Communication and Information Technology in (Intercultural) Language Teaching

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By

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CAMBRIDGE SCHOLARS PUBLISHING

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This book first published 2013

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

12 Back Chapman Street, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2XX, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN (10): 1-4438-5143-4, ISBN (13): 978-1-4438-5143-5

To Eliza, Melania and Mateusz

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It would not have been possible for me to write this book without the help and support of the people whom I would like to give particular mention at this point.

As the present book is a revised version of my PhD dissertation, first and foremost, I wish to thank my PhD supervisor, professor Hanna Komorowska, Warsaw University. It was a great honour for me to have an opportunity to work under her academic guidance, which I found extremely stimulating and instrumental in completing this publication. I would particularly like to thank her for the understanding and constructive criticism that I received from her throughout the writing process.

In addition, I am truly grateful to professor Romuald Gozdawa-Gołębiowski, Warsaw University, and professor Krystyna Drozdział-Szelest, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, for invaluably constructive criticism.

I am obliged to many of my colleagues who in various ways supported me as I worked on this publication. In particular, I would like to thank Marek Bielecki, NKJO, Łowicz, and Jan Dutka, NKJO Sieradz, for their readiness to help as well as for acting as professional role models for me to follow.

I also wish to express gratitude to Michael Houten and Aiden Thorne, British Council, for introducing me to the world of in-service teacher training and modern technologies in language education as well as dr Anna Tomczak, Białystok University, for words of encouragement and sharing vital resources with me.

Last but not least, I am truly indebted and thankful to all my family, who showed unrelenting support, understanding, patience and resourcefulness that enabled me to work in comfort.

INTRODUCTION

The twenty-first century so far has been a period of increased internationalisation and globalisation, which has been stimulated by educational, economic and professional mobility as well as the steadily growing use of information and communication technology. In the wake of the process, not only the already-heterogeneous societies of today are becoming even more multilingual and multicultural. In relatively monolithic contexts, the ICT-enhanced flow of information in what is referred to as *knowledge society* has translated into the diversification of people's viewpoints and lifestyles, and intercultural encounters are being experienced even by those who do not travel abroad. As a consequence, the ability to cope with otherness, communicate successfully with strangers, be it from one's immediate or more remote social circles, and use ICT is now an indispensable key with which to unlock the cultural riddles of reality.

The responsibility for the provision of this key to members of society lies, to a large extent, with the education system, particularly with foreign language teachers, who by default are supposed to prepare learners for contact with strangers and effective international/intercultural communication. Therefore, it is desirable that modern day EFL teaching embraces not only the development of language skills per se, but also intercultural training and the implementation of computer technology.

The idea of promoting intercultural awareness and developing learners' ICT skills has been endorsed by international organisations, e.g. the Council of Europe, the United Nations and UNESCO, as well as international and national educational documents, including *The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR 2001), *UNESCO Guidelines on Intercultural Education* (UNESCO 2006) and *Podstawa programowa* (MEN 2008) for public schools in Poland.

This book constitutes an attempt to demonstrate how the aforementioned international language teaching agenda translates into actual classroom practices at national level, as illustrated by the situation in Poland. To be more precise, the aim of this book is to research the manner in which teachers of English in Poland utilise information and communication technology in the EFL classroom for the purpose of teaching language and culture as well as fostering the development of

learners' intercultural competence. Moreover, the research conducted is supposed to demonstrate whether selected Computer Assisted Language Learning (CALL) software, available in Poland, permits the development of the learner's intercultural competence, and which of its components are featured within the programs.

In Chapter One the notion of culture is elucidated, as well as the interrelation between culture, language and communication, including an analysis of earlier publications in this area, e.g. Whorf (1956), the literature of the 1970s and 1980s, e.g. Geertz (1973), Lakoff & Johnson (1980), and the most recent publications, e.g. Moran (2001) or Riley (2007). The chapter additionally outlines the role of the cultural component in foreign language teaching on the basis of the glottodidactic literature of the last twenty-six years, e.g. Richards & Rogers (1986), Aleksandrowicz-Pędich (2005), and Komorowska (2009). The author analyses the validity of teaching culture within language education and discusses the changing status of a native-speaker teacher of English in today's world, where English functions as a *lingua franca*, i.e. a language for international communication (Kachru 1985; Medgyes 2001; Graddol 2006; Ronowicz & Yallop 2007).

Chapter Two is devoted to the very concept of intercultural teaching and its role in language education. The need to develop foreign language learners' intercultural competence is discussed here as well as the presence of an intercultural component in international educational documents. This chapter also presents intercultural teaching through a comparison with the so-called British Studies/Landeskunde approach. Particular attention is drawn to the model of *intercultural competence* as proposed by Byram (1997) and numerous other authors, e.g. Ruben (1976), Komorowska (1999), Jandt (2001) and Kohonen (2001). Chapter Two ends with a presentation of Risager's (2007) extended model of intercultural competence.

Chapter Three accounts various implementations of the intercultural approach to foreign language teaching, with regard to the EFL context, as advocated by Byram (1998), Zarate et al. (2004) and Bandura (2007). It opens with a discussion of learner and teacher roles in intercultural language teaching. Subsequently, alternative approaches to intercultural teaching are presented, along with an array of techniques in intercultural language teaching (Damen 1987; Corbett 2003).

Chapter Four concerns computer assisted language education. It features an description of the developmental stages of CALL, presents types of CALL software and computer-based work modes in the foreign language (e.g. Warschauer 1996; Gajek 2002; Belisle 2007; Krajka 2007).

Chapter Five outlines the utilisation of ICT for the purpose of intercultural language teaching. It demonstrates the rationale of the use of ICT, including the internet, in intercultural teaching, along with the potential advantages and disadvantages of ICT-enhanced instruction (e.g. Fitzpatrick 2007; Gajek 2007; Risager 2007). Computer-enhanced techniques in intercultural language teaching are also discussed here (e. g. Liaw 2006; Żylińska 2007; Levy 2007; Gajek 2009). In addition, a range of criteria for the evaluation of computer assisted language (and culture) learning materials are reviewed (e.g. Byram 1991; Cunningsworth 1995; Skopinskaja 2003; Hanušova 2006; Davies 2009). Finally, a checklist of criteria for the evaluation of the intercultural component of CALL software is proposed.

Chapter Six delineates the aims, research questions, methods and techniques which were used in order to examine to what degree and in what manner Polish EFL teachers utilise ICT while teaching English as a foreign language and developing learners' intercultural competence. The research was administered on a sample of 105 EFL teachers from Poland's primary and junior/senior high schools as well as teacher educators employed at the country's teacher training colleges. It aimed at diagnosing the following: the technological and organisational setting in which Polish ELF teachers function; their attitudes to ICT, ICT skills and qualifications; the manner in which Polish teachers utilise ICT while teaching English as a foreign language and developing learners' intercultural competence as well as ICT-related problems which they face. Subsequently, the results of the study are presented, together with conclusions drawn from the findings.

Chapter Seven is a report of a research study in which 6 CALL multimedia programs, addressed to junior/senior high school EFL learners, were evaluated. The evaluation focused on the presence of intercultural content and activities in the programs examined. The evaluation was based on an original evaluation checklist proposed by the author of the study, and it was motivated by the following research questions:

- Does CALL software targeting lower/upper secondary school level audiences available in Poland permit learners to work on the major components of intercultural competence such as: attitudes, knowledge, skills of interpreting and relating, skills of discovery and interaction, critical cultural awareness?;
- Does CALL software targeting lower/upper secondary school level audiences available in Poland feature technological functionalities which facilitate intercultural learning such as: advanced search options, task

authoring tools, cultural explanation, insightful audio-visuals, annotation tools, supplementary cultural materials, and online communication tools?

The chapter also contains a discussion of the findings and is rounded up by a set of conclusions drawn from the results obtained within both research modules, comments on the validity of the results and implications for further research. The present author believes that the research will permit improvement in language teaching and teacher education with regard to intercultural training and the implementation of ICT. At the same time, it will allow a revision of the content of internationally available CALL software in terms of the features which foster intercultural training. Finally, the studies conducted may potentially motivate further research pertaining to the teaching of language and culture with the use of information and communication technology in the foreign language classroom.

CHAPTER ONE

VIEWS OF CULTURE AND THE PLACE OF CULTURE IN EFL TEACHING

"Tolerance, inter-cultural dialogue and respect for diversity are more essential than ever in a world where peoples are becoming more and more closely interconnected."
—Kofi Annan, Former Secretary-General of the United Nations

1. Culture

1.1 The Concept of Culture

As culture is extremely broad in scope, it has been defined in a multitude of manners, and from numerous perspectives. It was nearly 60 years ago that Kluckhohn and Kroeber (1952) had arrived at over 160 definitions of the term, while two decades later, in the 1970s, Kaplan and Manners (1972) deemed culture too complex for analysis. Sztompka (2002) reports that today the number of definitions has increased to over 200, and Gozdawa-Gołębiowski (2006) tentatively suggests that an interdisciplinary definition of culture is impossible.

As Riley observes, the notion is "highly polysemic, not to say frustratingly ambiguous, and yet it is (...) essential to any understanding of the modern social sciences" (Riley 2007: 21). Consequently, one cannot discuss the process of teaching culture, or – more pertinently to the purpose of this book – language and culture, without venturing to understand the concept. Aleksandrowicz-Pędich (2005) observes that *culture* embraces the fine arts as well as good manners, but also behavioural styles, values, perceptions and thought patterns. Paradoxically, this multi-faceted nature of the notion may be an advantage, as a variety of definitions helps one look at culture extensively, i.e. inclusively rather than exclusively, which in Aleksandrowicz-Pędich's (2005) view, is an indispensable component of the intercultural approach to foreign language teaching.

Fenner (2000) briefly outlines the evolution of the term *culture* throughout history. According to her, up to the Early Renaissance culture was viewed as "the classical cultural heritage" (Fenner 2000: 143). In Romanticism the term was expanded to embrace "national culture and identity" (Fenner 2000: 143) and people's way of life. In the 20th century culture ceased to be perceived as national and set; instead, people's power to construct their own culture through a selection of multiple identities was recognised, which added a personal dimension to the concept. Particular cultures began to be perceived as "creative responses to the human condition" (Bredella 1988: 3).

Culture has been examined by various sciences, which, in turn, have developed different perspectives on it. In the 1940s, anthropologists Kluckhohn and Kelly proposed that culture was "all those historically created designs for living explicit and implicit, rational, irrational, and non-rational, which exist at any given time as potential guides for the behaviour of men" (Kluckhohn & Kelly 1945: 54).

Culture as communication derives from Hall, who in his seminal work *The Silent Language* (Hall 1959) demonstrated how particular culture groups use a repertoire of means through which their members communicate, e.g. language in both its verbal and non-verbal forms, such as kinesics, oculesics or olfactics, to name a few.

In the 1970s Chałasiński (1973) emphasised that culture was a projection of people, and their group/individual values. In addition, he referred to culture as "the shape of human life" (My translation) (Chałasiński 1973: 9), which linked culture to human personality and its development over time. Another social view of culture came from Crommager, who defined culture as "a bundle of patterns of behaviour, habits of conduct, customs, laws, beliefs, and indistinctive responses that are displayed by a society" (Crommager 1970: 161).

At roughly the same time, Geertz (1973) presented culture as dynamic, and defined it as values, beliefs or attitudes that people develop in specific social contexts. What this definition implies is that values, beliefs and attitudes do not last unchanged over time. Instead, they constantly fluctuate depending on the social situation in which a given group of people or its individual members find themselves. Geertz claimed that culture was "a historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions, expressed in symbolic form by means of which men communicate, perpetuate and develop their knowledge about and attitudes towards life" (Geertz 1973: 89). Especially the end of the quotation is significant, as it puts emphasis on people's attitudes and implies that those attitudes are subject to constant change. A

similar view was more recently expressed by Suchodolski (1987), who suggested that culture only appears to be permanent, while it actually evolves perpetually. Other congruent views of culture derive from Leach (1982) as well as Montgomery (2003), who also highlighted culture as dynamic, i.e. unstable over time and subject to permanent change.

In the 1980s, a socio-historical perspective on culture was adopted by Valette (1986), who depicted culture as two components: (i) sociological, which covered attitudes, customs, daily activities, including language, values and ways of thinking (thought patterns); and (ii) heritage, i.e. the history of civilisation, which features geography, history as well as scientific and artistic achievements.

Goodenough (1964) viewed culture as ways of perceiving, relating and interpreting the world, a universal knowledge possessed by all people. This definition is congruent with Kramsch's (1998b) and Alptekin's (1993), both of which present culture as a filter, or frame, of perception through which people conceive of reality. On societal level, Goodenough (1964) believed that culture is a combination of knowledge and beliefs that people need in order to be accepted by a particular social group. As Hofstede remarked, culture is a kind of "collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category from people of another" (Hofstede 1994: 5).

A noticeable trend in the discussion of culture throughout the 1980s was an attempt to draw attention to the explicit and tacit elements of it, as illustrated by the metaphor of culture proposed by Weaver (1986). He conceptualised culture as an iceberg, whereby he indicated that every cultural system consists of three layers: (i) behaviour, which is its most salient aspect, thus placed above the water surface; (ii) beliefs, which are half-tacit and half-observable, e.g. in part they may be explicitly expressed or clearly implied by the members of a cultural community; and (iii) values and thought patterns, which remain invisible unless carefully examined. A similar iceberg metaphor was offered by Levine and Adelman (1993), who placed language and artefacts above the water level, and put beliefs, attitudes and values underneath it.

Irrespective of the details of either model, the iceberg metaphor indicates that what outsiders to a given culture notice at first is behaviour, however, what they are normally blind to is the motives behind the behaviour observed.

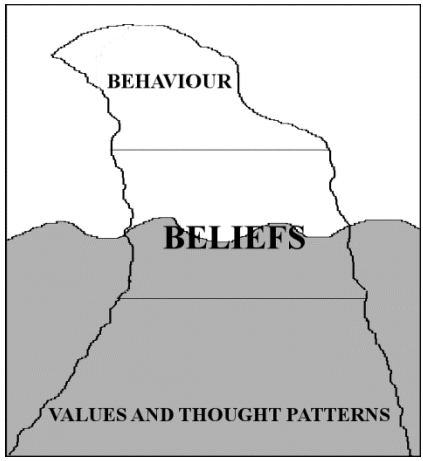

Fig. 1-1

Williams (1965) distinguished between three categories of anthropological categories of culture" (i) ideal, i.e. viewed as a process or state of human development with regard to universal values; (ii) documentary, within which culture is a body of work that constitutes a record of human thought and experience; and (iii) social, where culture is treated as a broadly-perceived way of life which embeds meanings and values, and which, as Leach (1982) states, may be used differently by various sub-groups within a given society.

At the turn of the 1980s and 1990s social sciences examined culture as the attitudes, beliefs and thought patterns shared by particular social groups (Nostrand 1989), or – in Brislin's (1990) words – they targeted the ideals, values and assumptions that members of communities commonly chose to adhere to.

In the 1990s language educators ventured to define culture for the purpose of foreign language teaching as a reality of products, exemplified by literature, music and artefacts; beliefs, values and institutions; as well as behaviour, manifesting itself in the customs, work and leisure of cultural groups (Tomalin & Stempleski 1993). If Tomalin and Stempleski's model is delineated along the lines of the iceberg metaphor of culture, it may be seen as an extension of the explicit layer of culture, i.e. behaviour, as it adds cultural products and institutions to it. This idea seems to be supported by Byram (1989), who observes that societal institutions can be described through observable behaviour. However, he

notes that their cultural significance surfaces only when it is analysed in terms of meanings and beliefs that underpin them.

In addition, Tomalin and Stempleski perceived culture as civilisation and distinguished two of its types: "achievement culture" (Tomalin & Stempleski 1993: 6), also labelled as 'Big C' culture (Halverson 1985; Tomalin & Stempleski 1993), which embraces history, geography, art, music, and architecture; and 'little c' culture (Tomalin & Stempleski 1993), or 'small c' culture (Halverson 1985), which comprises customs, traditions, and practices. In Tomalin and Stempleski's (1993) view, 'little c' culture includes: behaviours (customs, habits, dress, foods and leisure), products (popular literature, folklore, popular music, popular art and artefacts), and ideas (beliefs, values and institutions). A similar distinction was made more recently by Khanevitch (2005), who talked about 'big C' culture as *high culture* or *elite culture*, and used the term *popular culture* for 'little c' culture, with the caveat that most of the popular culture of today is mass culture at the same time as it is distributed and promoted through the mass-media.

In humanistic sciences culture will normally denote the manner in which social groups represent themselves to the outside world through e.g. literature, art or artefacts as well as the processes that they engage in order to preserve such representations throughout the course of history (Kramsch 1999).

Culture as a general concept is normally defined from the perspective of culture-general behavioural patterns, attitudes and values (Moran 2001), the knowledge of which, in Kohls and Knight's (1994) view, underlies intercultural awareness. This kind of awareness enables one to examine potential aspects of culture which can lead to intercultural conflicts (Moran 2001).

Culture approached from the angle of intercultural communication is mostly studied in terms of factors that relate to "(…) the capacity and ability to enter other cultures and communicate effectively and appropriately, establish and maintain relationships, and carry out tasks with people of these cultures" (Moran 2001: 5). What is taken into account here is therefore the processes that accompany intercultural communicative situations which can help people mediate the differences that they experience in such contexts. Byram's (1997; 2008) intercultural communicative competence, set to be the goal of intercultural foreign language teaching, embraces this view of culture.

Culture may also be perceived as a platform for various communities within larger social groups, e.g. "the haves and the have-nots, the privileged and the underprivileged, or the oppressors and the oppressed"

(Moran 2001: 5), to struggle in order to secure the social, economic or political position that they would like to occupy. The same view has been aptly expressed by Fiske, who sees culture as: "(…) not a relatively harmonious and stable pool of significations, but a confrontation between groups occupying different, sometimes opposing positions in the map of social relations (…)" (Fiske 1989: 58). He continues to add that "(…) the process of making meanings (which is, after all, the process of culture) is a social struggle, as different groups struggle to establish meanings that serve their interests" (Fiske 1989: 58).

All in all, Moran (2001: 4-5) has attempted to systematise the views of culture that have emerged so far by assigning them to seven distinct categories: (i) culture as civilisation, (ii) culture as communication, (iii) culture as a general concept, (iv) culture in terms of intercultural communication, and (v) culture as a platform for group community interaction, (vi) culture as dynamic construction between and among people, and (vii) culture from the perspective of evolutionary psychology.

Currently, culture is viewed as a filter which shapes people's perceptions of the world. It is also an entity that individuals do not only passively enter through socialisation, but are capable of shaping themselves. Therefore, within intercultural communication – in congruence with the views of anthropologists such as Leach (1982), Suchodolski (1987) and Montgomery (2003) – culture is recognised as dialectic in nature and dynamic (Fenner 2000).

In evolutionary psychology it is recognised as a set of universals, such as music, language or facial expressions, which human beings use to communicate. Yet, this view of culture – although reminiscent of what Hall (1959) proposed in the 1950s – does not so much focus on difference, but rather perceives culture in terms of common biological features that stem from the nature of the human brain (Moran 2001). Similarly to Bonvillain (1997), Camilleri Grima also credits culture with the power to provide the "rules of the [communication] game" (Camilleri Grima 2002: 9). However, what must be observed is that although these concepts all relate to appropriate ways of communicating in a given language and culture, they mostly signify verbal expression, thus ignoring what Hall (1959) put to the fore.

In Moran's opinion, arriving at a synthetic anthropological definition of culture is an impossible task due to the various approaches and perspectives adopted by particular scholars, but also because of the complexity of culture per se. Thus, what he postulates as a solution to the conundrum is that "We have to accept and embrace the complexity of

culture. The challenge is finding a simple approach to its complexities" (Moran 2001: 23).

More insight into culture in the context of language teaching can be gained if one examines how culture relates to language and, or even more broadly, to communication.

1.2 Language and culture

According to Zawadzka (2004), the relationship between language and culture has been under examination since the eighteenth century. The sciences involved in the study of the issue include: linguistics, ethnography, social psychology and cognitive psychology, but the problem has been most closely investigated within: (linguistic) anthropology, sociolinguistics and ethnolinguistics.

Anthropological perspective. It was in anthropology that the link between language and culture was fully recognised. As respected anthropologist Malinowski (1922) proposed in the 1920s, cultures should be studied through direct participation, and with attention to all the possibly observable practices of social groups, including language. In Malinowski's (ibid.) view, language was not a mere expression of culture but also a means of encoding culture, thus he believed that language was interwoven into the fabric of culture.

In the 1950s American Structural Linguistics raised the question of whether it was the world that people lived in that shaped the language that they used. The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis (Whorf 1956) provided a negative answer by maintaining that the opposite was true, i.e. the language people spoke determined the way they perceived the world. **"**Language is not simply a reporting device for experience but a defining framework for it" (Whorf 1956: 252).

Relatively recently, Douglas Brown (1986) subscribed to this point of view by claiming that words shape people's lives, as the verbal labels people use to understand what they observe have an impact on information recall, sentence structure, and thought patterns, while organised discourse, e.g. an emotional speech, may have the power to persuade.

On the other hand, scholars such as Wardhough (Douglas Brown 1986), or more recently Pinker (2002), formulated anti-theses provided evidence to devalue the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis.

The two schools of thought were in a sense conciliated by linguistic anthropologist Boas (1986), who observed while European languages enable their speakers to discuss abstract ideas, as European civilisation is based on philosophy, Indian languages are much more specialised in that

they allow their speakers to express mostly daily activities. However, he concluded that Indian languages are not restrictive; they simply reflect the world and needs of the communities that they serve.

Douglas Brown (1986) stated that as world views differ, the language used to express them is likely to be relative and specific, but at the same time, he postulated that the debate on the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis in the light of research findings is totally irrelevant to language educators. He expressed the view that irrespective of whether it is language that shapes human perception and culture or whether it is the environment – or culture – that moulds linguistic expression, the same conclusion can be drawn from the dispute: language and culture interact.

In modern times, Gozdawa-Gołębiowski (2006) is also of the opinion that language and culture are inseparably interconnected, however, the debate on the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis continues. Pawelec (2006) analyses three possible interpretations of the hypothesis: *linguistic determinism*, *linguistic relativism*, and the *thinking for speaking* perspective, and concludes that the latest one, i.e. *thinking for speaking*, seems to best reflect reality, where language offers its speakers a possible frame of mind, a perspective on the world that they may adopt; the final choice, however, lies with the speaker. Corbett is more cautious and prefers to view languages as "maps of *cultural priorities*, not *cognitive possibilities*" (2003: 8).

One must be cognisant of the fact that despite the research and findings of American Structuralism, linguistics was almost simultaneously – for a long time – dominated by the view of language proposed by Chomsky (1965), who practically removed culture from any considerations of the nature of language as he discussed language from the perspective of linguistic competence, i.e. purely linguistic rules which would enable language users to receive and produce language accurately.

At the same time, Hockett (1960) expressed his belief that language is a culturally transmitted phenomenon which is passed on from one generation to another. Interestingly enough, as psycholinguists Krauss and Chiu (1998) recently noticed, this cultural transmission occurs through language per se. Cognitive psychologist Vygotsky (1962) also viewed language as determined by cultural processes – an expression of contextual world.

Sociolinguistic perspective. It was within sociolinguistics, especially ethnography of communication, that Chomsky's limited view of language was elaborated through the introduction of Hymes' (1972) concept of communicative competence, which apart from linguistic competence highlighted the necessity of sociolinguistic competence, viewed as a tool

which would enable language users to act not only accurately but also appropriately, depending on a given context of language use.

Larson and Smalley related language to culture by defining the former as a form of human behaviour – linguistic behaviour. Consequently, they believed that language depends on culture, which, as they claimed, "guides the behaviour of people in a community" (Larson & Smalley 1972: 39).

A number of scholars and researchers examined the bond between language and culture through the 1980s/1990s, e.g. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) proposed that metaphors represent people's experience; Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) examined speech acts and discourse as means of cultural expression; Halliday (1990) underlined the strong interconnection between language and culture, and claimed that the grammar, vocabulary and metaphors that people use are culture, while Keller (Kramsch 1993) traced stereotypes and self/other-perceptions as cultural components of language.

In the 1990s Kuper (1999) presented an inclusive definition of culture which covered: knowledge, including traditions, a social group's history, common sense, beliefs, attitudes, values and language.

In the same decade Duranti defined a relatively young scientific discipline aimed at studying "language as a cultural resource and speaking as a cultural practice" (Duranti 1997: 3), which most recently, Riley (2007) labelled as linguistic anthropology, anthropological linguistics or ethnolinguistics. As a matter of fact, it may be stated that its very emergence confirms that language and culture relate to each other.

As Riley illustrates, ethnolinguists relate language to thought by maintaining that "language is at one and the same time the tool, the contents and the form of human thought" (Riley 2007: 9), and thought and thinking patterns, in turn, are elements of culture. "Human beings can think because they are blessed with the gift of language, but their thoughts are necessarily expressed in and on the terms of the specific language they use, 'their mother tongue'. Germans think like Germans because they think in German" (Riley 2007: 25).

Zawadzka (2004) rounds up the findings of ethnolinguistics, sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology with regard to the bond between language and culture and maintains that the above-cited sciences collectively view language as an element of culture, its product, carrier, and a tool for constructing the latter. Additionally, it is a record of culture-bound perception modes, but also a tool with which to receive and interpret reality. An illustration is provided by Sharwood-Smith's (2007) discussion of cultural shibboleths, in the course of which the author states

that language can serve as a gate-keeping practice through which social/cultural strangers can be detected.

Pedagogical perspective. Valdes (1986) maintained that language, thought and culture are inextricably interwoven, and illustrated this by examining what cultural information can be detected within language. Language carries cultural values, such as efficiency, which is reflected through the brevity and directness of American English. Words in a language system often illustrate the environment in which a particular social group uses it. For example, Boas (1986) reported that in Eskimo languages there are many more words for snow than in any other language.

Even the structure of language has cultural significance, as the degree of formality that speakers use is culturally-motivated. In addition, language exerts influence on people, e.g. when the language of advertising enters daily vocabulary, in much the same manner as people influence language; after all, the language of advertising is created by people themselves (Valdes 1986).

Sell (1995) demonstrates that language is a component of culture by stating that without knowing the culture beyond a given language system, one cannot understand what signified objects are denoted by particular linguistic signifiers. As Sell explains, language cannot be interpreted literally, as what meets the eye is not what the text purports to express. This hidden layer of text is only decipherable to someone who is familiar with the culture within which it was originally encoded. Sell even suggests that seemingly nonsensical statements in a language may be ascribed a logical meaning to by a person who has an extensive knowledge of the culture behind it. In a similar vein, Jones (1990) sheds light on the relationship between language and culture by discussing how a text is received by a reader. The degree to which the reader finds a text understandable depends on the degree to which the culture of production, i.e. the culture from which the text originates, is in congruence with the culture of reception, i.e. the culture of the reader.

As Bakhtin (1992) remarks, language is saturated with other people's intentions, which reflect the thought patterns, ideals and values that others live by. McCarthy and Carter (1994: 155) refer to the latter collectively as people's "cultural frames of reference". Montgomery and Reid-Thomas (1994) maintain that culture and language are interrelated and culture is actually expressed through the medium of language.

Byram and Fleming (1998) view language as a carrier of culture in that the former helps speakers maintain a sense of belonging to social groups through the connotations and associations that it conveys. However,

Kramsch (1993) comments that if language is defined exclusively in such terms – which it very often is – and if it is reduced to the role of a cultural transmitter, it is not a part of culture. She suggests that language be perceived as a social practice, in which case, culture becomes its core element. In Taylor's words, language expresses meanings, which are a part and reflection of social practices – modes of social relation (Byram 1989). Stubbs (1995) seems to subscribe to this point to view when he notices that phraseological analysis of the collocations of a given language system depicts the perspectives of its users, e.g. sexism in the world perceptions of the native speakers of English.

Pulverness states that "To attempt to divorce language from its cultural context is to ignore the social circumstances which give it resonance and meaning" (Pulverness 1999: 101). Kramsch (1999) also sees culture as constructed through language, and adds that attitudes and ideas do not exist outside language.

Fenner (2000) sees culture as text, which in form and content is both an expression of culture and its carrier. She actually equates language with culture and does not doubt that language is indeed culture. Simultaneously, it must be underlined that her view of language as text exceeds the verbal dimension, and covers e.g. works of visual art, such as paintings, which converges with Corbett's (2003) extended view of text.

The realisation of intricate bonds between language and culture has led various scholars to developing a number of words that capture both notions under a single umbrella term, e.g. Kramsch's (1989) and Agar's *languaculture* (1994), or Fantini's (2002) *linguaculture*. In culture pedagogy Byram, Morgan et al. (1994) have coined *language-and-culture*, Crozet and Liddicoat (1997) have come up with *culture-in-language* and Galisson uses *language-culture* (Risager 2007). Moran (2001) chooses to apply the term *language-and-culture*, which seems to represent a moderate view of the link between language and culture, within which both components can be perceived separately, as well as in combination. He believes that language is a product of culture, it is used by cultural groups to execute their practices and name the perspectives that they follow when analysing the world. Simultaneously, language is also used to participate in and identify with a culture. All in all, to him language and culture are mutual reflections of each other – they can be seen in and through each other.

Montgomery claims that "(...) culture is implicated in every instance of language in use" (2003: ix), and language is used against a cultural background of social practice, value, belief and symbol.

Aleksandrowicz-Pędich (2005) states that language is an integral component of culture in many ways: it is a carrier of culture, its direct manifestation, as well as a benchmark for tracing cultural alterations. Her view resounds the words of Kramsch (1989), who maintained that language does not only express but also embodies and symbolises cultural reality.

Bogusławski (2006) argues that culture cannot exist without language, as e.g. moral norms, religious behaviours, customs, inventions, technology, sports and artistic activities, i.e. components of culture, are impossible without language. At the same time, language suffices for all of them to come into being.

Finally, Ash (2007) confirms that language and culture interact, as he observes that differences in language dialects in the United States of America appear to be determined by the cultural groups that use them. Evidence which supports this statement is the fact that the boundaries of language dialects across the United States coincide with the lines of cultural regions.

1.3 Culture and communication

The need to separate a discussion of the bonds between language and culture from that of the links between culture and communication stems from the fact that not all communication involves language. Hall (1959) testified to this point of view by observing that Americans speak only 5-11 minutes during the day. Most of their daily communication is, therefore, realised through non-linguistic means. As Birdwhistell (1960) revealed, 65% of meanings expressed in one-on-one communicative exchanges are conveyed nonverbally.

Morain (1986) classifies the nonverbal modes of communication as: body language, e.g. gestures, facial expressions and touch; object language, manifested through the use of clothes, realia, designs or patterns; and environmental language, which he sees as certain aspects of space, architecture or colour which define man's nature. Tomczak (2005) demonstrates a more comprehensive classification of non-verbal components of communication which includes: kinesics (the use of body language), proxemics (the use of distance and space), chronemics (the use of time), haptics (the use of touch), olfactics (the use of smell), oculesics (the use of eye contact), sartorial codes (the use of appearance), the use of objectual systems (realia) and paralanguage (polite noises).

Language has already been demonstrated as a cultural phenomenon, but body language has also been discovered to be culture-bound by

scholars such as Hall (1959), Banks (1975), or Wylie and Stafford (1977) – similarly to the other non-verbal aspects of communication, e.g. haptics, proxemics (Hall 1966) and oculesics (Lustig & Koester 1999; Jandt 2001). Recently, Kurtchenia reported that non-verbal aspects of communication are actually "the most culturally-influenced part of human behaviour" (Kurtchenia 2005: 102). Consequently, it may be assumed that communication per se is also strictly related to culture, as illustrated below.

In the 1960s Hymes (1967) highlighted the socio-cultural nature of communication by maintaining that while communicating speakers make choices, e.g. of when, where and to whom to speak and what to discuss, which are determined by the social context of a communicative situation, i.e. the participants, the setting, and the objectives one wishes to achieve.

As early as in the 1970s, Samovar and Porter (1972) observed the culture-bound character of intercultural communication when they proposed five features of culture that have a significance for intercultural communicators. They maintained that culture is (i) ethnocentric, i.e. people have a tendency to place their own culture before any other that they come into contact with, which affects their perception of the new or the different. Samovar and Porter (ibid.) emphasised that (ii) culture is not innate, thus it needs to be learned in the course of one's life. What is worth stressing is the fact that such cultural learning is both conscious and subconscious, as on the one hand cultural knowledge may be transmitted to children from their parents through explicit instruction, while on the other hand such knowledge may be simply acquired through observation. One way or the other, culture is (iii) transmissible. Samovar and Porter highlighted that language can be used as a conveyor of culture, but the transmission might also be realised through culturally significant symbols or nonverbal actions. Culture is also (iv) selective in that out of a vast repertoire of human behaviours, every cultural group selects a set of patterns that it desires to follow in the light of its leading values and assumptions. Finally, culture is (v) dynamic, i.e. it is subject to constant change through diffusion, borrowings or innovations. Those alterations, however, mostly concern the surface rather than the deep structure of culture, with the latter being much more resistant to change.

The cultural character of communication has been elucidated ever since the 1970s up to the present moment. For instance, similarly to language, communication has been at times perceived as not only a manifestation of culture, as presented above, but also as a means through which culture may be created. Breen and Candlin expressed this view in the 1980s by stating that communication is a"(...) convention-creating as well as convention-following activity" (Breen and Candlin 1980: 91).

In the same decade, Samovar et al. stated that culture is "(...) the foundation of communication" (1981: 24), and explained that culture informs language performance in terms of speaker roles, turn-taking practices, content, meaning of messages and message interpretation principles.

Tajfel (1981) underlined the fact that people's social identities, such as ethnic, national, gender-, class- and age-related, are strongly involved in communicative interactions. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) supported him, as they envisaged communication to go far beyond an exchange of information. They saw it rather as a form of interaction which involves the social identities of its participants. Byram and Fleming (1998) also give communication a cultural angle by adding that a person's identity constitutes a bond between him/her and the social groups and cultural practices that he/she identifies with. Communication is therefore a constant interplay between those identities, which take a more or less dominant position, depending on the language involved or the relationship between the interlocutors.

In the 1990s Garton (1992) ascribed one more role to communication by stating that communication is essentially social interaction in the course of which not only information but also cultural and historical values are transmitted. As Porto (2000) illustrated, the range of decisions that speakers take on how to communicate with others is reflective of their social values, which are not universal but culture-bound.

Penz built on Garton's (1992) and Porto's (2000) view of communication as social interaction involving socio-cultural values and proposed that this interaction is additionally used as a means of the acquisition of "cultural values and interactive rules of communication" (Penz 2001: 105).

Ronowicz (2007) has also displayed a view of communication similar to that of Garton, and stated that what effective communication involves is not only an awareness of historical symbols but also of "the complicated reality of everyday life and social consciousness of (...) [a given] language community" (Ronowicz 2007: 6). With regard to language communication, he has underlined the vitality of second-level meanings acquired by language through cultural associations, which are constantly in flux.

Riley has gone even further as in actual fact he has equated culture with communication by claiming that as culture is transmitted between generations through communication, "the communicative practices through which culture is transmitted are themselves part of culture" (Riley 2007: 40). According to him, the bond between communication and culture is best illustrated by the fact that research in language acquisition to date, including error analysis, contrastive analysis or studies of

interlanguage, has failed to explicate interference solely in linguistic terms. It was Hymes who drew attention to the sociolinguistic side of communication, and inspired studies of sociolinguistic transfer (Riley 2007).

Consequently, the twenty-first century to date has seen scholars, such as e.g. Meinardi (2007), perceive communication from an intercultural angle. In Meinardi's view, communication is an act in which the speakers' deictic circles clash. Those deictic circles comprise the speakers' communication codes: language, context and culture. Therefore, communication cannot be perceived only in terms of its linguistic aspects as it inescapably entails an exchange of contextual and cultural clues. It is particularly relevant to intercultural communication, where although the linguistic codes of the speakers involved may happen to at least partially dovetail, the same is not normally true about their contextual and cultural perspectives (Meinardi 2007).

2. Teaching language and culture

2.1 Culture in foreign language teaching: a historical overview

Before the nineteenth century language learning did not follow any specific principles which would be codified by a particular teaching method. Learning was, therefore, natural in that it occurred through face-to-face contact with native speakers in the multilingual societies of that time or through private tuition, which was reserved for the elite. As an alternative, young aristocrats would conventionally set out on a journey across Europe with the intention to expand horizons and learn foreign languages (Aleksandrowicz-Pędich 2005). During such journeys, culture was experienced directly rather than studied in any systematised way.

The nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century in foreign language teaching was dominated by the Grammar-Translation Method – also referred to as the Classical Method (Richards & Rogers 1986) – which reflected the needs of the then society and set as its major purpose the development of the ability to read classical target language literature. It must be explained here that the languages taught through the method were Latin and Greek, viewed as a tool with which the upper social classes would augment their familiarity with the intellectual achievement of mankind (Aleksandrowicz-Pędich 2005). Since Latin and Greek did not serve the purpose of daily communication, the method was intended to help learners increase their intellect, and learning through it was frequently conceived of as mental exercise (Larsen-Freeman 1986).

On the one hand it can be stated that the role of culture in the foreign language classroom within this method was elevated, on the other hand, paradoxically, the method reduced the very concept of culture to the fine arts only – literature, in particular, which in Lessard-Clouston's (1997) view, was the major cultural medium of that time. Consequently, the Grammar-Translation Method focused mostly on high culture, the civilisation of the target language, while ignoring elements of low culture (Komorowska 2006b), which learners need to be familiarised with if they are to communicate successfully with representatives of other cultures.

In a modernised version of the Grammar-Translation Method, the cultural content was expanded to cover facts and figures about the target language country as well as its life and institutions. The picture of the target culture drawn by textbooks was perceived as educationally appropriate for learners, therefore, it was taught as such. What is worth stressing, however, is the fact that although the method permitted learners to use their mother tongue in a lesson, it did not induce any reference to their native culture (Neuner 2003).

Towards the end of the nineteenth century the Direct Method came into being, which was very much a response to the critique of the Grammar-Translation Method by linguists such as Vietör, Gouin, Jespersen and Sweet (Richards & Rogers 1986); it thus primarily emphasised language work in the form of oral communication, and was supposed to incite classroom conversation. The kind of culture that was dealt with within the method embraced rather formal aspects of life in the target language country, e.g. geography (Larsen-Freeman 1986). Occasionally, elements of material culture and lifestyle were introduced (Komorowska 2006b). However – yet again – only the target culture was tackled.

Throughout the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, a number of publications by Hall (1959), Nostrand (1967a), and Seelye (1974) suggested that foreign language and culture teaching ought to better reflect the personal needs of language learners. At the same time, culture was supposed to be presented in a more digestible, straight-forward manner. Despite that, the foreign language teaching methodology of the period was so strongly influenced by two strands of psychology, Behaviourism and Cognitivism, that little notice of those ideas was taken within the two resultant methods that followed.

After World War II, in the Audio-Lingual Method, which grew on the back of the rising popularity of behavioural psychology, the stress was put on the learning of language patterns through mechanical repetition of language chunks. This grammar-based view of language practice, in which