A Conceptual Framework for Teaching the Cultural Component of Second Languages

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C'est en tenant compte du rapport entre la langue et la culture que l'auteur développe sa thèse qui traite de l'enseignement des éléments culturels dans un cours de langue seconde. Une discussion des problèmes associés aux pratiques traditionnelles mène à la résolution de quatre questions fondamentales: (1) qu'est la culture? (2) quels sont les buts de l'enseignement de la culture associée à une langue seconde? (3) comment peut-on analyser la culture? et (4) comment sélectionne-t-on les éléments d'une culture étrangère? Dans chaque cas l'auteur lie la théorie à la pratique. Le modèle qui en découle présuppose que le professeur a déjà vécu dans un milieu propre à la culture étrangère, ou qu'il a accès à cette culture par des contacts avec les gens ou par une connaissance des livres, des articles et des compte-rendus de recherche.

The relationship between language and culture has long been recognized by anthropologists. Second-language education has never adequately exploited this association. The ease of cross-cultural contact by young people and the stress laid on communicative competence by linguists and language teachers suggest the need to again explore culture in second-language teaching.

In the past, attempts to communicate cultural information have varied with the nature of the content and the amount and type of teacher intervention. Figure 1 demonstrates these relationships.

Cultural content in the second language program has been either implicit or explicit. Implicit cultural content occurred as "pure language" examples taught for the purpose of transforming the second-language learner, through this instruction, into a cultured person. Explicit cultural content assumed the form of pictures, illustrations, and comments on either the "best" (*C*ulture) or the "all" (*c*ulture) of the culture associated with the language being taught or learned. The teacher could bring the explicit content to the students' attention (a directed approach) or could allow the students to make their own use and interpretations of the material (a non-directed approach).

Neither the implicit nor the explicit nondirected approaches are entirely acceptable in today's context. The teaching of the finest illustrations of language are of limited value if not accompanied by some explanation of conditions prompting the utterances, or some guide to the appropriate use

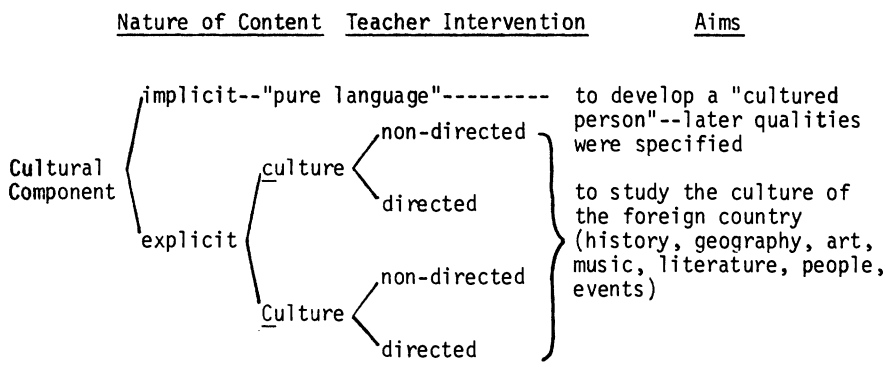

FIGURE 1 Past Approaches to Teaching the Cultural Component

of such speech. Students can profit from having their attention drawn to relevant facts, there being little empirical evidence to suggest that cross-cultural understanding develops automatically or osmotically. A better approach to teaching culture would be explicit and directed.

CULTURE AND THE CULTURAL COMPONENT

What is culture? There is little agreement and considerable confusion on this point.

An authoritative study of the concept of culture, *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions,* was produced by Kroeber and Kluckhohn in 1952. Their investigations revealed that the history of the concept of culture is interwoven with that of civilization, and usage of these terms has been confused. In some social science writings and popular paperbacks these two related but distinct expressions are still considered to be synonymous, and in Europe, educators apply the label civilization to what in North America is labelled cultural studies.

What seems to be the charter definition of culture was drafted by Tylor. In his book, *Primitive Culture* (1871), he described culture as a totality of learned behavior. "Culture, or civilization . . . is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of a society." [Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952, p. 81]

This omnibus characterization reappeared as the basis of many of the 164 definitions reviewed in Kroeber and Kluckhohn's work. By synthesizing these statements the authors formulated a description of culture, stressing the pattern of traditional ideas and their associated values:

> Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., is historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their

attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand be considered as products of action, and on the other hand as conditioning elements of further action. [Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952, p. 357]

Kroeber and Kluckhohn expanded their specifications to include an emotionally charged system of expectancies:

Culture not only markedly influences how individuals behave towards other individuals but equally what is expected from them. Any culture is a system of expectancies; what kinds of behavior the individual anticipates being rewarded or punished for; what constitutes rewards and punishments; what types of activity are held to be inherently gratifying or frustrating. For this and for other reasons (e.g., the strongly affective nature of most cultural learning) the individual is seldom emotionally neutral to those sectors of his culture which touch him directly. Culture patterns are *felt*, emotionally, adhered to or rejected. [P. 308]

The definition game was played by educators as well as by social scientists. Much space in the literature on second-language teaching prior to 1965 was devoted to the Culture/culture controversy. Educational theorists drew themselves up into two camps: those who proposed teaching culture in terms of the achievements of a society, and those who championed the anthropological definition of culture as a patterned way of life characteristic of a society.

Brooks (1966) captured this distinction in his terms formal and deep culture, both subsections of what he termed culture (patterns of living). Formal culture, according to Brooks, referred to the best achievements of a group, while deep culture pertained to the group's sum-total way of life.

Formal culture refers to the products of artistic endeavor, achievements of artists and intellectual genius, deeds of heroic valor and concepts of lofty spirit, and various modes of intellectual thought, genteel living and racial vigor. These are matters of which a country or nation is fully aware and justly proud, which everyone is informed about and is quite willing to discuss, and to send abroad to be admired and emulated. *Deep* culture, on the other hand, refers to the thoughts, and beliefs and actions, the concerns and hopes and worries, the personal values, the minor vanities and the half-serious superstitions, the subtle gradations of interpersonal relationships as expressed in action and words, the day-by-day details of life as it is lived — often with little or no conscious awareness of details — at home and at school, at work or at play, in church and in celebration, in country or in city — in short, what it is to be a Russian, a Mexican, or a Japanese. [Brooks, 1966, p. 5]

The above definitions are subject to two criticisms. First, they do not relate language to culture. Second, to say that culture is a people's way of life offers the second-language teacher little guidance in determining what aspects to bring to the students' attention: confronted with the vast array she is overwhelmed to the point of indecision. What seems to be needed is a statement which clearly posits the relationship between language and culture, while providing a practical limit to the culture concept.

The connection between language and culture has long been the subject of debate by anthropologists. Three schools of thought on this question

have evolved: (1) language influences culture, (2) culture influences language, and (3) language and culture are interdependent.

The Whorf-Sapir hypothesis, a formulation of stance (1), held that language functions not simply as a device for reporting experience, but also, and more significantly, as a way of defining experience for the speakers (Carroll, 1964; Mandelbaum, 1966). It argued that users of markedly different grammars are pointed by their grammars toward different types of observations, and, hence, are not equivalent as observers but must arrive at somewhat different views of the world.

Boas (1949) was a proponent of the culture-influences-language thesis (2). In 1911 he claimed that linguistic forms are molded by cultural influences. One's life style and its implicit values and assumptions determine how one talks.

A third trend, toward viewing the connection as a symbiotic relationship, has developed recently and is posited variously by different authors. Chafe (1970) has written that language bears the same relationship to culture as the part does to the whole. Titiev (1959) said that language and culture are completely interdependent. Hoijer (1953) refused to conceive of language as distinct from other cultural systems but as part of the whole, functionally related to it, and explained that linguistic patterns do not inescapably limit sensory perceptions and thought but, together with other cultural patterns, direct perception and thinking in certain habitual channels.

A more fruitful line of thought than attempting to attribute causality (the second-language teacher's chicken/egg conundrum) is to accept language as a constituent of culture, acting upon and being acted upon by the other constituents. (See Figure 2.)

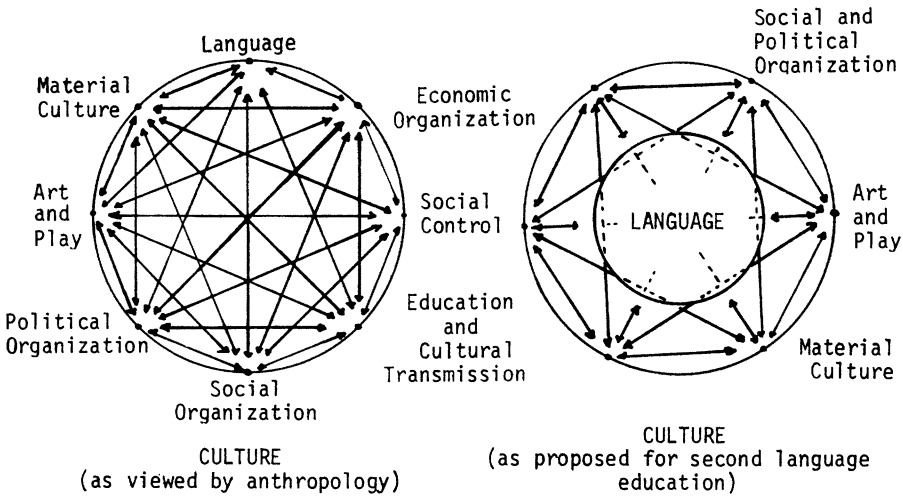

FIGURE 2. Language-Culture Relationships

In the second-language teaching situation, language assumes a greater importance than other elements; in other contexts, however, language might be deposed by one of the other components. Although the language component assumes centrality in the diagram it is not isolated from the other components of culture – each is related to language and to each other. Thus in the second-language teaching situation culture concerns primarily language and its interrelationship with the other aspects.

Since the number of cultural aspects is legion, a practical limit must be sought which allows the second-language teacher to give an adequate presentation of culture while still fulfilling her major role as developer of communication skills. These conditions can be met by defining culture, in the second-language teaching/learning context, as that knowledge of the patterned way of life of the people whose language is being taught/learned that enables the student to communicate effectively with native speakers in typical situations.

Such a definition has the advantage of being sufficiently general to allow teacher creativity and freedom, and sufficiently delimited to be functional in a teaching/learning situation.

One more definition: cultural component (in the singular) represents an abstraction. If, as suggested earlier, a significant relationship exists between culture and language, cultural data hover over language usage like an enshrouding mist on a spring morning. The term cultural component can be used to refer to those aspects of behavior characteristic of the culture which are inherent in or associated with the language being taught or learned. For practical purposes this can be interpreted as the linguistic content of the second-language program.

AIMS OF TEACHING CULTURE

It seems that second-language teachers have always espoused a belief in the value of teaching the cultural component. Kelly (1969) argued that culture has always figured among the aims of second-language education, although the cultural goals may have been more implicit than explicit. He submitted as evidence the study of Greek and the marginal notes in classics textbooks:

> The cultural orientation of language teaching has always been one of its unstated aims. Otherwise it is impossible to explain the hold Greek literature, history, and attitudes had over Roman thought. It is likewise noteworthy that the scholia so frequent in medieval editions of classics dealt as often with cultural facts as with grammar. [P. 378]

These aims of second-language teaching fall into two general categories. Teachers who subscribed to a cultural theory of education argued that they aimed second-language instruction at the production of a cultured person by opening up to the student the language and literature of a foreign country. (In a modified form this aim details the qualities the cultured person would possess as a result of instruction in a second language.)

Another group of aims (and these are the ones in which we are interested) specified the aspects of the culture that were involved in the production of this "cultured" person.

Such aims, which are occasionally overlapping, have ranged from the acquisition of authentic cultural responses to knowledge and appreciation of the spirit, life, and thought of people whose language is being learned. Beyond the acquisition of language skills, second-language education is thought by many people to be aimed at knowledge of and about a culture, coupled with positive attitudes toward it. House (Note 1) summarized the position:

> Nearly all foreign language teachers feel that the latter goal [knowledge of and about the target culture] is an important one, that foreign language study plays a vital role in achieving the basic aim of a liberal education: a liberation of the mind from ignorance and its companion, prejudice, curing the students from xenophobia, ethnocentrism, chauvinism and other similar forms of provincialism, making them more sympathetic, open-minded, tolerant, peace-loving. [P.1]

The aims posited for teaching the cultural component of second languages are not usually stated in terms capable of measurement and evaluation. How does a teacher measure reduction of provincialism, and the development of humility and tolerance? At a time when school budgets are being trimmed, when accountability is becoming a watchword, when cost-effectiveness studies in educational practice are being funded, when measurement and evaluation are much to the fore, and when teaching objectives are being questioned, a teacher is hard pressed to justify teaching for cultural aims stated in abstract terms, for which it is difficult to construct lessons or evaluation devices.

Cultural aims, as found in courses of study and curriculum guides, are usually couched in general terms at least one step removed from actual classroom practice. Second-language teachers need to rewrite such objectives in terms of classroom conditions and activities. If a teacher is going to attempt the reduction of ethnocentrism, for example, she must be able to state quite explicitly what she is going to do to bring about this condition, and how she is going to be able to know whether her students have in fact become less ethnocentric. Failing this she should discard this cultural aim. Otherwise hers is a case of serendipity: she does not know *where* she is going, she does not know *how* she is gong to get there, and she will not know where she is when she arrives.

Furthermore, statements of aims are usually so comprehensive as to be overwhelming. Second-language instruction is intended to promote international understanding, tolerance, humility, and co-operation; to communicate to students a complete and objective understanding of the foreign people; and so on . . . ad infinitum. Confronted with such demands, second-language teachers are stymied as to where to begin and how.

Teachers need limited statements of cultural aims, stated in operational terms. These would allow teachers to consciously attempt to teach toward the cultural aims, and would also admit of a more objective determination of progress.

To arrive at an operational statement of cultural aims it is necessary to consider what the teacher's job consists of. Whatever else the second-language teacher may be expected to do, it is assumed by the public that she will teach her students to communicate in the second language. To communicate effectively requires a degree of understanding of the implications of language as used by natives.[1] Part of this understanding results from knowledge of and about the culture associated with the language being learned/taught — clearly a "measureable" goal.

Goals of cross-cultural communication and cross-cultural understanding (proposed by such recent theorists as Nostrand [1960]) enjoy almost universal currency and acceptability. The question remains, however, as to how such concepts can be stated in more operational terms.

Since understanding implies something of an ability to get inside the other person and to "walk a mile in his shoes," the phases of the empathic process may provide a theoretical base for the development of cultural aims for second-language teaching. These phases have been discussed by Katz (1963).

In phase 1, identification, "we allow ourselves to become absorbed in contemplating the other person and his experience" (Katz, 1963, p. 41). This process involves a loss of self-awareness, a letting-go of the self in an imitative activity. Although there is an unconscious involvement or role taking, there is no projection of feelings onto the "other."

Phase 2, incorporation, involves "the act of taking the experience of other persons into ourselves" (Katz, 1963, p. 42). There is an absorption of the "other" by the subject. The "other's" experience is felt as the subject's own. There is a subsequent reduction of social distance.

Phase 3 is called reverberation: "What we have taken into ourselves now echoes upon some part of our own experience and awakens a new appreciation" (p. 44). A new source of insight develops from the interplay of the two sets of experience. While the individual is absorbed in the identity of the "other" he is still capable of separate experience as himself: there is no abandonment of innate identity. Self-knowledge seems to improve with knowledge of the experience of "others."

Detachment is the final phase in the empathic process. "We break our identification and deliberately move away to gain the social and psychic distance necessary for objective analysis" (p. 46). The ego previously introjected is ejected, and a process of comparison and analysis is initiated.

Through translation and modification of the major ideas of the empathic phases it is possible to arrive at a hierarchy of cultural aims for second-language education.

Aim 1: Cross-Cultural Awareness

Katz's first phase, identification, involves a mental mechanism wherein the individual attributes to himself the characteristics of another or a group. (This mechanism bears some relationship to Gardner & Smythe's [1973] integrative orientation.) Owing to the difficulty of observing and measuring such a mental activity, it seems necessary to consider some more elementary stage leading up to this identification.

Such a stage might involve identification, but in a different sense. Before an individual can identify with another person, in the psychological sense, it seems that a process of identifying differences and similarities between himself and his model may be involved.

In the second-language education context this might be translated as recognition of differences and similarities between the other and his own culture.

The first aim of teaching the cultural component of second languages might be *cross-cultural awareness*. Such awareness enables the student to discriminate and recognize differences and similarities between his own and the target culture.

For example, in a classroom in which French is taught as a second language, students might be expected to be aware that, in France, acquaintances are not readily invited into the home as is the case in North America.

Aim 2: Cross-Cultural Understanding

Incorporation, as Katz describes it, implies an assumption of the "other's" experiences with a concomitant reduction in social distance. The basis of the more-at-ease feeling probably lies in an understanding of the other person.

A second aim of teaching the cultural component of second languages, then, might be *cross-cultural understanding*. With such understanding the student is able, with teacher guidance, to comprehend the underlying implications and assumptions of the target culture.

To continue the example given earlier, the student of French, noting that French people do not readily invite people into their home, learns that among certain French people (depending on age, socio-economic status, etc.) friendships are not easily formed. They expect friendships to be permanent relationships and, hence, to be formed slowly. When this fact is seen in conjunction with the importance of the home and family in France, it can be understood why the intimacy of the hearth is inviolable and can be shared only with true friends.

Aim 3: Cross-Cultural Appreciation

If Katz's phases 3 and 4, reverberation and detachment, can be combined, a third aim can be developed. Reverberation implies that the language learner becomes more aware of his own cultural heritage as a result of his

experiences with the other culture. Detachment involves re-affirmation of the second-language learner's cultural identity without denying the existence and importance of the target culture.

The third aim for teaching the cross-cultural component of second languages, then, might be *cross-cultural appreciation.* The student is able to compare his own and the other culture objectively, valuing each according to its own merits.

To employ the same illustration again, the student of French, being aware that French people are relatively reluctant to open their homes to casual acquaintances, and understanding that this stance results from attitudes toward the formation of friendships and the sanctity of the home, realizes that the absence of an invitation to dinner with new French friends is not intended as a slight. He may learn to relate the North American ease of friendship-formation to the American open-door policy of invitations, and the slow formation of French friendships to restricted invitation practices — practices which may also owe something to American mobility as opposed to living in one place all one's life. It is hoped that the student will accept each as valid expressions of human behavior, conditioned by different circumstances; in other words, adopt an attitude of cultural relativism.

Although these aims form a hierarchy, there is no implication that the first aim applies only to one grade level; the second, to the next grade level; and the third, to the final grade level. Each of the aims can be applied at any one grade level, depending on the difficulty of the content and the degree of maturity of the students within that level. The decision affecting the selection of aims is essentially a pedagogical one.

The general cultural aims of second language education are achieved through specific "language" aims. If language and culture form a behavior continuum, as suggested in Figure 3, it may be argued that specific language aims also range along a continuum from minimal intelligibility to "total" communication or native-like competence. Ideally, progress in the achievement of specific language aims entails progress toward general cultural aims.

CULTURAL ANALYSIS

In the past it has been argued that if the cultural component is to become viable for second-language education, a suitable means of analyzing a culture had to be devised. Some schemas have been developed by anthropologists and educators. Both types of analytical patterns have been applied to second-language education, although this may have not been their purpose when devised.

Cultural analysis is the stock-in-trade of anthropologists (and occasionally psychologists). The central problem for the anthropologist is the description and explanation of similarities and differences in human ethnic

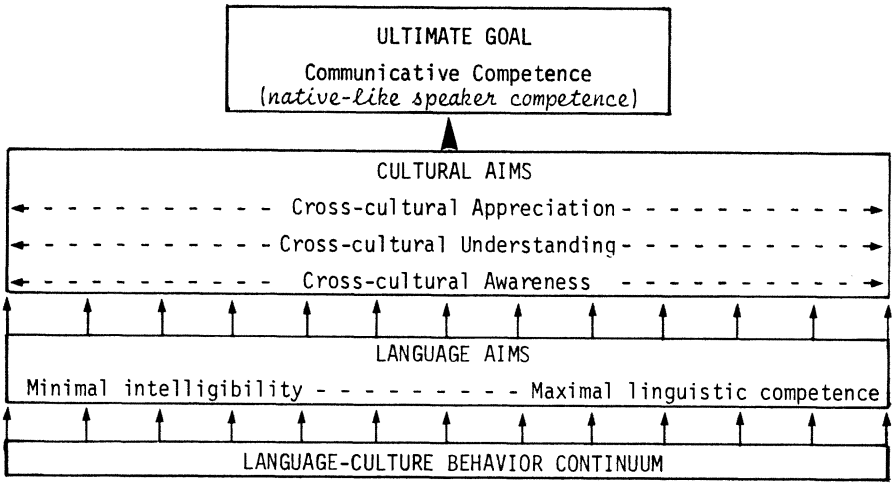

FIGURE 3. Merging of Language and Culture Aims

groups (usually primitive and preliterate), through field study, observation, and interviews. The anthropologist seeks to construct a coherent overall picture of the institutions of the target group.

For the cultural anthropologist such an understanding requires the analysis of all that a man learns to do as a member of a society — all knowledge, common understandings, and expectations that the people of a group share and that their children learn. In this view, culture comprises the selective modes of thinking, acting, feeling, and communicating which are used by people of one group and which distinguish their behavior from that of other groups. The participants in each culture not only use characteristic tools, values, and words, but also maintain a distinctive arrangement of the component parts of their culture.

Traditionally the educator's approach has been to develop a list of concepts or aspects of culture to be added to the language program being used. This practice differs fundamentally from that of the anthropologists. Whereas the latter represent attempts to gather sociocultural or sociolingual data, the former are concerned with the presentation of (often subjectively) selected data in language-teaching situations.

The need for a grid or a system of cultural analysis has not been adequately demonstrated. The structuring of cultural information categories merits questioning. In the past, listing aspects of culture to be included in second-language teaching has contributed to two undesirable effects. First, second-language teachers have probably felt constrained to remain within the established outlines of culture. Second, and more important, the teaching of culture has probably been perceived as something divorced

from the language lesson proper, something to be added to the lesson, something to "get the students interested in learning the language." The relationship between language and culture has never been adequately exploited.

If it is believed that language is the central aspect of culture for second-language teaching (Figure 2) and that language and culture form a behavior continuum (Figure 3), then it is probable that the analysis should assume a more flexible format than the traditional grid or outline. Figure 4 represents an alternative method of cultural "analysis."

In effect, the second-language teacher is not involved in analyzing the target culture. Her task is to analyze language use, as contained in her teaching materials, to discover cultural influences.

If it is accepted that the main aim of second-language instruction is cross-cultural communicative competence, it is possible to suggest two basic parts of this "cultural analysis," or two cultural emphases in second-language instruction. Communicative competence implies an ability to "get your message across" and to do so in a manner acceptable to the target audience in a specified socio-linguistic situation.

This procedure involves not only the subject matter but its ordering or sequencing. Making one's self understood is the more fundamental, being essentially a matter of mechanical production. Knowledge of the physical aspects of communication, however, also involves an awareness of how communication is modified by the characteristics of the participants; time and place of the interaction; tone, manner, spirit of communication (including paralinguistic, kinesic, and proxemic features); underlying assumptions and priorities; and intentions (also called speech functions, and uses). Making the message acceptable to a specific audience presupposes

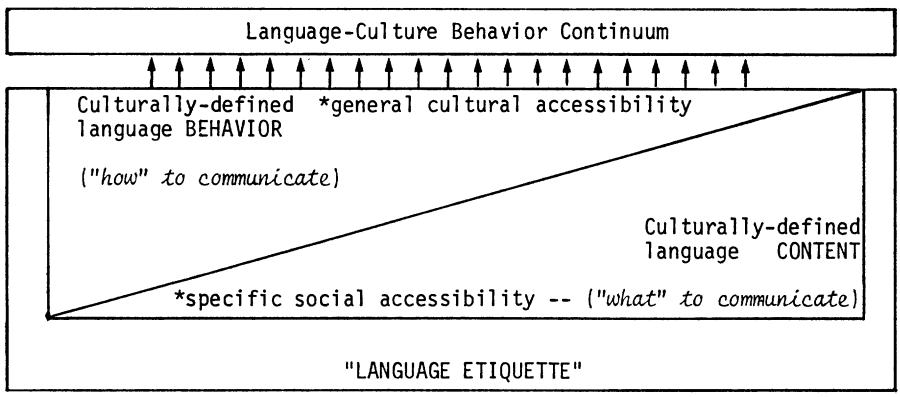

FIGURE 4. "Analysis" of a Culture for Instructional Purposes

this technical skill, and stresses instead the content of the message, which requires a knowledge of the more formal and overt aspects of culture: material culture, economic organization, social and political organization, social control, world view, art and play, and education or cultural transmission.

The diagram (Figure 4) suggests that the nature of analysis of cultural content depends, in part, on the level of skill possessed by the language learner. The cultural content of primary emphasis would be composed of aspects which teach the student how to use the language in various situations in the other culture. In an oral language program, for example, in addition to the structure and vocabulary of the language, the learner acquires rules governing usage: how people greet each other, talk briefly, and take their leave; how strangers are introduced; the common formulas of politeness and occasions when they should be used; phrases that are conventional in the use of the telephone; and how thanks are expressed. In a French classroom, for example, an initial cultural topic would deal with the use of *tu* and *vous*.

A result of such a primary emphasis in instruction would be general cultural accessibility. The learner of French as a second language, for example, will be exposed to such cultural content as to make his language behavior acceptable in French-speaking cultures throughout the world.

At the other extreme of the continuum, the second phase in cultural instruction, emphasis is on the cultural "content" of the language use — the "what" of communication. At this stage it is assumed that the level of language skill achieved is such that the language learner may concentrate on the content of the message, having already mastered the mechanics of language use. The cultural elements more closely correspond to the more abstract ideas of both formal and deep culture (in Brooks' terms). The student of French, for example, may be aware of the French appreciation of art and love of beauty, and may be able to discuss French works of art.

The ultimate result of this second emphasis in instruction is anticipated to be social accessibility. In a program of long duration it is envisaged that the second-language learner is so exposed to the target culture content that he acquires specific skills and knowledge which permit his access, as a "welcome stranger," to specific segments of society in the second culture.

The content of these two phases or stages of instruction, culturally-defined language behavior and culturally-defined language content, represent the extremes of the language/culture behavior continuum. Between the two poles are other stages in which the balance in content progressively shifts from the "how" to the "what" of communication.

Whatever the cultural emphasis or stage of instruction, there is one overriding or pervasive concern in teaching the cultural component of second languages — appropriateness of communication. There is associated with language use a well-defined set of rules — a language etiquette —

which determines appropriateness of communication. Such rules of language behavior or language etiquette may be summarized by a statement: *who* uses *what* language items with *whom, when, where, why,* and *how?* For effective cross-cultural communication, learners of second languages must be aware of the acceptability of their messages.

SELECTION CRITERIA

The achievement of the cultural objectives of second-language instruction is in part a function of content. Formerly, discussion about the selection of cultural content conveyed the impression that it was something to be added to the language instruction, that cultural content was somehow divorced from the linguistic content. The impression gains support from the paucity of cultural data in second-language textbooks in the past and, to a lesser extent, in the present, and by the lack of criteria suggesting that cultural content should be integrated with the linguistic content.

The present thesis is that cultural content is embedded in language and, therefore, in the second-language program. (Consider the expression — cultural component of second languages.) One does not teach the language in one lesson and the culture in another, as two separate identities. The cultural content must be treated as an integral part of second-language instruction. And the second-language teacher must be capable of eliciting and/or discovering the inherent cultural content of the language program and exploiting the possibilities.

This suggests the need for an alternative approach.

If language and culture are interdependent, the question of cultural-content selection is resolved by the selection of language items. Beyond this point, the problem for the textbook writer and curriculum developer as well as the teacher is to know what is cultural about a specific language item.

What seems to be needed, therefore, is a list of questions to guide the teacher in eliciting or discovering the cultural content implied in the language content of the program she is required to teach. By considering the factors which erect barriers to communication, and those which determine the selection of optional items (age, sex, socio-economic status, education), the different ways people use language, and the categories or aspects of culture, it is possible to construct such an inventory, if only partially and tentatively.

By asking questions such as the following about the linguistic content of teaching material the second-language teacher should be able to discover the cultural content.

I. *Culture derived from or implied in the way the language is used*

1. Did the partners in communication use this example of language because of:

a) their age? (A young boy may not speak to an older person as he does to a peer.)

b) their sex? (Boys do not always talk to other boys the way they talk to girls.)
c) their education? (A graduate student does not necessarily talk like a high school student.)
d) their occupation? (The language of a farmer is not necessarily the same as that of a doctor.)
e) their area of residence? (A Western Canadian's speech may not be the same as the speech of a Maritimer.)
f) their emotional state? (Are they happy, sad, angry . . .?)
g) their personalities? (Does the person of incisive character joke and use florid language regularly?)
h) their socio-economic status? (An upper-class Englishman might say "et" where others say "ate.")
i) their role relationships? (A boss might not talk to his secretary the same way at lunch as he does at the office.)
j) the setting of the exchange (time, place, etc.)?
2. Why was this language used? Is the communicator trying to:
a) escape verbally?
b) conform to an expected pattern or establish a relationship?
c) be poetic or witty?
d) signal to someone else that it is his turn to speak or otherwise regulate the encounter?
e) perform, in addition to converse?
f) control himself, e.g., by talking to himself?
g) control others?
h) express an emotion?
i) inform, elaborate, clarify, orient, or summarize?
j) instruct?
k) inquire?
l) talk about language use?
3. Does the use of this example of language indicate:
a) an underlying belief? (Constant uses of historical references and literary quotations may indicate an orientation toward the past or a belief in the golden age of the past.)
b) a system of priorities? (A silence in a conversation may occur out of respect, in the belief that young people, in the presence of their elders, should be seen and not heard.)
4. What gesture is associated with this language item?
5. Would the meaning of this utterance be altered if the partners in communication stood farther apart, closer together, beside each other, with backs turned, or face-to-face?
6. What inferences can be drawn from voice quality, tone, manner, and form? (In English few people accept as true any statement said in a light tone and followed by a laugh.)
7. In general, what language etiquette is being illustrated?

II. *Culture derived from the content of the message*
To understand the full significance of this message does the student need to know something about the target culture in terms of its:
1. material culture?
2. economic organization?
3. social organization?
4. political organization?
5. social control?
6. world view?
7. art and play?
8. education and cultural transmission?

Having analyzed the linguistic content for cultural content inherent in it, the teacher next decides whether or not to bring the particular content to the student's attention. Two over-arching questions arise: does the cultural information (1) increase the learner's capacity to understand communication and to communicate in the second language, and (2) potentially contribute to the development of cross-cultural awareness, cross-cultural understanding, and cross-cultural appreciation?

Having arrived at a decision on whether or not to draw forth the cultural content, the second-language teacher may then, rightly, refer to criteria commonly used to select cultural data: authenticity, contemporaneity, representativity, and balance. Such decisions however are pedagogical, and hence outside the scope of this paper.

To summarize, in the second-language classroom situation, cultural content can be thought of as that knowledge of the native speaker's way of life that determines, unconsciously perhaps, the appropriateness of his use of language. This information needs to be brought to the student's awareness so he can communicate effectively with native speakers of the second language. The teacher's task is to help the student discover and employ the silent dimension of language – the cultural component lurking in the shadows of the linguistic content being studied. Just how the individual teacher accomplishes this task will depend on, among other things, the ability and maturity of the students; and it will vary between teaching the "how" and the "what" of language use in context, if the student is to become a "welcome stranger" among native speakers of the language being learned.

NOTES

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1. Communication seems to subsume understanding. This was the position adopted by Harrison and Hopkins (1966) in their delineation of communication in a cross-cultural setting: "*Communication*: to understand and communicate directly and often nonverbally through movement, facial expression, person to person actions. To listen with sensitivity

to the hidden concerns, values, motives of the other. To be at home in the exchange of feelings, attitudes, desires, fears. To have a sympathetic understanding of the feelings of others" (p. 5).

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