Rituals and Beliefs Ingrained in World Language Pedagogy: Defining Deep Structure and Conventional Wisdom

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Abstract—Why are so many teachers *still* not using communicative methods or making communicative language teaching (CLT) a part of their daily instructional approach? Many world language teachers seem to posses certain beliefs about language teaching, and perform particular rituals, which emphasize rote grammar learning and translation. Teachers' beliefs, based on their values and experiences, significantly influence their methods. Deep structure, molded by conventional wisdom shared by teachers, constitutes a barrier that inherently makes it difficult to change world language pedagogy. Teachers need support from inside and outside their classrooms to try new methods in order to break away from rituals and beliefs world language teachers have valued for centuries.

Index Terms—conventional wisdom, deep structure, educational reform, teacher beliefs, world language education

I. INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSE

For many years, researchers and national organizations have attempted to initiate positive change in U.S. world language education. Years ago, the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies (1979) recommended numerous changes to better world language instruction at secondary and post-secondary educational institutions, calling for "a major, sustained national effort to raise American competence in foreign languages to levels commensurate with our nation's needs" (p. 11). Their principle concern was "the failure of schools and colleges to teach languages so that students can communicate in them" (p. 11).

The National Standards in Foreign Language Education Project (1999) devised content standards to guide teachers, administrators, and curriculum developers at both state and local levels to begin to improve world language education in U.S. schools. The eleven-member task force that created the document envisioned a future in which students would develop and maintain proficiency in English and at least one other language, modern or classical.

And, most recently, the Modern Language Association (MLA) Ad Hoc Committee on Foreign Languages (2007, p.3) advocated in a report that language majors at the university level "should become educated speakers who have deep translingual and transcultural competence," with the capability to operate between languages. Teachers would focus on students' ability to function as informed and capable interlocutors and use a more holistic cross-curricular approach to language learning and teaching. Students would understand the world and themselves through the lens of another language and culture.

Since the late 1800s, U.S. educators and the public have witnessed considerable tinkering with school curricula that does not seem to have had much direct effect in classrooms (Tyack & Cuban, 1995; Tye, 2000). Politicians, policymakers, and national organizations devise recommendations and report research to the public with the intent of improving curriculum and instruction in classrooms. These reports often result in a top-down approach to reform, leaving school administrators and teachers with little to no support to implement the suggested changes effectively. Moreover, the *deep structure of schooling* (Tye, 1987, 1995, 2000), a broad range of deeply embedded structures (i.e. curriculum, schedule, school and classroom layout) found in U.S. schools, continues to influence teaching methods, further impeding meaningful and long-lasting change in classrooms.

Although certain researchers have shown the benefits of using a communicative model of language teaching to teach world languages, attempts to reform world language instruction to reflect more communicative methods and goals, in the U.S. as well as in the rest of the world, have remained for the most part unsuccessful (Berns, 1984, 1990; Finocchairo & Brumfit, 1983; Nunan, 1991; Savignon, 1983, 1997, 2002). Many U.S. world language teachers—elementary, secondary and post-secondary—continue to focus primarily on grammar and translation and use English as the medium of instruction when designing curriculum and teaching lessons (Brooks & Donato, 1994; Hall, 2004). As a result, many students continue to fail to develop an appropriate degree of communicative competence, or translingual and transcultural competence (MLA, 2007; Savignon, 1983, 1997).

From my observations in the past twenty four years in elementary, secondary and post-secondary world language classrooms in the District of Columbia, Illinois, Maryland, Massachusetts, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, the deeper problem

seems to be that teachers have limited experience with communicative language teaching (CLT). Teachers are not given opportunities in *their classrooms* with *their students* to learn about CLT and the theories that support this approach to world language pedagogy. Instead, teachers' beliefs, based on their values and experiences as world language students, significantly influence their methods (Goodlad, 1974, 2004; Lortie, 1975, 2002). If teachers experienced language learning with a heavy emphasis on grammar learning and the use of translation, and if they value the intricate study of grammar and use of translation in their own learning, then they also are likely to use more of a grammar-translation approach to teach world language.

The purpose of this paper is to provide a theory as to why—after more than thirty years of research—so many teachers *still* are not using communicative methods or making CLT a part of their daily instructional approach. It is crucial to discuss and research these questions if we are to proceed toward facilitating the development of communicative competence, or translingual and transcultural competence, in students at the elementary, secondary, and post-secondary levels.

Here I propose that world language teachers may not use communicative methods consistently, whether or not they are Advanced or Superior speakers and writers (ACTFL, 1999, 2001) of the world language they teach, because they posses certain beliefs about language teaching, and perform particular rituals, which emphasize rote grammar learning and translation. Educators have valued many of these beliefs and rituals for centuries (Musumeci, 1997; National Educational Association, 1894). Borrowing from Tye (1987, 1995, 2000), I refer to these commonly shared beliefs as *conventional wisdom* and the prevalent rituals as *deep structure*.

The term deep structure should not be confused with Chomsky's (1965) theory of transformational generative grammar. Recalling the deep structure term used by Chomsky (1965) to describe his theory of transformational generative grammar, the applied linguist and second language researcher may readily grasp Tye's meaning. In Chomsky's linguistic theory, transformations represent different surface structures, or grammatical forms, of the same underlying deep structure, or meaning. 'John is easy to please' may be different in form from 'It is easy to please John', but both have the same deep structure or underlying meaning. Even if some teachers promote CLT, certain rituals and beliefs may be so ingrained in the structures of world language classrooms that viable change in U.S. world language pedagogy may be impossible.

This paper aims to begin to define deep structure and conventional wisdom as it pertains to world language education, particularly relative to why and how it influences teachers' beliefs, and world language curriculum and instruction. It appears that the deep structure in world language classrooms, molded by the conventional wisdom shared by teachers, constitutes a barrier that inherently makes it difficult to change world language pedagogy.

In what follows, the terms CLT and communicative competence are reviewed, and then the notion of deep structure is operationalized. Next, the question is posed as to what may have been the source of the deep structure embedded in present day world language pedagogy in the U.S. After that, common rituals and beliefs are presented; formulating what specifically could be defined as the deep structure and conventional wisdom visible in world language classrooms. Concluding remarks offer some hope about how deep structure might change, so that students can be enabled to communicate more effectively in the world language they learn in elementary, secondary, or post-secondary classrooms.

II. COMMUNICATIVE LANGUAGE TEACHING

World language teachers that focus on communication in classrooms and facilitate students' development of communicative competence use a communicative approach to language teaching (CLT) (Burke, 2006, 2007; Savignon, 1983; 1997). Savignon (1983, 1997), following Canale and Swain (1980) and Canale (1983), asserts that together the components of grammatical competence, discourse competence, strategic competence, and sociolinguistic competence offer a model of communicative competence as a basis for curriculum design and classroom practice. Her model closely resembles what the MLA committee (2007) emphasizes in its explanation of translingual and transcultural competence.

CLT teachers create curriculum and instruction that promote students' development of communicative competence (Burke, 2006; Savignon, 1983, 1997). They use instructional methods such as immersion, where both the teacher and students speak only the world language during class, and provide students with comprehensible input (Krashen, 1981). Teachers design and implement student-centered activities and contextualized lessons in which students are given opportunities to use the language they are learning (Burke, 2006; Berns, 1990; Ellis, 1982, 1997; Finocchairo & Brumfit, 1983). In order to encourage beginner language learners to use the world language, they teach students strategies before, during, and after implementing communicative activities (Burke, 2006; Savignon, 1983, 1997). Communicative activities in CLT classrooms focus on communication and encourage socialization between students in the world language (Burke, 2006, 2007). Grammatical competence remains integral to the development of communicative competence; however, implicit grammar teaching may occur more often than explicit grammar teaching in a CLT teacher's classroom (Burke, 2006). Grammatical competence can be developed by relating grammar to learners' communicative needs and experiences in CLT classrooms (Ellis, 1997; Lightbown & Spada, 1993).

III. OPERATIONALIZING DEEP STRUCTURE

According to certain researchers and educators in the field of world language education, teachers are the main obstacle to reform in classroom practice (Glisan, 1996; Kumaravadivelu, 1994, 2001, 2003, 2005; Musumeci, 1997, 2002). Musumeci (2002) asserts, "one of the biggest obstacles in language teaching practice is teachers' perception that there is not enough time to do what they are currently doing, let alone to do more or to try something different" (p. 161). Brown (1994) proposes that the grammar-translation method may remain so popular because it "requires few specialized skills on the part of teachers" (p. 53). He adds that students have "little motivation to go beyond grammar analogies, translations, and rote exercises" because of how they are tested by their teachers and on standardized world language tests (p. 53).

Tye (1987, 1995, 2000) uses the term deep structure to explain why school reform is unsuccessful. She identifies a broad range of structures that have remained deeply embedded in U.S. schools, such as, the use of space and time in schools, the organization of curriculum and the practice of tracking. For Tye (2000), deep structure is "a composite of widely held beliefs about what schools are for and how they should function, coupled with a number of inhibiting forces that actively seek to prevent change in how schools are put together and work" (p.23). Deep structure resides within the walls of U.S. schools and is held together by the conventional wisdom, "a sort of ideological glue" of its people (p.37). For Tye it is "part and parcel of what we absorb in the process of becoming socialized within a particular culture, and it settles into the taken for granted and usually unexamined aggregation of beliefs, values, attitudes, and assumptions that form our world view" (p.25).

Tye argues that conventional wisdom impedes innovation and progress in the curriculum, asserting that unless society sees a need for a shift in its own daily practices, school systems will not change their practice according to theory. Change in deep structure will only occur when society wants something different from its schools. Tye (2000) claims, "Educators cannot change the 'deep structure' of schooling"(p. 13). She believes that deep structure "accommodates changes that are compatible and defeats changes that are not" (p. 23). She asserts that change is more likely to succeed at the "unique personality level," or school-level (p. 155). She encourages reform to be site-specific and teacher-driven.

Figure 1 may be helpful to understand the relationship between deep structure and conventional wisdom, showing that there is a possibility for both to change. It is difficult to say if deep structure first influenced conventional wisdom or vice versa, but it does seem that they do influence each other. If conventional wisdom were to change, deep structure also would be affected. If the deep structure were to change, then it seems logical conventional wisdom also would be altered. In both cases, it seems that the change instigator would need to be transformative.

Conventional Wisdom

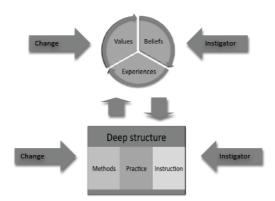


Figure 1: Deep structure-conventional wisdom relationship with possibility for change

In addition to Tye, several other scholars suggest a myriad of theories and explanations as to why teachers teach the way they do, and why successful educational reform is difficult to attain (Berlak and Berlak, 1981; Goodlad, 1974, 2004; Lortie, 1975, 2002; Metz, 1990; Tyack & Tobin, 1994). Tyack and Tobin (1994) relate well to the concept of deep structure in their identification of the "grammar" of schooling, adding further to the linguistic lexicon being used to define failed school reform (p. 454). They point out that certain structures and rules that organize instructional work in schools have remained stable for decades. Schools continue to organize time and space in particular ways, classify students and assign them to certain classrooms, and divide the school day into subjects. The solidity of the grammar impedes change in schools. Tyack & Tobin (1994) explain:

Practices like graded classrooms structure schools in a manner analogous to the way grammar organizes meaning in language. Neither the grammar of schooling nor the grammar of speech needs to be consciously understood to operate smoothly. Indeed, much of the grammar of schooling has become so well established that it is typically taken for granted as just the way schools are. It is the *departure* from customary practice in schooling or speaking that attracts attention. (p. 454)

Tyack and Tobin allege that the grammar of schooling persists because it enables teachers to do their job in a predictable fashion and to cope with everyday tasks that school boards, principals, parents, and students expect them to

perform. If teachers are asked to implement change, they may suffer cognitive and emotional strain because it moves away from what they are accustomed to doing. If they attempt to change their methods, they are required to persuade students, colleagues, parents, and school boards to accept new behavior as normal and desirable. To avoid complete refusal to change, Tyack and Tobin advise that reform efforts be designed according to local needs and knowledge.

In his study of schooling, Goodlad (1974, 2004) found that teachers used traditional teaching methods that did not promote critical thinking. Teachers lectured, monitored seatwork, and implemented activities that required only rote learning. Goodlad concluded that teachers often use the same methods in their classrooms that they themselves experienced from elementary school through college. If teachers are to use innovative techniques, Goodlad ensures that they must be provided with opportunities to see and use them in their classrooms.

Lortie (2002, p. 61) likewise suggests that the "apprenticeship of observation" influences both the way teachers teach and the way schools function. Students implicitly serve as apprentices of teaching as they observe their teachers teach year after year. Like Goodlad (1974, 2004), Lortie believes that teachers frequently teach as they were taught.

Goodlad (1974, 2004), Lortie (2002), and Tyack and Tobin (1994) developed their own terms to explain the deep structure found in schools, but they only allude to the existence of conventional wisdom and its power to influence deep structure and undermine school reform, or even small scale change in classrooms. Tye's identification of what molds the deep structure sets her apart from the others, and is essential in explaining why the deep structure remains an obstacle to change. In addition to understanding Tye's notion of deep structure and conventional wisdom, it is important to speculate about the possible roots of the deep structure embedded in present day world language pedagogy in the U.S.

IV. INFLUENCES FROM THE "OLD"

For centuries, teachers worldwide have chosen not to put second language acquisition theory into practice because of their own beliefs, values and past experiences related to world language pedagogy. In Musumeci's (1997) study, she traced language teaching philosophy and methodology as far back as the fourteenth century. She investigated writings of three influential Western European language educators and philosophers, and found that these men were essentially trying to reform world language pedagogy just as several researcher-educators are today worldwide. Guarino Guarini (1374-1460), Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556), and Johannes Amos Comenius (1592-1670) all advocated for teachers to use a communicative approach to language teaching. All three reformers, from different time periods, agreed that teachers should use authentic texts, speak Latin exclusively during instruction, and design contextualized lessons. Musumeci, however, found that teachers did not take the reformers' advice. They relied on their students' first language during instruction, employed translation throughout, promoted explicit grammar instruction and memorization of rules, and focused on linguistic accuracy. Oral and written communicative lessons were avoided with beginning-level students and content-based instruction took place only in advanced-level course.

Although teaching language as communication was advocated by Western reformers of Latin curricula in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Musumeci, 1997), curriculum designers of U.S. secondary school education in the nineteenth and early twentieth century still were more influenced by the more traditional grammar-translation model. One of the earliest documents to examine curriculum in U.S. schools, including Latin, Greek and other modern languages, was the *Report of the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies* (National Educational Association, 1894). At that time educators gathered nationwide to make decisions concerning curriculum and instruction in secondary schools, establishing what may have contributed largely to the deep structure of U.S. schooling. The report submitted to the Committee of Ten by those scholars attending the Conference of Modern Languages offers a perspective on the deep structure of U.S. world language education.

The committee recommended that students begin studying French or German at the age of ten because of the "greater ease with which they can be taught and learned, and because of their closer relation to the interests and ideas of to-day" (National Educational Association, 1894, p. 96). They believed that modern language study trained students' memory, developed their sense of accuracy, and quickened and strengthened their ability to reason. Studying modern language helped students understand English sentence structure and "the real meaning of English words" (p. 96). Students' minds were broadened "by revealing to them modes of thought and expression different from those to which they have been accustomed" (pp. 96).

For elementary-level French and German, the committee advocated familiarity with the rudiments of grammar, translation at sight of a passage of easy prose containing no rare words, flawless pronunciation, and recognition of words and easy sentences when they were uttered. For more advanced French and German, they suggested students develop proficiency in more advanced grammar, translate ordinary German and standard French, write a paragraph in the modern language, and follow a recitation and then answer questions asked by the instructor in the modern language. The main objective was to learn to read in the language.

The committee also encouraged teachers to cover as much curriculum as possible and upheld the native speaker ideal, suggesting enforcement of correct pronunciation at all times. The foreign language was to be used as often as possible during class, besides during "set conversation activities" (p. 100). Grammar and translation exercises were promoted along with oral repetition with the teacher.

The committee was careful to emphasize the need for well-prepared teachers: "The worst obstacle to the progress of modern language study is the lack of properly equipped instructors" (p. 103). They recommended that universities, states, or cities provide teachers with opportunities for proper training.

The advice given by the Committee on Modern Languages over a century ago in many ways resembles world language teaching methods and curriculum found in classrooms in the twenty-first century, even ten years after the creation of the National Standards (1999). From my observations over the years in a variety of U.S. schooling contexts, it seems that the committee's suggested focus on grammar, translation, repetition, reading at sight (emphasizing translation again), native-like pronunciation, and covering a certain amount of material have molded the deep structure of modern U.S. world language curriculum. These same structures appear to be prominent, even dominant, in many world language classrooms today.

Teachers today, as Latin teachers did in Western Europe centuries ago, still reject second language acquisition theory and research that validates that students benefit from a more communicative approach to language teaching. There are, of course, exceptions. Although research that documents specific observation of the teaching methods of U.S. world language secondary teachers in educational and modern language journals is scant, assertions have been made by respected methodologists that high school teachers continue to focus predominantly on grammar (Allen, 2002; Burke, 2006; Connor-Linton, 1996; Lozano et al., 2002). Many teachers refrain from planning and implementing meaningful communicative experiences for their students (Burke, 2006; Brooks & Donato, 1994; Hall, 2004); theory continues *not* to meet practice.

V. DEFINING DEEP STRUCTURE AND CONVENTIONAL WISDOM IN WORLD LANGUAGE PEDAGOGY

In my study (Burke, 2005) with secondary world language teachers, through analysis of data collected from teacher questionnaires, written reflections, observations and field notes, common values and beliefs (conventional wisdom) and specific instructional rituals (deep structure) were identified in these teachers' classrooms. Common values and beliefs, or conventional wisdom, were found to be relative to what the teachers thought was essential to world language teaching and how they described world language curriculum and instructional methods. Rituals, or deep structure, were embedded in the teachers' instructional methods. In many cases, instruction did not appear to promote the development of communicative competence in students, and may have impeded world language learning. Here the focus is on what beliefs and rituals emerged from these teachers, but the same beliefs and rituals seem to be valued by teachers in many elementary, secondary and post-secondary classrooms. Further study is imperative to identify additional values, beliefs and rituals of world language teachers in the U.S., and worldwide, which perpetuate and mold the conventional wisdom and deep structure in classrooms.

A. Conventional Wisdom

After visiting countless world language classrooms in the past twenty-four years, I hypothesize that the values and beliefs of the teachers in my study (Burke, 2005) are similar to those of many other U.S. world language teachers. It seems that most world language teachers value teaching to the four skills: speaking, listening, writing, and reading. Teaching culture may occur, but often as an add-on or as a topic separate from language. Additionally, teachers believe that students can *master* the language and therefore enforce grammatical accuracy in instruction and assessment.

1. Teaching to the Four Skills.

The four skills have been essential components to world language curricula since the Committee of Modern Languages submitted their report to the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies (National Educational Association, 1894). In communicative language teaching, language is not separated into skills, but instead involves interpretation, negotiation, and expression of meaning through written or spoken discourse (Savignon 1983, 1997). The focus is on communication rather than on teaching one skill at a time. In most activities in world language teachers' classes, students can be seen reading, writing, speaking, and listening in a variety of ways. The purpose of the activity and the way students communicate determines whether students are engaged in studying separate skills or developing their communicative competence.

Culture was not considered in the curriculum by the Committee on Modern Languages in 1894, and did not gain widespread attention by secondary world language teachers until recently. Brooks (1968) proposed the notion that culture should constitute an important component in the development of proficiency forty years ago, and in the last few decades several scholars have attempted to show the significance of teaching culture in classrooms (Kramsch, 1988, 1995; Petherbridge, 1976; Simpson, 1997). Nevertheless, teachers have not viewed culture as an integral curriculum component until the American Council of Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) proposed the National Standards (1999). ACTFL advocates that teachers create opportunities in which students make connections and comparisons between the U.S. and other world cultures in world language classrooms, as well as promote diverse perspectives on cultural products and practices (National Standards, 1999). Discussion of what culture is, and what methods teachers should use to teach it in classrooms, has been at the forefront of discussion in world language education only in the past decade (Durocher, 2007).

2. Teaching for Mastery of the Language and Grammatical Accuracy.

Savignon (1983) uses 'mastery' when she defines grammatical competence as "mastery of the linguistic code, the ability to recognize the lexical, morphological, syntactic, and phonological features of a language and to manipulate these features to form words and sentences" (p. 37). Grammatical competence is demonstrated "by using a rule, not by stating a rule" (p. 37). In my observations, most students at the beginning level of world language study are neither interested nor linguistically capable of *mastering* complex grammatical rules. Through trial and error, effective communication and comprehensible pronunciation should be encouraged by teachers (Finocchairo & Brumfit, 1983) instead of trying to enforce mastery of the world language.

In world language classrooms, students and teachers should be able to communicate with each other while developing their grammatical, discourse, strategic, and sociolinguistic competence, and teaching of grammar and communication as two separate entities should be avoided. Grammatical competence should be developed by relating grammar to learners' communicative needs and experiences (Ellis, 1997; Lightbown & Spada, 1993; Savignon, 1972). In certain classrooms where CLT is practiced, implicit grammar teaching may occur more often (Burke, 2006). Explicit grammar teaching can take place in classrooms promoting CLT when the teacher or students determine that they are ready to learn particular rules in order to help negotiate meaning, or when that particular form is needed in order for the students to communicate (Ellis, 1999; Fotos, 1994; Lightbown, 1998; Lightbown & Spada, 1993; Norris & Ortega, 2001).

B. Deep Structure

Rituals discussed below were observed in the teachers' classrooms in my study (Burke, 2005), and have been seen in many other world language classrooms in the U.S. Readers who frequently visit or teach in world language classrooms will no doubt also recognize the structures as commonplace. Deep structure activities that do not appear to promote communicative competence and that possibly hinder student learning of the world language include: phrase and story translation, vocabulary presentation through word lists, review through drill and translation games, book activities that focus on grammar learning, and grammar practice worksheets, and non-contextual explicit grammar teaching. In addition, teachers frequently may use the audio-lingual method, teach language separately from culture, and use an unnecessary amount of English during classroom activities. Certain methods and practices recommended more than a century ago by the Committee of Ten continue to be ever-present in world language classrooms.

1. Use of Translation.

Translation often occurs in the form of vocabulary presentation and review. When many teachers introduce a new unit, they distribute word lists, or refer students to a page in the textbook that has vocabulary translated. Students and teachers work together to translate the vocabulary words written on the lists in the world language to English or vice versa. Most teachers expect students to memorize these lists. Similar to the Committee of Ten's proposal (National Educational Association, 1894), teachers in my study (Burke, 2005) asked students to learn seven hundred to eighteen hundred words during one school year. In order to memorize these word lists, teachers can be found reviewing vocabulary through drill exercises and games, such as, Verbo, Backs to the Board, White boards, Fly Swatter, Tic Tac Toe Verb, word searches, and crossword puzzles.

All of these games are intended to stress memory training and sense of accuracy (National Educational Association, 1894) instead of meaning. The games focus on forms (Ellis, 1997; Long, 1988, 1991) and vocabulary through drill and translation, and there is no context except that the words and forms came from the list being studied. Traditional language teaching treats language as an object of learning and consists of lessons being taught where structures are taught explicitly in a decontextualized manner in which students are expected to learn through drills and translation exercises (Nassaji & Fotos, 2004; Skehan & Foster, 1999). During these games, the majority of students seem engaged and enthused most of the time. Without asking students to apply the grammatical forms and new vocabulary, it is uncertain if students remember the structures long-term or if they are able to use them in a communicative setting (Savignon, 1983, 1997). Certain teachers seem to review or drill vocabulary with the students, not so they can cover the material for the unit of study and their students can pass the next test.

2. Grammar Practice.

Most world language teachers assign activities (*actividades, activit és, ibungen, etc.*) out of the textbook, and/or grammar practice worksheets that they either create themselves, or obtain from other sources. Teachers often go over some or all of the answers to these written grammar activities in class. They direct student responses and give them feedback, acknowledging correct or incorrect answers. Teachers may ask students to repeat answers after correcting a grammatical form or pronunciation, or they recite the correct form or pronunciation and move on to the next question. Most of the time, textbook activities and grammar practice worksheets promote study of the language through translation and conjugation. Focus is mainly on sentence-level structure with explicit attention to form. For the most part, these activities have no personal meaning to the students doing the activity. Students seem bored and unmotivated to participate, but when called on, they recite their responses.

Similar to proposals made by the Committee of Ten to stress familiarity with the fundamentals of grammar and native-like pronunciation (National Educational Association, 1894), many world language teachers today are still adamant about explicit attention to form through practice and drills during completion of textbook activities and grammar practice worksheets as seen in my work (Burke, 2005; Burke, 2006). Teachers attempt to *cover* material and

prepare students for tests during these worksheets discussions. Attempts to promote communicative competence are absent. Language is given a meaningful context at times, but more often it is an unfamiliar and uninteresting one for a diverse group of students.

Certain world language education scholars have encouraged teachers to implement communicative activities in a certain order, focusing on forms, or grammatical structures, and then moving to more functional/interactional activities (Littlewood, 1981; Paulston, 1976; Rivers, 1971, 1973, 1976, 1983). Rivers (1971, 1973) divided language learning into skill-getting or skill-using and then renamed it microlanguage learning and macrolanguage use (1976, 1983). Similarly, Littlewood (1981) suggested the shift from pre-communicative activities, involving structural and quasi-communicative activities to communicative activities, or functional communication activities and social interaction activities. A communicative activity is just that, an activity where communication is taking place in the world language about a certain topic, grammar or not. This communication can be student-to-student, student to self, student to teacher.

3. Non-Contextual Explicit Grammar Teaching.

Non-contextual explicit grammar teaching usually occurs before and/or during class time spent working on textbook activities and grammar practice worksheets. Teachers give explicit instruction on forms. Students often are told that they will be tested on the features on which they are instructed and have practiced in class or for homework. A mixture of English and the world language may be used during grammar lessons, and students usually ask questions in English. Numerous explanations of grammar rules with many exceptions and irregularities are explained in grammatical terms. Rudiments of grammar, memorization of conjugations, and mastery of sentence order are promoted by teachers (National Educational Association, 1894). Comparisons are made to the structure of English sentences and English word meanings in explanations (National Educational Association, 1894).

Long (1991) disputes this feature-focused type of instruction because second language research has demonstrated that students learn different structures at different times and acquire them gradually in stages. Ellis (1997) claims that form-focused instruction can result in visible gains in accuracy, but only if the structures are simple, do not involve complex processing operations, and if they are related to a specific function. Grammatical competence should be demonstrated by *using* a rule in a meaningful context to the students (Savignon, 1983, 1997). Explicit grammar teaching is recommended to take place in a classroom when the teacher or students determine that they are ready to learn particular rules in order to help negotiate meaning or when that particular form is needed in order for the students to communicate (Ellis, 1999; Fotos, 1994; Lightbown, 1998; Lightbown & Spada, 1993; Norris & Ortega, 2001).

Many researchers believe that students must notice a grammatical feature in order for it to be learned, no matter how often an instructor attempts to teach it explicitly (Ellis, 1993; Schmidt & Frota, 1986; Sharwood Smith, 1993; Stevick, 1996); however, several support the integration of explicit grammar teaching in world language classroom lessons. Fotos (1993) and Fotos and Ellis (1991) have shown that conscious-raising tasks, created by teachers in which students figure out linguistic rules by working interactively in small groups to solve grammar problems in the world language, can aid in the development of students' grammatical competence.

VanPatten (1996) believes that learners need to focus only on selective subsets of input at times. During inputprocessing tasks, students can be guided by teachers to focus on particular forms that could be causing processing problems in order to increase the chances of the feature becoming intake. Swain (1985, 1995, 1998) asserts that students must engage in language production activities if they are to find out what they know and don't know how to say. She believes that if teachers create communicative tasks that emphasize pushed output, then learners likely will seek out relevant input in a focused way.

In reference to the ongoing debate between effectiveness of grammar teaching—explicit or implicit—Larsen-Freeman (2003) states:

There is considerable agreement that learner awareness is required in order for grammatical acquisition to be accelerated beyond what ordinarily takes place in naturalistic acquisition. Pure implicit learning may work, but it is very slow. Researchers remain divided on whether or not learners' attention has to be conscious and focal, and even more so on whether there has been accompanying output practice. This is because the traditional rationale for practice derived from habit formation—the idea that grammar patterns should be repeated and repeated, in fact overlearned, in order to overcome the habits of the native language and to establish firm new habits in the target language. (p. 99)

Larsen-Freeman wants language teachers to think of grammar as something we do rather than just something we know. As Savignon (1983, 1997) has promoted for years, Larsen-Freeman recommends that teachers provide opportunities for students to use grammar accurately, meaningfully, and appropriately, and not think of it as a "static product that consists of forms that are rule-governed, sentence-level, absolute, and constitute a closed system" (2003, p. 143).

World language learning should not be equated to grammar learning. Designing lessons in which students relate grammar forms and vocabulary to their own communicative needs and experiences can develop grammatical competence. Language should be taught in context with a focus on meaning as opposed to on disconnected grammatical structures.

4. Culture, abbreviated.

Culture may be addressed more often since the National Standards were published (1999) in a variety of ways, but often English is the medium of communication when it is discussed. Learning language and learning culture seem to be

thought of as separate activities. Teachers often focus on a grammar point, discuss grammar practice worksheets or textbook activities, and then discuss cultural information. Culture does not seem to be recognized as instrumental to shaping the students' communicative competence in most cases (Berns, 1990). Some teachers may stress the importance of teaching students about different countries and current events, but they do not have students focus on the language at the same time.

In their recommendations, the Committee of Ten did *not* mention the teaching of culture in the modern language classroom (National Educational Association, 1894). ACTFL (see National Standards, 1999) has encouraged teachers to integrate the teaching of culture into the language classroom, and the Modern Language Association Ad Hoc Committee on Foreign Languages (2007) currently recommends a translingual and transcultural approach to teaching and learning world language. These organizations promote instruction of practices, products, and perspectives of the culture being studied in classrooms while communicating in the world language.

Culture should be more than a "'feel-good' additive to the curriculum" and go "beyond the 'heroes and holidays' approach to diversity" (Nieto, 2002, p. 27). In order to understand others' perspectives, values, beliefs and histories, teachers should design curriculum that explores deep culture (beliefs, attitudes, values) rather than only surface culture (popular music and entertainment, food) while students also must function in the world language (Burke, 2007; Reyes & Klein, 2010). Cultural competence, equity, diversity, and character building need to drive learning experiences in which students simultaneously improve their communicative competence in the world language (Burke, 2007).

Teachers can introduce authentic world language texts into lessons to teach culture and to prepare students to understand differences in social customs (Nunan, 1991). Students can learn about the world with an emphasis on communicating through interaction in the world language (Nunan, 1991). Teachers and students can have meaningful conversations and work on creative projects, such as travel brochures, posters or presentations, *and* function in the language in a communicative manner.

5. English Use.

Teachers assign many potential communicative activities, but since language is often translated, it is difficult for students to focus on meaning and try to function in the world language. All of these activities have potential to model CLT, but the manner in which they are implemented do not encourage students to develop strategic competence, allow them to attempt to learn language through trial and error, or provide them with comprehensible input in the world language (Finocchairo and Brumfit, 1983; Krashen, 1981).

Additionally, teachers usually allow students to communicate in English when they work on student-centered and pair or group activities such as skits, improvisations, writing, and even textbook activities. Teachers can ask students to try to communicate in the world language, but often they do not. Most of the time students continue to speak English to one other, even when the teacher speaks in the world language, and the activity involves using only the world language. In many cases, the English language is not necessary for communication, but using it is a habit that seems hard to break. Frequent comparisons between English and the world language make it more difficult for students to focus on communication in the language orally. The Committee of Ten predicted that students would not be capable of forming oral sentences until the second year, and immersion would not be possible until the third year of language study (National Educational Association, 1894).

Although some researchers have promoted use of the students' first language in language classrooms (Antón & DiCamilla, 1998; Brooks & Donato, 1994; Cook, 2001; Cummins, 2007), I believe this approach weakens the students' ability to develop their strategic competence, which is crucial in this early stage of learning a world language in the classroom. To promote development of communicative competence in classrooms, beginners must be given opportunities to develop strategic competence during communicative activities in which they are required to compensate for imperfect knowledge of social or linguistic rules, as well as factors such as fatigue, distraction and inattention that may hinder communication (Savignon, 1983, 1997). Teachers need to speak the world language and help students develop strategic competence by coaching them to speak the world language during communicative activities and to use gestures, draw, or find other words they know to convey their message.

Teachers should encourage students to use what they know as soon as possible, even with beginning learners, even though it may seem unnatural when students and the teachers share English as their first language (Savignon, 1997). I have suggested that teachers ask beginners to participate actively and use the world language they have learned to communicate with one another and the teacher (Burke, 2007). In Burke (2007), I propose that in six to eight weeks, beginner students acquire enough vocabulary and expressions to be expected to use the language on a consistent basis with peers. I also encourage teachers to use immersion, and speak only the world language during class, while also asking students to use what they know at all times. By agreeing to use the language as much as possible, teachers and students can create communicate classrooms (Burke, 2007). The longer teachers put off asking students to speak the language, the more difficult it is to get students to use it consistently. In order for students to learn a language, it seems logical that they would be asked to *use* it in the classroom, and to use it often.

VI. DISCUSSION

The purpose of this paper is to provide a theory as to why—after more than 30 years of research—so many teachers *still* are not using communicative methods or making CLT a part of their daily instructional approach? It seems that

world language teachers possess common values about what is essential to teach in their classrooms and share understandings about what curriculum components they believe they address in their classrooms. They also often use similar activities in their classrooms that reinforce rote grammar learning and translation. They, indeed, appear to share a conventional wisdom about language teaching and learning that influenced their daily instructional approach.

A focus on classroom lessons tends, as it did over a century ago, to be on mastery of language, with separation of language into skill categories of listening, speaking, reading and writing, instead of on development of communicative competence through meaningful communication by expressing, interpreting, and negotiating meaning. Methods such as translation, drills, non-contextual explicit grammar teaching, use of grammar practice worksheets, separation of language and culture, and using English as the medium of instruction, may prevail in classroom lessons because of the deeply embedded practices passed down from, and valued by, each new generation of world language teachers who enter U.S. secondary school classrooms.

Communication in world language classrooms should not be compartmentalized into separate skills, but instead be regarded as the means to negotiate, interpret and express thoughts and feelings in meaningful interaction. When students communicate in written or oral form, it is rare that they are focusing on one skill at a time. If students are listening to someone in a conversation, then they will likely speak at some time. If students are writing a composition, then they also are likely reading it as they construct it. Language must be viewed by teachers as social interaction, inter-or intra-personal, if they are ever to abandon the rigid breakdown of language into four skills.

Teachers, administrators, parents, and students may unconsciously value deep structure activities in world language classrooms because it is the norm; deep structure represents consistency, control, and conformity. Whether or not deep structure affects schools and classrooms in a positive or negative way, it may be valued by society because most people have not experienced alternative approaches to instruction in schools that result in enhanced development in students' communicative competence. A common script, the apprenticeship of observation, and the grammar of schooling have been discussed in the past by scholars as impediments to school reform (Lortie, 1975, 2002; Metz, 1990; Tyack & Tobin, 1994).

Alternative practices to education have continued not to be implemented in a meaningful and lasting way even though theory and research have supported that these practices improve student learning. The general U.S. public has certain expectations about what schools are and how they work. If world language teachers try to do something different in the classroom, the students, their parents, administration, and fellow teachers may not accept the change simply because the teacher's method strays from the norm.

Seen from Tye's (2000) perspective, if world language teachers do not feel comfortable or confident when trying out lessons that promote CLT principles, we may never see certain traditional methods fully disappear from classrooms. World language teachers may not know why they possess certain beliefs about language teaching and learning, or why they design curriculum and instruction in a particular way because of conventional wisdom. They unconsciously, and perhaps innocently, accept certain values and practices that have been passed down generation to generation, which in turn create and maintain the deep structure apparent in world language classrooms.

Teachers occasionally may appear to implement activities that promote communication in the world language, representing the "hybrid teacher" (Burke, 2006, p.153). Burke (2006) describes the hybrid teacher as someone who speaks the world language, teaches non-contextual explicit grammar lessons, usually in English, implements communicative activities, and integrates writing and cultural lessons. Hybrid teachers may never become true CLT teachers because they insist on implementing grammar and translation activities (Burke, 2006).

Deeply embedded structures that have been present in world language curriculum and instruction for decades, molded by the conventional wisdom that teachers share as to how to teach language and how students learn language, may be one of the main reasons why meaningful change is not visible in most U.S. secondary world language programs. These rituals and beliefs may inhibit student world language learning, and certainly make it difficult, if not impossible, for students to develop translingual and transcultural competence.

VII. CONCLUSION

Follow-up research is being conducted to further investigate the influence of deep structure and conventional wisdom in world language classrooms, along with the possibility of evolution in deep structure and the more long-term effects of conducting on-site professional development for teachers. Although organizations, such as ACTFL and MLA aspire for elementary, secondary, and post-secondary teachers to integrate culture and communication into curriculum, deep structure and conventional wisdom prevent teachers from doing so. Teachers need more direction as to how to integrate CLT into their classrooms lessons, such as teaching culture while using the world language, especially with beginning-level language students. If teachers receive support from inside and outside their classroom to try new methods from other teachers, instructors, and researchers who understand CLT, it will make it easier for teachers to break away from those methods they have valued for centuries.

VIII. EXPERIMENTAL PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT: MOVING THE PROFESSION FORWARD

Change is more likely to succeed at the "unique personality level," or school-level (Tye, 2000, p. 155). Studies also have shown innovation to occur when the professional development was more experientially-based with outside consultants coaching teachers on how to implement unfamiliar strategies (Baker & Showers, 1984; Hirsch, 2003; Showers, 1982, 1984) or guiding teachers in action research (Elliot, 1998).

As a researcher-consultant, I offered an *experiential* professional development (EPD) course to world language teachers so they could have opportunities to engage in teaching unlike their normal routine (Burke, 2005). The main objective of this particular EPD, which was communicated to the teachers prior to enrollment, was to create opportunities in world language classrooms where teachers could learn to use CLT through hands-on experience by implementing communicative activities into their lessons. Although the teachers valued certain rituals that promoted rote grammar learning and translation, they also integrated communicative activities during and post-EPD because it promoted fieldwork, collaboration, reflection, observation, and demonstration. Post-EPD teachers integrated communicative activities such as daily questions, interviewing, dialogues, skits, improvisation, games, presentations, implicit grammar and vocabulary instruction, computer-mediate communication and interactive computer programs. Culture also was taught while functioning in the language. Follow up visits five years later showed that teachers continued to implement CLT methods, and one teacher's methods had completely transformed.

Professional development that occurs during the school day, in the classrooms of world language teachers when teaching their students, can create more sustainable opportunities during which teachers learn CLT through hands-on experience. Schools and world language departments can provide teachers with opportunities *inside* their classrooms to understand, experience, and promote CLT methods. Researchers can work *with* teachers and students more often to create communicative classrooms and attempt to break down the deep structure barrier and instigate change in the conventional wisdom.

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