingue di Friburgo in Svizzera, di una formidabile sfida. Una sfida per i docenti in termini di lavoro d'équipe, di ricerca costante e di creazione di nuovi supporti didattici, di riflessione sulle competenze e sulla natura di esse, una sfida infine nella necessità di integrare nuove esigenze in termini formazione universitaria, in grado di combinare saperi e saper fare specializzati attraverso l'interdisciplinarità, l'interculturalità e il plurilinguismo.

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Bilingual Team-teaching at Postgraduate Level

Maria Grazia Borsalino
Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano

This contribution refers to a bilingual team-teaching experience of the 2006-2007 academic year within the Sociology and the English courses taught in the first year of the MA in Clinical Psychology at the Catholic University of Milan. This experience is part of a new trend at postgraduate level, which consists in creating new opportunities to learn a foreign language in a formal setting.

The teaching module, developed by both lecturers, aims to: 1) provide students with the tools they need to understand and study materials related to their specializations in the original language and 2) permit the Sociology lecturer to deliver her lessons in English.

During the different stages of the module, the following issues are addressed, usually in the form of team teaching: the key elements of the specific language under examination; methodologies for text analysis; strategies for the development of written and oral skills; discussion of materials in English; evaluation of the project.

The results of this teaching module would appear to be successful from a number of points of view, both for the students - who are invited to make an "authentic" use of the English language in the context of their specialization - and for the lecturers, whose collaboration enhances a greater use of the materials in the original language.

In conclusion, this attempt can be seen as an important step towards teaching domain- specific topics in a CLIL environment. It is also an enriching experience for both lecturers, professionally and personally speaking.

Keywords: bilingual, CLIL, task-based, team-teaching

1. Introduction

This study is an attempt to describe a module taught to a group of postgraduate Clinical Psychology students during the academic year 2006-2007 at the Catholic University of Milan. The initial idea was a collaboration between the Sociology lecturer (Giovanna Rossi) and the English language lecturer (Maria Grazia Borsalino) so as to offer a part of the Sociology course through English, as implemented in the CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) teaching approach.

This initiative is part of a recent growing trend at the Catholic University to offer courses in the English language at postgraduate level, including Masters and specialized short courses for both Italian students and foreign students on an exchange programme (Erasmus and scholarships).

Increased internationalization and the growing number of exchange students were the first factors we took into account when we started planning our courses in the Psychology Department.

The second factor which gave rise to our decision was, on the one hand, the consideration that authentic texts in English related to the students' specialization should be the source texts of the English courses at postgraduate level. On the other, there was the desire of the Sociology lecturer to tackle relevant topics of her subject in English, through the use of the original versions of Margaret Archer's books.

The Sociology lecturer was willing to help the students with understanding new content in the target language, though she felt she wasn't comfortable enough in English to carry out the lectures on her own. We therefore decided to use a team-teaching format: our common aim was to provide the students with the necessary tools to enable them to understand and study those texts.

2. Project design

A class of 80-90 students took part in the project. They were first year students of the MA in Clinical Psychology, with an average age of 22-23. Their knowledge of English ranged from B1-B2 levels of the CEFR (Common European Framework of Reference for Languages).

The module took place in November-December 2006 and consisted in 6 sessions of 90 minutes, twice a week for three weeks. It was carried out within the semestral course of Sociology and a parallel English course, towards the end of the semester.

The lessons were planned and timetabled by the two lecturers and were conducted mostly in the form of team-teaching. They were in fact the result of continuous consultation between the subject lecturer and the foreign language lecturer.

The chosen approach is the task-based approach, according to the model suggested by Jane Willis (1996), which consists of: pre-task, task and post-task sessions. This approach is also based on David Nunan's (2004: 4) definition of task, as "a piece of classroom work that involves learners in comprehending, manipulating, producing or interacting in the target language" and the intention is "to convey meaning rather than to manipulate form".

The subject lecturer chose the book to be used (Margaret S. Archer, *Structure, Agency and the Internal Conversation*, Cambridge, CUP, 2003) and then both lecturers decided to concentrate on Part II, chapters 5-8, "Investigating internal conversations", for its methodological clarity and its linguistic simplicity, and because they felt that the topic would be stimulating and challenging for their students.The following is an outline of the work that both lecturers did before and during the lessons.

3. Pre-task (two sessions)

3.1. *Step 1 (outside the classroom)*

- Choice of textbook and of the sections to work on (chapters 5-8), which contain the description of field work and practical research.

3.2. *Step 2 (45 minutes)*

- Short presentation, delivered to students by the subject lecturer (SL), of the sections to be studied.

- Reason for choice.
- Illustration and summary of the theoretical contents of the book (Part I,chapters 1-4) – in Italian.

SL:
La conversazione interiore:
non è un guardarsi dentro
non è un commento personale
è un'attività incessante di dialogo con noi stessi per definire i nostri progetti
non c'entra con la diagnosi che può fare un osservatore esterno (psicologo?) a partire da un mio atteggiamento
è un'attività inaccessibile dall'esterno
è interessante dal punto di vista sociologico

Tab. 1 – Questions and discussion with the students about the theoretical part – in Italian.

3.3. *Step 3* (*45 minutes*)

- Reformulation of the summary of Part I in English, made by the language lecturer (LL) with the students' contributions:

The Internal Conversation and Pursuit of the Good Life

Defining and dovetailing one's		Developing concrete courses of action		Establishing satisfying and sustainable
CONCERNS	→	**PROJECTS**	→	**PRACTICES**
(Internal goods)		(Micro-politics)		(Modus vivendi)

Tab. 2 – Synopsis of part one of the book.

- Pre-reading activities on new text:

Fill in the blanks with the words given below:

Substantively we know very little about the internal conversation. The American pragmatists alone took a sustained __________ in it and yet they were less than generous with examples of it. Since they __________ the phenomenon of __________ dialogue to be universal, because it represented __________ itself, they assumed that all readers could and would furnish their own __________ . This both __________ and also secretes the presumption that our inner dialogues are __________ in kind. Yet there is no warrant for presupposing such __________ . Even if the exercise of dialogical __________ is essential to the normal functioning of __________ beings, and even if it is a transcendentally necessary condition for the existence of __________ (both of these propositions being endorsed here), it does not follow that we converse with ourselves in a __________ way.

common, entails, held, human, inner, instances, interest, reflexivity, similar, society, thought, uniformity

(Substantively we know very little about the internal conversation. The American pragmatists alone took a sustained interest in it and yet they were less than generous with examples of it. Since they held the phenomenon of inner dialogue to be universal, because it represented thought itself, they assumed that all readers could and would furnish their own instances. This both entails and also secretes the presumption that our inner dialogues are similar in kind. Yet there is no warrant for presupposing such uniformity. Even if the exercise of dialogical reflexivity is essential to the normal functioning of human beings, and even if it is a transcendentally necessary condition for the existence of society (both of these propositions being endorsed here), it does not follow that we converse with ourselves in a common way.)

Tab. 3 – *Gap-fill* exercise.

- Checking students' understanding through questions:

Do different people devote their self-talk to different matters? Is the private life of their minds associated with their social positions or backgrounds?

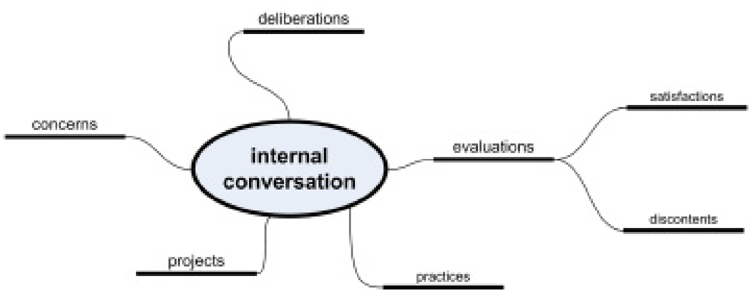
Tab. 4 – Comprehension questions.

3.4. ***Step 4*** *(90 minutes)*

- Small groups are formed and an extract from chapter 5 is handed out to each student (reports of interviews and analysis).
- Group work: reading and understanding the text (extract).
- Explanation of specific lexis, made by both lecturers.
- Language activities:

Everyone is a reflexive being. This means that we deliberate about our circumstances in relation to ourselves and, in the light of these deliberations, we determine our own personal courses of action in society. Nevertheless we do not all exercise our reflexivity in the same way. Everyone has a domain of mental privacy from which they subjectively survey and evaluate their external circumstances, within which they savour their satisfactions or nurture their discontents, and through which they monitor their future doings. The vehicle for all of this is the internal conversation. However, the nature of our internal conversations is far from being identical and such differences exceed personal idiosyncrasies. These varying types of internal conversation are important because they are inextricably related to different forms of deliberations and, ultimately, to the kind of *modus vivendi* which an agent seeks to establish in the world.

Tab. 5 – *Identifying key-words.*



Tab. 6 – *Concept mapping.*

- While-reading activities:

Match words and definitions (given in scrambled order), regarding mental activities:

1.	*Budgeting*	a.	the day, the week or much longer ahead
2.	*Clarifying*	b.	practising what you will say or do
3.	*Deciding*	c.	dwelling upon a problem, a situation or a relation
4.	*Imaginary conversations*	d.	debating what to do, what is for the best
5.	*Imagining*	e.	some event, period or relationship
6.	*Mulling-over*	f.	working out what matters most, next, or at all to you
7.	*Planning*	g.	the future, including ‹what would happen if…›
8.	*Prioritizing*	h.	sorting out what you think about some issue, person or problem
9.	*Rehearsing*	i.	held with people known to you or whom you know of
10.	*Re-living*	j.	estimating whether or not you can afford to do something in terms of money, time or effort.

Key: 1j; 2h; 3d; 4i; 5g; 6c; 7a; 8f; 9b; 10e

Tab. 7 – *Matching exercise.*

4. **Task** (three sessions)

4.1. ***Step 1*** *(45 minutes)*

- Each group is assigned one “subject interviewed” (chapters 6-8 report interviews of 20 subjects, with information about their occupations, concerns and projects) – the extract is handed out to each student.
- Students help each other to understand the text through guideline questions given by language lecturer and subject lecturer – in English.
- Students exchange information:

Complete the table with information about concerns and projects of your “subject interviewed” :

Socio-economic background of subjects interviewed

Subject	Age	Subject’s current occupation	Registrar General’s social class	Concerns	Projects
Andy (m)	29	University lecturer (scale A)	I		
Angie (f)	37	Secretary (university grade II)	III NM		
Anna (f)	65	General-secretary to religious order (Ret. deputy sec. school head)	II		
Cass (f)	55	Ret. social worker	II		
Eliot (m)	57	Antiquarian bookseller (sole trader)	II		

Farat (f)	37	Secretary (university grade II)	III NM		
Graham (m)	62	Building site foreman	III M		
Gweri (f)	58	Ret. school secretary	III NM		
Ivan (m)	32	University lecturer (scale A)	I		
Jason (m)	17	Unemployed - part-time HE (GNVQ)	IV		
Keith (m)	45	Electrical site foreman	III M		
Kevin (m)	43	Porter (of building)	IV		
Kim (f)	17	Hairdressing apprentice	III M		
Lara (f)	18	Full-time HE (GNVQ)	IV		
Lawrence (m)	31	Full-time HE (GNVQ)	IV		
Mel (f)	18	Hairdressing apprentice	III M		
Michael (m)	16	Electrical apprentice (construction industry)	III M		
Paul (m)	56	Chartered engineer	I		
Trish (f)	18	Hairdressing apprentice	III M		
Vincent (m)	67	Roman Catholic priest (University chaplain)	I		

Source: Registrar General 1990 *Note:* M = manual, NM = non-manual

Tab. 8 – *Jigsaw activities.*

4.2. ***Step 2*** *(45 minutes)*

- New groups are formed.
- Each student of a new group has worked on a different “subject interviewed” and introduces this subject to the other members of the group.

4.3. ***Step 3*** *(90 minutes)*

- Students remain in this group and go over the original text (from chapters 6-8) that was given to each of them.
- Students now work on their presentations, which consist of comparing the different “subjects” that were assigned to them (with reference to their socio-economic background, personal interests, future plans).

Students try to identify common features, which fall under the following categories highlighted by the author:

Dominant modes of reflexivity:
Communicative reflexives:
Those whose internal conversations need to be completed and confirmed by others, before they lead to action
Autonomous reflexives:
Those who sustain self-contained internal conversations, leading directly to action
Meta-reflexives:
Those who are critically reflexive about their own internal conversations and critical about effective action in society
Fractured reflexives:
Those who cannot conduct purposeful internal conversations, but intensify their own distress and disorientation.

Tab. 9 – *Comparing and classifying.*

4.4. ***Step 4*** *(outside the classroom)*

- Students meet with their group outside the class and each group prepares a written report, which will then be presented orally in class.

4.5. ***Step 5*** *(90 minutes)*

- This is the presentation session, where the groups of students present and discuss results in front of the class.

5. **Post-task** (one session)

5.1. ***Step 1*** *(35 minutes)*

- This presentation session can be considered as an informal evaluation phase, whereby students are assessed by subject lecturer and language lecturer on the basis of their performance.
- The subject lecturer focuses on students' skills to present topics and provide critical analysis, going through key content points she wishes to focus students' attention on.

5.2. ***Step 2*** *(35 minutes)*

- The language lecturer (LL) focuses on language skills, going through critical aspects of the language used by students: fluency, pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar, English usage.
- The LL highlights the most common mistakes detected during the presentations given by students and examines these mistakes with them:

Structure, Agency and the Internal Conversation, from Margaret S. Archer (2003) In our opinion, this article is very carefully written. The topics are deeply concerned with several issues that were proposed in the Nineties by some big social scientists, such as Beck, Giddens and Lasch, who spoke about *Reflexive modernization* (Cambridge 1994). We think that the argument under discussion is central to our field, that is Psychology: M. Archer says that looking into our minds is fundamental for psychology students. The mainstream of Archer's thought is found on Mead's works concerning *mind, self and society*. But the author underlines that Mead's position is opposite to Pierce's opinion about inner conversation. The author is objective, since we cannot clearly identify if she really believes that internal conversation is possible or not. This article is rather difficult, because the writer uses scientifical terms and sometimes goes forward and back with similar topics. For this reason it's not so easy to understand all the concepts the author describes. We are quite interested in this subject, because we think that introspection is important for a student of Psychology: we have to know and "to speak" with ourself first, in order to understand other people and their problems.

Tab. 10 – Extract from a presentation given by a group of students. Some of the most common mistakes have been underlined by LL.

6. Follow-up (20 minutes)

In this stage the students were asked for their opinions on the above teaching module, in terms of benefits for their learning. Opinions were collected through a semi-structured interview sheet and answers were recorded in note form.

The interview sheet, which was divided into four main types of questions, aimed at eliciting information with regard to: 1) students' attitudes towards the learning of new content in the target language, 2) improvement of language competence, knowledge of subject terminology, 3) major challenges, problems, difficulties encountered, 4) motivation to study the topic further.

In their answers, the students identify the extension of knowledge of Sociology via the medium of English as a major advantage. They point out that the acquisition of additional language skills, such as identifying the main points in a text, summarizing, exchanging information, has given them the opportunity to learn the language in a suitable context and to broaden their knowledge of technical terms. They perceive the acquisition of discourse management when using specialized language, in both speaking and writing, as problematic; nevertheless they emphasize the methodological value of the approach adopted.

7. Conclusion

At the end of the teaching module we reflected on our respective roles of language lecturer and subject lecturer and on the way we had carried out our project, in order to identify weaknesses as well as build on strengths.

What was unexpected to us was, on the one hand, the large amount of time necessary for collaborating on goal setting and lesson planning. On the other, we were positively surprised by the students' active engagement in performing the tasks and our own involvement with the students in the building of understanding. There were also many opportunities of close personal contact between lecturers and learners.

Many questions have been raised, which would suggest the following areas for future investigation: 1) Do the benefits of team-teaching outweigh the efforts involved? 2) Do we know whether the team-teaching format is truly meeting the needs of our students? 3) Do students learn content as effectively as they would in a native language setting?

What we strongly agree on is the fact that working together gives us a new perspective on our teaching. We are aware that the collaborative skills demanded by team-teaching must be developed and that we should try to enhance the individual strengths of the team members, both in planning and teaching.

Indeed, the multidisciplinary approach of this teaching module results in the development of the teaching methodology itself, marking a move away from an ESP perspective (where the teaching of the micro-language is carried out alongside the teaching of other disciplines) to a CLIL perspective.

We can say that the CLIL approach adopted here has been valuable, because it has focused the interest of both students and lecturers on creating new opportunities for learning. In conclusion, the experience described above may be interpreted as a significant step in the teaching practice and may present both lecturers with an opportunity to enrich their own professional awareness.

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Students' Communicative Competence

Communicating in Multilingual Academic Contexts: The Challenge of a European Project for Mobility Students

Carmen Argondizzo, Jean Jimenez[1] – Università della Calabria

Multilingualism helps build bridges
between peoples and cultures.
It contributes to the legitimacy, transparency
and democracy of the European integration process.
Leonard Orban, 2007
European Commissioner for Multilingualism

Taking part in an exchange study program often creates a sense of initial frustration in mobility students, who not only need to have knowledge of a new language and culture, but are also required to use essential academic language skills. Prior to their study abroad scheme, however, they are not always appropriately trained to deal with academic contexts. Thus the idea of creating a website which caters to the needs of mobility students, with particular focus on the development of academic language skills, led to the Communicating in Multilingual Contexts (CMC) project. This project, which involves a partnership made up of six university institutions located in England, Holland, Italy, Portugal, Slovakia and Spain, aims at providing innovative online language materials that should allow exchange students to develop and improve their academic language skills consistently with their needs in higher education contexts abroad and thus help them fully enjoy their exchange study program. In order to achieve these objectives, the project offers two online learning modules, focusing on both content and language. The two modules, which are related to the skills in the Common European Framework of Reference (Council of Europe 2001), are organized around specific academic topics and provide detailed information about the exchange universities (accommodation, social events, facilities, etc.) as well as insights into linguistic and cultural diversity related to the six countries involved. Moreover, since it is widely recognized that Dutch, Italian, Portuguese, and Slovak are less used and less taught languages, the purpose of this project is also to contribute to the development of linguistic academic skills in these languages in order to further highlight the need for a broader multilingual community where the knowledge of such languages may begin to spread.

Keywords: multilingualism, multiculturalism, mobility, academic skills, online learning environment

1. Introduction

The importance of knowing more than one language has been repeatedly highlighted by the European Commission not only because of the key role foreign language skills play in stimulating economic growth and employment, but also because multilingualism can foster intercultural communication, awareness and understanding. It is particularly important for young people to be fluent in at least two languages

1 Although the authors have fully cooperated in the outline and actual writing of the paper, they individually devoted more specific time to the following sections: 1 and 2, Argondizzo; 2.1, 2.2, 3, Jimenez.

in addition to their mother tongue (MT +2) in order to fully benefit from everything that a multilingual and multicultural Europe has to offer. Yet, although the percentage of Europeans who speak at least one foreign language is increasing, we are still far from the set goal of MT+2 (Special Eurobarometer 243, 2006). In light of this, the *Communicating in Multilingual Contexts* project[2] (www.cmcproject.it 2007) was funded by the EU Commission under the Socrates Programme, Lingua 2 Action in an effort to promote language learning and linguistic diversity. In particular, *CMC* consists in a multimedia learning environment which meets the needs of university students who want to take part in international exchange programs. It is in fact designed to provide students with the right tools to cope with the academic, linguistic and cultural environments of the countries where they intend to study. In order to do so, it offers innovative language learning materials in six different languages (Dutch, English, Italian, Portuguese, Slovak and Spanish) produced by a partnership of six European universities. The activities, which are designed to help develop the academic skills needed to participate in the exchange program in the new educational context, are based on the Content Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) approach (Marsh *et al.* 2002). Moreover, as a long-term objective, the multilingual and multicultural dimension of the *CMC* learning environment aims at promoting linguistic and cultural diversity in accordance with EU policies as a means for developing solidarity and encouraging knowledge of the culture of other countries among university students. Indeed, through its activities, *CMC* tries to promote multicultural awareness with the hope of helping develop the concept of EU citizenship and spread a feeling of belonging to Europe among the younger generations. Thus students are encouraged to use the academic language skills acquired to benefit from their educational experience abroad, not only from a linguistic point of view, but also from a social and cultural point of view.

2. CMC: *The materials*

The results of a survey carried out by the six participating universities showed that although there is a fair amount of language material available online, there is not a great deal of material focusing on academic skills in particular.[3] Moreover, it was not surprising to find that much more space is dedicated to English than to lesser used languages such as Dutch, Italian, Portuguese and Slovak, underlining the need to develop materials in these languages if linguistic diversity is to be encouraged (see, among the others, Thomas 2000, Phillipson 2003). The survey also confirmed expectations that mobility students need to develop and reinforce academic language skills.

2 The CMC Project has been awarded the European Label 2006 which is a recognition given to projects which promote language learning and teaching.

3 The survey was carried out in February 2005 and consisted in two parts: 1. an investigation into the range of language material offered online in each of the six languages, with particular focus on material for university students; 2. the administration of a questionnaire purposely designed to provide information regarding incoming students´ language needs, which took place at the Language Centres of the participating universities. Each partner was responsible for collecting data regarding their particular language.

Based on these results, the *CMC* website materials were developed by the six partners following a common template, with each partner creating and using original contents contextualized within the environment of its own institution, thus providing authentic situations and material. Students therefore find six different paths, each one related to a partner's university context and, within each path, they find materials in one of the six different languages. The paths and materials follow common guidelines. Yet, they are unique in that they reflect the different linguistic, social and cultural aspects of each country. This underlines that "our eventual objective must be to prepare learners to cope with the natural conditions of language use" (Widdowson 1990: 112). Indeed, providing students with authentic real-world materials can help achieve this goal.

The materials are divided into two Modules of four Units each, based on a thematic-oriented approach. The Modules are organized around specific academic topics such as *study skills, academic courses online, curriculum vitae, oral presentations, academic seminars, jobs online*, and two 'getting around' topics, namely *meeting on campus* and *off campus*. The skills levels are linked to the Common European Framework of Reference (Council of Europe 2001). Each unit is self-contained allowing students to choose the order in which they wish to carry out the activities depending on their interests and needs.

Unit 1 – *Meeting on campus* – introduces students to six real-life situations on campus (the Socrates office, the language centre, the bank, the cafeteria, the students' association and the travel agency) through a series of challenging tasks. Users click on an interactive map of the university and carry out a variety of activities after watching videos dealing with different aspects of life on campus (e.g. ordering food at the cafeteria, asking for information at the students' association, etc). This first unit emphasizes from the start the importance of becoming familiar with the social and cultural aspects of a new environment.

Figure 1 – Interactive map of the University of Calabria (excerpt from the Italian language material)

In Unit 2 – *Study skills* – the aim shifts to more learning-oriented skills by focusing on tasks which are necessary when dealing with academic texts. The activities, which include reading authentic texts from the different universities such as course descriptions, timetables, letters as well as scientific articles, focus on academically relevant tasks as identifying different text types, finding and understanding the main idea of a text, identifying key words and discourse markers, finding specific information, taking notes and summarizing main points.

In Unit 3 – *Academic courses online* – students find links to each different university involved in the project. Through the language activities, they are encouraged to look for information regarding degree courses and services offered as well as choose courses they may be interested in and fill in forms online.

Unit 4 – *Curriculum Vitae* – begins looking at the world beyond university by providing students with a series of activities which focus on reading and writing strategies necessary to prepare their own CV. A link to the Europass is provided in this unit. This also aims to make students aware of the different information and opportunities they can easily find online.

Unit 5 – *Oral presentations* – emphasizes the importance of becoming familiar with the structure and the language of academic oral presentations. The activities in this unit focus on skills for preparation (e.g.: organization, language devices) and delivery of oral presentations, an example of which is provided in a video.

Figure 2 – Oral presentations: focus on listening skills (excerpt from the Portuguese language material)

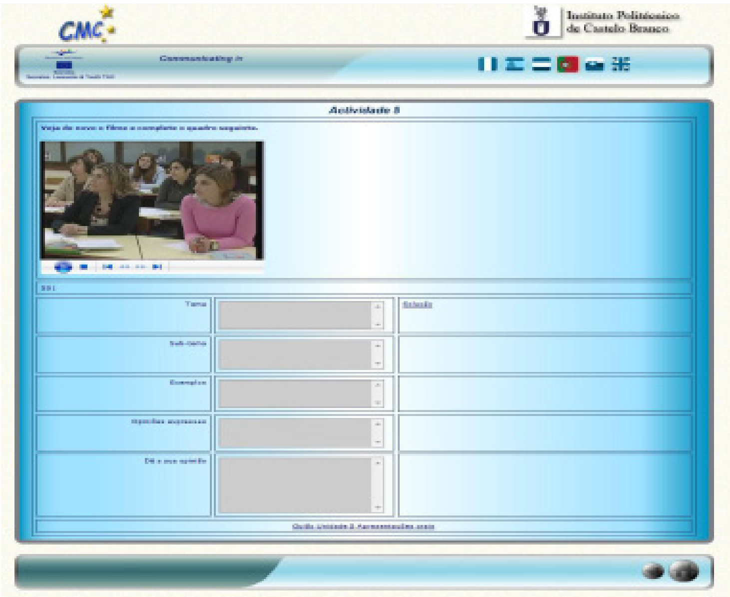
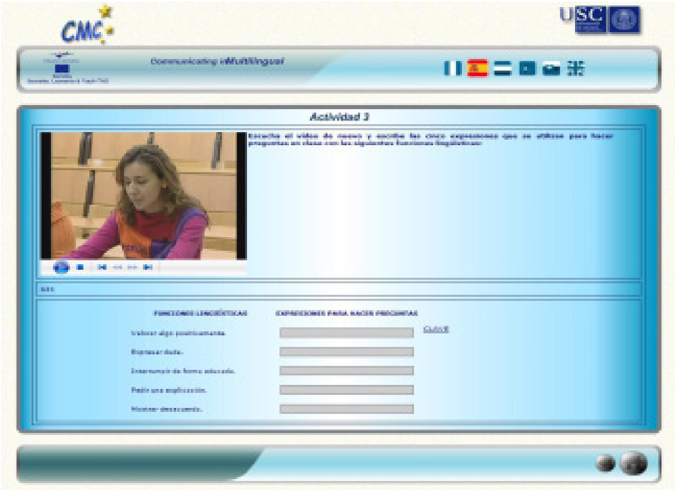


Figure 3 – Academic seminars: asking questions (excerpt from the Spanish language material)



Unit 6 – *Academic seminars* – aims at preparing students for taking part in seminars. After watching a video of a seminar, students are asked to carry out a series of activities which focus on asking and answering questions, turn-taking, expressing opinions, and writing a short report on a seminar.

As the title implies, Unit 7 – *Off campus* – takes students on a tour of places of interest outside of the university campus. The aim of this unit is to acquaint students with some of the language they will need in contexts outside of the classroom and off campus, and familiarize them with some cultural issues typical of their host country. This is done through activities which include a video, and focus on listening and writing skills.

Figure 4 – Off campus: San Nicola Arcella (excerpt from the Italian language material)

Finally, Unit 8 – *Jobs online* – focuses on vocabulary and expressions students will need to be familiar with when searching for a job online as well as when writing a cover letter to accompany the CV they will have prepared in Unit 4.

The website also includes glossaries of relevant words and expressions, language focus boxes, video scripts and links to other useful websites. Answers to most activities are provided, although there are also open-ended activities which require the help of an on campus tutor or of an e-mentor, who will be available to clarify any doubts and answer questions. Moreover, students also find a notice-board where they can exchange opinions, provide suggestions and ask for advice. Evaluation tests can be found at the end of each module.

The methodological approaches on which the materials are based include Content Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), blended learning and learner-centred activities. Increasing learner mobility and the process of 'internationalization of education' in institutions of Higher Education require CLIL programs to be designed and implemented, and indeed CLIL is currently considered the "European solution" (Marsh 2002) in an increasing student mobility oriented Europe. Moreover, as Kramsch (1995) points out, teachers have for long been "pleading to supplement the traditional acquisition of *communication skills* with some intellectually legitimate, humanistically oriented, cultural content." By integrating content knowledge and language learning, students are provided with opportunities to develop specific academic skills, and more importantly, to use a foreign language as a meaningful means of communication, thus moving beyond traditional forms of language learning. Furthermore, the CLIL techniques implemented in the project will hopefully facilitate university students' integration into other European academic contexts on the one hand, and enrich their educational experience on the other as they extend the knowledge-acquisition process and develop multicultural awareness.

2.1. *Promoting linguistic diversity and multicultural awareness*

By offering learning materials in English, Spanish and in less used and less taught languages such as Dutch, Italian, Portuguese, and Slovak, the *CMC* learning environment aims to promote linguistic diversity and multicultural awareness. As has been illustrated, the language activities offered provide learners with an opportunity for learning and growth that goes beyond mere language competence. Indeed interpersonal, intercultural and social competences are promoted through activities which are contextualized in real life situations, offering social and cultural insights alongside the linguistic input. In particular, Units 1 and 7 take learners out of the classroom and give them a taste of the surrounding areas. As mentioned above, Unit 1 – *Meeting on campus* – introduces different settings on campus through which students can familiarize with the new environment. Through the videos learners are exposed to 'real people' in 'real places', thus helping them prepare for some of the tasks they will most likely have to carry out during their stay abroad. Unit 7 – *Off campus* – takes students on a tour of historical, cultural and natural land-marks and gives information about each of the different countries. Italian learners will have the chance to see San Nicola Arcella, a beautiful little town on the Calabrian coastline; Portuguese learners will discover the peculiarities of Castelo Branco; students studying Dutch will learn more about Maastrich; Spanish learners will visit Santiago de Compostela and its magnificent Cathedral; students learning Slovak will become familiar with the pleasant atmosphere in Košiciach; English learners will go sightseeing in London. Units 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 8, while focusing in particular on academic skills, do so through the use of materials which reflect the social and cultural conventions of the host countries. For instance, Unit 6 – *Academic seminars* – gives students the opportunity to 'attend' a seminar which, in some cases, may be more informal or formal than what they are used to. Unit 3 – *Academic courses online* – requires users to find information in the websites of the different universities and, therefore, exposes them to a range of other information, both linguistic and cultural.

This type of approach should allow students to understand the social environment in which the higher education institution is located and help them become familiar with the lifestyle and the cultural and social dimensions of the community in which they will carry out their mobility experience. At the same time, by learning about other cultures they will also be able to reflect more critically on their own. Indeed, Kunstadter & Contreras (2007) emphasize the need for young people to gain a greater understanding of the languages and cultures surrounding them not only as a way of promoting acceptance of other people and other cultures, but also as a way of fostering their own personal and social growth. This can all lead to students becoming critical thinkers, encourage them to develop multiple ways of viewing the world and acquire the knowledge and skills necessary to participate in intercultural communication.

2.2. *Benefits of ICT-based language learning materials*

The growth and development of information and communication technologies has allowed material developers to create a wider and much more varied range of learning materials which learners can easily access. *CMC* is an open access multimedia learning environment which students can use whenever and wherever they are, choosing the materials they wish to focus on and working at their own pace. This flexibility is especially important for university students who are often pressed for time and busy with other academic commitments. In fact, in a Special Eurobarometer survey (2006) carried out on Europeans and their languages, the top three factors for discouraging language learning were lack of time, motivation, and expense of language classes. When asked what would incentivize them to improve their language skills, free language courses, followed by flexible lessons were the top two answers. *CMC* tries to meet these requirements by offering real-world material which caters to the needs of mobility students, in the hopes of attracting the attention of such students and motivating them to improve their language skills. Moreover, by introducing cultural and social aspects of language, *CMC* also highlights the use of a more humanistic approach in a seemingly non humanistic media such as the internet. Furthermore, the online learning environment also makes it possible to bring together educators and mobility students from different European academic contexts, leading to the promotion of an intercultural dialogue.

In addition to that, online communication can encourage a high level of playfulness, higher participation and greater involvement than face to face communication (Chester & Gwynne 1998). In fact computer mediated communication encourages collaborative learning by decreasing perceptions of individual differences and increasing adherence to group norms and, as consequence, can have a positive effect on self-esteem (Walther 1996). Thus the *CMC* activities and online noticeboard provide a place where even shier students can speak out.

The use of self-access ICT-based language learning materials can also encourage learners to become more autonomous, which should be one of the goals of education. Indeed Boud (1988) sees autonomy as integral to any kind of learning as it emphasizes student independence and responsibility for decision making. Moreover, learner autonomy can lead to the development of the qualities of moral, emotional and intellectual independence, which Candy (1988) believes should be the long-term goal of education. Furthermore, Cotterall (1995) notes that autonomous learning is desirable from a pedagogical point of view, since learners learn better when they are directly involved in making decisions regarding objectives, programming, activities and evaluation, as well as from a practical point of view, since teachers are not always available to help. Through the *CMC* website materials, students will be encouraged to take responsibility for their learning by setting goals, choosing what and how they wish to study, and taking the time to review and reflect on what they are learning, all of which are important aspects of learner autonomy (Benson 2001, Benson & Voller 1997, Evangelisti & Argondizzo 2002, Holec 1981, Little 1991, 2002) and aim at increasing self-confidence and self-esteem and, consequently, at achieving better results. Indeed, in order to find out to what extent the *CMC project* is guiding students towards these directions a survey will be carried out with the aim of further investigating: a. students' approach to the material, b. language competences achieved, c. transversal competences enhanced (e.g.: ability to study autonomously), d. feedback on the usefulness of the activities. Results of the survey will be discussed in a future paper.

3. Final reflections

CMC represents a chance for mobility students to develop and improve their academic language skills as well as expand their cultural and social knowledge of the new country they will be staying in. By having free access to an open learning environment, any learner will be able to use materials which have been specifically designed to target mobility students, and take advantage of the flexibility offered by these ICT-based learning materials. Moreover, working in an online environment which also wants to encourage learner autonomy means that the role of learners and teachers changes. Learners are asked to take a more active role in the learning process while at the same time the role of the teacher becomes that of facilitator, counselor and guide to resources (Voller 1997). Material developers, too, must adapt to the new virtual learning environment by bearing in mind the endless possibilities, but also the constraints that such environments offer (Argondizzo, Jimenez & Robinson 2009). What may seem perfect on paper may not always be so online, just as what might look great online may not always be the best choice didactically speaking. Strict collaboration between material developers and graphic and web designers is thus essential.

On a final, more personal note, while it is true that *CMC* aims at encouraging multilingualism and multiculturalism among university students, it has also been a truly multilingual and multicultural learning experience for the whole European team involved in the project, professionally, culturally and socially speaking. This increases the value of partners' collaboration in European projects.

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The role of Language and Learning Advisers in University Settings: Helping Students to Help Themselves

Carmela Briguglio
Curtin Business School, Curtin University of Technology

A very diverse student body (particularly linguistically and culturally) is the norm in Australian tertiary institutions with many international students having to study in English as a second language. This paper briefly examines the approaches and provisions that Australian universities are adopting to help international students develop English language for academic purposes. Academic Language and Learning (ALL) advisers, whose role is to facilitate student learning, carry out this role in a number of different ways in different universities. This paper discusses how this role is carried out within the Communication Skills Centre of the Curtin Business School, at the Curtin University of Technology in Western Australia. Staff at the Centre have, over a number of years, adapted their role to ensure that students become active learners and take maximum responsibility for their own development. Some of the principles that have guided our work include: a continued emphasis on student development, rather than remediation; services available to all students studying at all levels across the Curtin Business School; support which aims to demystify academic discourse; student taking responsibility for their own work; and three way learning (students learn from us and from each other, but we also learn from them). This paper then discusses the strategies, based on the above principles, which have been adopted by staff to help students develop the skills they require in English for academic purposes. It is argued that the very diversity which marks our classrooms needs to be fully explored and built upon in order to teach valuable intercultural communication skills for global/multinational settings and to enrich the tertiary learning experience for all students.

Keywords: academic adviser role, academic discourse, internationalisation

1. Introduction

The increasing diversity, particularly cultural and linguistic, of the student body in Australian universities, has become a major factor for teaching staff in the development of their teaching and learning programs (Lawrence 2005). This diversity has coincided with 'massification' of tertiary education and with a strong push, largely from employer groups, for graduates to be equipped with transferable generic skills/attributes (Clanchy & Ballard 1995; James, Lefoe & Hadi 2004). These trends and the accompanying growth in international education have, in more recent years, brought with them concerns about maintaining standards and quality, with universities being held to account for 'student outcomes'. Thus while Australian universities have become more assiduous in their marketing of tertiary education to international students, there is a growing debate and increasing concern about 'standards' (Reid 1996; McInnis 2000).

International education in Australia has expanded rapidly since the 1980s, showing an increase not only in the number of international fee-paying students coming to

Australian universities but diversification in the ways tertiary education is provided to international students. Curtin University is amongst the four largest Australian providers of tertiary education to international students, with numbers having shown a steady growth in recent years. Curtin University statistics show an increase in international student numbers from 6,828 in 1999 to 11,313 in 2002 and around 17,000 in 2006, including ‘offshore’ enrolments (that is, enrolments outside Australia either in partner institutions or in Curtin campuses overseas) (Curtin University Planning Office 2007). Similar increases are reflected in other Australian universities, with more recent government statistics showing that over 25% of the total university student population of some 957,000 in Australia is now comprised of international students (DEST 2007).

It would be wrong, however, to assume that only international students require support with academic discourse. The student diversity alluded to above also includes large numbers of mature age learners and students coming to tertiary study from a variety of non-traditional pathways (that is, not directly from schooling). In this sort of context, the role of Academic Language and Learning Adviser (ALL Adviser) has developed (some would say ‘blossomed’) quite significantly in more recent years. The number and type of language and learning support units in universities around Australia has increased, as has the number of Advisers. The operational models vary from centralised, to Faculty-based, to School-based units and in some cases to ‘team-teaching’ situations. The Curtin Business School (CBS) Communication Skills Centre, described below, is a Faculty-based model.

For all the above types of students in the tertiary context, academic discourse poses particular problems. For international English as a second language (ESL) students, this problem is compounded, in that they need to acquire academic discourse in a second language. This involves not only support with continued development in English language, but related issues such as:

– understanding local academic expectations;
– understanding and acquiring local conventions for interpersonal discourse; and
– understanding cultural contexts impacting on communication (Reid, Kirkpatrick & Mulligan 1998; Briguglio 2000; Mulligan & Kirkpatrick 2000).

Another major issue remains the sensitising of teaching staff to better understand the needs of local and international students in regard to academic discourse. Academic staff do not generally see their role as encompassing the responsibility for developing students’ academic discourse skills; nor do they feel they have the necessary preparation to enable them to contribute to this in any significant way. They are therefore very happy to leave this to ‘language experts’. Much research indicates, however, the importance of the development of linguistic and communication skills in the context of the disciplines and in collaboration with disciplinary colleagues (Lee *et al.* 1995; Bonanno & Jones 1996; Johns 1997; Barrie & Jones, 1999; Crosling & Wilson 2005). Our model therefore, while aiming for language skills development, also aims to integrate support within the disciplines, and we work collaboratively with discipline staff wherever possible.

2. The Curtin Business School (CBS) Communication Skills Centre

The CBS Communication Skills Centre (the Centre) was established for the purpose of providing support to its student population, both local and international, and also to assist staff to be better equipped to deal with student needs. Staff at the Centre (currently 5, including 2 full-time and 3 part-time positions) have applied linguistics and/or language and/or English as a second language (ESL) qualifications, and several also have teaching qualifications. Now in its tenth year of operation, the Centre provides student and staff support in a variety of ways. The Curtin Business School is a very large Faculty with some 11,000 onshore students, of whom some 5,000 are international students (Curtin University Planning Office 2006), representing just under one third of the University's onshore enrolments. The services of the Centre are available to all onshore students, while materials on our website are available to all offshore students and staff. Our Centre thus caters for a very wide range of needs.

2.1. *Operating principles*

The Centre operates a student academic development service aimed at all CBS students: Australian and international, undergraduate, graduate or postgraduate. The Centre aims for student development in four broad areas: academic study skills; interpersonal communication; academic writing; and professional communication. Our belief is that all students are on a development continuum, and that our purpose as ALL Advisers is to help them progress along that continuum to achieve increasingly better results. Our operation is thus based on the following principles:

1. services available to all students studying at all levels across the Curtin Business School;
2. a continued emphasis on student development (and not on remediation) with a belief that all can improve their linguistic proficiency ;
3. support which aims to demystify academic discourse for students;
4. students taking responsibility for their own work (teaching and helping students to develop the skills they require for self-improvement); and
5. three way learning (students learn from us and from each other, but we also learn from them).

From the beginning we resisted the perception that the Centre would in some way address only the needs of struggling students. All our publicity and marketing messages and all our interaction and correspondence with academic colleagues are pitched in a positive light, and indeed this is how we see our role. We assist students from across the spectrum from those who are struggling to those who are very high achievers. Because we believe all students can continue to learn and develop, we aim for student development, rather than 'remediation'. While in more recent years the perception of the role of ALL Adviser has moved from 'fixer' to 'developer' (Craswell & Bartlett 2001), such a perception is by no means universal amongst academic colleagues.

Emphasis on development also means that we work with students to help them to progress to the next stage. In looking at their academic writing, in particular, we analyse the areas students need to improve, suggest strategies that might help, and guide them to improve their own work. This sometimes means resisting the temptation to 'correct' students' work. Rather, we analyse major errors, question linguistic forms and overall structure and discuss with students how they can be improved. In this way we also aim to educate students that we are not there to 'edit' their work but rather to help them acquire the skills to become better writers and editors of their own work.

Over time, particularly through individual consultations, students gradually acquire the skills for self-improvement and greater confidence with academic discourse. In this area we also help them by explaining academic conventions (such as referencing and formal academic language) and guiding them to see discourse patterns. A large part of our work is dedicated to making what is implicit in the disciplines explicit for students. As Crosling& Wilson (2001: 6) state: "when students have appropriated approaches privileged within the disciplines […] they are positioned to be better able to function successfully in new and yet unimagined future situations".

In order to do this successfully, however, ALL Advisers need to listen carefully to students. Support can then be targeted to exactly what the student needs at a particular time, so that teaching is most effective because it is in context and at point of need. ALL Advisers also need to listen most empathically so that they are able to hear what students 'mean', and not just what they say. Often, a request for "help with my English" hides a myriad of different needs, from clarification of an assessment task, to an explanation about how to quote references, to help with syntax, to simple encouragement, and so on. In this way we also learn to become better teachers since we become more sensitive and better able to diagnose student needs. This is where, if we are open to learning and renewal, students have much to teach us.

Students also have much to learn from each other. In our workshops and seminars we often use group work, which students not only enjoy but find stimulating and useful. Because our student population is so diverse, the mixing of students from all over the world creates its own interesting dynamics and provides differing points off view. As ALL Advisers we draw on this diversity and deliberately utilise it to foster intercultural learning and understanding (Crosling & Martin 2005; Briguglio 2006).

2.2. *Services provided to students*

The current services of the Centre include a range of programs targeted specifically at students. We offer individual and small group consultations to discuss students' assessment tasks and provide advice for improvement, as described above. Although these are time consuming (lasting for between 20 and 60 minutes) they are most effective in addressing individual needs. Seminars (one hour) and workshops (two hours) on a variety of academic study and communication skills topics, such as oral presentation, essay writing, note taking, qualities of academic writing, preparing a thesis proposal and so on, are run regularly. These provide opportunity for much group and pair work, which encourages skills development and interaction with students from across the Faculty. A weekly academic writing class allows for grammatical and discourse analysis, and a weekly conversation class aims to assist the development of international students' oral skills and also facilitates integration with local students, who often participate as volunteers.

All our workshops and seminars are evaluated and analysed through a simple written survey; feedback from these is invariably positive, with students also encouraged to provide suggestions for any changes or for specific workshops they would like run which are not currently on offer. We also receive much informal feedback (either verbally or through emails) which indicates that students value our services highly. The email below was recently received by one of our Advisers:

Dear xxxx
Thank you for helping me with my last assignment in my university study. I got a High Distinction for that assignment which wrapped up my uni assessments really nicely. However, I wouldn't be able to achieve such a high grade without your help throughout the course. I would like to say thank you for your time, your professional service and more importantly your encouragement to me to be more confident in academic writing. It's a great service that the Communication Skills Centre offers and it's very helpful to international students like me who consider English language as the biggest barrier to my study and living in Australia.
I wish you all the best and will come visit you on my graduation day!

In order to extend our reach, we produce two electronic publications aimed specifically at students. The first is entitled *High Flyer: Student Notes for Success*, of which 17 issues have been produced thus far, on a range of communication and study skills topics. A new electronic publication, *The Finer Points: Grammar Notes for Better Writing,* aims to cover aspects of academic writing and addresses topics such as punctuation and cohesion in academic writing. The Centre also has a dedicated website with useful materials available for downloading and a small resource centre with materials for borrowing.

2.3. *Collaboration with staff*

From the establishment of the Centre we have emphasised collaboration with disciplinary staff, since we know this will extend our reach to students and is considered more effective for student learning (Catterall 2002; Brackley & Palmer 2005; Crosling & Wilson 2005). Our first initiative in this sense was to obtain membership of the Faculty's Teaching and Learning Committee, so that we are aware of broader issues which affect the whole Faculty. Working collaboratively with academic staff has also meant joining other special committees and working parties, such as a Faculty committee reviewing our Bachelor of Commerce. We have also worked with

Faculty colleagues on specific projects, for example in developing a diagnostic writing task for first year students. This enabled us to then develop our program of academic writing classes based on an analysis of student needs. We offer and are often invited to provide input into specific units, including guest lectures, seminars or joint planning. More recently we contributed to the design of a new unit, *Foundations of international Business*, for the revised Bachelor of Commerce.

Dissemination of information to staff about the services available to students, through class visits and email communication, is ongoing. Staff disseminate this information verbally to students or post it on the Faculty's electronic learning platform. This has proved to be a very effective dissemination strategy. We also discuss with staff ways in which they can assist students to develop communication skills. Another effective mechanism has been to develop Power Point resources for staff on communication and study skills topics. These have been developed on a range of topics including essay writing, referencing, qualities of academic writing and oral presentation. Staff can use them as they are or adapt them and incorporate them into their own teaching. Informal feedback from staff, either verbal or in the form of emails, indicates that they are appreciative of our materials and support, as the emails below illustrate:

Thanks for all this – you're a gem and I do appreciate the work and information that you forward to us.

Thanks for the notes – brilliant!

Finally an electronic publication, *Business Communication Newsclips,* has been developed specifically for discipline-based staff. The purpose of this publication is to bring to the attention of staff current research and issues in the area of business communication, academic discourse and teaching and learning matters.

2.4. *Developing students' intercultural communication skills*

It is also important, in the ALL adviser role, to be an advocate for student and staff learning in the area of intercultural communication. Academic colleagues can quickly perceive cultural and national diversity as "a problem", and international students as needing to make up a gap. However, any university which claims to call itself international (and many currently do) should make provisions as a matter of course to ensure the facilitation of the adaptation process for international students, and, moreover, should aim to utilise fully the opportunities that such diversity presents. In Australia not enough use is made of this rich cultural diversity to teach students valuable skills for working in multinational teams, although this is an area that is currently receiving greater attention (see Crosling & Martin 2005; Briguglio 2006; Caspersz, Skene, Wu & Boland 2004). At CBS we have begun to trial a workshop[1] with students who are going to engage in a group or team task for assessment purposes and early results are encouraging. Questionnaires complet-

1 The *Students Working in Multinational Teams* workshop was developed as part of the writer's PhD in 2005 and interest in trialling it has been expressed by colleagues in several other Australian universities. Further details about the workshop are available in the Briguglio (2006) paper cited in the list of references.

ed by students after the exercise indicate that they learned valuable skills from this exercise and that they considered the workshops to be valuable. What is more interesting is that the workshop, which was developed by our Centre, is now being adapted and implemented by School of Management staff (that is, non language specialists) as part of a CBS project in curriculum innovation. In 2009 the workshop was also run with students at Sydney University. These staff have reported to us that both they and their students have enjoyed the workshop, and that students have found it beneficial for group work.

3. Conclusion

The Faculty-based model we have adopted has allowed us to become an integral part of learning and teaching at CBS. Operating within a Faculty-based model means that Centre staff continue to develop: specialist knowledge in the business disciplines; a greater awareness of the sorts of learning and assessment issues faced by our students; a bank of knowledge of common students' queries and issues (and their perspective on learning); and a close relationship with staff within the Faculty. Our operation is thus 'embedded' within (Green, Hammer & Stephens 2005), and integral to, the work of the Faculty.

Over the ten years of its operation, the Centre has developed and grown by being responsive to the different needs of CBS students and staff. As ALL Advisers, how we communicate our role and work to academic colleagues affects if and how they will use the services we provided and how they view us. It also influences how they perceive the value of our work and whether they in fact consider us colleagues in the process of tertiary teaching and learning, or merely adjuncts and 'outsiders'. We believe that in order for the work of ALL Advisers to flourish and be highly regarded we ourselves need to promote what we call the three Rs: Resources, Room and Respect. The first of these, Resources, is easy to understand – unless academic support units are provided with sufficient well qualified staff and the necessary material resources, it is difficult to provide an excellent service. The second, Room to move, indicates that staff need to be allowed enough room to experiment and grow in their role. The third, Respect for the work of ALL Advisers, needs to be earned through providing a service which makes a positive impact on the quality of the teaching and learning experience of both students and staff. This paper has argued that through careful planning and monitoring, and continued innovation, an effective and highly respected service, which enhances student learning, can be developed.

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Competenze linguistiche in italiano: esami e certificazioni a confronto

Mariella Natale, Claudia Provenzano
Centro linguistico Libera Università di Bolzano

"Suppongo che sentire veramente una lingua sia un modo diverso di percepire le parole … imparare una lingua è scoprire nuovi modi di osservare e di sentire l'universo, il mondo, o noi stessi."

Jorge Luis Borges

The presentation proposes a comparison between types of exams and language certifications ofItalian language that are present at the Free University Bolzano and in other institutions of the province of Bolzano. The Language Centre of the FUB is the examination centre where students' language skills are tested. There are two types of tests: LAT (knowledge of Italian language) and CELI (international certification).

In the province there are two types of assessment of language skills: one is related to school (the second part of the third test of the final examination at secondary schools) and the second is linked to the job market (examination of bilingualism).

The types of examination have different objectives and targets, therefore it is interesting to analyse differences and common features such as: objectives, skills, types of text, levels, evolution.

The comparison may identify factors that could lead to partnerships and synergies among the different institutions to improve the skills of Italian L2.

Keywords: not only tests, language usage, to communicate, to live together, to know

Introduzione

La situazione linguistica del territorio in cui viviamo, il Sudtirolo, è sicuramente molto ricca e complessa. Per favorire e garantire l'insegnamento-apprendimento delle tre lingue ufficiali presenti in questa Provincia, in cui convivono più comunità linguistiche e si incontrano sistemi linguistici diversi, sono state istituite 3 scuole (la scuola in lingua tedesca, la scuola italiana e la scuola paritetica ladina), un'università trilingue (con insegnamenti in italiano, tedesco e inglese), diverse scuole parauniversitarie con insegnamenti in due lingue (Zelig, la scuola di cinema, e la Claudiana, la scuola per paramedici). Completa questo quadro così variegato la presenza delle diverse comunità etnico-linguistiche formatesi in seguito ai flussi migratori.

Per garantire ai cittadini e alle cittadine il bilinguismo nei luoghi pubblici sono state anche promulgate delle leggi che prevedono l'accertamento della conoscenza delle tre lingue parlate nella nostra Provincia per chi desidera accedere ai posti pubblici.

Altre istituzioni che testano la conoscenza della lingua seconda tra i/le propri/e studenti sono le scuole e la Libera Università di Bolzano.

Questa ricerca parte dunque dalla consapevolezza di questa complessità e vuole essere una riflessione sulle diverse modalità presenti in loco che mirano a stabilire la conoscenza delle lingue. Dall'analisi delle prove con cui vengono testate le conoscenze nella lingua seconda, in particolare l'italiano L2 di cui si occupa questo lavoro, è emersa l'esigenza di individuare quali collaborazioni siano possibili tra i diversi enti che sono sede di questi esami, dal momento che, nonostante le finalità e i destinatari siano molto diversi, l'obiettivo principale di tutte le istituzioni coinvolte è il miglioramento della conoscenza dell'italiano o del tedesco come lingua seconda.

1. Le prove

Le certificazioni che analizzeremo sono l'esame di ammissione alla Libera Università di Bolzano, abbreviato in LAT, che gli/le studenti iscritti/e alle facoltà di Economia, Design, Ingegneria e Logistica, Scienze della Formazione (tranne il corso di laurea in Scienze della Formazione Primaria) di questo ateneo devono superare; l'esame CELI dell'Università per gli Stranieri di Perugia, che è una certificazione internazionale di cui è sede di nuovo l'università bolzanina (questa ricerca prende in esame il CELI 3); l'esame di Bilinguismo, che è la prima forma di certificazione presente sul territorio di Bolzano (i livelli in cui si articola la prova sono 4 - dal più basso al più alto: D, solo orale; C; B; A - ma quello che viene analizzato nell'ambito di questo lavoro è l'esame di bilinguismo A); la terza prova scritta e la parte del colloquio orale relativa all'accertamento della conoscenza della seconda lingua dell'Esame Conclusivo di Stato che si svolge alla fine dei cinque anni di scuola superiore in lingua tedesca.

Un'ulteriore considerazione da fare è che il livello di competenza in uscita richiesto dalle certificazioni prese qui in esame fa riferimento al livello intermedio (B1/B2) di competenza in uscita sulla scala globale dei livelli di riferimento del Quadro Comune Europeo. Per alcune certificazioni (LAT e CELI 3) questo riferimento è chiaro, invece per l'esame di Bilinguismo e per l'Esame di Stato il rapporto è più complesso, ma il legame si può inferire dalla forma delle prove e dai traguardi di competenza richiesti e verificati: infatti, prendendo in considerazione le abilità, i tipi di testo, i domini, le strategie, le attività comunicative, le competenze linguistico-comunicative citati nei descrittori del Framework per il livello B1/B2, si deduce che corrispondono in buona parte a quanto richiesto anche da queste due prove di accertamento linguistico[1].

1 È necessario precisare che quando è stato preparato questo intervento non esisteva una equiparazione ufficiale dei livelli dell'esame di Bilinguismo ai livelli del Framework. "La Commissione dei sei", un organismo politico presente sul territorio della nostra provincia, recentemente ha attribuito al Bilinguismo A il livello C1, ma la decisione al momento è ancora in discussione.

2. Esami a confronto

2.1. *Abilità e tipi di testo*

Le abilità testate sono la lettura, la scrittura e la produzione orale per tutte le prove, mentre solo il CELI 3 prevede delle prove specifiche per l'ascolto e, per quanto riguarda i tipi di testo, l'Esame di Stato prevede una gamma più ampia di tipi e forme testuali rispetto agli altri esami, perché la prova è legata al programma svolto nel corso dell'ultimo anno scolastico che comprende testi e autori della letteratura italiana, temi di attualità e/o conoscenze di linguaggi specialistici. Nelle prove di comprensione scritta del LAT, del CELI 3 e dell'Esame di Stato vengono proposti testi autentici. Una caratteristica propria dell'esame di Bilinguismo è invece che i testi oggetto delle prove sono testi autentici riadattati e ridotti per rispondere a un criterio legato al numero di righe. In questo esame il testo è doppio: testo in italiano con le domande di comprensione in italiano a cui il candidato deve rispondere in tedesco e viceversa.

Il dato che accomuna le prove è che tutti i testi hanno un limite di lunghezza espresso in paragrafi o numero di righe.

Tipi di testo comuni sono quelli descrittivi, narrativi, informativi. Forme e generi testuali sono diversi, trasversale a tutti è il testo giornalistico.

LAT	CELI 3	BILINGUISMO	ESAME di STATO
Lettura Scrittura Parlato	Lettura Scrittura Parlato **Ascolto**	Lettura Scrittura Parlato	Lettura Scrittura Parlato

Tab. 1 – *Abilità testate*

LAT	CELI 3	BILINGUISMO	ESAME DI STATO
Articolo di attualità Articolo di costume Testo descrittivo Testo narrativo	Articolo di attualità Articolo di costume Articolo di cronaca Testo descrittivo Testo narrativo	Articolo di attualità Articolo di costume Testo descrittivo Testo narrativo Testo espositivo Riadattati e ridotti	Articolo di attualità Articolo di costume Testo descrittivo Testo narrativo Testo espositivo Testo letterario in prosa Testo poetico

Tab. 2 – *Tipi di testo richiesti*

2.2. *Comprensione scritta*

Nel LAT lo/la studente deve affrontare un articolo di attualità o di costume in cinque paragrafi; nel CELI 3 i testi di partenza (uno o due) sono articoli di attualità o di costume; nell'esame di Bilinguismo il testo di partenza è molto più breve rispetto agli altri esami (14/15 righe); la terza prova scritta dell'Esame di Stato parte da un testo letterario o giornalistico di 20/30 righe.

La competenza che i/le canditati/e devono dimostrare di possedere però è la stessa come risulta dalla tabella 3: focalizzare le informazioni fondamentali di un testo.

La prova scritta dell'esame di accertamento linguistico della Libera Università di Bolzano consta di due parti: la parte A (comprensione) e la parte B (produzione). Nella parte A il testo di partenza, un articolo di 5 paragrafi, deve essere letto e compreso e per ogni paragrafo deve essere sintetizzata l'informazione principale, usando parole diverse da quelle dell'articolo. La frase-riassunto prodotta non può superare le due righe del foglio prestampato su cui deve essere svolto il lavoro.

Nel CELI 3 sono previsti esercizi a scelta multipla, vero/falso, abbinamenti e brevi risposte a domande aperte sul contenuto dei testi di partenza per verificarne l'avvenuta comprensione e individuazione delle informazioni più importanti.

Nell'esame di Bilinguismo il candidato deve comprendere un breve articolo in tedesco e rispondere in italiano a domande di comprensione del testo formulate sempre in tedesco. Questa forma di scrittura è chiamata trasposizione.

La prova scritta dell'esame di Stato prevede 4 attività: due di comprensione e due di produzione. Gli esercizi di comprensione del testo sono il questionario con domande aperte sul testo di partenza e la sintesi dello stesso con un numero dato di parole.

LAT	CELI 3	BILINGUISMO	ESAME DI STATO
Focalizzare informazioni fondamentali: sintesi di paragrafi	Focalizzare informazioni fondamentali: Scelte multiple Vero/falso Abbinamenti Risposte aperte	Focalizzare informazioni fondamentali: risposte a domande sul testo (trasposizione)	Focalizzare informazioni fondamentali: risposte a domande di comprensione del testo sintesi del testo

Tab. 3 – *Comprensione scritta*

2.3. *Produzione scritta*

Nella parte B del LAT si chiede al/la candidato/a di produrre un testo di 10/20 righe di tipo argomentativo su un problema di attualità o su un tema vicino agli interessi degli/le studenti.

La produzione scritta del CELI 3 è più articolata e prevede la stesura di due testi da svolgere in base a un input: una composizione relativa ad argomenti vicini all'esperienza personale dello/a studente o a temi di fantasia e una lettera. Entrambi i testi hanno il vincolo di un dato numero di parole.

Le attività di produzione previste dall'Esame di Stato sono la riscrittura del testo di partenza secondo un punto di vista diverso o attraverso un altro tipo o forma testuale (dall'articolo alla lettera personale, alla pagina di diario; dal testo letterario all’articolo di cronaca) e la stesura di un testo argomentativo che prende spunto dal brano di partenza oppure di una riflessione e di un confronto su argomenti affini al testo di partenza trattati nel programma svolto nel corso dell’anno scolastico.

Dalla descrizione delle prove scritte richieste emerge che tutte le prove di comprensione e produzione mirano a testare, sebbene in forme diverse, la competenza testuale intesa come capacità di sintetizzare e produrre testi diversi.

LAT	CELI 3	BILINGUISMO	ESAME DI STATO
Argomentare: • testo relativo a temi di attualità o a problematiche giovanili e di studio	Argomentare Narrare: • lettera • testo personale o di fantasia		Manipolare: • Riscrittura Argomentare • metatesto

Tab. 4 – *Produzione scritta*

2.4. *Competenza linguistica e comprensione di un testo orale*

Come è evidente dalla tabella 5, solo il CELI 3 verifica con esercizi specifici la competenza linguistica, intesa come competenza morfosintattica e lessicale, attraverso esercizi che richiedono completamenti e ricostruzione di testi,

In realtà, esaminando le griglie o le modalità di valutazione, tutti gli esami tengono conto della competenza linguistica dimostrata dai candidati, ma non con esercizi *ad hoc*.

LAT	CELI 3	BILINGUISMO	ESAME DI STATO
	Completare e ricostruire testi		

Tab. 5 – *Competenza linguistica*

Dalla tabella 6 si può notare che anche la comprensione di un testo orale è verificata solo dal CELI 3. La prova consiste in attività che mirano a focalizzare le informazioni fondamentali attraverso prove a scelta multipla, vero/falso e abbinamenti.

LAT	CELI 3	BILINGUISMO	ESAME DI STATO
	Focalizzare informazioni fondamentali: - Scelte multiple - Vero/falso - Abbinamenti		

Tab. 6 – *Comprensione testo orale*

2.5. *Produzione orale monologica e dialogica*

Il colloquio orale prevede nel CELI 3, nell’esame di Bilinguismo e nel LAT una prima fase di presentazione, una fase di descrizione di un’immagine e, per i primi due esami, una fase dialogica in cui si simula un *role paly*. Il CELI 3 richiede anche la sintesi di un testo giornalistico. Nel CELI 3 il/la candidato/a riceve i materiali su cui verterà l'accertamento (immagine e testo) una decina di minuti prima del colloquio.

L'Esame di Stato si differenzia perché il colloquio verte sui contenuti del programma svolto nel corso del quinto anno di scuola superiore e verifica la conoscenza di temi, autori e contenuti relativi alla storia della letteratura e la capacità di comprendere e analizzare testi in prosa e testi poetici.

LAT	CELI 3	BILINGUISMO	ESAME DI STATO
Presentarsi Descrivere un'immagine	Presentarsi Descrivere un'immagine Sintetizzare un testo scritto	Presentarsi Descrivere un'immagine	Raccontare Descrivere Argomentare Esporre

Tab. 7 – *Produzione orale dialogica*

LAT	CELI 3	BILINGUISMO	ESAME DI STATO
Raccontare Argomentare	Raccontare Argomentare: • Role play	Raccontare Argomentare: • Role play	

Tab. 8 – *Produzione orale dialogica*

2.6. *Valutazione delle competenze*

Per quanto riguarda la valutazione, si può osservare che, in generale, le prove, pur con le loro differenze, tendono a traguardi di competenza comuni. In particolare, nella prova di comprensione scritta si valuta la competenza testuale, mentre nella prova di produzione scritta le competenze di tipo morfosintattico, testuale, lessicale e ortografico. Solo nell'esame di bilinguismo viene verificata anche la capacità della trasposizione.

Nella valutazione della prova di produzione orale si prendono in considerazione, in tutti i tipi di accertamento, sia le competenze di tipo lessicale, morfosintattico, socioculturale e testuale sia la pronuncia e l'intonazione. Solo nell'esame di Stato viene verificata anche la conoscenza dei contenuti (storia della letteratura, storia, testi letterari, testi e temi di attualità).

Il CELI prevede anche, nell'ambito dell'abilità della scrittura, una prova in cui viene valutata con particolare attenzione e sulla base di attività specifiche (esercizi su strutture grammaticali) la competenza linguistica intesa come competenza morfosintattica, lessicale e testuale (coerenza). A differenza delle altre prove il CELI mira a testare inoltre la comprensione orale, verificando in particolare la competenza lessicale e la capacità di focalizzare informazioni fondamentali.

LAT	CELI 3	BILINGUISMO	ESAME DI STATO
Competenza testuale	Competenza testuale	Competenza testuale	Competenza testuale

Tab. 9 – *Valutazione prova di comprensione scritta*

LAT	CELI 3	BILINGUISMO	ESAME DI STATO
Competenze: Morfosintattica Testuale Lessicale Ortografica	Competenze: Morfosintattica Testuale Lessicale Ortografica	Competenze: Morfosintattica Testuale Lessicale Ortografica * Trasposizione	Competenze: Morfosintattica Testuale Lessicale Ortografica

Tab. 10 – *Valutazione prove di produzione scritta*

LAT	CELI 3	BILINGUISMO	ESAME DI STATO
	Competenze: Morfosintattica Lessicale Testuale (coesione)		

Tab. 11 – *Valutazione prova scritta di competenza linguistica*

LAT	CELI 3	BILINGUISMO	ESAME DI STATO
	• Focalizzazione informazioni fondamentali • Competenza lessicale		

Tab. 12 – *Valutazione prova di comprensione orale*

LAT	CELI 3	BILINGUISMO	ESAME DI STATO
Competenze: • Lessicale • Morfosintattica • Socioculturale • Testuale • Pronuncia e intonazione	Competenze: • Lessicale • Morfosintattica • Socioculturale • Testuale • Pronuncia e intonazione	Competenze: • Lessicale • Morfosintattica • Socioculturale • Testuale • Pronuncia e intonazione	Competenze: • Lessicale • Morfosintattica • Socioculturale • Testuale • Pronuncia e intonazione • Conoscenza dei contenuti

Tab. 13 – *Valutazione prova di produzione orale*

2.7. *Tempi e spendibilità*

I tempi di svolgimento sono molto diversi nelle prove scritte, come si può osservare nelle tabelle 14 e 15, e dipendono dalla lunghezza dei testi e dalla quantità dei compiti che vengono richiesti ai/alle candidati/e, mentre nelle prove di produzione non riscontriamo grandi differenze.

Altri aspetti che si possono confrontare sono la spendibilità del titolo conseguito e la rilevanza delle parti scritte e orali nella totalità dell'esame: per quanto riguarda quest'ultima, si possono notare degli squilibri maggiori nelle prove di produzione orale. Se prendiamo in considerazione la spendibilità delle certificazioni e degli esami messi a confronto, si può osservare che LAT, Bilinguismo ed esame di Stato sono prove che hanno un valore puramente locale, mentre la validità del CELI, oltre a essere riconosciuta dalla LUB come certificazione valida per iscriversi alle facoltà di Economia, Design, Scienze della formazione (corso di laurea per educatore sociale e in scienze della comunicazione), Informatica e Ingegneria e logistica, è spendibile in tutto il mondo sia nell'ambito degli studi sia nel mondo del lavoro.

LAT	CELI 3	BILINGUISMO	ESAME DI STATO
75'	180'	90'	150'

Tab. 14 – *Tempi prova scritta*

LAT	CELI	BILINGUISMO	ESAME DI STATO
10'	Ricezione: 25' Produzione: 15'	15'	10'

Tab. 15 **–** *Tempi prova orale*

3. Gli esami e il piacere della lingua

La presentazione e l'analisi di queste prove a confronto ci permette di osservare il percorso di preparazione necessario per arrivare ad affrontarle con sicurezza, dimostrando di saper comprendere e produrre testi diversi in contesti diversi per scopi diversi. Da questo confronto sono emerse le seguenti considerazioni.

Innanzi tutto dobbiamo tenere presente che queste prove sono esami e ciò che questo comporta, dal punto di vista del discente, a livello cognitivo ma anche emozionale e affettivo. Nel libro "Lettera a una professoressa", redatto a più mani dagli alunni della scuola di Barbiana di don Milani, il quale, agli inizi degli anni Sessanta, comprese con lungimiranza che strumenti fondamentali per vivere nel mondo siano le lingue, troviamo scritto :"Gli esami, vanno aboliti. Ma se li fate, siate almeno leali. Le difficoltà vanno messe in percentuale di quelle della vita. Se le mettete più frequenti avete la mania del trabocchetto. Come se foste in guerra coi ragazzi. Chi ve lo fa fare? Il loro bene?" (Scuola di Barbiana 1996: 21)

Noi non pensiamo che questi esami vadano aboliti, ma che debbano essere considerati come strumenti che permettono di acquisire competenze utili a sviluppare una capacità d'uso della lingua in contesti e situazioni diversi attraverso diversi tipi di testo e strategie linguistico-comunicative adeguate a comunicare e interagire in modo efficace.

Infatti, se prendiamo in considerazione i processi cognitivi che si mettono in atto per prepararli, vediamo che le difficoltà sono "messe in percentuale di quelle della vita". E' vero che gli esami sono spesso visti solo come funzionali a obiettivi molto pratici e sicuramente molto importanti (l'ammissione all'università, il lavoro, il diploma di maturità) ma è anche vero che, a volte, purtroppo, possono costituire dei blocchi all'apprendimento di una lingua perché, una volta ottenuto lo scopo, raggiunto l'obiettivo del pezzo di carta, l'utilizzo, lo studio e il perfezionamento di quella lingua non proseguono: si guarda solo al prodotto, l'attestato che certifica sulla carta il raggiungimento di un certo livello di competenza, e si perde di vista il percorso che porta all'acquisizione di competenze, abilità e conoscenze, risultati tangibili, e spendibili nella comunicazione quotidiana. Questa analisi e questi confronti ci dimostrano invece che il percorso da fare per superare questi esami mette in atto abilità e competenze strettamente collegate alla vita e all'uso della lingua in situazioni autentiche, al raggiungimento di una competenza linguistico-comunicativa decisamente concreta.

Possiamo osservare, infatti, che esistono prove in parte simili e in parte diverse che hanno però un comune obiettivo generale molto concreto, che a noi sembra anche molto alto e nobile: il raggiungimento del livello intermedio B1/B2 della competenza linguistica nelle varie abilità. Questo significa saper usare una lingua in diverse situazioni e contesti per comunicare, viaggiare, lavorare, conoscere gente, studiare, esprimere opinioni, raccontare esperienze ecc. Vediamo anche che per raggiungerlo è necessaria una preparazione che prevede attività che sono comuni e trasversali a tutte le prove, come si può osservare nelle tabelle 16-20.

ABILITÀ	TIPO DI ATTIVITÀ
LETTURA	Domande di comprensione Scelta multipla Vero/falso Completamenti Abbinamenti Scelta tra sintesi diverse

ABILITÀ	TIPO DI ATTIVITÀ
SCRITTURA	Composizione guidata: – Da immagine – Da tabella – Da spunto testuale – Da schema – Da mappa mentale – Da cluster Sintesi: – Da paragrafo a titolo – Da testo a titolo – Generalizzazione – Condensazione Manipolazione testuale Composizione libera

ABILITÀ	TIPO DI ATTIVITÀ
ASCOLTO	Scelta multipla Vero/falso Completamenti Abbinamenti
ABILITÀ	TIPO DI ATTIVITÀ
PARLATO	Produzione monologica guidata: – Da immagine – Da testo Produzione dialogica: – Role play – Simulazione – Tavola rotonda
COMPETENZA	TIPO DI ATTIVITÀ
COMPETENZA LINGUISTICA	Completamenti Collegamento di frasi (coesione) Esercizi lessicali

Tab. 16-20 – *Tipi di attività da praticare per preparare le prove*

Per portare avanti questo processo di apprendimento abbiamo a disposizione materiali già preparati da diverse istituzioni ed enti operanti nella provincia (università, scuola, provincia, ufficio bilinguismo, agenzie di educazione permanente) che potrebbero essere utilizzati nell'ottica di un lavoro comune da fare per raggiungere questo nobile obiettivo. Numerose sono inoltre tutte quelle opportunità di incontro utili all'apprendimento delle lingue presenti nel territorio: il tandem linguistico, i gemellaggi tra scuole con lingue di insegnamento diverse, il progetto di mobilità tra studenti di scuole di lingua diversa (della scuola italiana, tedesca e ladina), i cinema con spettacoli in due lingue, le associazioni culturali e sportive, le biblioteche. Sono le opportunità che vengono offerte dalle diverse istituzioni e dagli enti pubblici e privati che permettono di svolgere quel lavoro individuale, autonomo, costituito da piccoli e grandi passi di avvicinamento alla lingua e alla cultura dell'altro.

Dunque queste prove sono esami, ma, sfruttando bene il percorso da fare per superarle, si potrebbe far capire ai giovani che è importante la conoscenza reciproca e che dalla conoscenza reciproca e dalla convivenza possiamo trarre grande utilità e arricchimento proprio perché, come scrive Alex Langer, "La convivenza offre e richiede molte possibilità di conoscenza reciproca. Più abbiamo a che fare gli uni con gli altri, meglio ci comprenderemo. Imparare a conoscere la lingua, la storia, la cultura, i pregiudizi e gli stereotipi, le paure delle diverse comunità conviventi è un passo essenziale nel rapporto interetnico." (Langer 1998: 10).

In conclusione, queste prove non sono solo esami e andrebbero valorizzate all'interno di questo territorio complesso e ricco, unendo le forze e continuando sulla strada di una collaborazione tra i vari enti e istituzioni con l'obiettivo comune di promuovere nei cittadini e nelle cittadine, in particolare nei/nelle giovani, un desiderio di comunicazione, un piacere di conoscere e comunicare con l'altro per essere veramente parte di un territorio e di una comunità plurilingue e multilingue, motivando i nostri studenti a studiare le lingue per fare in modo che tutti siano in grado di comprendere e parlare più di una lingua, partendo dalla lingua più vicina, visto che abbiamo la fortuna di averla presente nella stessa casa comune.

Se riuscissimo a dimostrare l'utilità del percorso da fare, mettendo in comune gli sforzi di tutti, e tenendo presente la finalità ultima, il piacere della lingua, della" lingua del cuore"(Maalouf 1999: 152-155), sarebbe facile capire che anche questi esami potrebbero mirare a quell'obiettivo nobile che, come leggiamo in Fatima Mernissi, è quello di "sviluppare delle ali che permettono di volare in un'altra cultura, anche se la frontiera resta" (Mernissi 1996: 122) e di imparare le lingue senza neanche accorgersene, con grande piacere, come scrivono ancora i ragazzi della scuola di Barbiana:

"Io le lingue le ho imparate coi dischi. Senza neanche accorgermene. Ho imparato prima le cose più utili e frequenti. Esattamente come s'impara l'italiano. Quell'estate ero stato a Grenoble a lavar piatti in una trattoria. M'ero trovato subito a mio agio. Negli ostelli avevo comunicato con ragazzi d'Europa e d'Africa. Ero tornato deciso a imparare lingue a tutto spiano. Molte lingue male piuttosto che una bene. Pur di poter comunicare con tutti, conoscere uomini e problemi nuovi, ridere dei sacri confini delle patrie." (Scuola di Barbiana 1996: 22)

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Italiano fuori dalla classe

Sandra Montali – Centro linguistico Libera Università di Bolzano (LUB)

A large percentage of the foreign students attending the Trilingual University in Bolzano, find that they need help in learning Italian and as a result apply to the Language Centre for help.

Not enough hours are available, however, to guarantee miraculous results for these learners and teachers complain that the learners are passive to a certain extent or favour rigid "scholastic" approaches to language learning, particularly those who are not so motivated. In addition to this learners tend to group themselves in very closed monolingual cliques, interacting very little with the environment that surrounds them. German students, in particular, can surivive very well in Bolzano without using Italian, which would not be the case if they studied in the neighbouring city of Trento, for example.

In order to bring about a change in attitude - as coordinators of English, Italian and German - we have undertaken a campaign to raise awareness of the advantages of learner autonomy, starting with a survey to establish just how much a first year student is prepared to do autonomously to learn the language he or she is studying and how much practice is done outside class. After discussion of the results a booklet was produced as a type of *autonomous study guide*. This booklet discussed various autonomous learning strategies, and ways of approaching language learning both in and outside class. One area that was highlighted in particular was the Internet.

In addition to this, in order to build a closer relationship between students of different nationalities, with different first languages, we set up - where possible-a systematic partnering of Italian and German groups so that they might have the change to learn languages by means of taking part in mutual study activities *in tandem*.

Communication between teachers was also aided by the use of en experimental *Moodle* environment, where a *tandem* idea bank was created as well as a online didactic resources as well as enabling teachers to exchange worksheets and lesson plans.

Key words: learner autonomy, language advisory service, tandem, cognitive strategies, didactic resources

1. Primo paradosso: imparare l'italiano a Bolzano

Una buona parte degli studenti stranieri che frequentano la Libera Università di Bolzano, trilingue, si trova nella necessità di imparare l'italiano e per questo si rivolge al Centro linguistico. Il problema maggiore, a livello didattico - linguistico, è costituito dagli studenti che si presentano come principianti assoluti e si aspettano di riuscire rapidamente a partecipare a lezioni ed esami. In generale lo studente medio tende a sottovalutare il tempo e la fatica necessari per imparare una lingua partendo da zero.

Le ore a disposizione per i corsi di lingua non sono sufficienti a garantire risultati miracolosi e gli insegnanti lamentano una certa passività e "scolasticità" tra gli studenti meno motivati. Inoltre c'è una tendenza a costituire gruppi chiusi e monolingui, che vivono all'interno delle strutture universitarie e interagiscono pochissimo con la città e con l'ambiente circostante.

In particolare gli studenti di lingua tedesca, la maggioranza dal punto di vista numerico, sopravvivono tranquillamente a Bolzano senza usare l'italiano, come dovrebbero fare invece se studiassero, ad esempio, nella vicina Trento.

1.2. *La separazione è contagiosa*

Non è questa la sede per trattare il tema dei rapporti tra le comunità linguistiche a Bolzano, Bressanone e Brunico, luoghi che ospitano le diverse facoltà, ma va segnalata una generale tendenza altoatesina a vivere in ambienti separati dal punto di vista linguistico. Questa tendenza, di cui non tutti si rendono veramente conto, viene avviata già dal sistema scolastico, rigidamente diviso per lingue fino alla maturità. Ci si abitua a frequentare le persone con cui è più facile comunicare e condividere valori, passando accanto a quelle che parlano altre lingue senza quasi vederle. Per quanto riguarda la percezione della cultura italiana da parte degli ambienti sudtirolesi di destra, basti osservare il fatto che sono stati esposti all'ex confine del Brennero enormi manifesti con la scritta *Südtirol ist nicht Italien,* (Il Sudtirolo non è Italia), a significare una mancata identificazione con lo stato italiano. La spiegazione di fenomeni di questo tipo, di cui si fanno protagonisti partiti che invocano un completo distacco della zona dal governo italiano, va cercata nell'eredità storica e in particolare nei danni provocati dalla campagna di italianizzazione condotta nel territorio sudtirolese durante il fascismo.

Dunque lo straniero che arriva a studiare qui, attratto dall'idea di venire in Italia, o magari di poter fruire dello stimolo di una regione bilingue, rimane piuttosto sconcertato e tende, in breve tempo, a scegliere uno dei mondi e a soggiornare comodamente in quello, senza cercare contatto con i parlanti delle altre lingue, meno conosciute.

Per questo dico - provocatoriamente - che a Bolzano la separazione è contagiosa. In un numero del giornale degli studenti della LUB, il FLYER, uno studente osserva:

"Una vita universitaria divisa in due, organi di rappresentanza degli studenti dominati dagli stranieri, quota di sudtirolesi ...scarso spirito studentesco comune ... Il vero problema dell'Unibz: la frattura tra gruppi... ci si tranquillizza con luoghi comuni di bassa lega, manca lo spirito del capirsi sul serio vicendevolmente, occorre un pensiero aperto e riflessivo sull'altro: bisogna discutere e pensare insieme sulle lacune dell'attuale stare insieme" (*giugno 2007, pg 21; testo originale in tedesco, traduzione mia*)

2. Secondo paradosso: principianti all'università

Un altro grosso problema è costituito da una rilevante percentuale di studenti che arriva a frequentare un'università trilingue senza i prerequisiti linguistici necessari per poter veramente partecipare alle attività previste da una normale vita accademica.

La questione più acuta viene posta dai principianti assoluti che si presentano a ottobre con l'aspettativa di riuscire, con l'aiuto di un corso del Centro linguistico di 80/90 ore circa, a frequentare con successo corsi come quello di Diritto Privato e magari anche a laurearsi entro i tre anni previsti dal corso di studi.

I ripetuti tentativi, da parte degli insegnanti di lingua del Centro linguistico, di comunicare ai responsabili di facoltà che, nel caso di principianti assoluti in una delle lingue di insegnamento previste, sarebbe opportuno un semestre dedicato esclusivamente alla formazione linguistica in modo da mantenere a un livello soddisfacente l'insegnamento delle discipline, non hanno ancora ottenuto risultati rilevanti, tranne che nel caso della Facoltà di Design e Arti. Per questa facoltà è stato concordato un percorso di accoglienza linguistica che offre 100 ore di corso estivo, 120 ore durante il primo semestre, 40 ore di corso intensivo a febbraio + altre eventuali 46 ore di corso nel secondo semestre (in totale 306 ore).

L'altra difficoltà è costituita dalle aspettative e credenze di una parte di studenti, convinti che la responsabilità del loro processo d' apprendimento sia da attribuire esclusivamente ai docenti e che per imparare l'italiano occorra imparare delle regole e delle parole e poi metterle insieme. A ciò si aggiunge il fatto che il tempo che ognuno dedica all'apprendimento linguistico tende a coincidere con quello delle ore di lezione. A questo punto al Centro linguistico abbiamo cominciato a chiederci cosa facessero i ragazzi per imparare meglio e come utilizzassero altre risorse presenti all'università e sul territorio.

2.1. *Questionario su autoapprendimento*

Per avviare una riflessione e discussione su questi temi abbiamo iniziato – come coordinatrici didattiche di italiano, tedesco e inglese – un'azione di sensibilizzazione all'autoapprendimento, a partire da un questionario di rilevazione sulle azioni intraprese autonomamente da uno studente del primo anno per imparare la lingua ed esercitarla fuori dalla classe.

Per quanto riguarda l'italiano, il questionario è stato somministrato dai docenti all'inizio dei corsi obbligatori del secondo semestre (febbraio 2007), anche per favorire una presa di coscienza della necessità del lavoro autonomo e discutere insieme proposte alternative. Hanno risposto 78 studenti del primo anno (Facoltà: 48 Economia, 24 Design, 3 Ingegneria, 3 Formazione)

E non sono mancate per noi le sorprese! Proverò a riportare brevemente le risposte risultate per noi più sorprendenti:

Oltre al corso

Alla domanda "*cosa faccio in italiano, oltre al corso*" hanno risposto:

- conoscenze occasionali, tempo libero, feste e serate: 16/78
- coinquilini/casa studente: 19/78
- spese/ordinazioni al bar: 29/78

Ben 15 su 78 non hanno fatto nessuna escursione nel resto d'Italia e solo in 5 si sono avventurati fino alla vicina città di Trento, mentre 5 sono andati al Garda, dove si parla tranquillamente in tedesco.

Lettura

- Solo 9 su 78 hanno letto spesso articoli tratti dalla stampa italiana
- 23 su 78 hanno letto ogni tanto qualcosa, nessuno ha letto fumetti
- 6 su 78 hanno letto un libro, 4 due libri, 2 alcuni libri.

Media

Poco popolare anche il cinema: solo 10 su 78 hanno profittato delle proiezioni in lingua italiana che vengono offerte a Bolzano.

Un po' meglio i DVD (che si potevano prendere gratuitamente al Centro linguistico): 6 su 78 li hanno usati spesso e 11 ogni tanto.

Sorprendentemente radio e musica non sono stati utilizzati quasi da nessuno come strumenti per l'acquisizione linguistica, mentre la TV ha totalizzato 39 interessati, di cui 14 hanno guardato prevalentemente i TG e 14 film e telefilm.

Uno dei dati che ci ha più sorpreso è però stato quello dei 16 studenti su 78 che non hanno mai usato Internet per l'italiano, a fronte dei 6 o 7 che hanno cercato qualche informazione o consultato siti sportivi.

Tandem

Una certa delusione è risultata per noi dal fatto che, nonostante tutti gli sforzi che facciamo durante i corsi intensivi per abbinare studenti di due lingue in modo che imparino le tecniche dello scambio in tandem, in realtà solo 8 hanno risposto che continuano autonomamente. Abbiamo inoltre rilevato una notevole confusione metodologica sul concetto del lavoro in tandem, ridotto da qualcuno a due chiacchiere in corridoio.

Tutte queste osservazioni sono sostanzialmente confermate anche dagli studenti dei corsi di tedesco che danno risposte speculari. Ad esempio: neppure uno dei 19 studenti che ha risposto al questionario di tedesco ha mai pensato di fare una gita a Innsbruck, la più vicina città in cui si possa vivere l'esperienza di immersione nella cultura austriaca.

3. Terzo paradosso: i giovani e la rete

Attraverso il questionario e le successive discussioni nelle classi ci siamo rese conto che la dimestichezza dei giovani con Internet non è sempre un presupposto su cui contare e per di più, nel caso in cui ci sia, non viene automaticamente trasferita allo studio linguistico.

Nel 2007 Francesca Helm, del CLA di Padova, ha svolto un sondaggio tra 457 studenti del primo anno e ha acutamente osservato come le conoscenze informatiche da parte degli studenti non vadano presupposte, ma supportate e in molti casi introdotte.

Possiamo fare tesoro di alcune osservazioni emerse da quello studio:

- sono impopolari tra gli studenti le attività solitarie al computer come gli esercizi interattivi, gli esercizi su ricorrenze e le ricerche in internet

- risultano più motivanti attività collaborative e socializzanti
- non vogliono aumentare i tempi da dedicare al lavoro supportato da tecnologie e non intendono rinunciare a attività in presenza e in gruppo.

Una risposta da parte nostra potrebbe essere quella di dedicare del tempo a orientare e introdurre alle opportunità che offre la rete per chi studia lingue. Un possibile mini-seminario:

- orientamento su risorse per la lingua
- esplorazione siti della cultura quotidiana
- creazione di attività didattiche sui media online, strutturando anche appositi fogli di lavoro.

4. Che fare?

Come controproposta ai punti deboli individuati tramite i questionari e in seguito alle discussioni tra i docenti del Centro linguistico abbiamo pensato di doverci muovere in diverse direzioni. Dal punto di vista della vita universitaria sono continuate le azioni di sensibilizzazione promosse dal Gruppo di lavoro lingue (in collaborazione con il Centro di Ricerca Lingue della LUB): la guida *Chaospilot* scritta da studenti per dare informazioni utili all'inserimento universitario, l'azione *Libri liberi*, che mette a disposizione libri nelle tre lingue per scambi gratuiti, e tutte le altre possibili iniziative per promuovere le lingue.

Ci si è mossi per convincere la direzione degli studentati a non separare per lingua i loro ospiti, favorendo un benefico "miscuglio", che consenta e agevoli gli scambi tra diverse culture, dato che l'abitare insieme è risultato uno dei momenti interculturali più produttivi e concreti.

Per sensibilizzare invece la città di Bolzano/Bozen abbiamo posto le basi per un'azione estiva, nel corso della quale gli studenti nuovi arrivati riceveranno in omaggio magliette con la scritta: "*Parlami in italiano!*" o "*Sprich mit mir auf Deutsch!*", a seconda della lingua che dovrebbero esercitare.

Inoltre è allo studio un modo per far conoscere i casi "*happy end*", e cioè usare come *testimonial* gli studenti che ce l'hanno fatta a imparare bene le lingue, in modo che si parli anche dei successi e dei buoni esempi e non sempre e solo di difficoltà e problemi. Imparare lingue può essere bello e divertente, oltre che utile.

4.1. *Consulenza linguistica*

Su un altro piano, invece, abbiamo impegnato tutto il Centro linguistico nella promozione di consapevolezza e responsabilità in ogni studente rispetto al proprio apprendimento in modo da contrastare la tendenza alla mentalità scolastica e passiva.

Per quanto riguarda gli insegnanti abbiamo avviato una serie di riflessioni sulla trasparenza metodologica in aula e sulla funzione di consulenza linguistica personalizzata fuori aula, per cui l'insegnante diventa un consulente e un punto di riferimento per individuare diversi possibili percorsi d'apprendimento.

Questo lavoro è ancora in corso e avviene anche tramite corsi di formazione in cui i maggiori esperti europei nel campo dell' autoapprendimento vengono a portarci le loro esperienze in proposito e a discutere con noi possibili modelli per l'università trilingue. Finora sono venute Karin Kleppin dalla Ruhr-Universität Bochum, Marina Mozzon-McPherson- dalla University of Hull e Giovanna Tassinari dalla Freie Universität Berlin.

Sono allo studio eventuali piccoli *workshop* nelle 3 lingue sulle strategie di studio, da offrire all'inizio dell'anno accademico, ad esempio sull'organizzazione del tempo, su come prendere appunti o consultare il vocabolario. Alcuni di noi hanno anche seguito corsi di formazione sul *self access* e sull'insegnamento delle lingue in piattaforma *e-learning*; ma per questo tipo di attività al momento mancano le risorse informatiche necessarie e un server dedicato del Centro linguistico.

A livello sperimentale abbiamo provato anche a razionalizzare la comunicazione tra i docenti del centro tramite una piattaforma *Moodle,* sulla quale abbiamo creato una borsa idee tandem e una raccolta di risorse didattiche in rete, in modo da scambiarci con facilità fogli di lavoro e spunti per lezioni.

4.2. *Nei corsi*

Come docenti dei corsi di lingua, inoltre, ci siamo proposti di favorire una maggior trasparenza metodologica, cercando di far capire come le tecniche di lavoro praticate in aula possano costituire un modello di attività trasferibile nella vita esterna.

All'inizio di un nuovo percorso promuoviamo qualche semplice attività di autovalutazione e riflessione sul proprio modo di apprendere e sui diversi stili cognitivi.

Per rispondere alla scarsa abitudine alla lettura in lingua originale - ad esempio - ci muoviamo su due fronti:

A. esercitare al lavoro con testi autentici e complessi, attivando strategie di inferenza e comprensione globale
B. mettere più letture a disposizione, rifornendo la biblioteca universitaria di set di libri e libretti, anche semplificati, in modo da introdurre alla lettura fin dai primi livelli.

Un altro punto forte consiste nell'offrire occasioni di esperienze in tandem nei corsi di italiano e di tedesco. Questa pratica funziona al meglio nei corsi intensivi estivi, in cui possiamo disporre di gruppi paralleli negli stessi orari, mentre durante l'anno accademico la richiesta da parte delle facoltà di tenere i corsi di lingua in limitate fasce orarie non ci lascia una cornice temporale adeguata per questo tipo di attività.

Sotto la guida di due insegnanti abbinati (uno di italiano e uno di tedesco) gli studenti fanno attività in coppie e piccoli gruppi, svolgendo una fase di lavoro completamente in italiano e un'altra fase, della stessa durata, solamente in tedesco.

Queste attività, in cui si lavora in coppia con un madrelingua della lingua che si sta imparando, dovrebbe familiarizzare gli apprendenti con attività di scambio linguistico in tandem, da svolgere anche fuori dal corso. Stranamente però sono pochi quelli che riescono ad attuare questo *transfer*. In aula i docenti controllano i tempi, le fasi di lavoro e il ruolo del madrelingua-consulente; fuori aula sono pochi quelli che riescono a lavorare con una certa disciplina e costanza, applicando correttamente il metodo.

A questo riguardo il Centro linguistico dovrebbe impiegare risorse e offrire regolare consulenza linguistica alle coppie tandem, coordinando e supportando questo tipo di lavoro autonomo.

4.3. *PARLAMI...SPEAK TO ME... SPRICH MIT MIR...*

Alle discussioni metodologiche abbiamo affiancato la produzione di una sorta di *vademecum* sulle strategie di apprendimento autonomo delle lingue, in cui proporre diversi modi di rapportarsi al territorio e allo studio al di là dei corsi istituzionali. Si tratta di una sorta di “Fai da te”: un invito a provare e rischiare di più, a personalizzare l’apprendimento, a confrontarsi con la cultura del quotidiano oltre che con le tradizioni didattiche. Per rendere gli stimoli più “appetitosi” il libriccino è stato corredato di fumetti e progettato in formato tascabile con grafica colorata e accattivante.

Vi si trovano consigli sui modi di esercitare le varie abilità linguistiche, sulla “cassetta degli attrezzi” da procurarsi per organizzare al meglio lo studio, sui siti per l’autovalutazione e l’individuazione del proprio stile d’apprendimento e sulle risorse in rete e nel territorio.

ASCOLTO

Il mio archivio di suoni

Registra persone di madrelingua che parlano e costituisci un capitale di testi da riascoltare più volte

Procurati CD audio di corsi di lingua che utilizzano materiali autentici e ascoltali ripetutamente.

Canzoni

Fatti consigliare cantanti e gruppi, procurati i Cd audio e ascoltali quando corri o sei in viaggio. Impara a memoria i testi che ti piacciono e canta i ritornelli ad alta voce quando sei da solo/a.

Oltre che nei libretti che accompagnano i Cd puoi trovare i testi su diversi siti, reperibili anche usando un motore di ricerca.

Giornali Radio e TeleGiornali
Sui siti della radio tedesca (Deutsche Welle), inglese (BBC) italiana (RAI) trovi le edizioni dei giornali radio e dei telegiornali. Clicca sull'icona altoparlante e ascolta più volte, cercando di cogliere le parole-chiave. Aiutati con la prima pagina dei giornali stampati o *online*, le notizie si ripetono continuamente.

Trasmissioni in Podcast e Blog
Se hai un lettore MP3 scaricati i *podcast* delle trasmissioni che ti interessano e ascoltali ripetutamente, ad esempio mentre corri al parco.
Ci sono anche blog interessanti reperibili persino sulle pagine dei quotidiani online.

Sottotitoli
Ci sono film in DVD che trovi in prestito in biblioteca, da consultare al Centro linguistico o da comprare nelle edicole. Spesso ci sono offerte a buon prezzo insieme a riviste o quotidiani. Guarda e ascolta alcune scene ripetutamente, prima con i sottotitoli e poi senza.

Fig. 1 – Una pagina del vademecum

SCOPRIRE LINGUE NEL TERRITORIO

Queste pagine sono solo un impulso a guardarsi intorno: vai a cercare persone di altre lingue dappertutto, non solo all'università: farai parecchie scoperte.

La città-vocabolario
Basta aprire gli occhi per trovare dappertutto scritte bilingui: manifesti, avvisi, graffiti, regolamenti, pubblicità, menù... Un'idea potrebbe essere quella di memorizzare giorno per giorno le frasi e le parole utili.

Centri multilingui
Al Centro Trevi a Bolzano e presso la Mediateca a Merano puoi trovare riviste, video, materiali didattici, mostre e iniziative per il plurilinguismo.

Altri studenti in più lingue
Anche la scuola di cinema Zelig e la scuola Claudiana (per infermieri, dietisti, fisioterapisti e altre professioni paramediche) offrono i loro insegnamenti in almeno due lingue ai loro studenti.

Teatro, Cinema, Spettacoli
Nei cartelloni teatrali e cinematografici si possono trovare spettacoli sia in italiano che in tedesco; il Filmclub e il Centro Trevi offrono anche rassegne in altre lingue

Associazioni culturali e sportive
Perché non iscriversi a fare ginnastica, sport o ballo con una associazione di una lingua diversa dalla tua? Oltretutto è un occasione per conoscere persone diverse.

Librerie e biblioteche
Libri e riviste sono reperibili persino nei bar, ma naturalmente anche nelle tante biblioteche sparse in tutto l'Alto Adige. Alcune librerie vendono libri in più lingue e procurano in pochi giorni quel che manca in scaffale

Mercati

Fare la spesa alle bancarelle del mercato ambulante è un'esperienza interculturale: si trovano i prodotti tipici dei contadini sudtirolesi e quelli di tutte le regioni italiane. E dunque l'occasione di scambiare quattro parole nella lingua che usi meno.

Gite fuori provincia

Ci vuole poco per arrivare in treno a Trento, a Rovereto, a Verona o a Venezia e passare una giornata di immersione completa nella cultura quotidiana di una città italiana. Per il tedesco basta spostarsi a Innsbruck per ritrovarsi in una deliziosa cittadina austriaca e respirarne l'atmosfera linguistica e culturale. E per l'inglese provate a prendere qualche volo Low Cost verso…

Fig. 2 – Una pagina del vademecum

5. Paradosso finale

Per concludere questa sintetica rassegna in cui ho provato a elencare le iniziative e le riflessioni cui i docenti del Centro linguistico dedicano tempo ed energia, allo scopo di sostenere percorsi di apprendimento personalizzati da parte degli studenti, devo però citare anche la principale difficoltà che incontriamo: esiste anche un tipo di studente che non ha la minima voglia di essere autonomo e pretende di imparare senza dedicare alla lingua né tempo né fatica; in quel caso avremmo bisogno della bacchetta magica, che purtroppo non abbiamo in dotazione.

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Which (New) Role for Self-access Centres?

Paola Vettorel – University of Verona

We cannot teach a language. We can only provide the conditions in which a language can be learnt.

Wilhelm von Humboldt

This paper aims at exploring the important role self-access centres can have in supporting students, especially incoming and outgoing mobility ones, in a multilingual higher education context. Self-access centres as a support to autonomous learning have been an established reality for many years. In a constantly growing bi- and multi-lingual higher education context the need to support students in their process of language learning, especially as concerning specific academic subjects, appears fundamental. This is especially true for mobility students, who directly experience academic education in a foreign language attending courses as part of their programme in a foreign university. Another relevant aspect in bi- and multilingual higher education settings is the fact that competence in more than one language is becoming a widespread reality, representing thus a possible cognitive resource upon which to draw to develop language awareness and therefore better competence.

SAC centres could integrate more general language learning aims with the specific needs of students having to use English and other foreign languages as a medium of instruction. These developments could include not only measures aimed at language awareness and study skills, but more specifically materials targeted at the subjects taught in a second or foreign language. These measures can see the development of initial and ongoing moments of training, integrated by self-study modules specifically-focused on the language and discourse of disciplines (Language for Academic Purposes). These measures could also be implemented with the support of new technologies, from the creation of learning objects aimed at the specificity of LAP, to an interactive and reflective use of blogs to foster and support the above processes.

Keywords: learner autonomy, self-access centres, language for academic purposes, mobility students, CALL

1. Autonomy and self-access centres (SAC)

This paper examines the role SACs can have in supporting language learning in multilingual university contexts, which are becoming a growing reality also due to students mobility processes. In particular we will look at the role that SACs and ICT can have in developing support measures for Language for Academic Purposes.

The concept of autonomy in language teaching and learning has been a main area of research for more than three decades, and in this context the focus on self-access centres has developed particularly in the 80s and 90s. A self-access centre "can be broadly defined as any purpose-designed facility in which learning resources are made directly available to learners" (Benson 2001: 114). SACs have very often been seen as the most direct realization of autonomous learning and sometimes the two terms have come to be considered synonymous. SACs, however, are only one of the possible environment in which learners' autonomy can be fostered -

classroom, CALL, distance and tandem learning being other main areas of development and application. Many teachers and practitioners have in fact come into contact with the idea of autonomy and autonomous learning through the philosophy of self-access. Catering for individual needs and differences in learning styles, the promotion of independent learning through the development of personal and effective learning strategies, together with the expanding role of technology in education have made self-access centres a widespread practice since the 80s, particularly in university contexts. The aim has been that of creating an environment where autonomy could be practiced by students through the use of the resources made available. SACs have represented "a pragmatic solution to the problem of diversity of need", calling however for "an ideological change in the way the educational process is viewed" (Sheerin 1997: 54) in the roles of teachers and learners.

Self-access centres, which can be organised in different ways and models[1], traditionally include a collection of materials, both authentic and specifically created for language learning (textbooks, cassettes, videos/DVDs and CdRoms), often accompanied by purposely created activities to work on. In most cases the equipment includes a number of video, satellite and PC stations. The materials are arranged and designed so that students can decide and choose independently[2] which ones and which tasks are more relevant to their needs[3]. In SACs it is the very learning resources that can guide the learner through a process of autonomy, combining progress in language use and in learning skills: "by its nature, self-access work can provide a context for helping to nurture students gradually from a state of dependence on external support (e.g. from the teacher) towards a greater capacity to act independently in their learning and (by extension, we hope) in other aspects of their learning" (Littlewood 1997: 99).

Many SAC centres have included in the operational staff the figure of a 'language adviser', otherwise called 'language consultant', 'facilitator' or 'counsellor'. As the last term clearly suggests, the main role of the language adviser is that of counselling the students in designing and organizing their individual paths, helping them to identify and clarify needs and goals. In some contexts this function is carried out by teachers themselves (Gardner & Miller 1999), even though the two roles are different; it is therefore a cooperation in aims and approaches between the two figures that can lead to best results (see also Sheering 1997). The specific role of an advisor allows her/him to elicit information (aims, needs, wishes) from the learner, to suggest possible options for work and material to be used, to offer alternative procedures. A language adviser is essentially a mentor[4], who offers his/her expert

1 See Gardner & Miller (1999) for a wider presentation of different models.

2 And/or under the guidance of teachers and counsellors.

3 "Research suggests that, in the more successful centres, a considerable portion of the resources belong to the self-access system and that these are often integrated with language-learning resources so that they are available to learners at appropriate phases of learning" (Benson 2001: 120).

4 "One of the qualities of a good adviser is not to impose or prescribe fixed parameters, but ask and trigger replies and solutions from the learners, which function best on the learner's own terms – however innovative or traditional" (Mozzon-McPherson 2007: 75).

assistance in counselling techniques to help learners find a personal autonomous language learning path, starting from a reflection on beliefs, attitudes and personal learning styles, towards the identification of needs and objectives[5].

2. Mobility students, bi- and multilingual contexts and autonomy: new areas and contents for SACs?

In European universities mobility programmes are having a growing impact: the Erasmus European programme has feasted its twentieth anniversary[6] in 2007 accounting for more than one million students who have benefited from mobility measures, involving 2.200 universities in 31 countries. Higher education students mobility has also been one of the main aims of the Bologna process, and numbers are bound to increase both within the European Union and at an international level (cf. e. g. Graddol 2006).

Mobility has positively affected higher education both in terms of incoming and of outgoing students, who attend language and academic courses in Italian or in foreign higher education institutions. In most cases students receive a language preparation before leaving their home country[7], which is then implemented and improved attending language courses in the hosting institution; as concerning Italy this aspect is usually taken care of by the University Language Centre units. During their mobility stay both incoming and outgoing students are required to attend academic courses, too, which are generally held in the language of the hosting institution or, in some cases, using English or other languages as a lingua franca[8].

The area in which learner autonomy, especially as concerning SACs, has been extensively practiced and documented is mainly that of language learning i. e. the four skills (reading, writing, listening and to a certain extent speaking[9]), vocabulary and morpho-syntactical structures. The wide literature presents case studies and suggestions both related to pedagogical and to authentic materials, their possible use and implementation, organization and use (see amongst others Little 1991; Sheerin 1989; Gardner & Miller 1999; Benson 2001; Brookes & Grundy 1988). The same can be said about learner training in strategies and learning skills, both related to autonomous and individual learning in SACs and within classroom contexts (Sheerin 1989; Gardner & Miller 1999; Benson 2001; Benson & Voller 1997; Mariani & Pozzo 2002; Vinkelvleugel, Lotovale & Jones-Parry 2004; Agota & Szabò 2000).

5 See also Riley (1997); Vinkelvleugel, Lotovale & Jones-Parry (2004); Gardner & Miller (1999); Mozzon-McPherson (2007), not last for specific training suggestions for language consultants.

6 See http://ec.europa.eu/education/news/erasmus20_en.html.

7 The language spoken in the country where mobility students spend their Erasmus period is not necessarily that which had been previously learnt at school, a fact with educational implications in language instruction; Cf. also Hawkins (1999: 138).

8 This is becoming more and more widespread also in Italian Universities: a research carried out by CRUI within the Marco Polo project has shown that 41 out of 77 Italian Universities have activated Academic courses in English http://www.crui.it/Internazionalizzazione/link/?ID=2166.

9 This area is not always easy to be catered for in SACs at an individual level; it could however be included in group work learning paths.

2.1. *Bi- and multilingual contexts: the role of language awareness*

Due to the increasing process of mobility and internationalisation bi- and multilingualism are becoming more and more the norm within higher education contexts, also as a reflection of the shift in language competence which sees bilingualism, particularly as concerning English as an international language, as a growing reality (see amongst others Graddol 2006; Jenkins 2003). Bi- and multilingual competence in language learning/teaching processes cannot any longer be ignored or considered as a side factor; it should be acknowledged and valued, particularly in terms of *language awareness,* intended as the interaction between implicit, internalised processes of learning and explicit ones, involving both a focus on language and a cognitive reflection on it at a pedagogical level.

> "In vocabulary and grammar learning, learners should be encouraged to make use of all the knowledge at their disposal, including knowledge of other languages, especially their mother tongue. Comparing patterns of regularity in the target language with patterns of regularity in the mother tongue can be one of the most effective routes to understanding. Moreover, learners should be encouraged to explore the usefulness of these analytic learning strategies as aids to communication" (Little 1991: 55).

In other words, in the processes of learning to learn and of learning a foreign language, conscious reflection and comparison should be encouraged in order to derive from patterns of regularities and differences useful strategies of analytical organization that may be helpful also in the field of autonomy[10]. Learner training both at a strategy and at a language awareness level go hand in hand and can give a significant contribution to the development of autonomy, particularly in multilingual contexts (see also James & Garret 199; Dickinson 1988; Vettorel 2007). By "helping learners to develop such cognitive skills as connecting, generalizing, and hypothesizing, and helping learners to become independent, with positive attitudes towards the language and to learning the language beyond the classroom" (Bolitho *et al.* 2003:252) long-term skills in autonomous learning can be fostered. In this sense a language awareness approach can offer an important tool in the development of a strategic language learner, creating situations where

> "we will no longer measure effectiveness in the apprenticeship in the foreign language by mere ability 'to survive' in a series of situations, but by how the foreign language experience contributes to learning *how to learn* through language, and to confidence as a (mathetic) language user" (Hawkins 1999: 138).

Learning how to learn aiming at autonomy involves thus both cognitive and metacognitive aspects: becoming and being aware of one's processes, attitudes and strategies in the first, second or/and third language is a fundamental step to become a competent multilingual speaker.

10 Mariani defines this process as "*transfer cycle* – experiencing problems and solutions in one language, reflecting on them, and then reactivating our knowledge, skills and attitudes with a different task, but not necessarily in the same language" (2006: 8).

2.2. *Language for Academic Purposes*

The increasing presence of mobility students in universities seems also to set new needs not only in terms of language learning strategies: the academic courses these students attend during their stay are held in the language of the hosting institution or, in some cases, in a lingua franca, usually English. Academic discourse presents a high level of specificity which is related to the different disciplines and concerns not only aspects of language (vocabulary), but also its organization and peculiarities within national university institutions[11]. Subject teachers and tutors are not always fully aware of the difficulties that students may meet from a linguistic point of view in attending academic courses, and often focus more on content than on language; they may be "linguistically unaware and cannot always distinguish a poorly conceived idea from an idea that is expressed through inadequate English" (Jordan 1997: 48). English for Academic Purpose[12] teachers, on the other hand, "have long recognized the importance of learner training. Some EAP teachers would go so far as to claim that EAP is principally a matter of learner training in an appropriate set of study skills" (Brookes & Grundy 1988: 4). As Jordan points out:

"many students, whose mother-tongue is not English, already possess study skills to an advanced level in their own language. They may simply need help to transfer their skills into English and, possibly, to adjust them to a different academic environment. However, they may need help with the other elements of EAP, e.g. style. Equally, there will be many students who do *not* already practise study skills efficiently in their own language or in their own country, or who do not possess all the study skills needed for effective study through the medium of English" (Jordan 1997: 5)[13].

*English for Academic Purpose*s can in a bi- and multilingual context be redefined as *Language for Academic Purposes* (LAP), relating it to the specificities of disciplines discourse in general and in different languages. In Jordan (1997: 44-47) a series of problematic areas are identified as concerning UK Universities, which appear to have much in common with mobility students, too as the main areas of perceived difficulty refer to participation in seminars, written work, oral expression, taking lecture notes, understanding lectures and reading at an adequate speed[14] - the ones involved while attending academic courses.

Referring to their experience at a British University, Bloor & Bloor have commented: "in our experience, very few learners embark on a course of study with a clear un-

11 See e. g. the interview with a British student published in *PassAteneo* Verona University Anno 1 (3), June 2007; L. Haxhitasimi, "Student voice" and M. Lenoir "Il programma Erasmus, un'esperienza accademica, linguistica e interculturale per lo studente", papers delivered at the XI Seminario AICLU, 19-20 January 2007, Università della Calabria, http://cla.unical.it/xiseminarioaiclu/seminario.asp.

12 Jordan (1997: 2-6) defines English for Academic Purposes as a sub-branch of English for General Purposes (EGP) and of English for Special Purposes (ESP), identifying in EAP two main sub-categories: ESAP (English for Specific Academic Purposes) related to the different specific disciplines areas, e.g. medicine, engineering, economics, and EGAP (English for General Academic Purposes), concerned with more general skills connected to the academic setting such as listening and note-taking, academic writing, reference skills, seminars and discussions.

13 The study skills as identified by Jordan are referred to eight main areas: lectures/talks, seminars/tutorials/discussions/supervision, practicals/laboratory work/field work, private study/reading, reference material/library use, essay/reports/projects/case studies/dissertations/theses/research papers/articles, research, examinations (written and oral) (ivi: 7-8), and their development is seen as a necessary step to success in the academic world.

14 Ranked in their perceived order of difficulty.

derstanding of how to define the knowledge that they hope or expect to acquire" (1988: 62). The same can very likely be said about many students, including mobility ones. The development of Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) is in fact a distinct area of competence from that of the Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills[15], and it needs to be looked at and developed through specific training and support.

2.3. *Possible models from practice*

Literature related to English-speaking higher education contexts presents a number of good practices which can constitute a starting point to develop support for bi- and multilingual mobility students and settings. One example is the experience reported by Bloor & Bloor (1988: 62-74) at the Universities of Aston and Warwick where individual programmes through consultation and syllabus negotiation gave positive results, especially as this measure

> "increases students' understanding of the nature of language in use and of the learning process; it helps them to become aware of the facilities available in the immediate context of society; it improves the ability to formulate their learning goals, and, above all, it enables them to begin to take control of their own learning, breaking out the cocoon of the dependence on the teacher" (ivi: 73)[16].

Another valuable model could be that proposed by Cotteral[17] (1995), where five elements intermingle in the aim of developing both language learning and autonomy: learner/teacher dialogue, learning a language study theme, classroom tasks and materials, student record booklet and use of the self-access centre, all contributing to successful learning. In a further development of this scheme (2000), Cotteral includes the following principles as fundamental in language course design: learner goals, the language learning process, tasks, learner strategies and reflection on learning, documenting that such a designed course, which

> "helped learners understand and manage their learning in a way which contributed to their performance in specific language tasks, [...] resulted in an unprecedented level of motivation, [...] learners reported using 'course' strategies outside class [...] and provided the learners with a model for solving their own problems" (2000: 115).

She makes also the same points concerning academic writing courses, where reflection is seen as a very important element, together with the promotion of personalised goals for students and the alignment of course goals with 'real world' goals" (2004: 4-5).

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15 As defined by Cummins (1979; 1984).

16 See also the experiences reported by Houghton, Long and Fanning (1988: 75-87), where a tutor supported students in a writing, in a remedial EAP and in a one-to-one courses, continuously adjusting their role and action to the needs of the learners.

17 Reporting about a course run at the English language Institute in the Victoria University of Wellington (New Zealand).

A further interesting example[18] is the “20-credit first-year module *Managing Language Learning@University”* focusing on the development of learning strategies in selected areas: vocabulary, use of dictionaries, listening and speaking, essay writing, reading, time and resource management” (Mozzon-McPherson 2007: 73). The SAC centre of Hull University, where the project is set, also put into practice workshops on specific areas of language learning including

> “planning a language task, monitoring progress and self-evaluation, time and resource management, negotiating expectations, improving listening skills, making the most of the news, using the Internet for language learning, understanding grammar, vocabulary building and mnemonic strategies” (ivi: 78).

Such patterns could be well exported and adapted to other more specific language, LAP and skills areas in order to provide a scaffolding framework of reference for autonomous learning and use of tools.

3. LAP, study skills and self access centres

A new and complementary role for Language and SAC centres in our universities could therefore be that of implementing and coordinating efforts is setting up activities aimed at giving mobility incoming and outgoing students a training service in study skills for academic purposes. As we have seen, content subject teachers often perceive themselves as in charge of content, not of language, language awareness or specific study skills. Language centres, and in particular SACs, appear to have the ideal institutional and training role and function to take care of these cross- disciplinary and cross-language areas, which are complementary to language learning and constitute an important integration in a bi- and multilingual changing reality.

Procedures similar to those devised to support students in language learning as briefly outlined in the previous paragraphs (see also Sheerin 198; Little 1991; Gardner & Miller 199; Agota & Szabò 2000) could meet this aim: first of all a phase where needs are identified through interviews with a counsellor and orientation sessions in the Language and in the SAC centres; then module short courses (6-8 lessons) could be set up in order to develop these necessary basic strategies and skills. These could include listening skills, as fundamental in order to follow lectures effectively (e.g. taking notes in a foreign language or listening selectively); development of language awareness, especially with scientific disciplines but not only (specific vocabulary, genre and text analysis), with attention to similarities and differences in two or more languages. Module courses focusing on productive skills could follow: oral skills as a support to oral presentations and exams, and writing skills for academic writing[19]. Listening and reading skills, with a specific attention to vocabulary development, are the areas where SAC centres could play a major role in devising materials to be used in autonomy by single or groups of students, possibly linked to class instruction. Listening and reading activities based on subject ma-

18 Though especially related to strategies and language learning planning, this experience can be of notable relevance as a possible model.

19 See also the key areas to reinforce skills and strategies proposed by Jordan (1997).

terials developing the more specific skills needed for academic language, as mentioned, could follow the pattern of General English Self-access activities[20].

In developing support activities for LAP, methodologies used in CLIL approaches could constitute a powerful tool, e.g. including in the training process activities aimed at teaching and reinforcing comprehension strategies such as skimming and scanning, prediction/expectancy grammar, inferring strategies both as concerning the context and unknown vocabulary, identifying cohesive elements, etc.[21] These strategies could be developed both within formal instruction situations in Language Centres and in more autonomous learning in SACs, e.g. through explicit presentation of guided comprehension strategies[22] as they can activate pre-existing knowledge involving any language known by the learner[23].

4. CALL and LAP: learning objects and blogs

The development that new language learning environments and CALL have had in the last decade[24] makes them an ideal pedagogic context where to develop measures to foster autonomous learning. Parallel to the above actions of support in Language and SAC centres, the creation of learning objects[25] (LOs) in the various academic subjects can constitute a further tool aimed at supporting the specificity of the disciplines' discourses. Quite a few Language Centres in Italian universities are moving in this direction, e.g. *Università della Calabria,* CELBA at *Istituto Universitario delle Scienze Motorie* in Rome, CLA at Siena University, CLA at Padua University[26], which have all produced interesting results in the field of language learning.

LOs and self-instructional materials specifically aimed at LAP activities can be developed taking into account methodologies and characteristics they share with language learning materials, while focusing on the specificity of academic discourse

20 For more detailed activities see also Jordan (1997 :255, 266); Agotà Szabò (2000: 34-35, 45, 55, 65-66, 73-76, 86, 91-92, 94).

21 Which has been strongly supported also by EU specific research projects. For a complete range of activities and strategies see Coonan (2002) Chapters 6 and 7.

22 See also Little (1991: 52-55) for valuable tools in an analytic approach to learning strategies support, and Wright & Bolitho (1993) Appendix II.

23 According to the schema theory, activities aimed at a deliberate schema activation and schema creation (Little 1997: 227) can help the learner to build and use repeatable comprehension and prediction strategies. See also Little (1991, 1997) for activities aiming at exploitation of authentic materials.

24 See also Gollin (2002, 2003).

25 A learning object is a digital self-contained unit of material, usually interactive, which can be used on its own to support a specific section of learning. A LO is characterized by flexibility and reusability in supporting learning in different contexts; its main pedagogic aim is that of promoting learning about a specific subject, either using a LO on its own as a small learning chunk or connecting it in chain with other LOs to constitute a module. Learning objects can be made available in repositories (digital libraries) to be used independently and autonomously by learners: being self contained, they cater for all learning phases, including self-assessment. Alternatively, they can be used in blended learning modality or in e-learning platforms and integrated with forums, blogs and other interactive and collaborative asynchronous activities. See also Fini & Vanini (2004).

26 See the papers presented at the XI Seminario AICLU, 19-20 January 2007, Università della Calabria http://cla.unical.it/xiseminarioaiclu/seminario.asp and at the V Convegno AICLU – 24-26 May 2007 Università di Parma, and Argondizzo & Jimenez in this volume.

particularly as concerning vocabulary, reading strategies, writing organization[27]. The material to be developed should have characteristics of interest, clarity and meaningfulness for students, possibly with differentiated texts and topics for various disciplines (ESAP), not last in order to boost motivation. Learning objectives should be clearly stated, with meaningful language and content input, varied exercises, materials and activities. LOs should be characterized by flexibility and include clearly stated learning instructions, language and content learning advice, feedback and tests. As for more general strategies (EGAP), guidance could be given about record keeping, use of reference material, indexing, advice about progression (cf. Dickinson 1987 as cited in Benson 2001: 127), including note-taking both for oral and written material.

The field of new information technologies as a support to language learning, and particularly of Computer Mediated Communication (CMC), can offer important and valuable collaborative tools both as integration to face-to-face learning, in self-access instructional material and in distant learning education. A valuable example in this case is constituted by *C.M.C. – Communicating in Multilingual Contexts*, a project devised by the University of Calabria in partnership with six European University institutions, which specifically aims at the development of academic language skills for mobility students in Europe in a multilingual friendly and supportive electronic environment[28].

4.1. *Blogs*

Blogs too can constitute an interesting development for self-access and assisted learning[29]. In educational contexts blogs can have different functions and roles: they may implement group discussions and personal reflection, be part of course materials or coursework and integrate class discussion, or even be discipline-specific[30]. CLAM, the Language Centre of the University of Messina[31] has developed a blog project which is specially devoted to the learning of English using up-to-date technologies such as podcasting. The aim is also to foster cooperative learning processes, independent learning and cognitive reflection. A further example of a learner-centred use of blogs can be that created within the University of Verona CLA website[32]: as the presentation recites, "this blog is the work of English language students living and working in Verona. We have chosen to use English as the vehicle language to make this site available to all those who want to hear about our

27 See also P. Evangelisti "Catering for the special needs of special mobility students: revisiting the roles of Language Centres", paper presented at XI Seminario AICLU, 19-20 January 2007.

28 http://www.cmcproject.it/start.asp (last accessed 27 December 2007).

29 See http://mywebspace.quinnipiac.edu/PHastings/classroom.html# for blogs across the curriculum; http://www.criticalmethods.org/collab/v.mv?d=1_30 for blogs in collaborative learning environments; http://blogdidattici.splinder.com for use of blogs in education (in Italian); last accessed 27 December 2007.

30 See Scott in http://www.edtechpost.ca/gems/matrix2.gif (last accessed 27 December 2007).

31 http://www.englishblog.it (last accessed 27 December 2007).

32 http://fermi.univr.it/cla/ This blog has been created by Sharon Hartle, who is a member of the English teaching staff at the the University of Verona CLA (last accessed 27 December 2007).

experiences of learning and using English in a comfortable, sociable environment where we learn the language whilst using it to build up our own community." This example is particularly interesting in the perspective of new roles for language centres as it contains different sections aimed not purely at language learning (a forum within the same CLA website being specifically dedicated to this), but at reflections on the process of learning and on the use of the language outside the classroom. The section named *Learning English* asks students to write about particularly memorable situations in which they used the language: "Can you remember a time during your language learning in class or outside in the "real world" when you thought to yourself "Wow! That was really interesting. I'll remember it." The *Using English - How do You use English in your daily life?* area is devoted to sharing experiences of the language outside the classroom: "Do you use English for work, for socialising or just for surfing the Internet or watching TV?". The section defined as *Burning questions - Let's help each other* is defined as "a space where we can ask each other questions and help each other. If you have a specific question about something you are studying or an insight that may be useful to everyone, let us know about it". This last space in particular is an example of how independent learning can be fostered and implemented in a collaborative environment including aspects of language awareness, metacognitive reflection and possibly of strategies implementation.

These means could overcome the use of CALL as a mere "magister" giving information and right answers; when used interactively ICT can come to play the role of "pedagogue" and offer "the learner various kinds of resources that he can draw upon as his needs develop" (Little 1991: 51). It could thus be applied also in academic subjects language learning[33], together with the creation of specific self access materials (LOs and other), as a sharing space for learning, for teacher/counsellor/tutor support and as an opportunity to overcome the isolation that individualized self-access use or distance learning may imply. Moreover, forums and blogs can represent occasions for authentic communication and sharing of learning experiences (see Benson 2001: 131-141). Using forums and blogs as a support to different aspects of learning can therefore be a positive way to integrate course and self-access materials, and to create opportunities for reflection which can help to foster autonomy, with a new and expanding role for Language and SAC centres.

5. Conclusions

Autonomy in language learning is constituted by a complex set of interwoven aspects, including cognitive and affective ones, which involve learner's control on learning content, on strategies and on language use, all at the same time. As concerning mobility students in particular, "promoting autonomy in language [and academic] learning [...] needs to take into account the cultural contexts of the language learners, to open up spaces for those learners to deal differently with the world,

33 See also Milton (1997) for support to academic writing.

to become authors of their own worlds" (Pennycook 1997: 53). This implies both guiding the learners in a process of autonomy with and through classroom, interactive and interdependent measures, and creating for them situations where they can gradually take their in-process autonomy skills outside the classroom, whether in autonomous study or in academic learning contexts. In this sense SAC centres and language counsellors can play an important *trait-d'union* role providing effective materials and appropriate counselling support methodologies.

Helping learners in self-access is not just a matter of telling them where they can lay their hands on such- and-such a piece of material; it also necessarily involves some degree of access to *self*. Language and learning are both areas which are closely related to the individual's whole personality, including his or her emotions, beliefs and values – areas which can be covered with very thin ice and where counsellors or teachers have to tread very carefully indeed" (Riley 1997: 116).

It is then not merely a matter of "what", but also of "who", with which roles and through which methodologies.

The essential characteristic of instructional programmes which foster learner autonomy is the way on which they scaffold instruction to provide guidance without assuming control of learners' decision-making: 'in order to improve individual performance, whether it is teaching or learning, we need a sense of ownership, and power, driven by an exploratory attitude and working within a curricular framework that is flexible and dynamic enough to allow for individual explorations' (Cotteral 2000: 116).

In this context Language Centres, SACs and counsellors can all play a fundamental part and "contribute to opening the doors of universities to new types of language learners" (Mazzon-McPherson 2007: 82), developing and adapting their role in response to new settings and contextual realities. In other words, catering for cognitive, affective, language and academic needs of mobility students in university Language and SAC centres means taking into account bi- and multilingual realities and adapting to the new emerging linguistic and cognitive needs by fostering support measures. This also exploiting the possibilities offered by new technologies, in order to respond to the *outside class,* real life needs, histories and realities of language mobility learners.

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Linguistische Anwendungen für eine mehrsprachige Bibliothek

Ulrike Kugler, Raffaella Bernardi – Freie Universität Bozen

This paper describes MuSiL (Multilingual Search in Libraries), a project which was conducted by the University Library Bozen-Bolzano together with the Faculty of Computer Science. The aim of the project, which was started in 2006, was to integrate a translation feature into the current OPAC interface.

MuSiL is based on linguistic knowledge, and to improve precision and recall of the search it uses statistical methods for data retrieval. It provides automatic translation of query terms into Italian, German, and English and suggestions of related terms on the basis of the semantics of the query. Moreover, it performs a free text search in the Library database. By giving a search term in a language of his/her choice the user is able to search the library catalogues and find relevant documents written or cataloged in any one of the three languages.

The evaluation of MuSiL was conducted in three stages to a)test the quality of the hits returned b)measure user satisfaction and c)assess the graphical user interface.

Keywords: cross-language information retrieval, library catalogue, natural language

1. Ausgangslage

Mehrsprachige Universitäten können nicht nur auf Sprachkompetenz aufbauen, sondern müssen auch die notwendige Infrastruktur besitzen muss, um die Studierenden optimal zu unterstützen. Dazu gehört auch eine Bibliothek, die einerseits relevante Literatur und audiovisuelle Medien zur Verfügung stellt und andererseits ein entsprechendes elektronisches Angebot bereitstellt.

Besonders die Studierenden müssen für ihre wissenschaftliche Arbeiten Literatur in verschiedenen Sprachen (meist Deutsch, Italienisch und Englisch) verwenden. Die Literaturrecherche im Katalog der Universitätsbibliothek (OPAC) kann mitunter problematisch sein, da nicht immer die exakte Terminologie in einer fremden Sprache bekannt ist und es nicht möglich ist in einem Suchschritt Medien in unterschiedlichen Sprachen korrekt zu finden.

1.1. *Medienbestand*

Die Bibliothek der Freien Universität Bozen orientiert sich bei der Literaturauswahl an den Forschungs- und Lehrinhalten und den sprachlichen Gegebenheiten der einzelnen Fakultäten. Die Studierenden der Fakultäten für Design, Wirtschaftswissenschaften und Naturwissenschaften und Technik müssen Kenntnisse in den Sprachen Deutsch, Italienisch und Englisch vorweisen können. Bei der Fakultät für Informatik in Bozen ist die englische Sprache vorherrschend. Die Studiengänge der Fakultät für Bildungswissenschaften in Brixen sind in deutsch- und italienischsprachigen Abteilungen getrennt, da hier die Kindergärtnerinnen und Volksschullehrerinnen für die Region ausgebildet werden. Die sprachliche Verteilung der in der Universitätsbibliothek angebotenen Medien spiegelt diese Situation an Freien Universität Bozen wieder. 41% der Literatur sind deutschsprachig, 30% italienischsprachig, 23% englischsprachig und 6% mehrsprachig (d.h. in zwei oder mehr Sprachen verfasst).

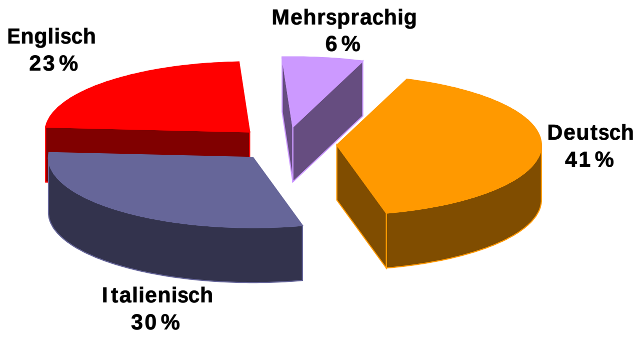

Abb. 1 – Medienbestand nach Sprache

Ein weiteres spezielles Angebot zum Sprachenlernen, ist die Belletristiksammlung, die Romane in deutscher, italienischer, englischer, spanischer und französischer Sprache umfasst. In dieser Aufstellung nicht inkludiert sind die gedruckten und elektronischen Fachzeitschriften, da sie im Gegensatz zu anderen Medienarten nicht primär im OPAC der Universitätsbibliothek recherchiert werden.

1.2. *Medienbearbeitung*

Die Universitätsbibliothek verwendet bei der Formalkatalogisierung der Medien drei verschiedene Regelwerke. Deutschsprachige Medien werden nach den Regeln für die alphabetische Katalogisierung, italienischsprachige Medien nach den *Regole Italiane di Catalogazione per Autore e titolo* und englischsprachige Medien nach den *Anglo-American Cataloging Rules* bearbeitet. Auch die bei der inhaltlichen Erschließung wird diese sprachliche Unterscheidung angewandt. D.h., die Beschlagwortung erfolgt in der entsprechenden Werksprache. Damit unterscheidet sich die Universitätsbibliothek Bozen von anderen Bibliotheken, da diese die Medienbearbeitung nur in der Landessprache vornehmen.

1.3. *Benutzerprofil*

Die Universitätsbibliothek Bozen ist eine öffentliche Bibliothek, d.h., sie darf nicht nur von Universitätsangehörigen sondern auch von allen Personen, die das 18. Lebensjahr vollendet haben genutzt werden. Im Jahr 2007 waren in der Bibliothek

3.237 Studierende, 686 Lehrende und 1.860 aktive externe Benutzer registriert. Bei den Studierenden sind ca. 50 Nationen vertreten von denen rund 0,5% Ladinisch, 3,5% Englisch, 41% Italienisch und 55% Deutsch als erste Studiensprache angeben.

2. Das Projekt MuSiL

Die Universitätsbibliothek Bozen hat in Kooperation mit der Fakultät für Informatik ein Programm entwickelt, das eine Erweiterung des Bibliothekskataloges um eine automatische Übersetzung der Suchanfragen darstellt.

2.1. *Problemstellung bei der OPAC Recherche*

Bei der Auswertung des Recherchelogs des Katalogs wurde festgestellt, dass die Stichwortsuche die meistgenutzte Suchfunktion ist. Ca. 70% der Recherchen bestehen aus der Eingabe nur eines Suchbegriffs im Stichwortfeld. Mit dem Stichwortfeld lassen sich folgende Felder gleichzeitig durchsuchen: Verfasser, Titel, Reihe, Schlagworte und Fußnoten.

Bezüglich der Suche nach Medien in bestimmten Sprachen bestehen zwei Probleme. Es ist nicht möglich, die Suche auf eine bestimmte Sprache einzuschränken. D.h. wenn ein Suchbegriff eingegeben wird, so erscheinen unabhängig von der Sprache des Mediums alle Medien in denen dieser Suchbegriff vorkommt (z.B. Portfolio). Es ist außerdem nicht möglich in einem Rechercheschritt nach Medien in mehreren Sprachen zu suchen. Möchte man zu einem Thema (z.B. internationales Steuerrecht) Medien in unterschiedlichen Sprachen finden, so muss man die Begriffe übersetzten und die Recherche mehrfach durchführen. Im Beispielfall müsste der Benutzer als auch nach *diritto tributario internazionale* und *international taxation law* suchen. Hier werden aber noch immer nicht alle relevanten Medien gefunden, da zum Beispiel Flexionsformen nicht berücksichtigt werden.

Eine Lösungsstrategie wäre, Bücher in deutscher, italienischer oder englischer Sprache im OPAC zu suchen und dann zu hoffen, dass bei derselben Systematikstelle auch die anderssprachigen Bücher stehen. Natürlich kann man sich bei dieser Methode über Zufallstreffer freuen, sehr zufriedenstellend ist sie jedoch in den seltensten Fällen.

2.2. *Lösungsansatz der Universitätsbibliothek Bozen*

2.2.1. *Sprachliche Aspekte*

Es gibt unterschiedliche Ansätze um das Problem der mehrsprachigen Suche zu lösen. Einer davon basiert auf dem Mapping von Schlagworten in verschiedenen Sprachen (Landry 2004) das jedoch sehr zeitintensiv ist und als singuläre Lösung nicht ausreichend ist. Das klassische Information Retrieval[1] bietet Strategien, die auf statistischen Berechnungen basieren (Peters *et al.* 2003). Es bezieht sich je-

1 Information Retrieval beschäftigt sich mit computergestützter inhaltsorientierter Suche.

doch auf große Dokumentenarchive, die sehr viel Text und damit gleichzeitig Information enthalten.

Die Universitätsbibliothek Bozen hat sich daher entschlossen zusammen mit den Computerlinguisten der Fakultät für Informatik in Bozen ein eigenes System zu entwickeln. Das Ergebnis dieser Kooperation ist MuSiL (Multilingual search in libraries).

MuSIL basiert auf dem Programm DocDigger der Firma CELI[2]. Dieses Programm wurde ursprünglich für die Recherche in großen Dokumentenarchiven entwickelt und musste daher an die speziellen Gegebenheiten eines Bibliothekskatalogs angepasst werden. Im Gegensatz zu Textarchiven sind in Katalogen nämlich nur relativ wenige Daten vorhanden. Die bibliographischen Angaben bestehen meist nur aus dem Titel des Mediums, Verfasserangaben, dem Impressum und zuweilen einem Inhaltsverzeichnis. MuSiL verbindet daher linguistische Werkzeuge wie Stemming[3], den Einsatz von Grammatiken, Wörterbüchern und Thesauri mit statistischen Methoden des Datenretrievals. Zusätzlich werden Suchbegriffe automatisch ins Deutsche, Italienische und Englische übersetzt. Es besteht außerdem eine Verknüpfung mit verschiedenen Thesauri auf deren Grundlage weiter Suchbegriffe vorgeschlagen werden. Der Benutzer hat selbst die Wahl, ob die Recherche um Begriffe aus den Thesauri erweitert werden soll oder nicht. Weitere nützliche Funktionalitäten sind die automatische Erkennung mehrteiliger Begriffen (z.B. angewandte Kunst) und Personennamen (z.B. Sigmund Freud).

Der Nutzen von MuSiL liegt also darin, dass man auch ohne Kenntnis der exakten Terminologie in drei Sprachen gleichzeitig recherchieren kann.

2.2.2. *Technische Aspekte*

MuSiL setzt sich aus der Suchmaschine DocDigger und dem OPAC der Universitätsbibliothek Bozen zusammen. DocDigger greift auf den Datenbestand der Universitätsbibliothek zu und erstellt laufend einen Index der relevanten Information. Die Daten werden automatisch regelmäßig zur Weiterverarbeitung aufbereitet so dass der Index nicht nur die Originalbegriffe sondern auch deren morphologischen Variationen enthält.

Die Funktionalitäten des OPAC bleiben zur Gänze erhalten, d.h. es ist auch aus der MuSiL Oberfläche aus möglich, Medien vorzumerken etc.

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2 http://www.celi.it/motore_ricerca.html.

3 Stemming bezeichnet im Information Retrieval ein Verfahren, mit dem verschiedene morphologische Varianten eines Wortes auf ihren gemeinsamen Wortstamm zurückgeführt werden.

Die Integration der Suchanfrage in den zwei Systemen funktioniert wie folgt:

Der Nutzer gibt über das OPAC Interface seine Suchanfrage ein. Die Anfrage wird an DOCDIGGER weitergeleitet.

DOCDIGGER wertet die Anfrage anhand der im Index vorhandenen Daten aus und berechnet die Relevanz der gefundenen Treffer.

Das Resultat wird an den OPAC zurückgeschickt und dem Benutzer präsentiert. Die Treffer werden in Deutsch, Italienisch und Englisch unterteilt und für jede Sprache nach Relevanz sortiert angezeigt.

Abb. 2 – MuSiL Suchoberfläche und Ergebnisdarstellung

3. Evaluation

MuSiL wurde hinsichtlich der Trefferqualität, der graphischen Oberfläche und der Bedienbarkeit in einer mehrteiligen Testanordnung evaluiert.

3.1. *Bewertung der Treffer*

Zur Beurteilung der Trefferqualität von MuSiL wurde der von Wien (2000) entwickelte Labortest adaptiert. Für die Testdatenbank wurden aus dem Medienbestand jene Systematiken ausgewählt, in denen mehr als 300 Einträge pro Sprache (Deutsch, Italienisch, Englisch) vorhanden waren. Von den 22 Systematiken verblieben somit 7 (Psychologie und Philosophie, Pädagogik, Politologie und Soziologie, Rechtswissenschaft, Wirtschaftswissenschaft, Mathematik und Informatik, Landwirtschaft und Technik) die die Kriterien für Den Test erfüllten. Mittels einer geschichteten Zufallsstichprobe wurden daraus 1.099 Einträge ausgewählt. Anschließend wurden Testanfragen generiert und zwar wurden Begriffe gewählt, die sowohl im Titel eines Mediums vorhanden waren und dem Medium auch als Schlagwort zugweisen waren. Der Labortest ergab eine bessere Trefferqualität von MuSiL gegenüber dem OPAC im Bereich der deutschen Medien. Für italienische und englische Medien war die Trefferqualität gleichwertig. Dies lässt sich dadurch erklären, dass die deutschsprachigen Schlagworte generell exakter den Inhalt eines Mediums beschreiben und auch mit mehr Informationen (Synonymen, verwandten Begriffen) hinterlegt sind.

3.2. *Bewertung der graphischen Benutzeroberfläche*

Die Usability Untersuchung von MuSiL (Gobetti 2007) erfolgte in zwei Teilen. Ein Teil bestand in der Auswertung der Log Dateien und in einem Benutzerfeedback mittels eines Fragebogens. Für den zweiten Teil wurden aus unterschiedlichen Benutzergruppen Testpersonen ausgewählt, die in einer moderierten Testsituation das Programm verwendeten.

3.2.1. *Log Dateien und Fragebogen*

Für den unmoderierten Test wurde auf je einem Computer in den Bibliotheken in Bozen und Brixen MuSiL installiert und ein Fragebogen integriert. Während 21 Testtagen wurden 359 Suchanfragen dokumentiert. 110 davon hatten Englisch, 91 Deutsch und 158 Italienisch als Ausgangssprache. Zusätzlich wurde der Fragebogen von sechs Personen beantwortet.

3.2.2. *Moderierter Test*

Für den moderierten Test wurden vier Personen ausgewählt, die die unterschiedlichen Benutzerprofile widerspiegeln. Es handelte sich dabei um Studierende im Grundstudium der Fakultät für Informatik (Muttersprache Italienisch) und der Fakultät für Design (Muttersprache Deutsch), eine Studentin der Fakultät für Bildungswissenschaften die gleichzeitig in der Bibliothek angestellt war (Muttersprache Italienisch) und einen Doktoranden der Fakultät für Bildungswissenschaften (Muttersprache Deutsch). Vor Beginn des Test wurde den Testpersonen eine kurze Einführung in das Programm gegeben. Die Testpersonen erhielten die Aufgabe, ausgewählte Suchanfragen (Buchsuche anhand des Titels, Buchsuche anhand eines Abstracts und Buchsuche anhand eines Themas) durchzuführen. Anschließend wurde mit den Testpersonen das Ergebnis besprochen und etwaige Probleme dokumentiert.

3.3. *Ergebnisse*

MuSiL wurde generell positiv bewertet. Vor allem die Übersetzungsfunktion und die Effizienz bei der Suche nach Medien in einer anderen Sprache als der der Suchanfrage wurde gut beurteilt. Die Suchoberfläche selbst und die Darstellung der Ergebnisse (Relevanz wurde durch Sternsymbole gekennzeichnet) wurde als irreführend und nicht benutzerfreundlich bewertet. Die Trefferqualität wurde als sehr gut eingeschätzt.

Als Folge der Evaluierung wurde das Interface von MuSiL neu designt, sodass nun nur mehr ein Suchfeld zur Verfügung steht. Der Benutzer muss nicht mehr die Übersetzungsfunktion aktivieren, da die Suchbegriffe automatisch in alle drei vorhandenen Sprachen (Deutsch, Italienisch und Englisch) übersetzt werden. Auch die Trefferliste wurde umgestaltet und weitere Kriterien für die Sortierung (Autor, Titel, Publikationsjahr) hinzugefügt. Als weitere zusätzliche Funktion wurde eine Suchgeschichte integriert.

4. Status quo und Ausblick

MuSiL ist zurzeit in die Suchoberfläche des OPAC integriert. Unter dem Menüpunkt Mehrsprachige Suche können Benutzer auf das Programm zugreifen. Die technische Betreuung erfolgt durch eine Mitarbeiterin der Universitätsbibliothek Bozen. Für die Zukunft ist die Mitarbeit an dem von der EU geförderten Programm CACAO[4] geplant. MuSiL soll dabei als Beispielprojekt fungieren.

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4 http://www.cacaoproject.eu/de/startseite/

Contributors

Carmen Argondizzo
Università della Calabria
c.argondizzo@unical.it

Carmen Argondizzo is professor of English Linguistics at the Università della Calabria where she teaches English for Academic Purposes to students majoring in Economics and Political Science. Her major research interests cover issues in sociolinguistics, discourse analysis, humanistic learning. Recently, she has extended her interests to multilingualism and multicultural issues integrated with the CLIL approach. She approaches these issues through European Projects which involve a European Partnership.

Raffaella Bernardi
Faculty of Computer Science, Free University of Bozen-Bolzano
bernardi@inf.unibz.it

Raffaella Bernardi is Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Computer Science, Free University of Bozen-Bolzano where she teaches Computational Linguistics and coordinates the Eramus Mundus European Masters Programme in LCT. She studied at the Universities of Utrecht and Amsterdam specializing in Logic and Language; in 1999 she joined the international PhD Programme at the University of Utrecht and wrote a dissertation on categorial type logic (defended in June 2002). Since then she has continued to contribute extensively to this field by organizing several international workshops and disseminating the topic by means of teaching activities. After her PhD defence, she has worked within the Network of Excellence in Computational Logic (CoLogNET) for the area Logic and Natural Language Processing and she has been part of the Management Board of FoLLI (European Association for Logic, Language and Information) for several years. Her research interests took a computational turn in October 2002 when she moved to the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano and started working on Natural Language Interfaces to Structured Data. Furthermore, she collaborates with the University of Bologna, the University of Pisa, the University of Amsterdam, INRIA Loraine, the University of Utrecht, the Australia University and New York University, carrying out work on Corpora, Grammar Induction within the Categorial Grammar framework, Question Answering and Categorial Type Logic. She is currently supervising PhD projects on controlled natural language to access ontology and databases and on Multilingual Interactive Question Answering Systems on the Library Domain. She is the author of more than 40 publications in international workshops, conferences and journals, and the PI of the EU Project “CACAO” (CP 2006 DILI 510035 CACAO Program: eContentplus).

Maria Grazia Borsalino
Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano
mariagrazia.borsalino@unicatt.it

Maria Grazia Borsalino is a lecturer of English at the Catholic University of Milan, Italy, where she runs postgraduate courses in English for Specific Purposes (ESP) at the Faculty of Psychology, as well as courses in English Language Teaching to Young Learners at the Faculty of Education. She has worked extensively in the field of LSP in both secondary schools and Higher Education, in Italy and abroad, particularly at the Universities of Galway (Eire) and Krakow (Poland). For the last few years she has also been involved in the development of teacher training programmes for teachers of English in Italian schools. Her current academic interests include EAP, English-medium instruction and curriculum development.

Madeleine H.P.C. Bos
Delft University of Technology
M.H.P.C.Bos@tudelft.nl

Madeleine Bos was project leader of the English Language Test for Scientific Staff at Delft University of Technology. Presently, she is head of Education and Student Affairs at the TPM faculty, D.U.T. and Policy advisor at D.U.T. Her main subject as Policy advisor is internationalisation.

Carmela Briguglio
Curtin University of Technology, Curtin Business School
briguglc@cbs.curtin.edu.au

Carmela Briguglio has extensive experience in language and literacy education, having occupied a number of relevant teaching and administrative roles, in both schooling and tertiary contexts. She has been a Languages Adviser, Curriculum Officer, and Consultant for ESL and moderation with the Western Australian Department of Education.

In the tertiary context, she held the position of Lecturer in charge of Modern Languages at Edith Cowan University between 1981 and 1984. She has been at Curtin University of Technology since 1993 and has held the positions of foundation Manager of the Western Australian Office of the National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia and Cross-Cultural Education Coordinator. Carmela is currently Manager of the Communication Skills Centre in the Curtin Business School.

Carmela's research includes projects examining the proficiency levels of language teachers, generic skills development at tertiary level, the linguistic and study needs of international students, and intercultural communication. Her PhD involved research in the use of English as a global language in multinational companies and the implications for business education.

Melinda Dooly
Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona
MelindaAnn.Dooly@uab.cat

Originally from the USA, Melinda moved to Spain in 1992 where she incorporated into the teaching faculty of the Department of English, specialising in foreign language teaching at the Faculty of Education, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. She has served as International Relations coordinator for the Education Faculty and have been working with the Institute de Ciències de l'Educació - UAB (Generalitat) since 1995. Before coming to Spain she taught at the Universidad de San Andrés in La Paz, Bolivia and worked as Research Assistant at the Unidad de Análisis de Politícas Sociales i Económicas (UDAPE) which is part of Harvard University. Her research interests include (but are not limited to) category constructions of linguistic diversity, language awareness, network based collaborative learning, and social inequalities in education policies. She has published books, chapters and articles on the topic of Computer-Mediated Communication in language teaching and is co-editor of the language series "Telecollaboration in Education" published by Peter Lang.

Jean Jimenez
Università della Calabria
jeanjimenez@libero.it

Jean Jimenez is Researcher in Linguistics at the Faculty of Economics, Università della Calabria, where she teaches English for Academic Purposes. Her main interests include error treatment, self-access learning and ICT-enhanced language learning.

Zsuzsanna Éva Kiss
University of Szeged, Hungary, English applied Linguistics PhD program
karimlily@freemail.hu; maciful@yahoo.com

I am a Transylvania minority Hungarian from Romania. I graduated from the *Romanian Language and Literature – English Language and Literature Faculty* at the Sapientia University in Csíkszereda/Miercurea Ciuc (Transylvania), which is the only Hungarian medium university in Romania. At the moment I am a third year PhD student in Hungary, at the University of Szeged, English Applied Linguistics PhD program. My field of interest includes bi- and multilingualism, language policy and planning and second language acquisition. I am a member of the international research project LINEE, Thematic Area C: *Multilingualism and education*, WP9: "(Inter) regional case studies of multilingual education" whose research aims include the comparison of official Hungarian minority language education systems in Romania, Serbia and Slovakia (www.linee.info).

Renate Klaassen
Educational Consultant & Teacher Trainer TU Delft, Education & Student Services
r.g.klaassen@tudelft.nl

Renate Klaassen is Educational Consultant at the FOCUS Centre of Expertise on Education. She is co-ordinator of the Internationalisation activities in Education for the Centre. Here main expertise and activities are in the area of English-medium instruction, staff support for international issues and curriculum renewal.

Jean-Paul Kouega
University of Yaoundé I
jkouega@yahoo.co.uk

Jean-Paul Kouega is professor of English linguistics at the Department of English of the University of Yaounde I, Cameroon. He teaches English to Francophone and Anglophone students, and translation and French-English comparative linguistics to bilingual students. His research interest is in the fields of post-colonial English (New Englishes) and of sociolinguistics: language policy and planning, French-English bilingualism, language in education, languages in contact, etc. His most recent publications include such titles as "Aspects of Cameroon English usage: a lexical appraisal", "A dictionary of Cameroon English", "The language situation in Cameroon", "Forenames in Cameroon English speech", "Bilingualism at tertiary level education in Cameroon".

Ulrike Kugler
Freie Universität Bozen, Universitätsbibliothek
ulrike.kugler@unibz.it

1997-2001 Ausbildung am Fachhochschulstudiengang Informationsberufe in Eisenstadt mit Schwerpunkt Wissenschaftliches Bibliothekswesen. Praktikum als Library Trainee in der Taylor Insitution Library in Oxford. Seit 2001 Bibliothekarin in der Teilbibliothek Brixen der Freien Universität Bozen. Arbeitsbereiche: Medienbearbeitung, Informationsdienst, Schulungstätigkeit sowohl für Studierende der Universität als für externe Kunden.
Projekte: MuSiL – Multilingual search in libraries; BoB – Dreisprachiger Chatbot der Universitäts-bibliothek Bozen; Beratung bei CACAO - Cross-Language Access to Catalogues and On-line Libraries.

David Lasagabaster
University of the Basque Country
david.lasagabaster@ehu.es

David Lasagabaster is associate professor of English Studies at the University of the Basque Country. He has published on second/third-language acquisition, foreign language teaching methodology, bilingualism and multilingualism. His main field of research is focused on the learning of English as an L3 in the Basque bilingual context, where both Basque and Spanish are official languages and taught at school for the outset. He has published his work in international journals such as *The International Journal of Multilingualism*, *The International Journal of Bilingualism*, *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *Language Awareness*, *IRAL International Review of Applied Linguistics* or *World Englishes*. His latest publications include the volume *Trilingüismo en la enseñanza. Actitudes hacia la lengua minoritaria, la mayoritaria y la extranjera* (2003) published by Milenio Educación and the co-edited (together with Ángel Huguet) volume *Multilingualism in European Bilingual Contexts. Language Use and Attitudes* (2007) published by Multilingual Matters, as well as the co-edited volumes (together with Juan Manuel Sierra) *Multilingüismo y multiculturalismo en la escuela* (2005) and *Multilingüismo, competencia lingüística y nuevas tecnologías* (2005), both published by Horsori. He is currently responsible for the *Multilingualism Programme*, whose objective is to boost the use of foreign languages as means of instruction at the University of the Basque Country.

Tuula Lehtonen
University of Helsinki, Language Centre
Tuula.lehtonen@helsinki.fi

Tuula Lehtonen (MA in English, EdD in TESOL) is the co-ordinator of the present extensive development project. In addition, she acts as co-head of the English Unit of the Language Centre. She teaches academic writing courses, English Academic and Professional Skills courses to students of Law and Veterinary Medicine, and co-teaches a pedagogical course for University staff on teaching through the medium of English. Tuula’s professional interests include vocabulary learning, personal relevance in language learning and workplace language needs.

Georges Lüdi
Basel University
Georges.Luedi@unibas.ch

Georges Lüdi is full professor for French Linguistics, Head of the French Department and past Dean of the Faculty of Arts at Basel University. He is responsible of various Bachelor, Master and PhD programs, author of numerous scientific publications on linguistic aspects of migration, multilingualism, second language teaching and learning, workplace communication, etc. He conducted various third party financed research projects with a focus on various forms of (emergent) multilingualism and language contact in Switzerland with qualitatives as well as quantitative methods; at the moment he acts as deputy coordinator of the European DYLAN project (2006 - 2011). He has chaired a group of experts mandated to propose a whole language policy for Switzerland (1997/98) and is chairing two private foundations working in the domain of languages (Walther von Wartburg Foundation for Etymological Research, Swiss Foundation for Languages and Cultures). He has chaired the Swiss Linguistic Society and the Swiss Association for Applied Linguistics, has served as Member of the Executive Board of the International Association for Applied Linguistics AILA and has been awarded with the distinction of Officer in the Ordre national du mérite by the French Government.

Cristina Mariotti
University of Pavia
cristina.mariotti@unipv.it

Cristina Mariotti (1971) is a Researcher in English Applied Linguistics at the University of Pavia and she teaches English at the course of Political Science there. Her interests concern mainly second language acquisition, the use of English as a medium of instruction and English as a lingua franca. She is the author of contributions published in national and international journals.

Sandra Montali
Libera Università di Bolzano, Centro linguistico
Sandra.Montali@unibz.it

Nata a Merano, si è laureata alla Sapienza di Roma, dove ha studiato letteratura italiana e tedesca. Nel 2003 ha conseguito il Master in Didattica dell'Italiano Lingua Seconda presso la Ca' Foscari di Venezia. Ha coordinato presso la Facoltà di Scienze della Formazione LUB il Master biennale in Didattica dell'Italiano Lingua Seconda a immigrati (2006/8).
Al momento è coordinatrice didattica per l'italiano presso il Centro Linguistico dell'Università di Bolzano e insegna italiano per diverse facoltà della Libera Università di Bolzano.
Ha tenuto corsi di formazione e aggiornamento per insegnanti di italiano in Italia, Austria, Cechia e Germania. I suoi seminari riguardano la didattica innovativa e creativa delle lingue, con particolare attenzione alle tematiche interculturali.
E' esperta in approcci come la S*imulation globale*, la *Psicodramaturgie linguistique, Fremdsprachenwachstum, Tandem* e in diverse forme di approccio comunicativo-umanistico.
Ha seguito cicli di formazione in *Erwachsenenbildung*, *Spieldidaktik*, *Teatro dell'Oppresso* (Boal) e insegnamento dell'italiano in piattaforma e-learning *Moodle*.
E' stata socia fondatrice della Cooperativa Alpha&Beta, presso la quale ha svolto attività di coordinamento didattico, progettazione corsi, tutoraggio in percorsi di formazione, consulenza *Tandem* e collaborazione editoriale.
Ha pubblicato *Lingue tra culture* (con Siegfried Baur), *Parlando parlando* (con Aldo Mazza), *Italiano in ospedale* (con Claudia Provenzano) per i tipi delle Edizioni AlphaΒ
per University Press LUB: *Leggere, comprendere e sintetizzare* (con Munini, Natale, Provenzano) e *Parlami…Speak to me…Sprich mit mir…*(con Bettoni, Prior).

Emilee Moore
Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona
Emilee.Moore@uab.cat

Emilee graduated in Arts with a Spanish major in 1998 from the University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia. She then completed her Master of Arts majoring in Applied Linguistics at the University of Queensland, completing her dissertation in the area of language policy, planning and attitudes in Catalonia. She then did a Graduate Certificate in TESOL at Griffith University, Gold Coast, Australia, and worked teaching English as a Second Language to international students. In 2004 she was awarded a scholarship from the MAE-AECI to complete a Master's dissertation in Language Didactics at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain, dealing with the teaching of Catalan as a second language to adults of diverse social, cultural and educational backgrounds. In 2006, she started working on the DYLAN project (EU-Sixth-Framework Integrated Project) as a research assistant. Her PhD thesis deals with the local management of multilingualism in interaction at the UAB. She also works in program coordination and development at a renowned English teaching institute in Barcelona.

Mariella Natale
Libera Università di Bolzano, Centro linguistico
mariella.natale@unibz.it

Mariella Natale (Bolzano 1962) si è laureata in "Lingue e letterature straniere e moderne" presso l'Università degli Studi di Bologna. Ha partecipato al corso di formazione triennale: "Il tutorato nell'insegnamento della L2" organizzato dall'Istituto Pedagogico in lingua tedesca ed è iscritta nelle liste degli insegnanti formatori.
È insegnante di italiano lingua seconda nelle scuole superiori in lingua tedesca della provincia di Bolzano. Dal 2002 collaboratrice del Centro linguistico della Lub. È stata tutor per il master di I livello "Didattica dell'italiano L2. Culture migranti, lingue e comunicazione" organizzato dall'Istituto Pedagogico in lingua italiana e dalla Libera Università di Bolzano ed è stata nominata "Cultrice di materia".
Ha collaborato a diversi progetti per il Pedagogico in lingua tedesca, ha organizzato e tenuto corsi di aggiornamento e di formazione per insegnanti di italiano seconda lingua.
È coautrice del volume *Leggere, comprendere e sintetizzare* (con Sandra Montali, Maria Teresa Munini e Claudia Provenzano).
Ha curato la traduzione del volume di Walburga Kössler, *St. Pauls an der Südtiroler Weinstrasse ein kunst- und kulturgeschichtlicher Führer mit italienischer Kurzfassung.*

Christoph Nickenig
Free University of Bozen-Bolzano
Christoph.Nickenig@unibz.it

Christoph Nickenig – born on 1st December 1961 (Ph.D Bonn, 1994): Head of the Language Centre at the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano since 2004. Long-term experience as a teacher of German as a Foreign Language and German as a Second Language at university level. The research area has recently been switching from Comparative Literature to Language acquisition in multilingual contexts. Several book reviews mostly for the Osservatorio di Germanistica. Papers at international conferences such as the 24th AKS-Conference (Association of Language Centres in Germany) Nürnberg with a paper on the trilingual model at the Free University of Bolzano-Bozen, CERCLES conference in Frankfurt Oder. 25th AKS-Conference Passau with a paper on language competence profiles and the Common European Framework. Treasurer of AICLU (Association of Italian University Language Centres). Editor of the proceedings of the 11th annual AICLU seminar held in February 2006 in Bolzano.

Ştefan Oltean
Babeş-Bolyai University, Department of English
stoltean@lett.ubbcluj.ro

Ştefan Oltean, Professor at Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania, has taught narrative poetics, and English and American linguistics. He has been involved in European projects in the field of multilingualism (TNP3, TNP3D, DYLAN, Multicom), and has contributed to the making of the language policy of Babeş-Bolyai University. He has published books in discourse analysis, narrative poetics and in semantics, as well as articles in *Poetics Today*, *Journal of Literary Semantics* and in Romanian linguistics journals. Professor Oltean is member of the Board of the European Language Council (ELC/CEL), is former dean of the Faculty of Letters of Babeş-Bolyai University and former vice rector of this university.

Enrica Piccardo
University of Toronto
enricapiccardo@gmail.com

Enrica Piccardo, specialista in didattica delle lingue, ha iniziato la sua carriera in Italia nel campo della formazione degli insegnanti prima per il Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione poi presso l'Università degli studi di Genova. Dal 2004 al 2009 è Maître de Conférences (professore associato) all'Institut universitarie de formation des maîtres di Grenoble (Francia), Université Joseph Fourier. Nel 2009 si trasferisce a Toronto dove è titolare di una cattedra di French language pedagogy all'Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. Collabora con l'European Centre for Modern Languages di Graz (Austria). Le sue ricerche sono molteplici, in particolare si occupa di valutazione, creatività e formazione degli insegnanti. E' redattrice capo della rivista *Synergies Europe*.

Kari K. Pitkänen
University of Helsinki, Language Centre
Kari.k.pitkanen@helsinki.fi

Kari K. Pitkänen (MA & PhD in General Linguistics) has previously been teaching English at the Language Centre of Tampere University of Technology and General Linguistics at the University of Helsinki. He teaches various English courses, including English Academic and Professional Skills, Business English and Academic Writing at the Faculties of Agriculture and Forestry, Biosciences and Medicine. His former professional background is in linguistics, especially in discourse pragmatics, semantics, text linguistics and language technology.

Jemma Prior
Free University of Bozen-Bolzano, Language Centre
Jemma.Prior@unibz.it

Jemma Prior has been working at the Language Centre of the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano since 1998 as an EFL teacher and since 2002 has been coordinating the Centre's English offer. She also works as a contract professor at the University's School of Economics and Management, at the Faculty of Design and Art and on the Training course for Secondary School teachers at the Faculty of Education in Bressanone. Her professional interests include teaching English for Specific Purposes (ESP) as well as classroom interaction, discourse analysis and teacher training and development. She is currently following Aston University's distance-learning MSc in TESP.

Claudia Provenzano
Libera Università di Bolzano, Centro linguistico
Claudia.Provenzano@unibz.it

Nata a Bolzano, si è laureata in lettere presso L'Università degli Studi di Padova. Ha frequentato corsi di alta formazione nell'ambito della didattica dell'italiano L2 e di tutoraggio e formazione di nuovi insegnanti.
Ha insegnato italiano L2 nelle scuole superiori di lingua tedesca della provincia di Bolzano; attualmente insegna italiano L2 presso il Centro linguistico e la Facoltà di Scienze della Formazione della Libera Università di Bolzano e si occupa di formazione dei docenti presso l'Istituto pedagogico di ricerca per la scuola italiana.
Ha tenuto corsi di formazione e aggiornamento per insegnanti di italiano in Italia e in Austria; ha svolto il ruolo di *tutor online* nel "Master di I livello in didattica dell'italiano L2" ed è stata nominata "Cultrice della materia" nell'ambito dello stesso.
Ambiti di ricerca: didattica della lingua e della letteratura italiana, promozione della lettura e della scrittura, progetti di gemellaggio e di mobilità scolastica tra scuole con lingua d'insegnamento diversa, tandem linguistico, innovazione scolastica, progetti interculturali, letteratura femminile, letteratura per l'infanzia, scrittura creativa, scrittura professionale, ricerca sociolinguistica ed educativa.
Pubblicazioni: *Pretesti per leggere e scrivere*, *Avventure di carta*, *Il libro della scrittura* (con Carmen Sivi-

ero e Edoardo Lugarini), *Il libro della sintesi* (con Carmen Siviero), *Italiano in ospedale* (con Sandra Montali), *Leggere, comprendere, sintetizzare* (con Sandra Montali, Mariella Natale e Maria Teresa Munini); saggi e articoli sulla didattica della lingua e della letteratura e sulla letteratura femminile.

Nina Raud
Narva College of the University of Tartu
Niina.Raud@ut.ee

Dr. Nina Raud, born in 1960, holds a Master's degree from Saratov State University in Philology, English Language Teaching and Translation (1983) and Candidate of Sciences (PhD) in Philology from Herzen State Pedagogical University, St.Petersburg (2007). She has been teaching English, English Literature and Translation at Narva College of the University of Tartu since 1999. She specializes in English and American Literature, Translation, Second Language Acquisition, and ESL teaching. The field of her research covers the issues of literary studies and teaching of ESL in multicultural and multilingual environment. Her scholarly articles have concentrated on literary studies and poetic text analysis as well as on teaching English in multicultural and multilingual classes. She is in charge of teacher training practice in Narva College and has conducted a number of methodological seminars for teachers in Estonia, Italy, Holland and Slovakia. The seminars considered some aspects of assessment, cooperative work and experiential teaching. She has presented at academic conferences in Bulgaria, Italy, Russia and Estonia.

Katrin Reinvere
Narva College of the University of Tartu
Katrin.Reinvere@ut.ee

Dr. Katrin Reinvere, born in 1947, holds a Master's degree from Tallinn University of Technology in Economics (1974) and Candidate of Sciences (PhD) in Economics from St.Petersburg Institute of Economics and Engineering (1986). She has been teaching Economics at Narva College of the University of Tartu since 2005. Her present position and previous teaching experience at Tallinn University of Technology (1976-1991) and at Mainor Business College of the Institute of Humanities and Social Studies in Tallinn (2002-2005) as well as valuable working experience as the financial director of one of the most reputable companies in Estonia – Varova & AS EPSG – from 1993 till 2002 have allowed her to conduct her research into the issues of company organization and management as well as class management and teaching in multicultural and multilingual environment. Hence, her scholarly articles have concentrated on multicultural teaching as well as business and organizational communication. She has presented at academic conferences in Finland, Italy, Russia and Estonia.

Tim Roubos
Sogeti Nederland B.V.

Tim Roubos was the project organisor of the English Language Test for Scientific Staff at Delft University of Technology. Presently, he is a Young Professional in Business Solutions at Sogeti.

Iris Schaller-Schwaner
University of Fribourg-Freiburg
iris.schaller-schwaner@unifr.ch

Iris Schaller-Schwaner has worked in English linguistics, EAP and language teacher education at Vienna University, Neuchâtel University and Fribourg-Freiburg University, where she is a lecturer. She has published on grammar teaching and learning, English in Swiss advertisements and English for Specialized Academic Purposes. Iris is currently doing doctoral research on English as a Lingua Franca in plurilingual academic settings. Her most recent paper to complement the one published here is 'Everything is like something, what is this like?' On finding a *tertium comparationis* for L3/L4 English used as an academic lingua franca at Freiburg-Fribourg University. In *Multilingualism: learning and instruction*, M. Gibson, B. Hufeisen, and C. Personne (eds.) 2008: 255-272. Baltmannsweiler: Schneider Verlag Hohengehren.

Roy Siddal
Helsinki University, Language Centre
Roy.siddall@helsinki.fi

Roy Siddall (BSc, PhD) has an academic background in biological sciences. In addition to English Academic and Professional Skills courses for students of Biosciences, Medicine and Veterinary Medicine, he currently teaches courses on academic writing to students from all faculties, scientific writing and conference English to doctoral students, and co-teaches a pedagogical course for University staff on teaching through the medium of English.

Lorenzo Spreafico
Free University of Bozen-Bolzano
Lorenzo.Spreafico@unibz.it

Lorenzo Spreafico has been since 2006 research assistant at the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano. His major research interests lie in the field of lexicology (especially in lexical typology and second language lexical acquisition), phonology and language contact. Connected areas of research include the analysis of transcription systems and tools and the design of learner and multilingual *corpora*.

Miquel Strubell
Universitat Oberta de Catalunya (UOC)
mstrubell@uoc.edu

Miquel Strubell (Oxford, 1949) graduated in Psychology & Physiology at Oxford University, and mastered in Psychology of Education at the Institute of Education, London; he has a degree in Psychology and the Diploma in Advanced Studies from the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, and is working on his Ph.D. He has researched mainly on family and educational bilingualism, language policies, language planning and minority languages.
He ran the Servei de Normalització Lingüística, promoting Catalan (1980-1988), and the Institut de Sociolingüística Catalana (1988-1999), of the Catalan Government. He was secretary of the Consell Social de la Llengua Catalana, of which he is a member (2005-); and was a board member (1990-1996) and vice-chair (1996-1999) of the Consorci per a la Normalització Lingüística. He lectures at the UOC, Barcelona (1999-). He was deputy director of the Estudis d'Humanitats i Filologia, and directed the Humanities BA programme (2001-2004). He co-authored Spain's White Paper on the Humanities degree. He is executive secretary, Linguamón-UOC Chair in Multilingualism.
His books are *Llengua i Població a Catalunya* (1981), *La llengua catalana a l'àrea barcelonina* (with J. M. Romaní, 1986), *The Catalan Language: Progress towards normalisation* (with Jude Webber, 1991); *Estudis i propostes per a l'extensió de l'ús social de la llengua catalana* (coordinator, 1991); and *Discussion manual on lesser-used languages* (with Jordi Bañeres, 1998). He co-edited *Int. J. Sociol. Lang*. Vol. 47 (with Maria Ros, 1984) on "Catalan Sociolinguistics", and *Lengas, Revue de Sociolinguistique,* No. 35 (with Henri Boyer, 1994) on language planning and sociolinguistics in Catalonia.
He has visited Kazakhstan, Estonia, Latvia, Croatia, Russia, etc. on Council of Europe and OSCE missions. He co-authored the *Oslo Recommendations on the linguistic rights of national minorities* (1998) and the *Lund Recommendations on the Effective Participation of National Minorities in Public Life* (1999). He coordinated two European Parliament reports on lesser-used languages (2001, 2002) and several EU reports: *Euromosaic. Production and reproduction of minority language groups in the EU* (1996) and DROFoLTA (2006) on foreign language teacher mobility. He co-authored a European Commission report on the diversity of language teaching in the EU (DiTLang, 2007).

Tullio Telmon
University of Turin
tullio@telmon.eu

Tullio Telmon is Professor of Dialectology at the University of Turin where he is Head of the Department of Language Sciences. Previously he has lectured in the University of Amsterdam (1967-1972), Turin (1972-1988) and Chieti (1988-1994). His main research intersts beside Dialectology (he is co-author, with Professor C. Grassi and Professor A. Sobrero of Fondamenti di Dialettologia italiana, Bari 1997) are: Sociolinguistics (Le minoranze linguistiche in Italia, Alessandria 1992) and Geolinguistics (he is currently working at the Atlante Linguistico ed Etnografico del Piemonte Occidentale - Linguistic and Ethnographic Atlas of Western Piedmont). In recent years his research interests have included Multimodal Communication (mainly gestures) and Perceptional Dialectology (Tra il dire e il fare, Alessandria 1998).
Since 2007 he is the President of the Società di Linguistica Italiana (Association of Italian Linguists).

Jennifer Uhler
University of Tartu/Georgetown University
jenniferuhler@gmail.com

Jennifer Uhler worked as an English Language Fellow at the University of Tartu from 2005-2008. She primarily taught English to university faculty. Jennifer is an alumnus of the Fulbright program and the U.S. Peace Corps. She has served as a language teacher and teacher trainer in Mexico, Slovakia, Romania, Austria, and the U.S. Jennifer holds a M.A. in TESOL and a certificate in Language Program Administration from the Monterey Institute of International Studies in California. She currently is a member of the English as a Foreign Language faculty at Georgetown University in Washington, DC.

Frank van Splunder
Lancaster University
f.vansplunder@lancaster.ac.uk

Frank van Splunder is preparing a PhD in Applied Linguistics at Lancaster University. His main interests include language and identity, language and politics, and language policy. The topic of his research is English as a language of instruction in a Dutch-speaking context. He was a member of the workgroup drafting the *Code of Conduct Regarding the Language of Instruction at the University of Antwerp*.

Daniela Veronesi
Free University of Bozen-Bolzano
Daniela.Veronesi@unibz.it

Daniela Veronesi is Assistant Professor in Linguistics (Faculty of Education), and a member of the Language Study Unit at the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano.
She graduated in Modern Foreign Languages and Literatures at the University of Bologna and worked as a researcher at the European Academy Bozen/Bolzano from 1993 to 1998, investigating on LSPs (Italian and German legal domain). She later cooperated with the University of Trento (Cognitive Science Lab) and the "Istituto Pedagogico per il gruppo linguistico italiano" in Bolzano, with projects on intercultural communication in South Tyrol and on language immersion programmes.
In 2001 she received her PhD from the University of Innsbruck with a dissertation on metaphors in German and Italian juridical scientific writing; she joined the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano in 2004 after a three-year-residence in the United States, where she was Adjuct Professor of Italian Language at New York University, Montclair State University and Columbia University.
Her research interests are related to conversation analysis, multilingual interaction and multimodality, currently focussing on language biographies and multilingualism in educational settings. Her work also includes the study of metaphor and the interplay between verbal and non verbal communication in music contexts.

Paola Vettorel
University of Verona, Department of English Studies
paola.vettorel@univr.it

Paola Vettorel works as a researcher in the English Studies Department – Faculty of Foreign Languages at the University of Verona. She taught English to learners from nursery to secondary school, worked at the Language Centre of Verona University teaching Italian as a second language and as a Language Consultant for English, French and Italian. She is also a teacher trainer for English and for Italian as a second language. Her main areas of interest in Applied Linguistics are autonomous learning, teaching and learning styles, EIL/ELF and its possible implications in the language classroom. Her essays include:
Laboratorio di autoapprendimento e sviluppo dell'autonomia: riflessioni a margine di due esperienze. *Lend, Lingua e Nuova Didattica*, February 2005
Setting up a Self-access Centre (winner of the *Onestopenglish Methodology Challenge* - May 2005). *English Teaching Professional* n. 39, July 2005
Uno, nessuno, centomila: come riconoscere e valorizzare le differenze individuali in classe. In F. Caon (a cura di). 2006, *Insegnare italiano nella classe ad abilità differenziate*. Perugia: Guerra Edizioni
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Alessandro Vietti
Free University of Bozen-Bolzano
Alessandro.Vietti@unibz.it

Alessandro Vietti is Assistant Professor in Linguistics and a member of the Language Study Unit in the Faculty of Education at the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano. He graduated at the University of Turin (1998) and got his PhD in Linguistics at the University of Pavia in 2004. Before joining the Centre, he carried out a post-doctoral research at the University of Bergamo. Dr. Vietti took part in several national scientific programs on multilingualism, acquisition of Italian as a second language, Italian and Italo-romance dialects and was scientific coordinator in a project for young researchers (2001, national co-funded project) at the University of Pavia. His main research interests concern phonetics (sociophonetics), language contact, bilingualism, as well as methodological issues related to collecting and analyzing data. His work includes also quantitative analysis and modeling of language variation.

Virve-Anneli Vihman
University of Tartu
Virve.vihman@ut.ee

Virve-Anneli Vihman has been the Head of the International Relations Office at the University of Tartu since 2004. She earned her B.A. in Philosophy at Wesleyan University (Connecticut, USA), and her M.Sc. and Ph.D. in Linguistics at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland. After a postdoctoral fellowship in Edinburgh, she moved to Tartu to start up and manage the International Relations Office there. She is currently also a senior researcher in the Institute of Estonian and General Linguistics.

Anu Virkkunen-Fullenwider
University of Helsinki
Anu.virkkunen@helsinki.fi

Anu Virkkunen-Fullenwider (MA in English, PhD in Second Languages and Cultures Education) teaches English Academic and Professional Skills in the Faculties of Biosciences and Arts, and advanced courses in academic discussion, academic writing, and writing in English for career purposes. Her professional interests are bilingual education, language testing and assessment.

Marianna Visser
Stellenbosch University
mwv@sun.ac.za

Marianna Visser is vice-dean (Languages) in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, and associate professor in African languages at Stellenbosch University. Her specialization teaching fields include morpho-syntax, information structure in discourse analysis, gene-based written discourse, and task-based second language learning and teaching. She has extensive experience in the teaching of Xhosa, one of the official indigenous African languages of South Africa, as a second or additional language. Her research in African linguistics concerns, in particular, comparative syntax investigation. She has been closely involved in the formulation of the multilingual language policy of Stellenbosch University and has conducted research in the development of second language academic proficiency among students at the institution.

Robert Wilkinson
Maastricht University
b.wilkinson@languages.unimaas.nl

Robert Wilkinson has worked in the field of languages for specific purposes (LSP) since 1971, through teaching in a technical school through an investigation of salt marshes in France. Since the early 1980s he has worked in Maastricht, Netherlands. From the mid-1980s onwards, he has been closely concerned with how the integration of content and language can be achieved in English-medium programmes at Maastricht University. He has worked closely with degree programmes in economics and business studies, and more recently in life sciences. A graduate of the universities of Ulster and Edinburgh, he works at the Language Centre at Maastricht University. He has previously worked in Scotland and Slovakia.

Research interests include aspects of LSP methodology, language in a multidisciplinary environment, and the relationship between content and language. He has been conducting a longitudinal study into the acquisition of citation behaviour and the relationship with the growth of domain expertise (in psychology) and writing ability in a second language (English).

Robert Wilkinson organized the ICLHE Conferences at Maastricht in 2003 and 2006, as well as smaller events.