Learning a Second Language

GUIDING QUESTIONS

? *What are some of the major theories surrounding second language acquisition? How long does it take to acquire conversational fluency in a second language? How long does it take to acquire academic language proficiency?*

? *What are the general stages of second language acquisition?*

? *In what ways can educators facilitate and support students as they acquire a second language?*

? *What do some of the educational programs that support second language learners look like?*

In this chapter of *The Diversity Kit,* we provide you with an overview of some of the major theories of second language acquisition in their historical contexts. We highlight some of the most important contributions that have added to our understanding of the process of second language acquisition, the relationship between first language and second language, and the ways educators can facilitate that process for second language learners through specific instructional strategies. We also explore the terrain of bilingual education in that context. Throughout this chapter we suggest activities that will stimulate your curiosity and that will further explore both the process and context within which people strive for bi- or multilingualism.

Just recently, U.S. census data revealed that nearly one out of every five children between the ages of 5 and 17 comes from a home in which English is not the primary spoken language (U.S. Bureau of Census, 2001). This reflects an increase of over 50% from the 1990 survey (see Crawford, 2001 for summary). This statistic is surely not surprising to anyone living or working in an ethnically or linguistically diverse community in the United States; however, there remains widespread misconception among the general population about how languages are learned and what can be done in an educational setting to facilitate language learning and bolster support of English language learners in the United States.

Complicating the issue of education for culturally and linguistically diverse students is the fact that mainstream teachers are largely white and monolingual. Teachers are often not trained (and likewise not supported) to educate an increasingly diverse student population (Wong Fillmore & Snow, 1999). Hamayan (1990) suggests that in order for second language learners to be successful academically, teachers must better understand the process of second language learning.

Scholars in the area of education and linguistics have recently begun to address the problem of adequate teacher preparation programs. While recognizing the limitations of their suggestions on program implementation, Wong Fillmore & Snow

(1999) argue that teacher preparation programs should more systematically provide training to pre-service teachers in the area of educational linguistics. They suggest that adequate training in this area would include second language acquisition theory and a general understanding of linguistics. Brumfit (1997) underscores the need for work to be conducted on teachers' roles as educational linguists. He defines the role of educational linguists as "conscious analysts of linguistic processes, both their own and others" (p. 163). In this chapter we hope to bridge the gap between teachers' understanding of second language acquisition and the needs of second language learners. We also wish to encourage teachers to become educational linguists in their own particular schools and classrooms.

Theories of Bilingualism and Second Language Acquisition

Simultaneous bilingualism refers to the acquisition of two languages at the onset of speech.

Successive or sequential bilingualism refers to the addition of a second language after the initial establishment of the first language.

Significant advances have been made during the latter part of the twentieth century with respect to theories of bilingualism and second language acquisition. The theories have influenced our knowledge about what influences the process of second language acquisition, including the influence of the first language on the second language. Hakuta (1986) suggests that early interest in child second language acquisition and bilingualism was influenced by the work of Werner Leopold. In a lengthy and meticulously documented study, Leopold detailed the acquisition of two languages by his daughter, Hildegard. Leopold spoke exclusively in German to his daughter while his wife communicated to her exclusively in English; he referred to this process as simultaneous bilingualism. Simultaneous bilingualism refers to the acquisition of two languages at the onset of speech. In contrast, successive or sequential bilingualism refers to the addition of a second language after the initial establishment of the first language, roughly around the age of five (August & Hakuta, 1997; Wei, 2000). Leopold's study focused on the details of the development, separation, and interaction of the two languages acquired by his daughter. However, rather

than determining whether bilingualism was a handicap or advantage, Leopold's case study revealed that the process of bilingualism is largely influenced by a variety of social and familial circumstances.

Other researchers continued to study bilingualism from the perspective of linguistic interference of the first language on acquisition of the second. For example, in contrast to Leopold's study, which relied on qualitative methods and description of simultaneous bilingualism, Madorah Smith studied child second language development and bilingualism through the use of a variety of quantitative scales and analyses (Hakuta, 1986). Smith studied the differences among individual children, namely, between bilingual and monolingual children. The sample of the study consisted of 1,000 Hawaiian children. Smith compiled lists of children's errors in language use; some of the errors identified included the use of idiomatic expressions not found in Standard English. Not surprisingly, Smith concluded that there were individual differences among the children. The most significant conclusion she made was that mixing languages was not a choice made by the interlocutor (speaker) but rather a reflection of the mental state, or confusion, of the child (Hakuta, 1986). Other researchers of that time drew similar conclusions on the impact of bilingualism on intelligence. Goodenough (1926), for example, concluded that the use of a minority language in the home led to a retardation in intelligence.

Between the late 1950s and early 1960s researchers shifted their attention from a description of language behavior to a more complex analysis of the structure and functioning of the mind. The shift was sparked by the work of linguist Noam Chomsky, who demonstrated that there was an underlying structure of language that could not be accounted for through a descriptive structural analysis, the lens through which prior research on language acquisition had been conducted. The research agenda then shifted away from descriptive structuralism to an area of linguistic inquiry known as generative grammar or "mentalism" (Hakuta, 1986, p. 70). Some of the criticism among researchers trained in positivist research orientation (which uses controlled experimental studies) was that social and contextual variables influenced the data findings, making any generalizations regarding the research

tenuous at best. Subsequent work began, then, to attempt to control for those variables. When this occurred, many of the findings that suggested linguistic retardation and ethnic inferiority were actually reversed. One of the first studies to draw new conclusions from research data was conducted by Peal and Lambert in 1962. The researchers controlled for many of the variables in their sample, including socioeconomic status and criteria for subjects in the sample. Peal and Lambert's (1962) study revealed a positive effect of bilingualism where bilinguals experience "cognitive flexibility" not found in monolinguals. Cognitive flexibility among bilinguals suggests that knowledge of more than one language system leads an individual to a heightened ability in the area of concept formation.

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Integrative orientation suggests that a second language learner identifies with speakers of the target language, and the individual desires membership and inclusion into that particular linguistic group.

In the early 1970s Gardner and Lambert (1972) focused their attention on the psycholinguistic variables that influence second language acquisition. They postulated that there are two discernable orientations that explain an individual's motivation to acquire a second language: instrumental and integrative. Instrumental orientation suggests that a person will acquire a second language when the person considers the language to be useful. For example, acquisition of a second language may yield an increase in social position or economic benefit. Integrative orientation suggests that a second language learner identifies with speakers of the target language, and the individual desires membership and inclusion into that particular linguistic group. The work of Gardner and Lambert concluded that, generally speaking, integrative orientation is a stronger motivating factor than instrumental orientation. Subsequent research (e.g., Gardner, 1985) has expanded this theory to include the influence of formal and informal environments, language aptitude, situational anxiety, and social and cultural background on the process of language learning. The more recent work of Lucy Tse (1998) supports integrative orientation and ethnic identity as strong motivating forces behind second language acquisition when an individual attempts to acquire the heritage language.

ACTIVITY: Interview with a Second Language Learner

Identify a person in your community who has acquired a second language. Plan a 30-minute interview with that person. Using Gardner and Lambert's theory of language motivation as a framework for the interview, find out what motivated your interviewee to acquire that language. What factors contributed to his or her language acquisition? In what capacity or for what purposes does your interviewee use the second language? With whom does the person use the language to communicate?

After the interview, reflect on how the interviewee's perspective supports or challenges Gardner and Lambert's theory of language motivation orientation. Which motivation orientation appeared to be stronger? What surprises did you find?

It is likely that there were a variety of environmental factors that influenced the above individual's acquisition of the second language. According to Larson-Freeman & Long (1991, p. 227), there are at least 40 theories of second language acquisition. These theories may be viewed as environmentalist, nativist, or interactionist perspectives. In the following section we will explore the cornerstone environmentalist and nativist theories of second language acquisition that have emerged over the past 25 years.

Environmentalist Theory

The work of John Schumann (1978) provided a foundation for theories that explored the environmental factors of second language acquisition. Schumann's Acculturation Model was based on the premise that the extent to which a second language learner adapts to the new culture influences acquisition of the target language. There are clear linkages between Schumann's Acculturation Model and Gardner and Lambert's theories on second language motivation orientation. Schumann's Acculturation Model posited that a group's social and psychological distance from speakers of the target language accounted for lack of proficiency in the target language. The essential factor in the model is the degree to which the second language learner adapts to a new culture, with language being one aspect of culture. In his model, Schumann identified eight factors that influence social distance; these are summarized below. Note that these factors refer to group rather than individual distance.

Schumann's eight factors of social and psychological distance:

- ***Social dominance*** considers the degree of equality (subordination or domination) among groups.
- ***Integration pattern*** reflects the desire of both the target language and language learner groups to assimilate.
- ***Enclosure*** refers to the degree to which the language learner group exists independently from the target group (as with community functions, religion, etc.).
- ***Cohesiveness*** of the group influences second language learning.
- ***Size*** of the group influences second language learning in that smaller groups are more readily assimilated into the target language group.
- ***Cultural congruence*** reflects the degree to which the two groups' cultures are considered to be similar and to share aspects.
- ***Attitude*** refers to affective factors, including the feeling of language confusion and culture shock or the second language learners' motivation to learn the target language.
- ***Intended length of residence*** refers to the amount of time that the second language learner group intends to remain with the target language group.

Schumann's model highlights the social context in which languages are learned. In particular, Schumann's model has enabled researchers to understand the environmental and contextual factors that impact second language acquisition. However, the model does not attempt to account for a language learner's cognitive processes.

ACTIVITY: Schumann's Social and Psychological Distance

Sojourners are people who relocate for a brief or limited amount of time. Their intended length of residence in a foreign country is fixed and intentionally shorter than that of immigrants seeking permanent relocation. In this activity, identify two non-native English speakers, one who is a permanent relocatee such as an immigrant and the second who is a sojourner in the United States. Using Schumann's factors of social and psychological distance, interview the two relocatees about their experiences. How has each person's experience, specifically their intended length of residence, influenced his or her acquisition of English? If possible, interview both relocatees at the same time in a focus group interview. How do the two relocatees differ in their orientation? What can they learn from understanding each other's experience, especially as it relates to second language acquisition?

Nativist Theories

In contrast to environmentalist theories of second language acquisition, which hold that nurture (experience) is more important than nature in language development, nativist theories hold that acquisition occurs largely as a result of an innate biological process. Nativist theories are largely based on the work of Chomsky in the 1950s. Chomskyan theory suggests that all human beings have an innate ability to acquire language. Chomsky referred to this 'hardwiring' of the brain for language acquisition as the Language Acquisition Device, or LAD. Chomsky's work directly opposed the position of behaviorists such as B. F. Skinner, who had previously suggested that language development occurred largely as a result of behavioral reinforcement in a child's environment. Scholars of language and the brain generally agree that the human brain is predisposed to process language input according to some preset principles and will formulate rules for the comprehension and production of language.

One of the principal scholars to apply Chomsky's theory to the process of second language acquisition is Stephen Krashen. Krashen's (1985) Monitor Theory, derived from Krashen's Monitor Model proposed in the late 1970s and early 1980s, consists of five interrelated hypotheses. The first of these is the Acquisition-Learning Hypothesis. This hypothesis draws a clear distinction between the acquisition of a second language and the learning of a second language. Krashen suggests that acquisition takes place when we learn a language subconsciously and for a variety of different purposes. In contrast, language learning occurs when we focus on various aspects of a language (e.g., grammatical structure, phonology), often in a prescribed learning environment such as a formal academic setting. Gee refers to this distinction as incidental and intentional learning. However, where Krashen views acquisition as an individual psychological process, Gee (1992) extends this to include a social component:

> Acquisition is a process of acquiring something subconsciously by exposure to models, a process of trial and error, and practiced within social groups, without formal teaching. It happens in natural settings that are meaningful… (p. 113)

Krashen's second hypothesis, the Natural Order Hypothesis, suggests that language is acquired in a natural order and that certain aspects of a language are picked up before others. That is, a general pattern is discernible regardless of a person's first language. The third hypothesis, the Monitor Hypothesis, states that the rules learned about a language can regulate output (i.e., speaking or writing). Three conditions influence

activation of the language monitor: when there is sufficient time to use it, when there is a focus on linguistic form, and when a second language learner knows the rules of the language.

The fourth hypothesis, the Input Hypothesis, suggests that in order for language acquisition to occur, learners must receive input that is slightly beyond their current ability level. Krashen calls this *i + 1*. This hypothesis has largely influenced teachers who provide "comprehensible input" through a variety of instructional strategies. Note that if input remains at the current level of a second language learner's ability (*i + 0*), then no acquisition takes place. Similarly, if input is too far beyond a learner's ability level (*i + 2*), then the second language learner interprets the language as merely incomprehensible noise or babble. Therefore, teachers of English language learners must know the ability level of each student in order to provide the right level of input—input that is comprehensible, but slightly beyond the level of the student. Finally, the Affective Filter Hypothesis suggests that an individual's feelings—such as boredom, anxiety, or lack of desire—may block language input into the brain. Thus, when the affective filter is raised, language input, even if comprehensible at *i + 1* input, cannot reach the LAD.

Krashen's work on second language and his Monitor Theory have been widely linked to classroom practice. The Natural Approach (Krashen & Terrell, 1983), originally developed for foreign language learners in the United States, was based on Krashen's work on second language acquisition. The underlying principles of the Natural Approach are (1) that a student's production of the target language will follow pre-production, (2) that the environment and affect will impact that production, and (3) that for input to reach the LAD, it must be made comprehensible to the learner.

ACTIVITY: Krashen's Acquisition-Learning Hypothesis

Think about your own language learning experience (a first and/or second language). Using Krashen's distinction between acquisition and learning, what do you believe was the acquisition component of that experience, and what was the learning component? Share a personal example with the class. Were your experiences similar to or different from others'?

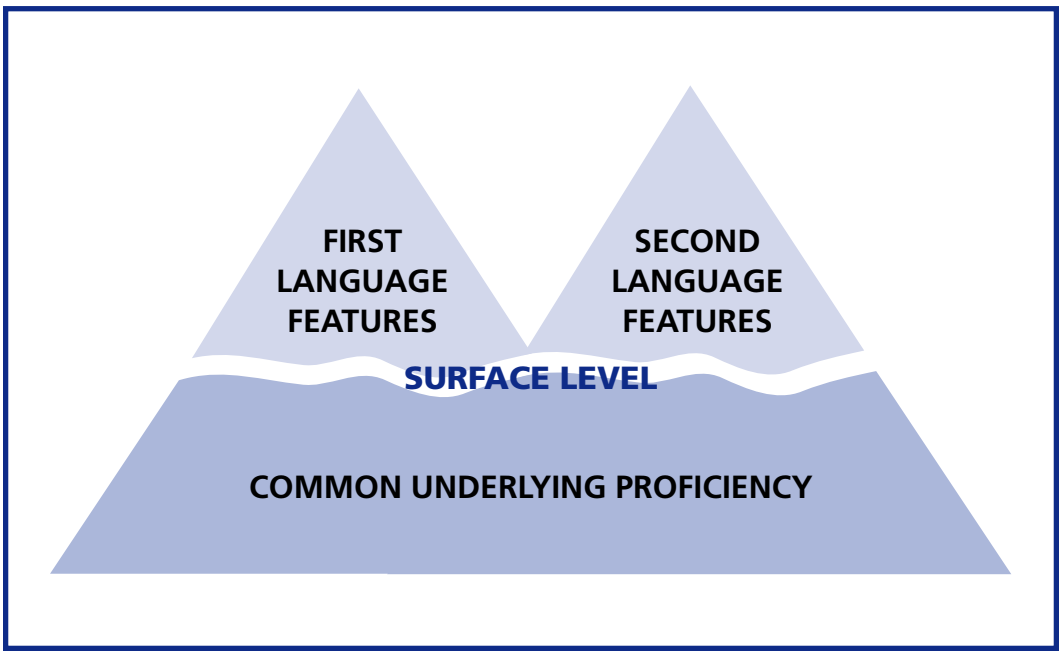
While theories of second language acquisition were being hypothesized and investigated, other scholars were investigating the relationship between first and second languages and expanding theories of cognition and bilingualism. One scholar whose work has continued to influence our understanding of bilingualism, language proficiency, and first and second language transfer is Jim Cummins. In the course of his work in those areas, Cummins posited three major principles related to second language acquisition theory. These are: the linguistic interdependence principle, the distinction between conversational fluency and academic language proficiency, and the additive bilingual principle.

Cummins theorized that there was a common operating system that existed across an individual's two (or more) language systems (1980). That is, on the surface, an individual may appear to have two distinct languages. Below the surface, however, there is an operating system that is shared by both languages. Cummins' theory challenged the myth that separate underlying proficiencies (SUPs) are responsible for the functioning of language in a bilingual's brain. The existence of SUPs would suggest that each language takes up a certain amount of space in an individual's brain, leaving little room for the adequate development of more than one language.

In contrast, the common underlying proficiency (CUP) suggests that there is one operating system responsible for language processing and cognition. The CUP theory holds that reading, writing, speaking, and listening are derived from the same central location and that these four functions may be developed and enhanced through either the first or second language. The common underlying proficiency is represented pictorially in **Figure 1** as an iceberg with above- and below-surface level features. The figure shows that individual languages may appear distinct at the surface level. However, below the surface, both languages share a common operating system.

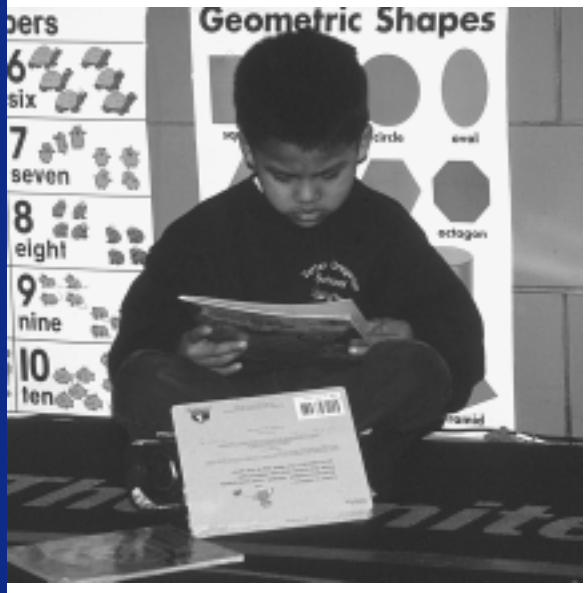
FIGURE 1

Common Underlying Proficiency (Cummins, 1980)



The interdependence hypothesis proposed by Cummins maintains that second language acquisition is influenced greatly by the degree to which the first language is developed. He states this as "to the extent that instruction through a minority language is effective in developing academic proficiency in the minority language, transfer of this proficiency to the majority language will occur given adequate exposure and motivation to learn the language" (Cummins,1986, p. 20). That is, when the first language is supported and developed, acquisition of the second language is enhanced. The interdependence hypothesis has important implications for educators and policymakers: providing students with continued first language support (as in well-implemented bilingual education programs) will foster English language learning.

In the Threshold Theory, Cummins explored the relationship between cognition and bilingualism. This theory suggests that the degree to which bilingualism is developed will have consequences, either positive or negative, for a child. The Threshold Theory has been depicted pictorially as a house with three floors, separated by two thresholds or levels. At the first floor, children who have low levels of competence in two languages are likely to experience negative cognitive effects of bilingualism. At the second floor, children who have acquired age-level competence in one language but not the second may experience positive and negative consequences of bilingualism. Finally, at the top floor, bilingual children who have age-level competence in both languages are likely to experience positive cognitive advantages. Cummins proposed the Threshold Theory to help explain why some children were not experiencing the positive benefits of bilingualism (enhanced cognitive, linguistic, and academic growth). The theory has been criticized for not being able to define the level of bilingualism required at each of the thresholds to avoid the negative effects and gain the positive benefits of bilingualism. From the Threshold Theory, Cummins proposed the Developmental Interdependence Hypothesis. This hypothesis suggests that the level of competence attained in the first language will impact the level of competence in the second language.



Perhaps his most well-cited contribution to the field of bilingual education, Cummins developed a theory that differentiated between two different types of language:

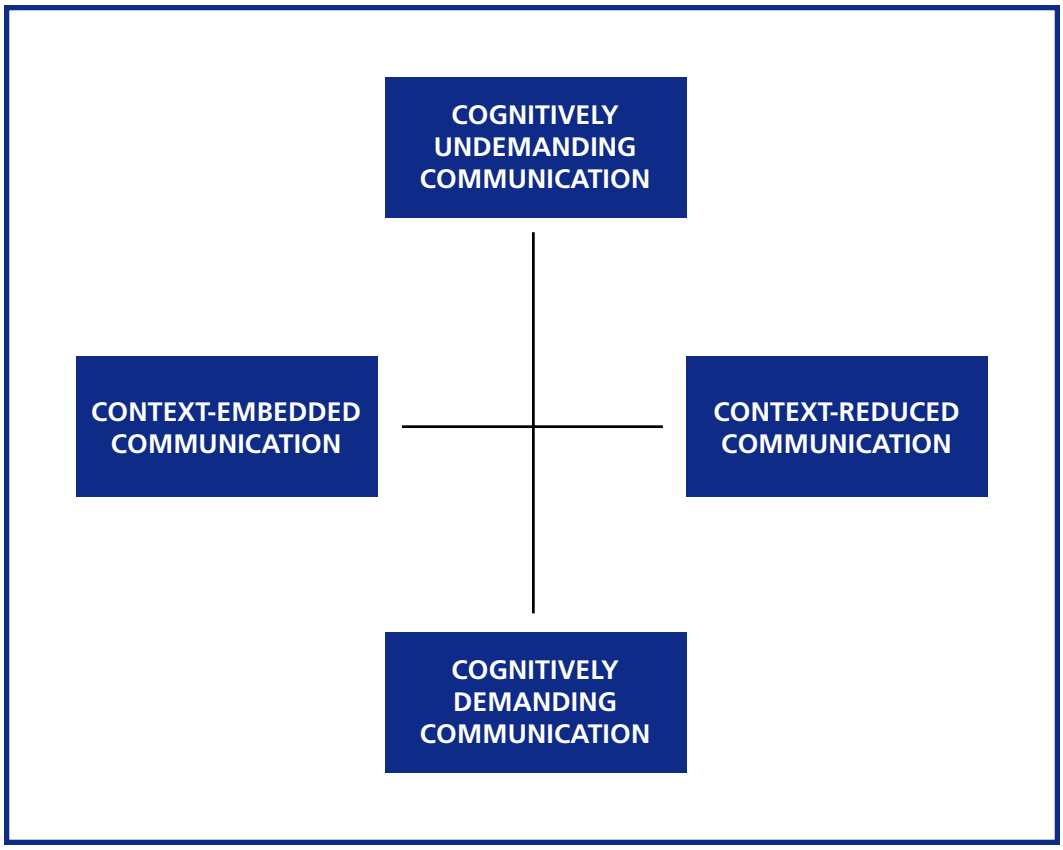
basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) or conversational language skills, and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP), which is required for bilingual children to participate and succeed academically. Cummins observed that a child's ability to communicate with conversational fluency could actually mask the child's inability to participate in a cognitively demanding academic environment. This distinction had a great number of implications for children who were diagnosed as learning disabled and overrepresented in special education programs because of their limited academic language. Conversely, children who demonstrated conversational fluency but not academic language proficiency were being exited too quickly from programs that provided first language support (as in transitional bilingual education programs) while the second language was being developed (see Cummins, 2001b).

The BICS/CALP distinction was criticized for being dichotic and static (Harley et al., 1990) and also for its inability to operationalize the terms in research studies (see Baker, 1997; Wiley, 1996). The criticism was perhaps valid for investigating the cognitive dimension of CALP because the relationship between (academic) language and cognition is not simple or easily unraveled. In response to some of those critiques, Cummins has recently refined the terms used to differentiate these different language uses to conversational fluency and academic language proficiency (see Cummins, 2001a).

The theory underlying the conversational fluency-academic language distinction was later advanced to further address the type of communication and the cognitive demands placed on second language learners. These two dimensions—context-embedded versus context-reduced communication, and cognitively undemanding versus cognitively demanding communication—are depicted on page 39 in **Figure 2**.

FIGURE 2

Cognitively Un/Demanding Communication and Context Embedded/Reduced Communication
(Cummins, 1981)



As the theory suggests, context-embedded communication occurs when communicative supports (such as objects, gestures, or intonations) are available for a student. These help the student discern the meaning of the communication. Context-reduced communication occurs when there are few, if any, communicative cues or clues to support the interaction. The second dimension includes the degree to which cognitively demanding communication is required. Cognitively demanding communication occurs frequently in a classroom setting where students are required to analyze and synthesize information quickly. In contrast, cognitively undemanding communication may occur on a playground or at a local shop.

Cummins' two dimensions of context-embedded/-reduced communication and cognitively un/demanding communication have implications for schooling of second language learners. For example, some scholars (Robson, 1995) have shown how instructional strategies and assessments can be coordinated using the theory as a framework to guide instruction that exposes second language learners to increasingly cognitively demanding and context-reduced forms of communication. The distinction between the two dimensions proposed by Cummins is further insight for practitioners and policymakers to understand the difference between conversational fluency and academic language and subsequently assess the academic achievement of students using the appropriate measures.

Research shows that it takes approximately two years for second language learners to approach a native speaker's level in conversational fluency and from 5 to 7 years for them to approach a native speaker's level in academic language proficiency (Cummins, 1981). A recent review of research conducted by Hakuta, Butler, & Witt (2000) further reveals that it may take from 3 to 5 years for English language learners to acquire oral proficiency and from 4 to 7 years to acquire academic English proficiency.

The work of these scholars has influenced both education policy and practice regarding English language learners. For example, we know that educational environments that support the ongoing development of students' first language while they are acquiring English are among the most effective. But this knowledge lies in stark contrast to recent mandates prohibiting use of the first language in the classroom, as with recent legislation in California (Proposition 227) and Arizona (Proposition 203). Programs that build upon students' first language while they acquire English, with the goal of bilingualism and biliteracy, are considered "additive," a term first coined in the early 1970s. Additive bilingualism refers to the acquisition of a second language without detriment or loss to the first. In contrast, subtractive bilingualism occurs when the acquisition of a second language occurs at the expense or loss of the first language.

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More recent research on second language acquisition has reflected a shift among researchers to include qualitative data. In fact, scholars from a variety of disciplines, including sociologists and anthropologists, have described processes of second language acquisition and explored the impact of its social, cultural, and political contexts. For example, in their work with second language learners, Wong Fillmore et al. (1991) documented the rate of first language loss among young immigrant children in the U.S. The authors' study revealed that language loss holds negative consequences for intergenerational relationships within a given family structure. Their conclusions are stark:

> What is lost is no less than the means by which parents socialize their children—when parents are unable to talk to their children, they cannot easily convey to them their values, beliefs, understandings, or wisdom about how to cope with their experiences… When parents lose the means for socializing and influencing their children, rifts develop and families lose the intimacy that comes from shared beliefs and understandings. (p. 27)

Sociopolitical context and power relations between groups impinge upon the learning environment of the students. When students' linguistic repertoires are valued and considered a resource, collaborative relationships are formed that challenge unequal patterns of power among groups. This occurs in properly implemented bilingual education programs as well as in programs that view students' linguistic repertoires as a resource rather than as a problem (Ruiz, 1984). We return to this idea at the conclusion of this chapter. In the following section we outline the developmental sequence of second language learning.

Developmental Stages of Sequence of Language Acquisition

VIGNETTE: Silent Period: Marta and Esteban

Marta and Esteban are recent immigrants to the United States, and both are in Mrs. Grover's third-grade classroom at Barton Elementary School. Since their arrival at the beginning of the school year, both children have been receiving English as a second language (ESL) pullout instruction from a trained ESL teacher. However, they spend the majority of their time in Mrs. Grover's classroom with their peers. Mrs. Grover wants to ensure that the students are on target in acquiring English and progressing academically while learning English, but she has recently noticed that Marta is able to communicate with her peers, while Esteban rarely communicates at all; when he does, his utterances are limited to two-word strings.

In the teachers' room, Mrs. Grover expresses her observations and her concern to the children's ESL teacher. The ESL teacher, Miss Simmons, explains to Mrs. Grover that second language learners often experience a period of time during which they are not producing language but are still listening and processing what's going on around them. This period has been called the "silent period." Miss Simmons reassures Mrs. Grover that this is entirely within the scope of the second language learning process and that it can last up to 6 months. She suggests that Mrs. Grover explore activities that Esteban can participate in without using oral language (such as picture drawing and pointing) until he appears ready to produce English. Mrs. Grover and Miss Simmons agree to work together to brainstorm ways to actively engage Esteban in all classroom activities during the silent period. They also agree to communicate regularly on his progress.

The vignette on page 42 illustrates that the process of second language acquisition is complex. Unraveling the sociocultural and political influences on the second language learner is no small task. In addition, there is tremendous variation in the contexts within which both individuals and groups acquire a second language. Educators face the challenge of understanding those contexts, what motivates individuals, the relationship between first and second languages, and the academic environment (including the different demands placed on the second language learner in a classroom setting). But what can we say about the process and general stages of language acquisition for second language learners? In the following section, we present an overview of those stages. We believe that teachers' understanding of the second language acquisition process will help to dispel some of the myths surrounding what second language learners can and cannot do. It can also guide teachers' instructional strategies toward ways to accommodate second language learners in their various developmental sequences.

While there is a certain amount of difference between first and second language acquisition, researchers generally agree that learning the rules and structure of a second language is very similar to learning the first language. So, while the two processes are not precisely the same, they do parallel one another. We know, for example, that second language learners make similar errors as those made by native, monolingual speakers. As with young children acquiring their native language, second language learners may listen to and process language before actually producing it. The difference is that second language learners, by definition, already have access to a first language. Therefore, they are more sophisticated learners; they understand how language works and can use that first language knowledge as a bridge to acquisition of the second language. Cummins' linguistic transfer theory (discussed above) postulates how this occurs. As a result, for each individual the degree to which the first language has been developed directly influences the acquisition of the second language.

Interlanguage refers to a language system produced by a second language learner that is not equivalent to either the first or the second language.

Selinker (1972) described a learner's knowledge of a second language at a given point as interlanguage. Interlanguage refers to a language system produced by a second language learner that is not equivalent to either the first or the second language. Interlanguage may be viewed best as a continuum between the first and second

languages. At any given time, a language learner's knowledge of the second language is situated at a point along the interlanguage continuum. Selinker also identified the phenomenon of fossilization. Fossilization occurs when a language learner's acquisition of the second language wanes or even halts along the interlanguage continuum. This may occur when a language learner has acquired enough of the rules of the second language to adequately communicate.

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Scholars of second language acquisition have identified a common developmental sequence that second language learners pass through while learning a second language, even though they may refer to these stages differently. Here we will outline the developmental stages of second language acquisition. It is important to keep in mind that there is great individual variability in second language acquisition, in particular with the rate at which learners pass through the various stages and the influence of the first language on the second. It is also important to remember that learners who appear to have made progress learning the target language by demonstrating correct performance may still demonstrate incorrect performance at a later stage. This happens because as learners begin to unravel the grammatical rules of the target language and test out new rules, errors often reappear. In fact, the errors are indicative of progress as the second language learner gains deeper understanding of how the second language works.

In the first stage of the developmental sequence, child second language learners may continue to use the home language in second language situations. In this stage the child may assume that others understand his or her first language; it may take several months for the child to discontinue use of the first language. Saville-Troike (1987) has referred to this type of child discourse as "dilingual discourse."

Scholars refer to the next stage as the preproduction stage. This stage is characterized by the "silent period" (Dulay, Burt, & Krashen, 1982). In this stage, the learner absorbs the sounds and rhythms of the new language and processes language input through listening and comprehension skills. As mentioned in the vignette above, communication may include using nonverbal means such as pointing or picture drawing. During this period, access to context-embedded communication is very important and likely to help the student move efficiently through the preproduction

period. Clues picked up in the immediate environment, such as gestures and realia (real objects), will facilitate language understanding during this stage. Context-embedded communication, then, is highly desirable, and a teacher can create this type of environment through instructional strategies that use gestures and realia to make input comprehensible. While second language learners may stop talking, this does not mean they will stop communicating.

Scholars refer to the next stage of the sequence of second language acquisition as the early production stage. During this stage, researchers have observed two types of speech: telegraphic speech and formulaic speech. Telegraphic speech refers to the use of a few content words that generally omit grammatical morphemes. In our section on language and literacy, we explore morphemes more fully. Briefly, grammatical morphemes are small words or markers that carry meaning, such as the definite article *the* or the plural marker *–s*. Telegraphic speech commonly consists of a second language learner's reference to nouns or objects. An example of telegraphic speech may be "Tommy ball," which omits a verb and definite article ("Tommy has the ball"). In contrast, formulaic speech refers to the use of specific, unanalyzed utterances that language learners have observed around them. An example of this might include greetings such as "How ya' doin'?"

Telegraphic speech refers to the use of a few content words that generally omit grammatical morphemes.

Formulaic speech refers to the use of specific, unanalyzed utterances that language learners have observed around them.

As second language learners progress in language acquisition, they pass through a stage scholars refer to as the extending production stage. In this stage, utterances become longer and more complex. Students begin to recognize and correct some of their own errors, and they become more comfortable initiating and sustaining conversations. At this stage, the second language learner speaks in short sentences. Learners also begin to expand on simple sentences, displaying knowledge of additional grammatical elements of sentences. The student learner may begin to master conversational language skills but is not likely to have developed extensive proficiency in academic language.

A teacher may assist the student by modeling a complete utterance and asking the specific, clarifying questions.

Simple descriptions and comparisons, as well as sequencing events, may help in the classroom. Graphic organizers that illustrate relationships among ideas, for example, may be useful for scaffolding language during this stage. The Language Experience Approach (LEA) is an instructional strategy teachers often use to assist students at this stage of their second language learning. Students at this stage may begin to read and write, producing simple written sentences. Using the LEA strategy, students dictate to the teacher short narratives or dialogues based on their personal experiences. The teacher records those experiences, then reads the piece back or asks the students to read them back. In this approach, meaningful vocabulary is acquired through dialogue with the teacher and among the students (if LEA is conducted as a group activity).

ACTIVITY: Language Experience Approach

Identify a topic of interest to a second language learner or have her choose one. For example, the student may excel at soccer and be knowledgeable about the equipment and rules of the game. Using the Language Experience Approach described above, ask the student to talk about her experience playing soccer. The student can do this by telling a story or recounting an event that took place. Record what the student said using the board, chart paper, overhead, or computer. Read back what the student has said (repeating the sentences correctly). Point to the words. As a follow up activity, you might ask the student to read the piece aloud. Alternatively, you might make certain word cards based on the meaningful words the student used. The student may take the story and word cards home.

At the stage of intermediate language proficiency, second language learners begin to engage in verbal conversations with a higher level of comprehension. Second language learners are typically able to produce narratives and to interact more extensively with other speakers. Students make fewer speech errors, have a good command of conversational fluency, and begin to acquire academic language. As a result of this development, instructional strategies used in the classroom should focus on both language development and subject matter content.

Specially Designed Academic Instruction in English (SDAIE), also known as sheltered instruction, is a technique that a teacher may use once the student has attained intermediate-level fluency in English. SDAIE classrooms teach grade-level content material through modified grammar and vocabulary. Teachers also use some of the visual supports and realia found in the classroom. SDAIE is a strategy that counters the common complaint that second language learners are handed a "watered-down" curriculum. Rather, SDAIE aims to make input comprehensible so that second language learners can acquire academic language—all while providing a supportive, effective learning environment.

The instructional strategies used by teachers are designed to make input comprehensible in a meaningful context. To do this, teachers must understand the language proficiency of the students and the content and vocabulary of the lesson they're teaching. Teachers become conscious of the language used in the lesson by scanning and reviewing the language of the text. They seek to make new vocabulary and academic language comprehensible to the students by using visual clues (gestures, body language, pictures, etc.). Vocabulary development is essential to academic language proficiency (Cummins, 2001a).

In the advanced stage of language development, second language learners approach native speakers' ability to use multiple "registers" of language, progressing in their development and knowledge of academic language. "Register" refers to a specialized type of talk or writing that is used either to conduct a particular activity or to communicate with a particular group when engaged in that activity (one example is legalese—a register used among law professionals and others knowledgeable of law). Even students who were previously enrolled in bilingual education programs that gave them first and/or second language support are likely to continue to need support at this advanced stage. Teachers working with second language learners are faced with the dual task of enhancing students' second language while providing content area instruction.

Certain instructional strategies can be used to support the academic language proficiency of students. Ideally, language use and curricular content material should be integrated rather than taught as isolated subjects. Scholars suggest that active and meaningful learning occurs when the learning process goes beyond memorizing discrete facts and rules. Language is more readily acquired when it is used to transmit messages in natural forms of communication rather than when it is explicitly taught.

"Cognates" refers to the relationships among languages that are historically derived from the same source.

At this advanced stage of language development, students' exposure to increasingly complex texts appears to be critical to their acquisition of academic language. Cummins (2001a) has suggested that at higher levels the constructs of vocabulary acquisition (namely students' lexicon or dictionary) and academic language proficiency are virtually indistinguishable. Therefore, teachers should focus on using texts that expose students to increasingly complex academic language. For certain groups of second language learners, the first language may act as a bridge to English through the use of cognates. "Cognates" refers to the relationships among languages that are historically derived from the same source. For example, a certain word in French will resemble the same word in Spanish, as with the words for book: *livre* and *libro*. Similarly, cognates exist for languages such as English and Spanish, as with the Spanish word for civilization: *civilización*. Raising students' awareness of the relationships among words—especially through exposure to text and classroom discussion about language—will help them draw on their own linguistic repertoires and will facilitate their acquisition of academic language.

Models of Bilingual Education

We wish to round out this chapter on Learning a Second Language by discussing various models of bilingual education. Now that you have an understanding of the major theories underlying second language acquisition and the general stages that learners pass through while acquiring a second language, we wish to present an overview of the most widely followed models of bilingual education. It is important to bear in mind that none of these types of programs are prototypical—that is, there is tremendous variation in the scope and implementation of actual programs for second language learners. Issues that affect a program's scope and implementation include funding, access to trained teachers, support (both community and administrative) for the programs, and the first language background of students (as with dual-language immersion programs). We also believe that while certain guidelines may be useful in implementing a quality program, the program itself should not be so prescriptive that its implementation lacks imagination, creativity, and adaptability to individual learners.

Quality bilingual education programs generally share a number of characteristics: highly trained bilingual, bicultural teachers; quality curriculum; community and parental support; and high expectations for students (Brisk, 1998). We believe, however, that regardless of program type, all quality educational programs share the principle that students bring valuable resources (including linguistic repertoire) to the classroom. The interaction that occurs between student and teacher should tap into these resources in collaborative and powerfully affirming ways. We expand upon this theme in the concluding section of this chapter.

In the United States there is a wide array of programs and instructional strategies in which English language learners participate. Scholars in the field of bilingual education, however, have yet to agree on uniform terminology for such programs (compare, for example, Brisk, 1998 and Baker, 1997), rendering quite tenuous any conclusions drawn from research on program evaluation and program effectiveness (August and Hakuta, 1997). Further, the actual language

environment (including how language is used) of a particular program may diverge from a program's stated type (Ramirez, Yuen, & Ramey, 1991). For example, Escamilla's (1994) case study of the sociolinguistic environment of an elementary school in California revealed that the school favored English language use in a variety of contexts (such as in the parent handbook) despite its stated policy of bilingualism. Similarly, Coady (2001) found that English was used as an instructional strategy and was largely present in written forms in the classrooms of two all-Irish schools in the Republic of Ireland. Thus, the stated program model differed from what was actually implemented in practice.

Finally, program names can be deceptive. For example, the use of the term "immersion" in the United States, as with Structured English immersion, has been misleadingly equated with immersion programs in Europe and Canada, as in French immersion programs in Canada or all-Irish schools known as *Gaelscoileanna* in Ireland (see Johnson & Swain, 1997). The former programs are directed toward language minority students in the United States and have as their goal English monolingualism; the latter programs target language majority students with the goal of bilingualism and biliteracy. Thus, it is clear that not only is the target population different, but the program objectives and outcome goals diverge as well.

It is important, nevertheless, to highlight some of the more common program types that are currently implemented in the United States. **Table 1** on page 51, adapted from Baker (1997), reveals some of the differences and similarities among program structures and program types.

TABLE 1

Selected Models of Bilingual Education Adapted from Baker (1997)

TYPE OF PROGRAM	TYPICAL TYPE OF CHILD	LANGUAGE OF THE CLASSROOM	SOCIETAL AND EDUCATIONAL AIMS	AIM IN LANGUAGE OUTCOME
Submersion	Language minority	Majority language	Assimilation	Mono-lingualism
Submersion (withdrawal classes)	Language minority	Majority language with "pullout" second language lessons	Assimilation	Mono-lingualism
Transitional	Language minority	From minority language to majority language	Assimilation	Relative mono-lingualism
Immersion	Language majority	Bilingual (emphasis on second language)	Pluralism and enrichment	Bilingualism and biliteracy
Two-way/ dual language immersion	Language majority and language minority (often 50-50)	Minority and majority	Maintenance for minority students, pluralism, and enrichment	Bilingualism and biliteracy

Based on Baker's classification, immersion programs for language minority students in the United States would be more accurately classified as submersion programs or submersion programs with English language withdrawal/support classes.

Regardless of what a particular program or model of bilingual education is dubbed, it is important to consider both the societal and educational aims of the program and the language outcomes. Nevertheless, the name and type of program should not be misrepresented. For example, a submersion program in Baker's typology has assimilation and monolingualism as its aims and outcomes. These aims and outcomes would hold true for most English immersion programs in the United States, a theoretical model advanced by opponents of bilingual education programs. In Baker's typology, however, immersion programs for language minority children would aim for pluralism, enrichment, and bilingualism/biliteracy. So, we need to look beyond a particular program model to the actual characteristics that describe language development and outcome objectives.

Effective bilingual education programs empower students through maintaining and developing their first language (and identity) while engaging them fully with a broader, English-speaking society. Through critical examination of language, students are able to address social realities and challenge uneven social relationships. Ultimately, the critical examination of language (analyzing forms and uses of language) serves to heighten students' and teachers' awareness of the social realities and complex sociopolitical structures that perpetuate uneven power relationships. Language and knowledge about language are empowering in that they equip students with the tools they need to challenge existing social realties.

This chapter of *The Diversity Kit* has focused on various aspects of learning a second language, including the theories underlying second language acquisition, developmental stages and instructional strategies, and models of bilingual education. At the beginning of the chapter we urged you to become an educational linguist in your own classroom or community. We encourage you to continue your exploration into the ways in which languages are learned and used and how knowledge of language can empower students.